Problems of development of agriculture (rice) in the Soviet Far East (1920-1930) (the example of the Soviet Koreans)

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Annotation. The report deals with the problems of agricultural development in the Soviet Far East in 1920 - 1930's. Soviet Koreans have contributed to the improvement of the social-economic situation of the area, being specialists in the breeding of climatically the most profitable conditions of the crop - rice. In 1926, the active construction of a new branch of rice cultivation on a commercial scale by the mid-1930s fell into disrepair. The reasons of the crisis were caused not only by the lack of reasonable national policy, the state of civil society, the difficult economic situation in the main part of the Far Eastern population, but also by foreign relations between the USSR and Japan. For the effective development of rice growing in the Far East there were all conditions, including a work force represented by Korean population.

I. Introduction

In the twenty-first century, as well as in the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of social-economic development of the Russian Far East is still relevant. Today, the Russian government attaches to these sectors the primer importance in the development of this region. One of the most important sectors of the Far East economy remains agriculture.

According to the Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the Russian Federation, the Russian Far East, the resource of unused virgin and fallow land is 400 000 hectares. At present no more than 40 thousand hectares are developed, while 90% of all agricultural products are imported from neighbouring China.

As in the beginning of the last century, most profitable of all kinds of cereals are rice and soybeans in the Coastland. Unfortunately, these 40 thousand hectares were developed in the 1920s and 1930s by residents of Korean villages until they had been evicted to the Middle Asia. In the beginning of the last century, rice was

grown on the territory from Lake Khasan to the river Great Ussurka and from the State border with Manchuria to Ussuriysk.

An analysis of the history of social-economic sectors in the Far East in 1920 - 1930-ies show that the problems of agriculture in those years are mirrored in the present day – it is labour shortage, lack of equipment, modern technology, etc. There is a fair question: why, after one hundred years, Far East remains one of the backward agricultural regions of Russia? This is probably due to ineffective control system.

There is no exact date of the beginning of rice cultivation in Coastland in the literature. Some researchers, referring to the work of AF Budischev "Description of forests in Sothern parts of the Coastland region," noted first rice crops of Koreans in the early 60-ies of the XIX century¹.

Rice was cultivated by Koreans almost immediately after their migration to Russia. According to Kim Synhva in 1908 in the valley of river Yanchihe more than 40 acres were planted with rice by Koreans. In the future rice crops appeared in Suchan, Nicholsk, Ussurisk and Spassky counties². Volodin V.I. refers the origin of rice cultivation to 1913, based on questionnaires of the District Statistical Office of irrigation schemes, plantations and crop growers.

From 1913 to 1924 rice growing and the related preliminary work for the construction of irrigation systems were in the hands of Korean population. Here it should be noted that the first rice crops produced solely by seeds, which Koreans brought from China, Japan and Korea. The growth of areas for rice increased rapidly during this period. But until 1925 the cultivation of this crop did not attract any attention of the Russian population, although attempts have been made of its cultivation³. Such an indifferent attitude to the culture of rice farming is explained

¹ *Volodin V.I.* Yield of rice-growing farms of Koreans// Labour of experienced Far East institution. Vladivostok. 1931. P. 89

² Kim Synhva (Syn Hwa). Essays on the History of Soviet Koreans. Alma-Ata. 1965.P. 48.

³ *Ivanova L.V*. Korean farmers contribution to the development of agriculture in the Far East in the late XIX and early XX centuries. / Migration processes in the Far East (from ancient times to the early XX century.). Materials of the International Science Conference. Blagoveshchensk. 2004. P. 151.

due to the fact that "all the knowledge, skills and equipment belonged to late Asian population"⁴.

The possibility of broad rice cultivation in the pre-revolutionary period was not encouraged "by the regional authorities due to fear that the development of rice plantations would not have served as a special occasion for aggression against Russian Far Eastern region from Japan and China»⁵.

