

The Sakhalin Village of Mizuho: Collective Memory and the Role of Non-state Actors in Local Governmental Policymaking Processes

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ABSTRACT:

Today, non-state actors have an increasingly greater effect on policy, such as activist groups and individuals online; however, the relationship between non-state actors and policymakers is often understood as a producer-client relationship, with non-state actors framed as reacting, and therefore mainly passively consuming, the decisions of the policymaker. In particular, there is a lack of understanding of how non-state actors as subjects participate in the policymaking process, especially in non-Western countries. I aim to correct this knowledge gap by framing the non-state actor as an active policymaking agent, and through this, understand how non-state actors interact with and influence the policymaking process. My research analyzes how memory is preserved and utilized by non-state and state actors via a case study in Southern Sakhalin (Mizuho Village), where I conduct qualitative analysis of governmental and non-governmental resources in Russian, Japanese, and English. I find that community memory is created through trust and constant individual interactions, which is used by grassroots movements as a community rallying tool. Furthermore, these non-state actors operate outside of local governmental policy making; their greatest policymaking influence is on local governmental policy via absorption at a later date.

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The Sakhalin Village of Mizuho: Collective Memory and the Role of Non-state Actors in Local Governmental Policymaking Processes

Introduction

In 1945, on the eve of the war's end, Japanese villagers massacred their Korean neighbors in the village of Mizuho (near modern-day Kholmsk). There were multiple reasons: Japanese neighbors suspected their Korean neighbors of being potential spies for the Soviets; villagers receiving orders from above; anxiety over the state of the war. Regardless of the reason, between the period of August 20 and 23, 27 Koreans were killed by Japanese villagers, their bodies haphazardly buried along a river. In response, the Soviet Government launched an investigation into the event, where 7 people were tried and ultimately executed. Broader attention was brought by the work of Konstantin Gaponenko, whose investigative work in the 1990s led to greater academic interest in the village; in response, local villagers rallied together and created a memorial to the fallen, independent of government oversight, and established cultural connections across borders.

Some questions arise. What motivated the villagers - both those who committed the massacre, and those who created the memorial? How did the state respond to the actions of the non-state group? What happened to the non-state group afterwards, and what influence did it leave on the state?

The question of the non-state policymaker is a contemporary one. Today, non-state actors have an increasingly greater effect on policy, such as activist groups and individuals online. However, this relationship between non-state actors and policymakers is often understood as a producer-client relationship, with non-state actors framed as reacting, and therefore mainly passively consuming, the decisions of the policymaker. In particular, there is a lack of

understanding of how non-state actors as subjects participate in the policymaking process, especially in non-Western countries. Likewise, there is a gap in knowledge of how memory is used in non-state groups as a mechanism for momentum in the policy process; in particular, the root causes of group memory are not yet fully understood.

In this paper, I aim to correct this knowledge gap by framing the non-state actor as an active policymaking agent to understand how non-state actors interact with and influence the policymaking process. Additionally, I attempt to understand the role of collective memory in this state-non-state relationship via triangulation. My main method will be qualitative analysis of Russian, Japanese, and English-language primary resources, which include both non-governmental sources, such as interviews, and governmental sources, such as press releases and official websites. This paper utilizes grounded theory to analyze qualitative data, which involves identifying themes via keywords from a range of sources. The bulk of data comes from personal interviews found in *The Tragedy of Mizuho Village*, an investigative work by Gaponenko. I supplemented this data with a collection of newspaper articles, local news sources, academic research, and videos.

My research demonstrates that community memory is created through trust and constant individual interactions; this community memory exists in two forms, either as family-based generational memory or community-based individual memory. This memory is utilized by non-state actors as a community rallying tool in the form of folk diplomacy, which in turn redefines collective memory. Finally, these non-state actors operate outside of local governmental policy making; their greatest policymaking influence is on local governmental policy via absorption at a later date. Local state actors are also able to harness community memory by co-opting it into future policy. Ultimately, by analyzing this particular non-state actor in the Russian Far East, I

hope to challenge the state-non-state dichotomy and provide further avenues for research in regards to Russo-Japanese policymaking.

Literature Review

Current literature on this topic can be divided into two categories: literature on memory in policymaking, and literature regarding the case study of Mizuho village. In general, there is a rich body of literature surrounding memory in policymaking; in particular, the subfields of environmental studies and foreign policy stand out as important sources of theory that can be applied to this case study. There is a tension in the literature to what extent memory is a positive policymaking force for non-state actors; however, most agree that memory is an important tool in the state's policymaking toolbox and can be a potential source of local knowledge. Literature on the case study of Mizuho village is more complicated; although there is an extant body, most of it is either in Russian, Korean, or Japanese. These texts generally share the same base of Soviet-era police files, firsthand interviews, or investigative journalism. English translations are virtually nonexistent; original literature in English regarding the case study of Mizuho village are also scant. In the following section, I attempt to give a brief overview of policy-related literature and contextualize this paper in the broader discussion. (For a discussion of literature specific to the case study, refer to the "Literature Review" subsection within the "Case Study" section.)

As mentioned above, the current literature on memory in policymaking is rich and covers multiple subfields of policymaking, in particular environmental studies and foreign policy. Memory is generally viewed as a tool for policy change; the nature of memory as a tool, and how that tool is applied, is subject to debate. On one hand, memory can be understood to be the medium through which policymakers can connect and influence the public (Gans 2017). The connection is mainly, but not entirely, one-sided, which is demonstrated through Eric Gans' case

study of Russian cinema and Putin's policies on WWII. By virtue of having this connection to the policymaking state, public actors can utilize the same memory to wield political power and policymaking influence onto the state - as long as their views are generally in alignment with that of the state (Gans 2017). Nicholas J. Miller, in his analysis of nationalism in the Balkans, somewhat challenges this view; although agreeing on the nature of memory as a medium for power, Miller contests the nature of public actors' memory. The memory of the public and the state are not on a spectrum of power, but rather as two separate mediums. Where they intersect - even if it results in conflict - is the source of policymaking potential (Miller 2006). Thus, public memory does not have to align with state memory to be an influence on state policymaking.

