



Title	Education and Diasporic Language : The Case of Koreans in Kazakhstan
Author(s)	Kim, German
Citation	Acta Slavica Iaponica, 27, 103-123
Issue Date	2009
Doc URL	http://hdl.handle.net/2115/39584
Type	bulletin (article)
File Information	ASI27_005.pdf



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Education and Diasporic Language: The Case of Koreans in Kazakhstan

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INTRODUCTION

The language of the Korean Diaspora in Kazakhstan and other states in the post-Soviet space is radically different from the literary languages of South and North Korea. During the more than 140-year-long residence of Koreans in the dominating Russian language environment there appeared Koryo mar – the language of the Korean Diaspora based on two patois of the North Hamgyong dialect. As is known, Korean settlers moved to the Russian Primor'ye mostly from the border between Russia and North Hamgyong Province, and therefore the language they spoke was a dialect used in everyday life. At the same time, from the prerevolutionary period until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Korean language close to the North Korean standard language was taught in the school and university education system. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and the post-Soviet states and the development of trade – economic and cultural – educational ties of the North Korean variant gave place to the South Korean literary language. At present, in all schools and universities in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia, the Seoul standard language is taught, textbooks and dictionaries compiled in South Korea are used, and teachers who are native speakers of the language are assigned from the Republic of Korea.

The aim of the present paper is an analysis of interrelations of issues related to Korean language teaching and the preservation of the diasporic language, Koryo mar, among the Koreans of Kazakhstan. It is also necessary to determine the main stages of the history of Korean language teaching, reveal its basic content, investigate aspects of the Korean language functioning after the deportation of Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia, and forecast prospects for the preservation and development of the native language among the Korean Diaspora of modern Kazakhstan.

Koryo mar has attracted the attention of a number of linguists in the Soviet Union and abroad; however, it has not so far been properly and comprehensively studied. Certain aspects of Koryo mar are described in the works of O. M. Kim, R. P. King, Kho Song Moo, Kwak Chung Gu, and N. S. Pak, who used in their research written sources published in Korean and Russian from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century as well as recordings of Yukchin and Myenchon-Kilchu dialect speakers.¹

1 Kim O.M. О Языке корейцев СССР // Ученые записки Ташкентского Средне-Азиатс-

For a number of years, R. King researched Korean dialects, especially those of the Northern provinces from which most of the ancestors of Soviet Koreans had come. In King's opinion, the archaic and dialectal elements of the phonology, morphology, and lexis of the Korean language are most clearly observed and widely preserved in the speech of the Koryo saram.² This is a legacy of the long isolation of the inhabitants of the northern Korean provinces and the subsequent isolation of the Korean settlers in Russia from the influences of the standard literary Korean language under development. King's research is based on a wealth of oral materials collected in the course of several periods of field work among the Koryo saram and a magnificent knowledge of Russian prerevolutionary sources on the Korean language.

The ethno- and sociolinguistic processes among soviet Koreans have become the subject of a special body of studies. H. Haarmann, a well-known sociolinguist and the author of more than a dozen books on bilingual problems in multiracial nations, subjected data from the 1970 census to computer analysis and observed some aspects of Korean-Russian bilingualism. Haarmann's book comprises three chapters, which address in turn the general conditions for polyglotism among the Koreans in the Soviet Union, the bilingual and polyglot communicative structures of the Koreans, and the main typical features of the language behavior of the Korean settlers. Unfortunately, Haarmann did not use census data from 1959 or 1979, which denied him the opportunity to observe the bilingual processes of soviet Koreans and dynamics for that twenty-year period.³

The functioning of minority languages, Russian-Korean bilingualism, and the problems of linguistic assimilation of soviet Koreans are of great interest to South Korean slavacist Hur Seung-chul, I. Yugay from Tashkent, and G. Kim and S. Son in Almaty.⁴

кого государственного университета. вып. 202. 1962. С. 87–93; Kho, Songmoo, "Koreans in Soviet Central Asia," *Studia Orientalia* 61 (Helsinki, 1987), p. 262; Ross J. P. King, "An Introduction to Soviet Korean," *Language Research* 23:2 (Seoul, 1987), pp. 233–277; Ross J. P. King, "Russian Sources on Korean Dialects," Ph. D. dissertation (Harvard, 1991), p. 498; Kwak, Choong-goo, "Hamkyeng Pukto Yukchin Pangen Umwunlon Yenkwu [Research on the Phonology of North Hankyeng Yukcin Dialect Phonology]," Ph. D. dissertation (Seoul National University, 1991); Пак Н.С. Корейский язык в Казахстане: проблемы и перспективы. Алматы, 2005, 303 С.

2 In the past, the term "Soviet Koreans" was used to refer to all Koreans living in the USSR, but today, the term and self-appellation "Koryo Saram" has come to be preferred.

3 Harald Haarmann, *Aspekte der koreanisch-russischen Zweisprachigkeit, Studien zur Gruppenmehrsprachigkeit der Koreaner in der Sowjet Union* (Hamburg, 1981).

4 Югай И. Этносоциологическое изучение языковых процессов среди корейцев Узбекской ССР // Полевые исследования Института Этнографии. М., 1977; Hur, Seung-Chul, "Language Shift and Bilingualism among Soviet Nationality Groups," Ph. D. dissertation (Brown University, 1988); Hur, Seung Chul, "Aspects of the Linguistic Assimilation of Soviet Koreans," *The Journal of Slavic Studies* 3 (Seoul, 1988), pp. 123–139; Сон С.Ю. Социолингвистический анализ функционирования коре мар и русского языка в корейской

Practical issues of Korean language teaching, namely compilation of a curriculum, writing textbooks and dictionaries, training of language teachers, and other issues have been covered in numerous academic papers, publications in journals and newspapers, collections of presentations at scientific conferences, and also in books and dissertations. Therefore, the authors are mostly Korean language teachers, linguists, journalists, and leaders of the Korean Diaspora in the post-Soviet states including Kazakhstan.

The present paper is based on all available sources including archival documents, census data, and published research papers of other scholars. An analysis of the interrelations between Korean language teaching and the language of the Korean Diaspora of Kazakhstan is preceded by a short excursus into the history of the first Koreans settlers in Central Asia.