And in the pre-revolutionary period, and with the establishment of Soviet power in the region, social-economic development of the Russian Far East largely depended on the positions and relationships of three countries - Japan, China and the USSR.

Researchers have recognized the fact that "the Japanese capital has played a definite role in the development of Far Eastern rice-growing»⁶. During the presence of interventionist Japanese troops farming of rice in the Far East has received a significant boost. For needs of the Japanese army, a demand for rice has increased many times. Japanese agronomists have well studied all suitable area for planting rice. Some Japanese experts expressed the opinion that "in the Coastland rice can be sown up to 3 million hectares, and receive 55 million of cock (up to 5 million tonnes of rice)»⁷. Throughout the whole Far East, that is, in the Coastland, the Trans-Baikal and Amur regions, according to some researchers, an area of 10 million hectares was suitable for cultivation of rice.

Through the Korean bank loans were issued to Koreans by the Japanese - producers of rice, which stimulated the development of the industry. Important is the fact, noted by researchers⁹, that without the Korean population of the Russian

⁴ Volodin V.I. Yield of rice-growing farms ... P. 90–91.

⁵ *Petrov* Koreans and their importance in the economy of the Far Eastern region // North Asia. M., 1929. T. 1. P. 46.

⁶ Volodin V.I. Yield of rice-growing farms ... P. 90–91.

⁷ Petrov Koreans and their importance ... P. 48.

⁸Ivanova L.V. Korean farmers contribution ... P. 151.

⁹Vladimir Volodin Yield of rice-growing farms of Koreans // Labour of experienced Far East institution. Vladivostok. 1931. P. 89; *Kim Synhva (Syn Hwa)*. Essays on the History of Soviet Koreans. Alma-Ata. 1965. P. 48, L. *Ivanova L.V*. Korean farmers contribution to the development of agriculture in the Far East in the late XIX and early XX centuries. / Migration processes in the Far East (from ancient times to the early XX century.). Materials of the International Science Conference. Blagoveshchensk. 2004. P. 151.

Far East, even in the presence of desire and capital development there would not be any rice production or it would have been relegated to a long and indefinite period.

II. The social-economic situation of the Soviet Far East (1920 -1930)

1. The ethnic composition of the Soviet Far East population and participation of Koreans in development of agriculture

According to the census of 1926 in the Far Eastern region of the USSR the population was 1,881,351 people, of which: Russians - 1,174,915 people, Ukrainians - 315 203, Koreans - 162 366, Chinese - 80157, Belarussians - 41 124 Poles - 8163, Tatars - 6073, Buryatians - 8646, Jews - 7733, Moldovans - 3732, the Germans - 2452, Letts - 2514, Lithuanians - 1066, Yakuts - 1224, Mordvins - 2712, Gypsy - 894, the northern suburbs (the natives) - 54 423, other minority nationalities - 7954 people¹⁰.

The number of Koreans in the Far Eastern region was 162,366, of whom around Vladivostok - 145 511, in the rest of the districts and regions - 16855¹¹. In the early 1920s, about 80% of the Korean population was engaged in agriculture. The peasants were divided into wealthy farmers - 5-6%, average farmers - 25-30%, poor farmers- 65-70% (land-poor, landless, agricultural workers).

The main part of the Koreans in the Coastland region continued to exist due to income from land. In 1929 31,731 Korean households were engaged in agricultural works, where 150 795 people lived, including dependents. With approximately 20% of the cultivated area, Korean farmers produced nearly a third of field crops production. Their contribution to production of oil beans and rice was particularly significant.

In 1923, after the establishment of Soviet power in the Coastland Koreans took an active part in all social and economic spheres, the bulk of them raised an agriculture. Koreans' enthusiasm and a great desire to work on Soviet soil made results shortly.

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¹⁰ GARF. F. 1235, op. 120, d. 60, l. 29.

¹¹ The same.