The idea of memory as a tool is explored further in Susann Baez Ullberg's analysis of memory in post-disaster zones. Ullberg notes that memory as a tool is inherently amnesic; in memorializing a specific memory as representative of the trauma of a disaster, Ullberg argues that memory-based policy elevates a specific narrative at the cost of delegitimizing and silencing other perspectives. In turn, such policy can allow for policymaking states to promote policies to their narrative benefit at the exclusion of non-state actors (Ullberg 2018). The extent to which this silencing is intentional is debatable; although agreeing with Ullberg on memory's amnesic nature, James E. Young casts doubt on the intentionality behind this silencing of other voices, rather categorizing it as a coincidental quality of memory as a policymaking tool (Young 2007). Nonetheless, both Young and Ullberg agree that memory, particularly in the realm of post-disaster policymaking, is a policymaking tool in so far that it manipulates narratives, both state and non-state.

Beyond its use as a tool in the policymaking process, Annette A. LaRocco in her analysis of memory in Kalahari socio-environments argues that memory can also be used to restructure

the policymaking process itself by creating space for non-state groups. LaRocco posits memory as claim-making - that is, establishing policymaking power to the otherwise disempowered non-state group - by promoting an alternative understanding of events (LaRocco 2018). This understanding of memory interprets memory as a positive force for non-state groups because of memory's ability to "fill in" policy gaps otherwise not addressed by the dominant state. This process is similar to alternative activist media as depicted by Joshua D. Atkinson, who points out that the potential for policymaking change in alternative activist media rests in its ability to contest dominant narratives by filling in gaps and maintaining alternative voices (Atkinson 2017). Thus, in opposition to Ullberg and Young, memory in policymaking process is seen as inherently plurality and polyvalent; rather than silencing diverging voices, it uplifts marginalized ones.

As seen above, currently there are conflicting opinions in the world of policymaking theory on the role of memory for state and non-state actors and policymaking. Despite this, no matter the stance on memory on the policymaking process - and whose memory is involved in said process - the general consensus is that policy and memory are tightly linked, and that memory is an important part of the policymaking toolbox (Sutherland). The relationship is reciprocal; as Craig E. Colten and Audrey M. Grismore points out in their analysis of Baton Rouge, policy influences memory as much memory influences policy (Colten and Grismore, 2018).

In conclusion, memory is an important part of the policymaking process with important ramifications, particularly in regards to non-state actors. There are real-world ramifications to memory-based policymaking - memory serves as a major motivating factor for many policy subfields, such as foreign policy (Lagenbagher 2014), and is also an important source of local

information and policymaking direction (Goodbody 2018). That being said, memory as a policymaking tool for non-state actors is still being debated, with evidence taking on the form of an analysis of a particular case study. It is within this context that this paper should be understood - not as a definite answer, but rather as another perspective to the current debate. This perspective, furthermore, can prove to be particularly useful because of its underrepresented nature in English-language literature. Indeed, as I will detail in the following section, this case study has very little scholarship in English, despite its interesting position at cultural and historical crossroads. Thus, this case study can not only help clarify the relationship between memory and policymaking, but also produce novel research on an underrepresented topic.

Case Study

This paper is constructed as a case study, wherein a specific event is studied to better understand an aspect of the policymaking process. The case study in question is the citizen-based creation of a community memorial in response to the Mizuho Village massacre in 1945.¹ The case study attempts to illustrate how community memory is used in folk diplomacy to influence governmental organizations in the policymaking process.

Historical Overview

This paper uses the Mizuho Village massacre of 1945 as its case study. The Mizuho Village Massacre was the murder of 27 Koreans by their fellow Japanese villagers that occurred over the span of three days in 1945, from August 20 to 23. 18 Japanese villagers - ranging from decorated army veterans to youths just barely over 18 - took up arms against their defenseless

¹ For full historical background, see “Historical Background” in the appendix.

Korean neighbors and senselessly killed 18 men, 3 women, and 6 children, including infants. Victims were brutally mutilated, as evidenced by recovered corpses covered in sword wounds, extensive head injuries, and missing limbs; their bodies were hastily disposed of in shallow pits around the village. After the war, a military tribunal was held by the Soviet counterintelligence agency SMERSH to investigate the massacre and persecute Japanese participants of the massacre. Key members were sentenced to the death penalty, while the rest were given 10 years of hard labor. The investigative and trial records of SMERSH were compiled to create a dossier, which was later used by Konstantin Gaponenko for his book *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*. The massacre is an example of postwar Japanese massacres of Koreans across Sakhalin; however, the Mizuho Village Massacre is notable because of its size and because it is extremely well-documented. (For a detailed historical recollection of events, refer to the “History of Pozharsky Village” in the appendix.)

Literature Review

Literature surrounding the case study at Mizuho Village can be divided into three languages: Russian-language, Korean-language, and Japanese-language literature. (Aside from some military records, English-language literature on the case study is rare.) Not coincidentally, these are the languages spoken by the three main ethnic groups relevant to the case study: colonialists from the Japanese Empire spoke Japanese, the Soviet soldiers and later settlers spoke Russian, and the Sakhalin Koreans spoke Korean. That is not to say that these linguistic delineations are strictly enforced; for example, one of the top Japanese experts on this matter, Choi Kilsong, is ethnically Korean. Likewise, assimilation has meant that academic work by Sakhalin Koreans is often in Russian. In any case, the literature from any of these three languages is quite rich. They also tend to be in dialogue with each other; Japanese and Korean

sources use Russian-language materials, and in turn, Russian-language literature is encouraged by interest abroad. Below, I will briefly cover Russian-language and Japanese-language literature on the subject; unfortunately, I am not able to evaluate Korean-language sources due to unfamiliarity with the language.

Russian-language literature on the subject is notable for following the traditions of investigative journalism and for revolving around the Soviet police files produced in response to the case study. An important academic work is Konstantin Gaponenko's *The Tragedy at Mizuho Village*, which is an investigative historical narrative that pieces together various perspectives from first-person testimony in the police files. First published in 1993 and later republished in 2012, the work has been highly praised in local media and has been translated into Korean and Japanese. Russian-language literature on the subject also tends to be published in non-academic contexts, such as in newspaper articles. On the other hand, Japanese-language literature focuses heavily on individual narratives and investigative journalism. Much of the literature focuses on the plight of the Japanese colonialists, particularly on postwar repatriations. Nonetheless, there still exists a notable body of Japanese-language literature specifically on Mizuho village and Sakhalin Koreans. Hayashi Eidai, a Japanese investigative journalist, was one of the first Japanese authors to cover the topic in his influential work *Testimony: The Massacre of Karafuto Koreans* (証言・樺太朝鮮人虐殺事件), an investigative work which covered massacres of Sakhalin Koreans by Japanese villagers across Sakhalin, including in Mizuho. Another author of note is the sociologist Choi Kilsong. An ethnic Korean in Japan, his article *The Japanese Massacre of Koreans in Karafuto* (樺太における日本人の朝鮮人虐殺) and larger work *The Tragedy of Sakhalin Koreans and their Status Today* (樺太朝鮮人の悲劇 サハリン朝鮮人の現

在) are unique in combining Korean and Japanese-language sources and for focusing solely on the Sakhalin Korean perspective.