OUTLINE OF KOREAN DIASPORIC HISTORY IN RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

During the decline of the Choson Dynasty (1392 to 1910), Korea was unprepared to enter the era of capitalism. For nearly a century, Western and Japanese colonial claims aggravated its protracted political, social, and economic crises. In 1905, after its victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan declared the Korean peninsula its protectorate, annexing it five years later. Mass impoverishment and starvation among Korean peasants compelled many to flee the peninsula.⁵

The first Korean immigrants appeared in the Russian Far East during the late 1850s and early 1860s. The Russian administration used these Koreans to populate and develop this territory. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Koreans received the right to register as citizens of the Russian Empire under the terms of a Russo-Korean treaty determining their status. The number of Korean immigrants to the area grew by the thousands, with many taking the sea route from Pusan to Vladivostok and others, the overland route across the River Tumangan.

Some Koreans found other routes to Russian territory that took them through Chinese territory. The number of Koreans increased in the prerevolutionary period from several dozen to some 85,000 by 1917. The Koreans initially lived in separate villages, and their daily life, social relations, ethnic culture, and language were almost the same as in Korea. The October Revolution of 1917 united workers of all ethnic groups with its slogans of justice, freedom, and equal rights. Koreans largely supported the Soviet cause, with hundreds

диаспоре Казахстана. Автореферат кандидатской диссертации. Алматы, 1999; Ким Г.Н. Об истории принудительно-добровольного забвения «родного» языка постсоветскими корейцами (на примере Казахстана) // Диаспора (Москва). 2003. № 1. С. 110-146.

5 Kim, German N., "Kore Saram or Koreans of the Former Soviet Union in the Past and Present," *Amerasia Journal (США)* 29:3 (2004.3.20), pp. 14-19.

sacrificing their lives in World War II, believing this would help lead to the liberation of Korea.⁶

By the 1930s, the Koreans of the Soviet Far East had established their own identity, culture, and traditions. There were hundreds of Korean agricultural and fishing *kolkhozes*; Koreans were actively involved in government and social organizations; traditional culture was maintained and developed; the Korean intelligentsia grew in number and quality; and Korean theaters and other educational and cultural institutions were established. In the Soviet Far East, there were hundreds of Korean schools and other educational establishments with Korean being the language of instruction. Newspapers and magazines were published in Korean; there was a Korean theater and numerous amateurs' groups. The Korean language functioned in many spheres of life: it was used by the community, families, and in the everyday communication of the compactly residing Koreans.⁷ The Koreans were sovietized and integrated into the new political and socioeconomic system.

The Koreans were the first people of the Soviet Union to be deported. Top secret order number 1428–326cc of the Soviet government and Communist Party, "On the Deportation of the Korean Population of the Far East," dated August 21, 1937 and signed by Molotov and Stalin, was a logical continuation of earlier Tsarist and Soviet policies relating to national minority populations. The Koreans settled in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, established the basis for a new life, and contributed to the development of agriculture in these new places.

Shortly after the arrival of the deported Koreans in Kazakhstan was published a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party "On Reorganization of the Ethnic Minorities' Schools" (January 24, 1938), which was duplicated by a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan under the same title number, 49–60, of April 8, 1938. It said,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan considers it to be well established that some bourgeois nationalists have actively operated in the organs of people's education of Kazakhstan and created special national schools (German, Bulgarian, Korean, Uyghur, and others) and transformed them into sources of bourgeois-nationalistic, anti-Soviet influence on the children. It has been extremely harmful to the cause of the proper training and education, it has separated our children from Soviet life, deprived them of the possibility of becoming closer to Soviet culture and science, and put obstacles in their way to further education in colleges and higher educational establishments.

6 German Kim, *Hanin imin yoksa* (Seoul: Park Yonsa, 2005).

7 Ким Сын Хва. Очерки по истории советских корейцев. Алма-Ата: Наука, 1965; Пак Б.Д. Корейцы в советской России. М.-Иркутск, 1995; Пак Б.Д., Бугай Н.Ф. 140 лет России. Очерк истории российских корейцев. М.: РАН (Russian Academy of Sciences), 2004.

The directives of the party were to be realized and on April 13, 1938, the government of Kazakhstan adopted resolution number 353 "On Reorganization of Ethnic Minorities' Schools," which became the guidelines for the Narkompros (People's Commissariat of Education).⁸ The so-called reorganization consisted of actual liquidation of the whole system of education in the languages of minorities built during the years of Soviet power and, above all, the school system of education. In total, 377 minorities' schools of all levels were reorganized including 118 Korean schools.⁹ In rural areas where mostly or exclusively Koreans lived, the native language became just one of the subjects taught at school.¹⁰ Because of the reorganization of the Korean schools into ordinary schools, the Korean pedagogical college in Kazalinsk started to work on the basis of the curriculums of ordinary Soviet pedagogical colleges with Russian or Kazakh being the language of instruction.¹¹

KOREAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN 1930-1950s

Among the burning problems of school education at that time, the most complicated issue was the lack of teachers. Results of the certification of teachers of schools with Korean students revealed that a considerable number of the teachers were allowed to teach at schools though their qualifications were inadequate. This situation arose because of a lack of qualified teachers. The Narkompros of the republic in accordance with a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Sovnarkom (Soviet of People's Commissars) – the government of the Kazakh SSR – "On Cultural and Everyday Service of the Korean Population of the Republic," started to admit young Korean people to pedagogical colleges and higher educational establishments. In the 1938/1939 academic year in 11 higher educational institutions of the republic, there were 2,580 students of different nationalities, the number of Koreans among them being 385 (14.9 percent).¹²

On May 4, 1938, the Sovnarkom of the Kazakh SSR adopted resolution number 4-23 to approve the plan to construct a Korean pedagogical institute in Kzyl-Orda. However, the Korean pedagogical institute shared the fate of the Korean schools and the pedagogical college. Moreover, in the autumn of 1937 when Koreans arrived in Kazakhstan, the number of students of the institute was cut from 830 to 500.¹³ From the 1938/39 academic year, the Korean peda-

8 ЦГА (CSA - Central State Archive) of the RK (Republic of Kazakhstan), ф. 1692, оп. 1, д. 137, л. 5-7.