In 1924 5,000 tons of rice have been collected from 1,200 acres (1,300 hectares) of land in Khankaysk area, which was a continuous wilderness of Khankaysk lowlands two years ago. For a short time in the absence of irrigation systems and any mechanization Koreans had achieved notable results. Out of the 400,000 acres of uncultivated land in the lowlands of Khankaysk, which are suitable for rice cultivation, 1200 acres of cultivated land were processed, and the rest were in pristine condition¹².

Since 1926, after evaluating the cost-effectiveness of crops, the study of rice was supplied to the program of the Coastland Regional Agricultural Research Station, and rice growing begins to actively develop on the Far East land.

From 1927, Santahezsky pilot reclamation point of rice farm "Dalris" began to work. In 1928 an experimental station for the study of rice cultivation was opened. In 1929, the five-year plan for developing of rice cultivation was approved, according to which the area under rice in the Coastland region is expected to reach 39 thousand hectares, and the collection of raw rice - up to 115 thousand tons¹³. The construction of the Ussuri-Sungachinsk channel, creation of Ussurysk plant, an irrigation of land reserves of Khanka lowlands - were included in the five-year plan, which would prepare about 200 thousand hectares of irrigation area for cropping of rice.

Initially, the perspectives of rice plantations' growth were associated with the Korean and much of Russian population's (162 million) involvement in the cultivation of rice. The economist Yarmosh A.M. gives a very comforting forecast for the further development of rice cultivation in the article "The movement of population in the FER during a decade of 1926 - 1936 year" published in 1927 in the journal "Economic life of the Far East". Economic calculations of Yarmosh A.M. showed that an increase in the number of Korean population can provide conditions for development of rice cultivation.

¹² GARF. Fund 1235. Op. 122, d. 77, l. 2 – 14.

¹³ 140 years in Russia. Outline of the history of Russian Koreans. M., 2004. P. 226.

¹⁴ The economic life of the Far East. - Khabarovsk, 1927, № 1 – 2, January – February. P. 98.

According to statistics in 1925 in Coastland was planted 8196 hectares of rice, in 1926 – 10,235 hectares, in 1927 - 13,895 hectares, in 1928 - 17,640 hectares, and in 1929 - 17,855 hectares. Gross harvest of rice in 1925 - 1926 were 23,114 tons, in 1926 - 1927 - 30,998 tons, in 1927 - 1928 - 38,462 tons, in 1928 - 1929 - 45,765 tons.

However, no major changes have happened in rice production in Coastland. Since 1930, the area under planting rice reduces, it was planted 15,936 hectares - this is 1919 hectares less than in 1929. In 1932 13 thousand hectares are planted, in 1933 - a total of 4 200 hectares, and only in 1935 the planted area was 11,615 hectares. Thus an average harvest of rice in 1933 was only 13 - 14 quintals per hectare, while in 1926-1927 its average yield was greater than 30 tons per hectare¹⁵.

In the process of collectivization, carried out in the FER, actually works on land management and resettlement of landless Koreans of Vladivostok district stopped. By October 1, 1929 in FER there were established 936 farms, including - 87 Korean farms, which joined 1725 households. The social composition of farmers-Koreans were the following: poor - 75%, farm labourers - 3, 4%, the middle peasants - 16% ¹⁶.

In the spring of 1930 more than two-fifths of the collectivized farms were middle peasants. The number of Korean households and farmers, united in collective by FER, was the following: Vladivostok district - 24,613 households (134,412 people), Khabarovsk district - 3,550 households (12,499 people), Amur district - 1091 households (5455 people), Zeysk district - 100 households (500 people), Chita district - 60 households (300 people). Totally 29,414 farms were merged into collective farms, they employed 153,166 Koreans.

At the beginning of August 1930 in Nikolsk-Ussurijsk the Far Eastern regional congress of the Korean farmers was convened. Members of the Congress put its main objective to identify measures to further enlargement of the farms. There and than the Korean collectives of four villages of Suyfunsk district

 $^{^{15}}$ Lee Yu Khe, Kim Yen Un. White Book on the deportation of the Korean population in Russia in 30 - 40's. Book 1. P. 17.