Case Study Justification

This case study was selected for three reasons. First, the case study is relatively well-documented. Aside from contemporary sources such as Soviet police files and photographs, there is also a healthy body of academic literature in multiple languages, mainly Russian, Japanese, and Korean. The academic literature also contains visual data, such as photographs and maps, that provide additional historical context and contemporary depictions of events. Additionally, there is a large collection of locally-produced, non-academic literature in Russian on the topic, such as newspaper articles and informational websites, that reveal current local attitudes. Finally, local museums and Sakhalin Korean civic groups study and maintain the case study's memorial, providing a large pool of possible interviewees.

Second, the case study is both international and narrowly focused. As I will discuss further below, the case study is extremely specific, as it revolves around a set population's memories regarding an individual event. This narrows the scope of the paper and reduces confounding variables. At the same time, the case study engages in three distinct cultures and countries: Russia, Japan, and Korea. Likewise, the case study engages with an international issue; the question of folk diplomacy's influence is one relevant to all countries. Findings from this case study can potentially contribute to future research regarding policymaking in those countries.

Finally, this case study is understudied in English-language academic literature. This paper can introduce others to folk diplomacy in the Russian Far East and spur greater discussion and research on the topic.

Methodology

Introduction

In this section I will cover the methodology and sources of data used in this paper. First, I will go over the theoretical framework upon which I will base my research, followed by a description of my data collection process and my sources of data. At the end, I will briefly note the applicability and limitations of this case study.

Theoretical Framework

This paper utilizes grounded theory to analyze qualitative data, which is taken from primary sources and written transcripts of interviews. Below, I will briefly describe my reasoning for using grounded theory and discuss its research benefits in the context of this paper.

Grounded theory refers to a model that combines inductive reasoning with qualitative data to develop ideas and patterns, from which hypotheses and concepts can be extracted. The process first begins with a general question. Based on this question, qualitative data (such as interviews) is collected and analyzed for larger overarching themes or ideas that exist within the data. These ideas, also known as *codes*, are then grouped together into categories, which are broader conceptualizations of smaller individual themes. In turn, these categories are read in comparison to each other to develop hypotheses and possible answers to the original question. Alternatively, new insights (completely unrelated and unexpected to the original question) can also develop, leading to greater understanding and a new direction for further research.

Grounded theory was chosen because of two reasons. First, the data-centered approach of grounded theory allows for the flexible incorporation of sources. Research can include both qualitative and quantitative data from different sources and time periods; hypotheses can be

constructed and changed as more data is collected without affecting the integrity of the data analysis process. This is particularly relevant for the case study, as I used sources from different time periods, cultures, languages, and fields of expertise. By not having a limit on data type, I can better analyze and understand the case study and determine key concepts.

Additionally, grounded theory's concepts-based organization means that, given a certain standard of quality, all qualitative data is treated equally; that is, origin (i.e. interviews, literature) is not considered when developing concepts. As long as the data is collected legitimately and there are no questions on its integrity, grounded theory places the collection of concepts, rather than the collection of specific data types, as most important. This is crucial for this case study as many factors, including living status of and the physical distance to potential interviewees, made collecting certain types of data (i.e. in-person interviews) extremely difficult. Thus, by not discriminating for certain types of data, grounded theory allows for more a realistic methodology by acknowledging and correcting for potential roadblocks in the data collection process.

Data Collection Process

This research uses qualitative data which was collected from official documents and personal accounts in literature and media. An attempt was made to collect interviews from locals; however, this proved unsuccessful. As mentioned in earlier sections, the mixed-methods approach gives equal weight to all sources; therefore, all forms of qualitative data are given equal weight over the course of this paper.

Qualitative data in this study refers to: testimonials and recollections by individuals or organizations, either in oral or written form; official written documents, primarily police files but also materials from governmental websites and government-affiliated institutions; and non-academic literature, such as newspaper articles and popular literature. The length of these

sources varied considerably, from full-length books to short informational articles, and were all written or compiled in the period between 1945 and 2022. The data spans three distinct periods² - postwar Sakhalin, contemporary Sakhalin, and the modern-day - although, following the grounded theory framework, a distinction was not made between them.

Data was collected over a period of eight months, from August 2021 to February 2022. For each piece of data, the following process was observed: first, I tagged all sources according to the three categories of language (Japanese, Russian, or English), time period (Imperial Japan, postwar, contemporary, modern-day), origin (non-governmental, quasi-governmental, or governmental), and type (interview, website, newspaper article, publication, official document, video, or other). This tagging process was used to efficiently organize my data and to ensure that no one category was dominant in the data-collection process. Afterwards, I analyzed the data sources for keywords, noting any unusual or unique elements. Finally, I compiled these keywords into a document, from which I extracted common themes.

Sources of Information

The main source of information for this case study is *Tragedy at Mizuho Village* (*Трагедия деревни Мидзүхо*, 1993: 1st ed., 2012: 2nd ed.), written by local historian Konstantin Gaponenko. The novel is one of the premier Russian-language sources on the Mizuho village massacre and the history of the memorial at Pozharsky. Originally conceived as a series of articles in a local newspaper, the novel was first published in Sakhalin by a local publishing company, before it was re-published nationally twenty years later. The novel is constructed both as a reconstruction of the massacre as it may have occurred and a documentation of postwar

² See “Glossary” in Appendix for a definition of these time periods.

Soviet settlement in the region. Gaponenko bases his research of the massacre on Soviet police files and eyewitness testimony, while he uses interviews with Russians settlers and personal memory for the sections on the history of postwar Sakhalin. The first edition heavily focuses on the massacre and mostly takes place in or around 1945 in the Japanese Empire. The second edition, which contains additional chapters and photographs, equally focuses on the massacre and the postwar history that followed.