9 ЦГА РК (Центральный Государственный Архив Республики Казахстан), ф. 1692, оп. 1, д. 128, л. 29-30.

10 ГАКО (Государственный Архив Кызыл-Ординской Области), ф. 283, оп. 1, д. 5, л. 3.

11 ЦГА РК, ф. 1692, оп. 1, д. 128, л. 32-33.

12 ЦГА РК, ф. 1692, оп. 1, д. 166, л. 14,16.

13 АП РК (Архив Президента Республики Казахстана), ф. 708, оп. 1, д. 45, л. 10.

gical institute started to use Russian as the language of instruction, though during the next ten years, the majority of students and teachers were Korean.

A separate issue that remained acute during the whole history of Korean education was the lack or the poor quality of school textbooks and literature in the Korean language. Shortly before the deportation, basic school textbooks numbering several dozen were translated into Korean. All kinds of sociopolitical books, brochures, and classical literature were published in Korean in large quantities.¹⁴

Leaving behind many necessary and valuable things, the Koreans brought with them to Kazakhstan textbooks and other books in the hope that their children would be able to use them in future. However, after the liquidation of the national schools, there was no longer any need for them. On the basis of the resolution of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast' committee of the Communist Party of August 28, 1939, a "commission on checking Korean literature" was formed, which was to go through the lists of books in Korean and draw their conclusions. However, the commission had to be guided by orders from the top as to what criteria to use when deciding what books were "good."¹⁵

On December 27, 1939, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a special resolution "On Korean Literature," which was to "allow all bookselling organizations to write off for recycling all textbooks in Korean and literature whose content is not fit for the conditions of Kazakhstan and is out of date."

According to the resolution, the Glavlit of the Kazakh SSR – the main organ of censorship for all published materials – was to "withdraw from the bookselling network and libraries books in Korean that are politically incorrect and the authors of which are enemies of the people (the list is attached)."¹⁶

Thus, all educational literature in Korean was written off for recycling and liquidated: 120,052 copies of textbooks of 134 titles for all subjects including 17,325 Korean language textbooks for different levels of learning. A large number of Korean books including rare historical books were destroyed in the libraries of the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute.¹⁷ Many Koreans, who had been repressed before and during the bitter time of deportation, destroyed Korean books in their home libraries themselves as even the mere fact of keeping such books at home was enough for imprisonment.

During the first 1937/1938 academic year after deportation, the Korean settlement schools in Kazakhstan operated on the basis of the curriculum of national schools approved by the Narkompros of the RSFSR. However, tak-

14 See: *Шим Енг Соб, Ким Г.Н.* (Ред.) История корейцев Казахстана. Сборник архивных документов. Т. 1. Алматы-Сеул, 1998. С. 335–355.

15 АП РК, ф. 708, оп. 3/1, д. 439, л. 123–124.

16 АП РК, ф. 798, оп. 3/1, д. 147, л. 255–256.

17 *Пак Ир.* Корейский фонд Алматинской библиотеки им. А. Пушкина // Краткие сообщения института востоковедения. 1951. № 1. С. 42–44.

ing into account some specific features of the academic work, cultural and everyday peculiarities, and the ethnic culture of the Korean population, the Narkompros of the Kazakh SSR introduced partial changes to the curriculum. The essence of the changes was to begin learning the Russian language at elementary and secondary schools with a Korean contingent of students from the second grade and to learn it till the tenth grade. There were more Russian language classes than in other minorities' schools: second to sixth grade – six classes per week; seventh grade – four classes; and eight to tenth grade – two classes. Corresponding to the increased number of Russian language classes, the number of native language classes was reduced.

In the 1930–40s, Korean as a subject called “the native language” was taught at nearly all schools with a considerable number of Korean students. During that period, this was possible due to such favorable conditions as compact settlement of the rural Korean population and the availability of teachers, textbooks, and other literature in Korean.¹⁸ However, the situation was aggravated in the mid 1950s when Korean language classes gradually started to disappear from the schools of Kazakhstan. This was for many different reasons. First of all, one should bear in mind that Soviet policy in the sphere of education, national relations, and functioning of languages was aimed at further standardization and unification. It concerned not only “the socialist content but also the national form” of Soviet literature, art, people’s education, etc. Domination of the Russian language in all spheres of life in the Soviet Union was evident; therefore, the policy of “russification” in education was of a voluntary-obligatory nature. It revealed itself as follows. According to the school curriculum, native language classes were not considered as leading subjects and were often optional and there were no final exams. A good command of one’s native tongue to the detriment of the Russian language could worsen one’s prospects of gaining further education and a professional career. Thus, neither the children nor the parents were motivated to learn the Korean language and they themselves refused to learn it.

However, some of the Korean intelligentsia were worried about the fate of the national culture and language, and they wrote letters to Moscow and the party-government leadership about the necessity of making decisions on many urgent issues related to the activity of Korean kolkhozes, the newspaper *Lenin Kichi*,¹⁹ Korean theater, and the education of Korean children.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan ordered the Ministry of Education to examine the situation. The Ministry admitted that

18 Ким Г.Н., Мен Д.В. История и культура корейцев Казахстана. Алматы: Гылым, 1995. С. 212–213.

19 The newspaper *Lenin Kichi* is one of the oldest overseas Korean newspapers. The first issue under the name *Senbong* was published in 1923 in Vladivostok. After the deportation, the name of the newspaper was changed to *Lenin Kichi*. The name was again changed in 1991 and it is now called *Koryo Ilbo*.