¹⁶ Sonbon. 21 June 1930.

announced their merger into a single farm "Tihookeanets-revolutionary", it included 783 farms (3700 of collective farmers)¹⁷. Four villages of Khankaisky district, about 194 Korean farms (1012 people), have been merged into a Korean agricultural marketing cooperative "Sintuhinets»¹⁸.

Dalkrayispolkom designed "Plan of collectivization of national minorities and natives in FER in 1929 – 1930s". According to this plan, 21 455 29 144 farms (76, 6%) were to be collectivized up to October 1, 1930. This plan has been fully implemented. In 1929–1930s almost every Korean village of FER had a collective farm.

By the end of 1931s 50% of the total number of Korean households was collectivized. 200 farms have been created, which combined 11,728 households of Koreans (50,188 people)¹⁹. In Khankaysk area 68% of Korean households (3468 households from 5100) were collectivized. Korean farmers treated 42,537 ha of cultivated area²⁰. In Posiet region about 90% of the entire Korean population of the district entered into collective farms²¹. In 1932 in Chernigovsky region there existed 6 Korean farms, which included 90% of Korean household²². In Suchansky area there were 8 Korean farms (28, 5% of all farms)²³.

At the end of 1934 the collectivization of the Korean population was over. the head of the political department Posyetskaya MTS Kim Athanasius reported on the first successes of the collective farms. He reported that "the farms have completely provided themselves with bread, grain delivery plan made in advance, paid with MTS»²⁴. In general collectivization had created conditions for a more active participation of Korean farms in the economic life of the region.

¹⁷ Sonbon. 8 July 1930 г.

¹⁸ The organization of work in a Korean farm. P. 12.

¹⁹ Sonbon. 7 October 1931.

²⁰ Sonbon. 11 May 1931.

²¹ Sonbon. 28 October 1931.

²² Sonbon. 12 April 1931.

²³ Sonbon. 12 July 1931.

²⁴ Pacific Star. 2 January 1934.

2. The influence of the Soviet-Japanese relations on the development of rice production in the Far East

According to some Russian historians, the main causes of the crisis in the rice-growing area in the mid - 1930s in the Coastland region were "extremely high rates of taxation, the primitive agricultural technology, lack of incentives for high performance of labour", and the incompatibility of the "traditional family labour of Korean farmers and the bureaucratic system of collective farms with its total socialization of the means of production»²⁵.

Yet the Soviet-Japanese relations had a significant impact on this crisis, in our view. Recently published documents had shown that the social-economic development of the Russian Far East was directly dependent on the positions and relations between the two countries - the Soviet Union and Japan.

After the conclusion of the Beijing Convention in 1925, the Japanese side began to demand rice concessions in the Far East. This question was first raised in January, 6th 1926 in an interview of the Japanese Ambassador in the Soviet Union T. Tanaka with the Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR G.V. Chicherin²⁶.

T. Tanaka offered to teach Russian peasants breeding rice culture through by creating mixed farms, where the financial and leadership roles belonged to Japanese experts. G.V. Chicherin referred to lack of knowledge of the issue and expressed concern that in the Coastland area there are still memories of the occupation and guerrilla struggle against Japanese invaders. In this regard, the appearance of Japanese farm workers could interfere with the harmonious cohabitation with the indigenous population. Commissar G.V. Chicherin proposed for Japanese agricultural concessions land in Western Siberia. However, the remoteness of these places from Japan would impede the creation of Japanese concessions there that totally didn't suit T. Tanaka²⁷.

²⁵White Book on the deportation ... Book 1. P. 16, 17.

²⁶ Moscow – Tokyo. Poltics и diplomacy of the Kremlin. 1921 – 1931. Coll. Of doc. In 2 books. Book 2. P. 7 – 8. ²⁷ Same place. P. 7–8.