Structurally, the book contains three distinct sections. The core of the book is split between a reconstruction of the events at Mizuho village in chronological order, and historical asides on various aspects of the Japanese empire (such as sections on the Nagai Kotaro war medal, or the annexation of Korea) in non-chronological order. The final chapter is a manifesto on Gaponenko, where he calls for peace and community building by recognizing the humanity of others across borders and emphasizing the potential for mutual understanding via cultural exchange. Bookending these two sections is a personal vignette by Gaponenko: the preface contains his own personal experience in Sakhalin, while the postscript recounts local community efforts to build a memorial in honor of the victims. The second edition also contains abridged transcripts of interviews with Russian settlers from the earliest first wave (1945-1947). All three sections were used in the data collection process, with the greatest amount of data coming from the abridged transcripts. The transcripts were particularly critical in the data collecting process because they served as an approximation of data that could be potentially collected via interviews. As many of the people involved in the project have passed away, this literature-based proxy is the only available substitute to live interviews.

Aside from the *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*, this paper utilized newspaper articles and governmental websites as a source of modern-day data. I primarily used Russian-language

articles sourced from local newspapers in Russia; however, some data was collected from Japanese and English-language newspapers on the topics of cultural exchange programs and repatriation experiences. Russian and Japanese-language data was also collected from the websites of local governments, including those of the Kholmsky District and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk of Russia, and Wakkanai City and Hokkaido Prefecture of Japan. As *Tragedy of Mizuho Village* focuses primarily on postwar and contemporary data, collecting modern-day data ensured a more nuanced and up-to-date understanding of the case study.

Finally, my research incorporated data from visual sources: photographs and video documentaries. The photographs were those found in *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*, while the documentaries were short, interview-based videos, such as an American documentary produced on Sakhalin Koreans or YouTube videos made by local Sakhalin Koreans. As analyzing visual data can be subjective, these sources were solely used as supplementary data to provide additional historical context in order to minimize potential sources of bias. However, when there were instances of speech (such as the interview sections of the documentaries), I separated only that section and treated it as a separate source which I could use towards my analysis.

In addition to the above, this paper attempted to collect data via interviews. The original plan was to contact experts in fields such as Eastern European Area Studies, Far East Area Studies, Political Science, and East Asian Studies, as well as locals who participated in the case study. The data collected from these interviews would have been the primary source of modern-day data, and would have acted as a supplement to the interviews found in *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*. As part of this process, I contacted local institutions for interviews or potential sources of interviews, including the Sakhalinsk Regional Museum, Chaplanovo Secondary School, government officials from the Kholmsky District, and professors at the local university.

Unfortunately, due to a lack of response I was unable to conduct interviews. The reason is unknown; however, this may be as a result of increased political tensions between Russia and the United States during the data collection time frame, which may have made it difficult or uncomfortable for potential interviewees to conduct interviews. As a result, in collecting modern-day data I shifted my focus from interviews to newspaper articles.

Results of Data Collection

In total, I collected data from 29 sources³, of which 14 were in Russian, 11 were in Japanese, and 4 were in English. The greatest source of data by quantity came from the modern-day period; however, the largest source of data by volume came from the postwar period. A slight majority of the data comes from non-governmental sources; the source types were evenly split among the five categories. All three languages are well-represented in the sources, with no one language taking a majority. I collected 19 keywords, which I sorted into three themes.

In the figures below, “origin” refers to the relationship between the source and state actors. Non-governmental sources are those that are entirely private. Quasi-governmental sources are those that receive partial funding from the government; notable examples include Hokkaido University in Japan and Far Eastern University in Russia, both of which receive large amounts of public funding. Finally, governmental sources refer to those which are directly operated by, or are related to, state actors. Examples of this include official websites of local governments and municipal museums. To what extent a source counts as “governmental” can be up for debate; for clarification purposes, I have documented all of my sources and their categorizations in the

³ *Tragedy at Mizuho Village* was counted as two different sources, one for each of the editions.

appendix.⁴ Likewise, “language” refers to the main language used in the text. The three languages present in the sources were Russian, Japanese, and English. The language of the source was determined by the dominant language in the text (defined as over 50% of total text). All of the sources were entirely or almost entirely monolingual; thus, there is no ambiguity in categorization. I used similar criteria for “time period,” classifying each source based on which time period was best represented. Time period therefore does not align with the date of production, particularly for the interview-based sources. Finally, “type” is determined by the medium of each source and by its length.

Data Analysis - Charts

Distribution of Sources by Origin and Language

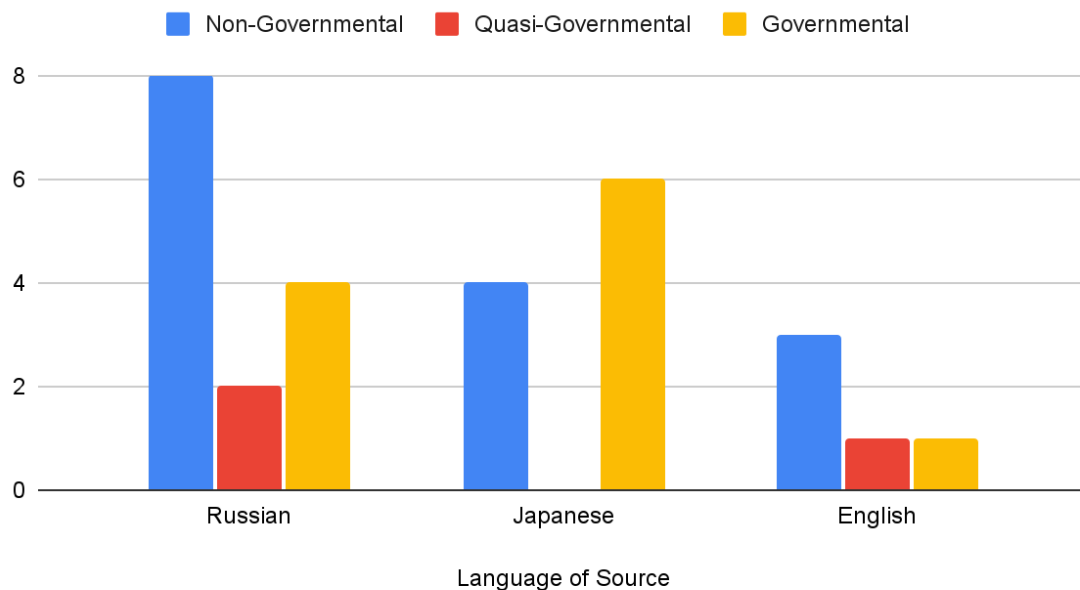


Fig 1: Distribution of sources by origin and language

⁴ For more information, refer to “Detailed Data and Charts” in the appendix.