“children of Korean nationality should secure knowledge and skills in their native language and literature.” However, it considered the “introduction of the Korean language and literature into the school curriculum in addition to existing subjects impossible because children would be overloaded with classes.” Therefore, a proposal was made: to introduce Korean language classes at schools with Korean students instead of Kazakh language classes. On December 26, 1953, a resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan “On Teaching the Korean Language and Literature at Some Schools with Korean Students” was adopted. It satisfied “the request of the Ministry of Education of the Kazakh SSR” and allowed the “introduction at some schools with students of Korean nationality of Korean language and literature classes.”²⁰

One of the reasons for such voluntary-forced oblivion of the native language was the following: from the second half of the 1940s to the mid '50s in Kazakhstan, there were considerable losses in the number of Korean language teachers and specialists in other branches of industry, culture, health protection, etc. with a good command of the language. It was connected with sending of the most educated, professional, experienced, and loyal people of Korean nationality on special missions to Sakhalin, Maritime, and Khabarovsk Provinces and North Korea to render assistance in the construction of the new system of the Soviet model.²¹

Thus, from the end of the 1930s to the beginning of the 1950s, the history of Korean language education in Kazakhstan is characterized both by great achievements and big losses. Development of school education among Korean settlers was taking place in the context of their economic adaptation to the new land where the leading factor was the command-administrative system of management of all processes in the Soviet state. The war against fascist Germany and the victory in it, the pressing tasks of restoration of the destroyed economy, the liberation of Southern Sakhalin and Korea from the Japanese colonial regime, the death of Stalin, the revelation of the personality cult, and many other events directly influenced all aspects of the education of Koreans in Kazakhstan.

SCHOOL EDUCATION AND THE KOREAN LANGUAGE FROM 1950 TO THE 1960s

Both at schools with a Korean contingent of students and other republican schools, universal secondary education was realized in accordance with the law of 1959 and had two stages: first stage – eight-year labor polytechnic

20 Шум Енг Соб, Ким Г.Н. (Ред.) История корейцев Казахстана. С. 293–294.

21 German Kim “Stereotypes of Soviet Historiography and Topical Problems in the Study of the Korean War, 1950–1953,” *Korea Between Tradition and Modernity: Selected Papers from the Fourth Pacific and Asian Conference on Korean Studies* (Institute for Asian Research, University of British Columbia, 2000), pp. 215–227.

school; second stage – receiving full secondary education (ten grades). The formerly existing network of seven-year schools and secondary schools with Korean students and their territorial distribution made it possible for all children to study for seven years. Therefore, in order to realize the plan to transfer to universal eight-year school education, it was necessary to transform all seven-year schools into eight-year schools. From 1959 to 1963, seventy eight-year schools with Korean students were formed, allowing 85 percent to study to the eighth grade by 1960, and by the 1961/62 academic year, 93 percent of all seventh-grade students graduated. By the 1961/62 academic year, all seven-year schools had been transformed into eight-year schools. In the 1961/1962 academic year, there were thirty elementary schools, seventy eight-year schools, and twenty-five secondary schools in the republic – a total of 125 schools numbering 17,544 students. By 1964/65, the total number of students at all kinds of schools had reached 18,249.²²

One of the most important and complicated issues in the sphere of education has always been the issue of choosing the language of instruction. From the second half of the 1950s, the issue of functioning of the Korean language in the Soviet Union became extremely acute. It was then that in Kazakhstan the period of accelerated loss of the native language started, which was determined by a number of objective reasons and subjective factors.

As one of the objective reasons for it, we can conditionally admit the fact that the level of compact residence of Koreans in rural areas had lowered. In such rural areas, national schools and classes used to function and the native language was taught as an academic subject. The paradox of the situation is that if we approach the issue of compact living from a purely geographical, space-territorial point of view, then the level of concentration of the Korean population had not decreased but had on the contrary increased. The rural population used to live in numerous regions and villages located dozens or hundreds of kilometers from each other, and the urban Diaspora settled within the limits of one town.

The most important was the subjective factor, which found its reflection in the policy pursued by the party and government and aimed at “socialist nations getting closer,” strengthening the role of the Russian language as “the language of inter-ethnic communication.” After the death of “the Father of Peoples” and the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party that condemned the personality cult came a short period of “Khrushchev’s Thaw” when the first attempts to become free from the totalitarian regime were made. The rights of the deported peoples unfoundedly accused of foreign espionage and treachery were partially restored. Peoples of the Caucasus were allowed to return to their native lands. The creative and scientific intelligentsia, that is, writers, poets, actors, artists, journalists, and humanitarian scholars, took advantage of

22 Хан Б.И. Педагогические проблемы обучения корейского населения (на материалах Каз. ССР). Автореферат кандидатской диссертации. Алма-Ата, 1981. 15 С.

the short-term, relative freedom and created new works free from orthodox, ideologically correct content.

Some representatives of the Korean intelligentsia began to realize their responsibility and found courage to address a request to the central and party-government organs to rehabilitate the Koreans politically and legally and to create conditions for the national or cultural development of the Diaspora. The first requests to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and ministries to assist in solving certain problems, or to provide material or financial assistance, were written by the editorial board of the newspaper *Lenin Kichi* and the Korean theater.²³

The active position of the representatives of the Korean intelligentsia could not fail to attract the attention of the party-government leadership in Moscow and the republic. On May 20, 1958, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan adopted the resolution "On Strengthening Mass Political and Cultural-Educational Work among the Korean Population of the Republic."²⁴ The resolution, first of all, concerned the Kzyl-Orda, Taldy-Kurgan, South Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, and Alma-Ata Oblast' committees of the party, which from the end of May to June 1958, held party meetings in order to discuss the plan of events for the realization of the resolution of May 20 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.²⁵

In the above-mentioned oblasts, the party organizations were to organize and strengthen "mass political and cultural-educational work among the Korean population in their native language." A separate section envisaged "introduction from the new 1958/59 academic year in places with high concentrations of Korean population of teaching of the Korean language for children of Korean nationality at schools." Thus, at the end of the 1950s to the middle of the 1960s, there was a campaign directed at solving some problems related to the culture and language of the Soviet Koreans. However, the most important demands in the letters and appeals of the Korean intelligentsia for the formation of a national-cultural or territorial autonomy and the creation of Korean cultural centers were not satisfied. The events held were of a temporary character and mainly concerned insignificant, secondary aspects of the sociocultural development of the Korean population. One of the most considerable outcomes of the initiatives undertaken by some representatives of the Korean Diaspora was drawing attention to the problems of teaching the native language.

At rural schools where Koreans lived compactly and there was a considerable number of Korean students, the Korean language and literature were reintroduced into the curriculum as separate subjects. However, the whole process looked like a short-term campaign characterized by a lack of responsibility on the side of the education officials, a lack of qualified teachers with a

23 Ким Г.Н., Мен Д.В. История и культура корейцев Казахстана. С. 304, 313–314, 321.