In August 1926 the project of Soviet Union Y.D. Janson in Tokyo²⁸ about the use of Japanese loans for development of Soviet exports and imports in the Far East in the second section of commercial and industrial concessions in paragraph 4 there states to grant concessions for agricultural cultivation of rice and beans. To do this, according to the project, there shall be benefits of immigration for Japan, and it is allowed to transfer some Japanese home crafts to Russian farms and cities. Undoubtedly, they meant that all manufactured products must belong to the Japanese side.

After intensive addressing of the Japanese side to provide agricultural concessions in the Far East, the government of the USSR started to be seriously interested in the organisation of a new branch of agriculture - Soviet rice cultivation. With this aim, there started a construction of special irrigation systems for rice, the rice crop area expanded, increased organized harvesting of rice.

Negotiations on providing agricultural concessions were actively conducted in December 1927 in conversations of L.M. Karahan²⁹ and G.V. Chicherin³⁰ with the president of the Japanese-Soviet Society of Cultural Relations S. Goto. Chicherin's position was to ensure that without local Soviet Commissariat's consent, the USSR did not take any decisions regarding land and organizational issues.

The persistent nature of the negotiations and the ultimate character of Japanese diplomats with Soviet diplomats can be traced in all documents of the time. So, in January 8, 1928 in a resume of G.V. Chicherin talks with the Secretary S. Goto K. Mori about the possibility to provide agricultural concessions to the Japanese, it is noted that the Japanese side already knows the mood of the Far Eastern councils. As it turned out, they thoroughly knew how much more suitable for rice plantations land there was available, how large was a Korean migration in these places, but the Koreans, in their view, could not do anything in this area

²⁸ Same place. P. 39.

²⁹ Same place. P. 183.

³⁰ Same place. P. 194–204.

without the help of Japanese technology and without the Japanese leadership ³¹. According to K. Mori, Koreans who have migrated to the Soviet Coastland, are "eager to develop rice production, but it can be done only by experienced Japanese farmers in this area"³².

The Japanese side has worked out system of labour resources distribution, "hard physical work that does not require a major organizational or technical development, of course, is provided the Koreans; guide for production of rice and all those jobs that require a skilled approach should be provided to the Japanese, while others work such as cattle, should be in the hands of Russian immigrants"³³.

In 1927, a member of the House of Peers Kurata visited Khabarovsk and met with representatives of government bodies to obtain their consent to provide agricultural concessions of Japan. Expedition of Kurata thoroughly studied this question in the Soviet Coastland region, and has estimated that the implementation of this project will require about 10 million yen³⁴.

Obviously, the People's Commissariat of the USSR was willing to sign a contract, because on this side, says G.V. Chicherin, there are no obstacles because the Far Eastern councils have definitely voted for the proposal of Viscount Goto³⁵. Japan's willingness to invest 10 million yen, in fact convinced the Soviet leadership to provide agricultural concessions, the only question remained open - the conditions and size of these concessions. However, the leadership of the USSR, despite of financial, technical and human resources from the Japanese side in exchange for Soviet lands, did not come to the negotiating process.

Due to this, Japan has taken measures to prevent further development of rice production in the Soviet Far East. Discredit of Koreans in front of the Soviets leadership distrusted the last ones. Local authorities in anticipation of signing of a contract about agricultural concessions and financial investment by the Japanese, did not render any assistance to Korean collective farmers, whose population was

³¹ Same place. P. 210.

³² Same place.

³³ Same place. P. 205–213

³⁴ Same place.

³⁵ Same place. P. 210.

199,500 people by mid-1930s. In terms of distribution and organization of work "Easterners" were getting the hardest work, agricultural machinery was provided for them in the least. By processing the rice fields, literally by hand, where the plow was 50% and the plowing was done with cows and bulls, the Koreans got harvests several times higher than in the Russian collective farms.