Distribution of Sources by Language

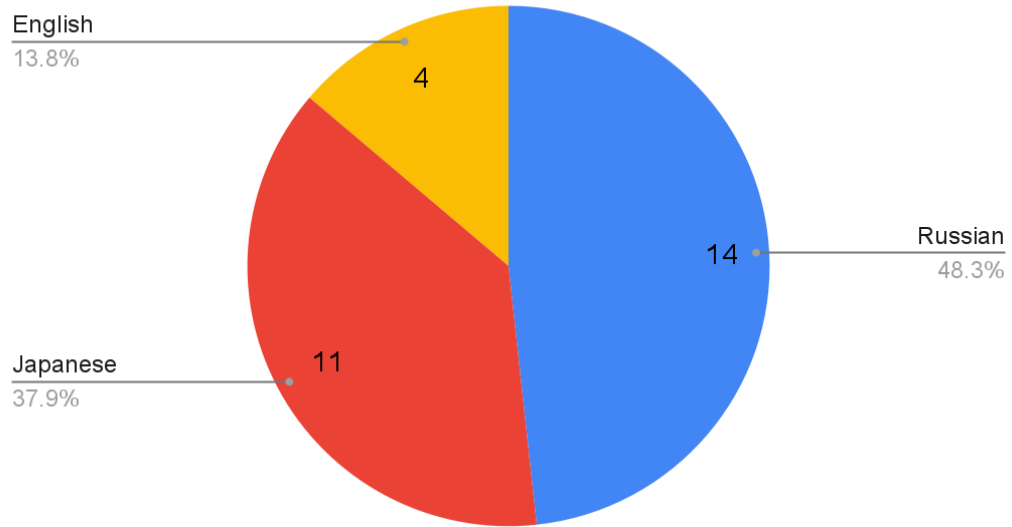


Fig 2: Distribution of sources by language

Distribution of Sources by Origin

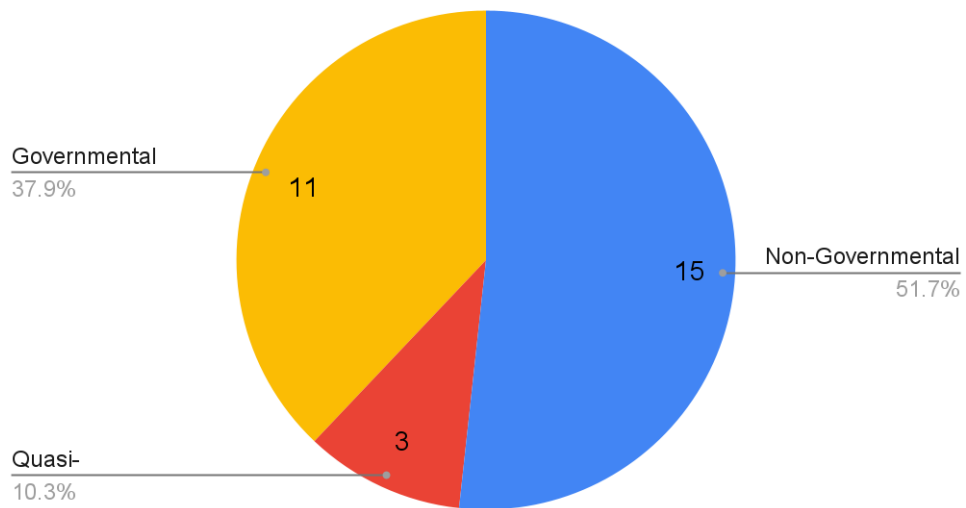


Fig 3: Distribution of sources by origin

Distribution of Sources by Time Period

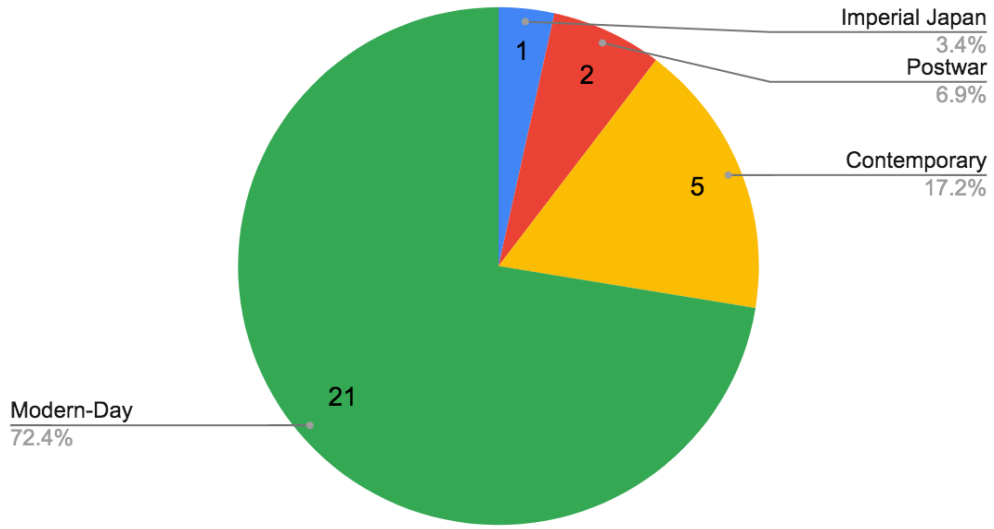


Fig 4: Distribution of sources by time period

Distribution of Sources by Type

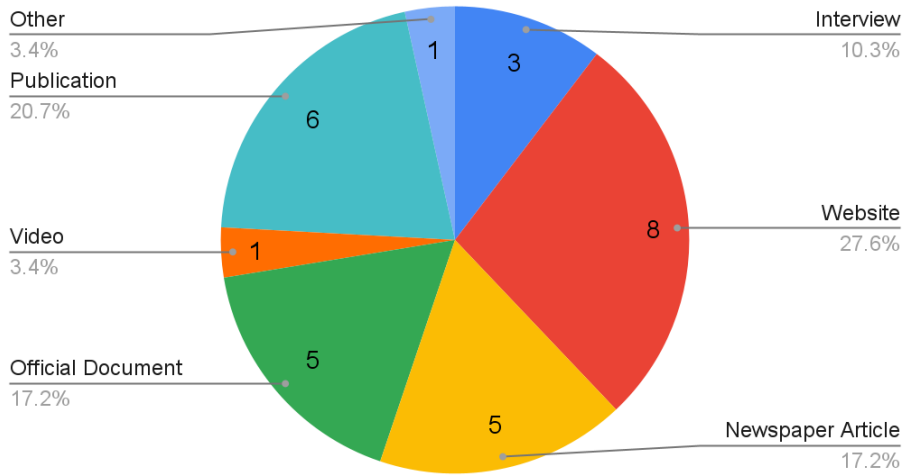


Fig 5: Distribution of sources by type

Data Analysis - Keywords

Keywords (Sorted by Theme)		
Generational Memory	Folk Democracy	Government-Level Interactions
Hiding/Shame (Sakhalin Koreans)	Emphasizing commonalities	Industry-based
Unlike expected/told in media (Ethnic Russians, particularly postwar)	Exchange via food and media	Somewhat geographically agnostic (central government level)
Strongly maintained (Sakhalin Koreans)	In-person events, online with COVID	Online, formal events
Vaguely maintained (Japanese, Ethnic Russians)	Focus on Far-East Region	Strongly local (local government level)
Forms core/key motivator of citizens associations (Sakhalin Koreans)	Profession as common denominator	Higher barrier to entry due to education, profession
Passed down (by family, citizens associations, schools)	School or community-based	Absorption of Folk Democracy
	Avoiding “political topics”	

Fig 4: Table of keywords, sorted into three categories

Study Applicability and Limitations

This study has two potential sources of applications. One, this study can be useful for policy analysis scholars in Russian or East Asian policy, who can use this case study as a historical example of international policymaking. Likewise, this study can be useful as a starting point for new discussions of nongovernmental groups in the policymaking process, particularly in the Soviet period.

However, this study should not be applied as a conclusive resolution to the topic question. The study never aims to provide a resolution; by analyzing the policymaking groups and mechanisms present in the case study, the study offers potential insights and clues that can then be delineated upon in further studies.

Findings

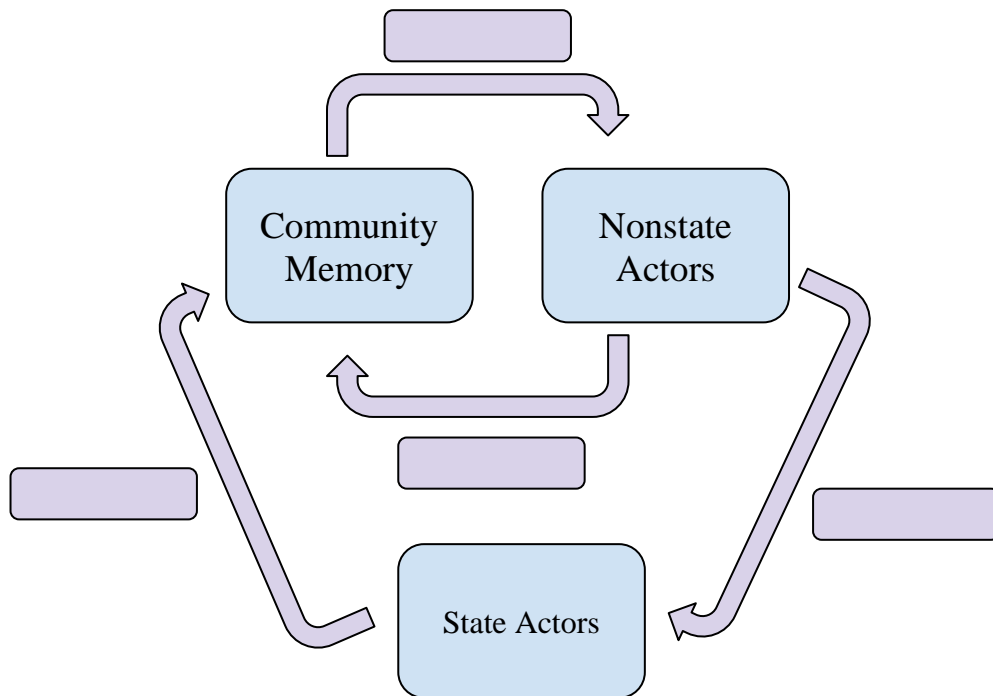


Fig 6: A Visual Representation of the Findings

Finding 1: Creation and Types of Collective Memory Among Different Populations

Origins of Collective Memory