24 АП РК, ф. 708, оп. 31, д. 75, л. 11–13.

25 Шим Енг Соб, Ким Г.Н. (Ред.) История корейцев Казахстана. С. 277–281.

good command of both Russian and Korean and methods of teaching languages, and poor-quality curriculums, textbooks, and dictionaries. Thus, it was not possible to radically improve the situation of teaching Korean at schools. However, certain changes had taken place.

From 1959 to 1966, in Kzyl-Orda Oblast', 142 Korean language groups in the second to eighth grades numbering 2,389 students were reopened and functioned. At schools in Alma-Ata Oblast' in the first half of 1960, there were 109 Korean language groups with 2,284 students. Moreover, the Korean language was taught at several schools in Chimkent and Dzhabul Oblasts. At the schools in Kzyl Orda Oblast', there were enough qualified teachers of the Korean language. Out of fourteen teachers, three had higher education, two, incomplete higher education, and nine, secondary specialized pedagogical education.²⁶

Originally, in the second to fourth grades for teaching the Korean language, an ABC book compiled by Kim Pen Hwa was used,²⁷ and the grammar of the Korean language for the third grade was written by Kim Pen Hwa and Hwan Yun Din.²⁸ In the senior grades, they used textbooks and readers published at the beginning of the 1950s. At the end of the 1950s, new books for reading in Korean²⁹ and a school Russian-Korean dictionary³⁰ were published. In the early 1960s in the Uzbek SSR, they published a new ABC book and a Korean language textbook for third to fourth grades consisting of 130 lessons: sixty-five lessons for the third grade and sixty-five for the fourth. The textbook had an alphabetical dictionary of 595 units: 274 for the third grade and 321 for the fourth grade.³¹ Although the textbook was criticized by many Korean language teachers and not without reason, it did to a certain extent help in teaching and learning the Korean language.³² Unfortunately, textbooks were published in small quantities and there was a deficit of them. Just the Karatal Regional Department of Education alone needed at least 2,000 copies of textbooks for second to eighth grades for the 1966/1967 academic year. The Ministry of Education of the Kazakh SSR made serious mistakes in the organization of teaching of the Korean language. For instance, the Korean language curriculum was nonexistent, which meant that each teacher had to make his or

26 Государственный Архив Алматинской Области (ГААО), ф. 127, оп. 1, д. 408, л. 78; *Ким Г.Н., Шим Енг Соб.* История просвещения корейцев Казахстана и России. Алматы: Казак университеті, 2000. С. 204–205.

27 See: *Ким Пен Хва.* Букварь. М., 1959.

28 *Ким Пен Хва и Хван Юн Дин.* Грамматика корейского языка для 3-его класса. М., 1959.

29 *Хан Дык Пон, Ким Пен Хва, Хван Юн Дин.* Книга для чтения (2-ой класс); *Хан Дык Пон, Ким Пен Хва, Хван Юн Дин.* Книга для чтения (3-ий класс). М., 1959.

30 *Хегай М.А.* Русско-корейский словарь школьника (для учащихся 3-10 классов школ с корейским континентом учащихся). Ташкент, 1958.

31 *Ким Нам Сек, Хегай М.А.* Букварь. Ташкент, 1964; *Ким Нам Сек, Хегай М.А.* Учебник корейского языка для 3-его и 4-ого классов. Ташкент, 1965.

32 ГААО, ф. 127, оп. 1, д. 402, л. 79.

her own plan and work on its basis individually.³³ Moreover, two classes per week for learning the Korean language were not enough for gaining a deep knowledge of it. If a student got a poor mark in Korean, he or she still could study in the next grade. All this had led to low motivation in learning the Korean language.

In the country, there were no specialized institutes, departments, or pedagogical colleges for training teachers of Korean. The Ministry of Education should have organized training courses for teachers of the Korean language as well as methodological groups and societies of the Korean language. The republican and oblast' institutes for improvement of the qualification of teachers totally ignored the issue of the methods of teaching Korean as a native language at the republican schools.

Problems and difficulties accumulated and the Ministry of Education finally issued an order "On the Situation of Teaching of the Native Language for Children of Korean Nationality in Kzyl-Orda Oblast'." It outlined a large-scale complex of measures. However, even the full and strict implementation of the resolution could not solve the language problem for the Koreans of Kazakhstan of stopping the process of alienation and losing the national language. The situation of the Korean population in the Central Asian republics was very much the same.³⁴

The administrative-command system ignored national demands including the development of education. A number of forced actions aimed against minority peoples were undertaken; they were incompatible with the announced principles of internationalism and respect for equal rights for all peoples and national minorities. On a large scale, the people were forced to actively use the Russian language and culture and the rights of numerous ethnic groups and nationalities were limited. At the same time, school education in the Russian language made it easier for young people to receive higher education. In 1938, all Korean students, a total of 250 people who studied Korean at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute, had to graduate as if they had completed their education though some of them were only in their second or third year. In the second half of the 1950s when the limitations on traveling and choosing the place of residence were removed, the Korean youth started to study in different towns in Kazakhstan and even far away at the leading universities of Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, etc.

DECLINE OF KOREAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE 1960–1980s

During the following twenty years, from the mid 1960s to the mid 1980s, the Korean language sank into oblivion again. The only exceptions were sev-

33 ГАОО, ф. 499, оп. 2, д. 1321, СВ. 158, л. 43, 75.

34 Югай И.Г. Развитие этноязыковых процессов в инонациональной среде. Автореферат кандидатской диссертации. М., 1982.

eral dozens of students and postgraduate students who learnt the Korean language at the Universities of Moscow, Leningrad, and Vladivostok. The Korean schools that functioned during the postwar period in Sakhalin had ceased to exist by that time. In Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the process of losing the native language had acquired an irreversible character and it became evident not only in the sphere of education but also in everyday and family life. Koreans, especially those of younger age, started to communicate among themselves mostly in Russian.