In the same period, the Koreans-communists who held senior positions in the Far Eastern Regional Committee of the CPSU (b), the Far East executive committee were transferred to other positions. They were sent to the Chairman, the party organizers of Korean farms, heads of MTS.

Thus, complex Soviet-Japanese relations in some way influenced the development of agriculture in the Far East, however, due to lack of sound national policy, civil society, the difficult economic situation of the main part of the Far Eastern population forced Soviet Koreans to move to other regions. Being good specialists in a cultivation of rice, they were demanded and had become pioneers in development of this industry in other regions of the USSR.

3. First Korean collective farms in the North Caucasus.

In 1924, The All-Union Resettlement Committee (ARC) of the USSR CEC have been created³⁶. Immigration policy of the Soviet government was not aimed only on settling large-landed areas with a purpose for their development, but also to sweep border territories from other nationalities, especially those who did not have their own statehood. In this case, there was a fear that in a war, these minorities might be "unreliable".

Colonization process also involved Soviet Koreans, as a part of the country. The issue of resettlement of Koreans was delivered in April 1928 at a meeting of the USSR stations. They have been included in the annual plan of resettlement. Koreans as a work force moved by professional quality and have been engaged in coal mines, gold mining, mines and agriculture. They worked in Murmansk, Tula,

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³⁶ RGAE. F. 5675, op. 1, d. 2, 3, 4.

Oirot and in many other regions of the Soviet Union. Some of them were in North Caucasus region.

In 1929, the Council of Labor and Defense of the USSR decides to learn more about Kuban (North Caucasus) flux, with this aim a special organization for the construction of waterworks and irrigation systems in the Kuban 'Playstroy" has been created and the North Caucasus risetrest.

Colonization of the USSR All-Union Committee for providing human resources across the country recruited workers for this building. However, there were not enough of experts for the development of this new industry.

In the spring of 1933 by the initiative of comfraction of Korean section of the Moscow Interclub of political refugees of Zagorski under the guardians of Sen Chidyun, a rice-growing agricultural commune out of 100 Korean families was organised in Slavic area of Azov-Black Sea region³⁷.

Local authorities responded positively to a desire of Koreans to work on their land. Thus, in the regulation of a joint committee of Bureau of Slavic RK VKP (b) and Presidium of RIK, together with Nachpolitotdel of Ivanovsky MTS from September 23, 1933 "On the organization of the Ivanov MTS selhozarteli on rice cultivation of the nationals - the Koreans," stated: "In the Ivanovsky MTS holds there is lack of labour force and lack of professionals and skilled workers on rice cultivation, it's necessary to organize an agricultural commune on rice cultivation out of Koreans on Ivanovo MTS grounds"³⁸.

District leaders attached great importance to the fact that this action is directly related to the implementation of a national policy of the party as well as with a development of collective farms and new agricultural industry in the context of Kuban – Rice cultivating.

In this regard, it was decided to "consider it possible to pass at commune's disposal to provide for its organization the following:

³⁷ RGASPI. F. 495, op. 136, d. 3, l. 207. ³⁸ Same place. Op. 136, d. 11, l. 50.

- a) Rice area, currently occupied by the collective farm. Kalinin of 230 hectares with all the residential and official buildings;
- b) An array of garden landscape of the same farm in the amount of 33 hectares, 13 hectares of which are orchards, 20 hectares of which are gardens, as subsistence farming;
 - c) 15 head of horses and the required number of agricultural equipment;
- g) 200 quintals of seeded rice and every farm should be provided with manor space with residential buildings»³⁹.

Already in 1934 the use of Korean experience of rice cultivation in the Azov-Black Sea region has brought results. Considering the terms of payment for rice, the Azov-Black Sea Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) Bureau decided to approve a minimum annual plan of putting payment for raw rice from the harvest of 1934, MTS⁴⁰.