“Collective memory” is a relatively ambiguous term. What categorizes memory as “collective,” as opposed to many individuals having the same, but disconnected, memory? What are the boundaries of memory - is it the individual, a group of individuals, or the whole community? For the purposes of this thesis I decided to use the parameters set up earlier in the methodology and in the literature review, in order to reduce a confusion of terms and to conform to generally accepted standards within the policy analysis field. Thus, I have defined collective memory as the following: memory that is created from and maintained by a community, and is acknowledged by the community as collective. The collective memory in question can arise from a merging of individual memories; however, they must be unified in some form and acknowledged as cohesive by the community. So, for example, the individual experiences of Russian settlers in the postwar is not a collective memory in a vacuum; it is only when they are compiled together and understood to be a part of a whole (as was done in Tragedy at Mizuho Village) can it be considered a collective memory. The community in question can also range in size and scope (i.e. encompassing the whole community or just a sub-group within it); in the case of this case study, the “community” in question ranged from minority groups (Sakhalin Koreans), to geographically-bound groups (villagers in Southern Sakhalin), to demographically-bound groups (youth in Japan).

My research identified two important aspects of collective memory creation: continuous interaction and locality. Continuous interaction refers to sustained, deliberate interactions between members of the community that results in a merging of individual experiences, while locality refers to the closeness (either geographically or socially) of said memory to members of

the community. For example, collective memory of Sakhalin Koreans was created as a result of the tight-knit, inward-facing nature of the postwar Sakhalin Korean community, which allowed for a continuous interaction of different individual memories that eventually merged into an overarching collective memory in the contemporary and modern-day. Another example was with local border towns in Japan. Compared to research institutions and NGOs located in other parts of Japan, those located along the border appeared to have a stronger collective memory regarding Russia, indicating the presence of and the importance of locality. These elements were present across the different forms of collective memory identified. It is difficult to say which is more important than the other, as there was no evidence of one dominating over the other. It would be better to categorize the elements as sustaining the other; a certain amount of locality is needed for continuous interaction, and continuous interaction is easier within a localized space.