In the 1970s to the 1980s, the school education of the Koryo saram in Kazakhstan finally lost its organizational specificity, and the former term “schools with a Korean contingent of students” disappeared from the lexicon of the documentation of the republican, regional, and district organs of education. During that period, the final integration took place of urban Korean children into “Russian schools” where they constituted the minority number. Only in two or three kolkhozes and *sovkhoses* (soviet farms) of the Karatal region of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast’ did there remain some schools with a large number of Korean students. A common stereotype at that time was that the disappearance of compact areas of Korean settlements in the rural regions or the multinational composition of secondary school students had led to impossibility or lack of necessity of schools with the Korean language as the language of instruction.

The issues of education are closely connected with the development and functioning of the language as a whole. Changes in the ethnolinguistic behavior of the Koreans in Kazakhstan were characterized by two interrelated tendencies: intensive proliferation of the Russian language and loss of the native language. The share of those who considered Russian their native language was increasing from a qualitative-quantitative viewpoint. The data of the 1970 census contains statistics about a free command of a second language of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They reflected the universal knowledge of the Russian language among the Soviet Koreans. In 1970, more than 80 percent of those who admitted that Korean was their native language could actually freely speak only Russian. There were qualitative changes in the level of knowledge of the native language among the Kazakhstani Koreans. The data of the censuses do not provide any information regarding age and/or professional differentiation in the language behavior of different nationalities in the USSR; however, it is evident that by the early 1970s, the written form of literary Korean was familiar to a very insignificant number of Koreans of the older generation. On the contrary, all Koreans of different ages – from school-aged children to pensioners – knew the Russian language in both its oral and written forms.³⁵

35 German Kim, “Koryo Saram in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Russia,” Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard, eds., *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, Vol. 2, “Communities” (New York-Boston-Dordrecht-London-Moscow: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004), pp. 985-986.

If one can rely on the data of the 1989 census, it will turn out that 51.7 percent of the Korean population of Kazakhstan considered Korean their native language. In fact, that they said that Korean was their native language did not mean that they could speak or write in it. In Alma-Ata, the data of the census regarding distribution of some nationalities according to age and native and second language of the peoples of the USSR included Koreans; it makes it possible to confirm this statement. About 40 percent of Korean children in the age group up to fourteen years could neither read nor write in Korean but nevertheless considered it their "native" language.³⁶

PERESTROIKA AND ATTEMPTS TOWARDS REVIVAL OF THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

A new impetus for revival of the interest in the historical past, national culture, and language was given by Gorbachev's perestroika, which, similar to Khrushchev's Thaw, made it possible to discuss openly the sore points. "The ethnic renaissance" embraced all peoples of the country without exception including the Koreans. One of the priority issues of the national-cultural revival was the issue of language. The office of the newspaper *Lenin Kichi* was piled with letters from readers with requests to start publishing Korean lessons, to help with textbooks and dictionaries, and to organize language courses. The active interest of the Korean population made I. P. Khan, editor-in-chief of *Lenin Kichi*, send a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The letter described the critical situation of the teaching and functioning of the Korean language in the republic and his vision for solving this problem.³⁷

The Central Committee ordered the Ministry of Education to calculate the number of Korean children at schools in Kzyl-Orda, Chimkent, Dzhambul, Alma-Ata, and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts in order to determine how many teachers of Korean were needed. The 1988 year plan envisaged training of Korean language teachers in one of the pedagogical institutes.

On May 25, 1987, the Ministry of Education made a report to the Central Committee "On Teaching Korean as a Native Language at Schools of the Republic." It said that at that moment, there were 112,000 Koreans in Kazakhstan concentrated mainly in Kzyl-Orda Oblast' (16,900), Taldy-Kurgan Oblast' (15,800), Chimkent Oblast' (15,100), Dzhambul Oblast' (14,900), and Karaganda Oblast' (13,900). According to a report, the Korean language was taught in seven schools in Kzyl-Orda Oblast' (770 children) and in one school in Taldy-

36 Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1989 г. (CD-Rom) (East View Publication, 1996).

37 Хан И.П. Выживет ли корейский язык? // Коруо Ибо. February 13, 2004. № 7. С. 11; February 20, 2004. № 8. С. 12; February 27, 2004. № 9-10. С. 8; Ким Б.И. Изучаем родной язык // Коруо Ибо. January 9, 2004. № 2. С. 12; Ли В. Нужна помощь, практическая, повседневная // Коруо Ибо. April 17, 2004. № 16. С. 9 etc.

Kurgan Oblast' (100 children). However, the data proved to be incorrect. For instance, in July 1987, it became clear that in Kzyl-Orda Oblast', there were only three schools where Korean was taught.

According to more accurate data, the Korean language was taught in only two schools in Kzyl-Orda Oblast' (162 children) and one school in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast' (29 children), though the total number of Korean schoolchildren in only four oblasts, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, Taldy-Kurgan, and Chimkent, was at least 4,000.³⁸

The authors of the report came to the following conclusions: firstly, "as a result of a lack of due attention, teachers, and poor-quality textbooks," the situation of the Korean language was catastrophic; secondly, it was necessary to improve the situation but there were no qualified specialists who were able to solve the problems in the republic; thirdly, all attempts to obtain assistance from the Ministry of Education of the USSR and Uzbekistan failed as the situation of the Korean language in other republics was analogous.

Thus, the republic could rely only on its own forces. In many oblasts from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, Korean cultural centers were opened; they put as a priority the revival of the ethnic culture and the national language.

A NEW DEMAND ON THE KOREAN LANGUAGE IN INDEPENDENT KAZAKHSTAN

Perestroika and glasnost caused an explosion of interest in the history, ethnic culture, and national language of all Soviet peoples. From the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s, a native language boom was observed – numerous Korean language classes and circles were organized by the Korean cultural centers and Korean Christian missionary churches.

For example, in Kzyl-Orda Oblast, thirty-four groups learning the Korean language were formed in three high schools as well as five language circles in three kolkhozes and one in the garment factory. A "Korean language Sunday school" was established in the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute where the future students of the Department of the Korean Language that opened in 1991 studied.