The plan of putting paddy crop of rice 1934 for MTS of Azov-Black Sea Region in October – November 1934. (in tons)

MTS	October	November	Total
Novomishatovsky	12	21	33
Krasnoarmeisky	10	14	24
Ivanovsky	28	45	73
Tota	50	80	130

On Land, processed by Novomyshatovsky and Krasnoarmeisky MTS mainly immigrants-Krasnoarmeits worked, that arrived in autumn 1933 ⁴¹, and in Ivanovsky MTS Koreans-immigrants worked. Rice crop, which was grown in artel of Koreans, was significantly higher than the yield obtained in other collective farms and state farms.

Sown area and yield of rice by 1934 were as follows: area for state and institutions took 2,131 hectares, yield 18.4 hundredweight per hectare; respectively, for collective farms: 459 and 16, 1; the entire area was 2,590 hectares and yield

⁴⁰ RGASPII. F. 17, op. 21, d. 2202, l. 33 ob .

⁴¹ Same place. L. 88 ob.

³⁹ Same place.

18,0 hundredweight ⁴². Relatively strong performance after the first year of occupation of rice growing in the Azov-Black Sea region leads to the conclusion that "the rice industry was to become one of the leading agricultural regions" ⁴³.

Thank to selfless labor, rich experience in rice growing, Koreans of collective farm of Dimitrov from Ivanov MTS coped with the task. A high yield of rice was made. Despite the difficulties in development of flooded lands, the presence of malaria epidemics during floods that harmed health, lack of basic conditions for life, poor nutrition, Koreans showed endurance, hard work. This made rice one of the main crops in an Azov-Black Sea region (Krasnodar region).

At the end of 1937-1938s after mass arrests, Koreans were partly deported to Central Asia. Many Koreans from this farm, mostly women and old men, were scattered across North Caucasus, Stavropol region, Dagestan ASSR. In the same period Korean rice farms were organized in Stavropol region in the village Soviet, in Dagestan ASSR – in Kizlyar, in Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic - in Gudermes.

III. Conclusion

One of the main causes of the USSR peoples' migration, including Koreans, was forced engagement of labour resources to raise agriculture, liquidation of aftermath after collectivization and dispossession policy.

On the other hand, fate of Korean people was directly dependent on the Soviet-Japanese relations. Tight Japanese leadership position on all matters put the Soviet side in a difficult situation. Often discredit of Soviet Koreans from Japanese side gave rise to negative attitudes from local authorities in relation to Korean people, provoked hostility from local population.

In the late 1920s, in media articles there started to appeared some articles on "yellow danger", "huge army of peaceful conquest»⁴⁴ in face of Koreans, who came

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⁴² Same place. L. 201.

⁴³ Same place. L. 202–203.

⁴⁴ *Beldeninov S.I.* Rice growing in the Far Eastern region. Numbers, facts and observations. Khabarovsk: Book Publishing, 1930.

«with a knapsack on their backs» in USSR, allegedly seeking to oust Russians and turn the border area in «Soviet Korea»⁴⁵. These articles clearly reflect Japanese anti-Korean propaganda.

As noted above, prior to 1925 a cultivation of rice among the Russian population did not attract attention to themselves, and it's explained by the fact that all of the knowledge, skills and equipment belonged to late Koreans. The construction of a new branch of agriculture, previously unknown to Europeans, the vast majority of whom were migrants from western regions of the Soviet Union, caused a lot of conflicts on ethnic grounds.

For an effective development of rice growing in the Far East there were all the conditions, established control system of these processes, meaningful work force in the face of Koreans. However, external political factors played a negative role in implementation of tasks to improve a food situation in the region. All of these factors hindered a development of the whole agricultural industry in the vast expanses of the Far Eastern region.

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⁴⁵Smirnov M. Rice in fields of Russian peasant // Pacific Star. 22 April 1930; Danilif F. Rice as an agenda // Pacific Star. 15 August 1930.