A third aspect, coexistence, was identified in many, but not all, instances of collective memory. The first two were generally present across different communities, while coexistence was mostly confined to cross-border or cross-cultural populations. For example, Russian settlers in 1946 reported positive interactions with local Japanese colonists in the process of repatriation, an experience that formed one of the first examples of post-war collective memory in the region. Settlers noted that they were able to peacefully coexist despite propaganda-induced expectations of conflict, which helped to create positive local impressions (and thus collective memory) of the Japanese. In Japan, coexistence across borders is a common theme found in justifying relations with Russians; the northern Japanese city of Kitami's website on neighboring Russian border towns highlight long-standing trade and cultural exchange in the region. Historical coexistence serves as a major foundation for community memory in the region and evidences the value of coexistence in creating collective memory. It is important to note that coexistence mainly

occurred in cross-border populations; potential reasons for this could be an emphasis in difference between populations divided by nationality that could make examples of coexistence more unusual and thus more notable, or that coexistence between majority-minority groups (such as that of Japanese colonists and Sakhalin Koreans) did not leave a significant impact on the collective memory of relevant populations. It is also notable that examples of coexistence were generally found in collective memory that was between majority-majority populations. This could be a result of bias in data, as most of the data collected was from Russian and Japanese sources, or could be a point of further note.

Among local residents of Mizuho and the Sakhalin region, two different types of collective memory were identified. The first was found primarily among Sakhalin Koreans, while the second was found among ethnic Russians in Sakhalin and Japanese in border towns. This division parallels the social position of each group; Sakhalin Koreans are a minority within the region, while ethnic Russians and Japanese form the majority. The collective memory of the minority Sakhalin Koreans is in stark contrast to that of the majority Russians and Japanese, which I will refer to as “non-Sakhalin Koreans.” In particular, there is a greater sense of community and generational responsibility in preserving collective memory among Sakhalin Koreans, which is reflective of its family-based nature. In contrast, collective memory among non-Sakhalin Koreans is more individualized; instead of strong familial ties, collective memory is developed by citizen associations and schools. Below, I will discuss the collective memory of Sakhalin Koreans and non-Sakhalin Koreans as a case study to establish further insights into collective memory.

Mini Case-Study 1: Family-based Generational Memory Among Sakhalin Koreans

Collective memory of the minority Sakhalin Koreans refers to the multi-generational, long-standing trauma of Sakhalin Koreans that originates from both Imperial Japan and the Soviet Union. In Imperial Japan, Sakhalin Koreans faced systematic use of Sakhalin Koreans as forced labor, the destruction and suppression of Korean language and culture, and the systematic discrimination Koreans faced under a racist Japanese Empire. In the Soviet Union, they faced widespread discrimination under the Stalinist and later cold-war regimes, the systematic suppression of Korean language, culture, and history via forced cultural assimilation, and the inability to repatriate to Korea due to political tensions. In response, Sakhalin Koreans often formed their own sub-communities, maintaining strong informal social networks hostile to outsiders, or created cultural associations later on.

The collective memory of Sakhalin Koreans is based on these experiences, originating from societal relationships and shared common trauma. Research indicates that Sakhalin Koreans are generally aware of the details of said trauma (as opposed to a vague collective memory), although the extent varies by individual. Those with extensive knowledge are more likely to participate in events and associations related to said collective memory, such as building a memorial or being a member of Korean cultural associations. Those with limited knowledge of collective memory reported feelings of shame, guilt, anger towards themselves for not knowing “enough,” which may indicate high societal pressure to retain and transmit collective knowledge.

These experiences display the two aspects of memory creation mentioned earlier. Because of the strong informal social networks, Sakhalin Koreans maintained continuous interaction with each other, which validated their own individual memories and coagulated it into collective memory. Additionally, strong governmental suspicion meant that Sakhalin Koreans were forced to stay within Sakhalin, a place which already carried heavy historical connotations.

Thus, collective memory was extremely visible and easily reinforced. In both cases, the collective memory was founded within a family structure; the memory is collective both to the overarching community, but also to the smaller family clan. Collective memory therefore displays a dual sense of community, existing both within the community (Sakhalin Koreans) and the sub-community (a family group). Thus, determining the community for a collective memory may require a more holistic understanding of community.

Additionally, the collective memory of Sakhalin Koreans highlights the temporally dynamic nature of collective memory. In general, the collective memory of Sakhalin Koreans is family-based and generational. There is a tendency to associate the above traumatic experiences that make up collective memory with a specific individual, usually a direct relative or a close relation. It is also relatively common for the specific individual to instead be multiple people (i.e. identify multiple people who had experiences during Imperial Japan), or to identify different people for each time period (i.e. one family relation for Imperial Japan, one for the Soviet Union). Thus, collective memory can potentially be associated with different sub-communities, which split along temporal, or generational, lines.

Mini Case-Study 2: Community-based Individual Memory Among non-Sakhalin Koreans

The collective memory of non-Sakhalin Koreans is too broad to generalize. It contains a broad and diverse group of memories, such as the experiences of Soviet settlers, cultural exchange programs for Japanese and Russian schoolchildren along the border, sister city programs, and personal trips across borders. Despite this, there is one important commonality: these memories are all from groups that make up the majority within the given space, and historically have carried systematic privileges. Thus, by grouping these experiences together and

analyzing them as a case study, the research can come to more specific, and thus more appropriate, findings.

Much like in the case with the first mini case-study, continuous interaction and locality were identified to be major elements of collective memory. For example, a positive collective memory of Russia among Japanese youth in specific border villages was created due to a series of virtual meetings with their Russian counterparts, also living in border towns of Sakhalin. In another instance, contemporary collective memory regarding Sakhalin Koreans arose from continuous interactions with Sakhalin Koreans at schools and other local institutions; these memories were not focused on the trauma of Sakhalin Koreans, but rather of their “Soviet” and “pleasant” nature. The fact that the memory was based on contemporary experiences only, rather than both contemporary and earlier memories, illustrates how continuous interaction and locality (instead of other elements like history) serve as foundational elements to majority-based collective memory.

Another key feature is that collective memory of the majority non-Sakhalin population is individualized and associated with non-familial societal institutions, such as schools, media, and citizen associations. Rather than being strongly associated with a specific community and sub-community, as in the case with Sakhalin Koreans, collective memory is more passive and one-directional. For example, in *Tragedy at Mizuho Village* Konstantin Gaponenko notes how he established a children’s museum of local history at school as a way of maintaining collective memory. This trend of using schools is still prevalent in Sakhalin; as late as 2018, collective memory of World War II was sustained through school trips and local tours of historical sites in the region, which included stops to places such as the Memorial at Pozharsky and World War II battlefields. In Japan, collective memory is maintained through media, which periodically

broadcasts segments of Sakhalin via the descendants of former colonists. It is also maintained through citizen associations of former colonists and their descendants, which continue to promote their individual experiences in local collective memory. This one-directionality of collective memory is evidenced in the language used when referring to the collective memory; verbs tend to be in past tense, and there is less of a focus on “we,” instead preferring to use phrases like “the community” and other abstract terms. The case study thus demonstrates how collective memory can also exist in an abstract state semi-independently from an established community. Although it must originate from a community, it can also outgrow and evolve beyond it. This may be because the inherently generic and diversified nature of majority groups mean that collective memory is also correspondingly diverse and abstract; however, further research would be needed on this topic to make any concrete conclusions.