In Ushrobe, Kwangju Korean Language School was opened, and the cost of the building, furniture, and equipment was covered by South Korean businessmen from Kwangju (a city in South Korea). The school had a children's library with a collection of fiction and learning literature, reference books, dictionaries, and journals received from the Republic of Korea. There was a language laboratory, granted by the head of the oblast's administration.³⁹

Ways of solving a problem in different places vary according to the region and available resources. The most favorable conditions regarding the availability of teachers existed in the southern oblasts. In the western and north-

38 АП РК, ф. 708, оп. 135, д. 6, л. 20-22.

39 *Koryo Ilbo*. July 17, 1991.

ern oblasts, the lack of Korean language teachers was one of the main reasons hindering the organization of students' groups. For instance, in Karaganda Oblast where the number of Koreans was about 11,500, only seventy-five of them studied Korean. In Eastern Kazakhstan Oblast, there was one group for adults (thirty people) and an elective course at the university; in Pavlodar Oblast, there were two Korean language groups.⁴⁰

On the whole, in 1992, the Korean language was taught to about 3,000 people and in 1994, more than 5,000. In the 1995/96 academic year, the Korean language was offered as an elective course in seventeen schools in Kazakhstan with ninety-five groups numbering 1,450 students.

Opening Korean language departments in a number of universities and colleges in Kazakhstan was of great importance. At present, Korean language specialists are trained at the Department of Oriental Studies of KazNU and the Philological Department of AGU named after Abai, Kzyl-Orda, and Ust Kamenogorsk Universities, Kazakh State University of International Relations and World Languages, the University of World Journalism, the Academy of the National Security Committee, etc. In a number of universities and at some departments, the Korean language was taught as a "foreign language" or "second oriental language." The total number of students at Korean language departments in Kazakh universities is about 200.

In 1991, in Almaty, the Center of Education of the Republic of Korea was established. It began to play a very important role in teaching the Korean language to the Koreans of Kazakhstan and training Korean language teachers.⁴¹

However, a sharp increase in the number of students has told on the quality of the Korean language teaching and training specialists with a high level of language competence. Many teachers do not know the language well enough; they lack practical experience and methods of language teaching.

Training of Korean language specialists is performed not only in Kazakhstan, but also in the Republic of Korea. About two dozen young Koreans were trained there attending six- and nine-month language courses. More than a dozen scholars were able to attend long-term study courses in the leading universities of the country. Many students of Korean departments went on short-term trips to Seoul.

Special mention should be made of the purposeful work done by the branches of the Association of Koreans in Kazakhstan (AKK) and the Korean cultural centers in Taldykorganskaya, South Kazakhstan, and Dzhambylskaya Oblasts.⁴²

Despite some initial success, a number of issues remain to be solved. First of all, it should be noted that there is a sharp decline in interest in learning the

40 Хан Г.Б. Прошлое и настоящее корейцев Казахстана. Алма-Ата, 1997. С. 87-88.

41 Открытие в Алматы Корейского Центра Просвещения // *Koryo Ilbo*. August 31, 1991. № 33. С. 5.

42 See Отчет Правления на VI съезде Ассоциации корейцев Казахстана о проделанной работе за период с октября 1995 г. по октябрь 1999 г. Алма-Ата, 16.10 1999 г.

language. If in the past there were too many of those willing to attend the language courses, five or six years later, many of them started to doubt. Strange as it might seem, it is Korean parents who think that there is no point in spending time and effort in their children learning the language as it is not in demand today.

The problem of the lack of highly qualified teachers is still pressing. Korean pastors and KOICA volunteers are rendering assistance, first of all as native speakers of the Korean language, but there is a need among local teachers to have graduates of Korean departments who know both the language itself and methods of teaching it very well. Another problem is that the brightest Korean language students after graduation often start working as interpreters in companies or churches because university teachers are underpaid. It also should be added that so far, there are no good textbooks, teach-yourself books, or computer programs and that there are no frequency dictionaries, phrase books, etc. Although in sovereign Kazakhstan, teaching of the Korean language was resumed after a half-century break, the initial period is marked by both achievements and problems that still demand solutions.

Despite some success in the organization of mass Korean language learning, the result is still far from what is really desired. The explosion of enthusiasm and interest has faded but quantitative indicators have not turned into qualitative ones. A long time, great effort, and purpose-oriented everyday work is needed to make up for the losses in Korean language competence caused by the long period of forced oblivion.

STATUS OF THE *RODNOI IAZYK* (NATIVE LANGUAGE)

Before the deportation of Koreans to Kazakhstan and the liquidation of the system of education in their national language, Korean was considered one of the languages of the peoples of the USSR. Later, for a long time, the Korean language existed mainly in its oral, colloquial form and had no official status but in the Soviet statistics on published matter, it was referred to as a group of "languages of the peoples of foreign countries." This to a certain extent corresponded to the objective reality as books published in Korean were mainly sociopolitical, classical Russian, and Soviet literature translated into the North Korean language standard.⁴³

As the Korean language was not taught in Soviet schools and is not taught now in schools in Kazakhstan as a separate academic subject, its status as a national minority language is radically different from the status of the German language, which has always been classified as "a foreign language." The German language as an academic subject is taught at many schools and universities in Kazakhstan.

43 Ким Г.Н. Коре сарам: историография и библиография. Алматы: Казак университеті, 2000. 324 С.

The Korean language has the status of “the native language” of the Koreans of Kazakhstan and its functions are quite limited: one weekly newspaper, one twenty-minute radio program three times a week, and one weekly thirty-minute TV program; in the sphere of the arts, a Korean theater; in literature, one or two books of short novels or poems; and in education, Korean departments in some universities and colleges.

What is the nature of “the native language” of the Korean Diaspora of Kazakhstan? The language of their ancestors and people of the oldest generation is a unique dialect whose roots go back to the fifteenth century. In everyday life as well as in linguistics, this dialect is called “Koryo ma” and its present state is very close to demise. Koryo mar in Kazakhstan and in other countries of the post-Soviet space is doomed to disappearance and it is not possible to reanimate it today. Thus, speaking about “the native language,” one should mean the Seoul standard of the modern literary language that for the Korean children in Kazakhstan is nonetheless as “foreign” as English or Arabic. We can then speak about modern literary Korean as “a genetically native language” or if we translate it from English precisely, “a hereditary language.” Thus, we will speak not about a revival but about learning the “national,” “genetically native,” “hereditary,” etc., in other words, different, language that only ten years ago was unknown in Kazakhstan.

Using the sociolinguistic terminology of H. Kloss, we can speak about Koryo mar as a specific form of “roofless dialect” (from the German *obdachlos*). As opposed to the dialects of the Korean peninsula having “a roof,” literary Korean, the dialect of the Koreans of Kazakhstan separated from the language nucleus, is deprived of such protection.⁴⁴ The alien ethnic environment and the laws of language contacts have led to the appearance in the lexical fund of Koryo mar of many loan words from the Russian and other languages. Koryo mar has practically no written form, it is not present on radio programs or on the theater stage, it is not used in the mass media, or taught at schools – it is dying. Another fifteen to twenty years and there will be no more speakers of this unique linguistic phenomenon.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE KOREAN DIASPORA

We should consider at least in general the existing ethnolinguistic situation of the Koreans of Kazakhstan, namely its composites: language competence, language behavior, and language orientation. Language competence becomes evident in the level of command of this or that language. If we com-

44 The differences between various provincial dialects are not very strong in modern Korean, although the dialects are still more or less existent. The official colloquial language standard of the North Korean state was basically formed by the Pyongyang area way of pronunciation. The South Korean colloquial language standard was formed by the so-called Seoul dialect. The use of dialect-specific words is strictly restricted to everyday speech.

pare the level of command of Korean, Kazakh, and Russian, it is clear that for the absolute majority of the Koryo saram, Russian is the primary language. Ninety to 95 percent of Koreans can use it freely. In fact, there are no children or adult Koryo saram who cannot speak Russian. The share of Koreans who can master the Kazakh language well is 2 to 3 percent of the total number.

Such changes in language competence to a great extent depended on the attitude of the Soviet Koreans themselves who were not at all eager to preserve and develop their language and cultural heritage. The Koreans demonstrated a stable interest in learning Russian because it could pave the way to furthering their career. Such an accelerated shift to the language code of the dominant ethnic environment is, compared to other national minorities, characteristic of the entire foreign Korean Diaspora on the whole, a typical feature of which is a high level of acculturation and language assimilation. In the language behavior of the Koreans, the Russian language had already begun to dominate from the 1950s to 1970s, and the process continued for the following twenty years. Functioning of the Korean language was becoming more and more limited and at present, it is used mainly in the family and communication of the elderly generation.

The census data revealed a decrease in the share of Koreans who admitted that Korean was their native language: in 1959, it was 68.6 percent, in 1970, 64 percent, in 1979, 56.1 percent, and in 1989, it was 51.7 percent. However, it should again be noted that to say that Korean is one's native language does not mean the ability to use it in everyday life. A language, as is known, is not only a universal means of communication, transfer of information, etc. It is part and parcel and a symbol of ethnic consciousness, which is why recognizing the Korean language as their native language was a result of ethnopsychological factors; ethnic identity was revealed according to the formula of "I am Korean – the Korean language is my native language." The sociolinguistic researches carried out lately among the Korean Diaspora confirmed the a priori conclusion of nonconformity of objective language competence with subjective recognition of a language as the native language.

Language competence and the character of language behavior differ as to the age and social group of the Korean Diaspora of Kazakhstan, which is proved by the data of the questionnaires and censuses. In the age group of one to twenty-five years, the overwhelming majority of Koreans cannot speak Korean at all. The age group of twenty-five to sixty years is characterized by a passive command of the language; they can understand simple everyday topics. Only the oldest age group of sixty to eighty years who lived in the ethno-compact rural environment and learnt the basics of the written national language can, to a certain extent, speak and write in Korean. For the generations of Koreans who were born and socialized in Kazakhstan, the native language is Russian, and for the majority of the deported generation who can be referred to as bilingual in a certain sense, Russian has become the primary and Korean the secondary language.

As concerns the differentiation in language competence according to social status, in the primary division of the people into two groups, those conducting intellectual labor and those conducting physical labor, the first, without any doubt, is behind the second regarding the level of Korean language competence. Physical labor is characteristic of the Koreans in the agrarian sector and as is well known, it is the village that is the ethno-homogenous reservoir where the ethnic culture and language are better preserved as compared to an ethnically mixed urban "melting pot." Among intellectuals, language competence was preserved and developed by those who by their profession were occupied either in the Korean language mass media (newspaper, radio, or TV) or in the Korean theater.

Speaking about the level of competence in the Korean language, one should bear in mind that a part of the modern Korean Diaspora of Kazakhstan is composed of Sakhalin Koreans and some former North Koreans. Their knowledge of the Korean language is significantly different from that of the majority of Koreans. Representatives of this group due to their knowledge of literary Korean used to hold the leading positions in the Korean institutions of culture, art, and literature.

The results of some pilot questionnaires circulated among the Koryo saram by Korean diasporic associations in Kazakhstan show their desire to regenerate their native language as the basis of their ethnicity. A large number of respondents have taken advantage of the opportunity to study the native language, a phenomenon that has appeared recently. An even larger number of respondents would like to study the Korean language themselves and consider it necessary for their children to know the language. The significance of the issue of the revival of the Korean language is reflected in the fact that the majority of the respondents (over 80 percent) consider it a priority to develop a system of education in Korean, publish literature, and broadcast radio and TV programs.⁴⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, general conclusions about the language situation among the modern Korean Diaspora of Kazakhstan are as follows:

1. Qualitative and quantitative indicators reveal a change in the native language for the overwhelming majority of Koreans in Kazakhstan.
2. By force of political, sociocultural, and ethnopsychological factors, the sphere of functioning of the Koryo mar has narrowed to the sphere of family and everyday relations.
3. Innovations of the last fifteen years in independent Kazakhstan, dynamically developing relations with South Korea, a wave of ethnic self-

45 Хан М.М. Язык и этническое самосознание корейцев Казахстана // Кунсткамера. Этнографические тетради. 1996. Вып. 10. С. 45.

awareness, and activities of Korean public organizations have stimulated interest in studying the South Korean colloquial language standard.

4. More effective methods of teaching Korean as a foreign language must be developed and textbooks must be written with contents designed for specific purposes. It is important to support efforts in different countries to produce their own teaching methods and texts suited to the local circumstances and people.