Finding 2: Reciprocal Relationship Between Non-State Actors and Collective Memory

Collective Memory as a Policymaking Tool

Previous literature demonstrates that collective memory is utilized as a tool by non-state actors to promote their “missions,” or policy goals. This is a well-documented phenomenon (see “literature review,”) that is present in a variety of different contexts; the effectiveness of collective memory as a tool is still debated. As my research is designed to add greater understanding to the topic via an understudied case study, the following findings should be taken within this greater academic context.

In general, my research supports previous literature by providing positive evidence towards the use of collective memory as a tool by non-state actors. Out of 29 sources, 20 contain examples of non-state actors using collective memory to produce policy change. This is significant, as the 20 sources are made up of nongovernmental sources, quasi-governmental, and

governmental sources. The highest percentage of positive evidence was found from non-governmental sources (12 out of 15, or 80%); however, there were also significant numbers from quasi-governmental (3 out of 3, or 100%) and governmental sources (5 out of 11, or 46%). This indicates that there is a general consensus (both by the actors themselves and the state actors who interact with them) that collective memory is used as a tool by non-state actors. However, it is important to note that high percentages from non-governmental and quasi-governmental sources may indicate a bias, as they are created by non-state actors and may be partial to non-state actors. Nonetheless, the relatively high percentage from governmental sources demonstrates high percentages across the spectrum, reducing the likelihood of bias as a cause for high percentages in non-governmental and quasi-governmental sources. Therefore, my research concurs with the existing literature and supports the claim of collective memory as a tool for non-state actors.

My research also indicates that collective memory can be a productive tool that can lead to potential change in favor of the non-state actor. Evidence for this claim is less strong; many of the sources, particularly modern-day sources, fail to identify concrete examples of policy changes that arose as a direct consequence of the actions of a non-state actor. This is understandable, as policy change is a long-term process that may not be easily identifiable until long after the fact. Thus, my research used cases from Imperial Japan, post-war, and contemporary sources in order to test this claim. Among the three categories, contemporary cases seem to be the most successful in using collective memory as a policymaking tool. The most prominent example of this is with the Memorial at Pozharsky, which was built by members of the local Sakhalin Korean community. The memorial paved the way for an increase in public discourse, which translated into an official acknowledgement of the Mizuho massacre via school

trips (virtually all schools in Russia are public, state-run institutions) and official press releases by the local government.

Postwar sources have some successes as well, mainly from Japan. For example, thanks to activist activity in the 1960s to raise awareness of the repatriation of Japanese colonists and the existence of Japanese graves in the former Japanese colonial territories, the first wave of small-scale cultural exchange programs was established for families and descendants of the former colonists. There were no cases from Imperial Japan; this may be a result of insufficient data, as most data was from the postwar and contemporary categories. The lessened (or lack of) success of collective memory as a policymaking tool for non-state actors in Imperial and postwar periods (which historically have been politically repressive, particularly towards minorities) may indicate a limit to the extent collective memory is effective; in other words, its success may be dependent on external factors beyond the scope of this research.

The Reciprocal Relationship Between Non-State Actors and Collective Memory

Research indicates a reciprocal relationship between non-state actors and collective memory, which is shown to structurally influence both non-state actors and collective memory. This reciprocal relationship was observed in non-state actors of Japan, Russia, the Soviet Union, and among Sakhalin Koreans, suggesting that the reciprocal relationship is not conditional to specific communities or geographic locations. The extent to which this relationship is a positive or negative force is to be determined, and can be a potential source of further research.

Collective memory influences non-state actors by acting as a limiting parameter that guides the direction of policy goals. In general, the policy goals of non-state actors clearly and directly related to a specific collective memory. Most policy goals of non-state actors were observed to heavily incorporate vocabulary and key ideas from the collective memory, while

placing less influence on outside (i.e. non-collective memory) ideas. Policy goals were also in agreement with the dominant narrative of said collective memory, further indicating collective memory's limiting factor. Some contradiction between non-state actors and collective memory was visible; for example, the policy goals of the Japanese NGO "NGO Hokkaido Association of Russians and Japanese" is to promote cultural understanding and peaceful coexistence between the two populations, despite the politically charged and negative collective memory regarding Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. However, such contradictions arose from conflating different (and sometimes competing) collective memories from different communities. Although the policy goals of non-state actors may contradict some collective memories, they were found to be in line with the specific collective memory which they use as a tool. In the case of the NGO above, the policy goals of the NGO aligned with the collective memory of postwar and contemporary Japan and the Soviet Union, when the first waves of cultural exchange were established. Thus, non-state actors generally agree with, and limit themselves to, the parameters of a specific collective memory.

Non-state actors influence collective memory by qualifying or modifying it towards the direction of the non-state actor's policy goals. By emphasizing a specific viewpoint (and by extension the associated collective memory), non-state actors elevate its status in comparison to other collective memories. For example, sources from the postwar and contemporary period indicate a bias towards Soviet settlers (generally ethnically Russian or Ukrainian) within collective memory, in part a result of local historians and civic organizations that extensively covered the topic. The experiences of these Soviet settlers became the dominant viewpoint, which ultimately resulted in collective memory centering around the experiences of Soviet settlers. Additionally, such emphasis can lead to a potential leveling and simplification of

collective memory along the lines of the non-state actor's policy goals. In the case of postwar Sakhalin, this meant the diminishing of non-Soviet experiences, particularly that of Sakhalin Koreans. Thus, collective memory should be regarded as a fluid, changeable concept, particularly in relation to non-state actors.

Mini Case-Study 3: Non-state Actors as Agents of Folk Diplomacy

Folk Diplomacy refers to diplomacy, or intercountry relations, that are organized and maintained by non-state actors. It generally consists of local interactions between populations with some commonalities, such as geographic or professional ties. When not focused on commonalities, folk diplomacy tends to be organized around apolitical soft power topics, such as culture or media. Because of the above qualities, folk diplomacy heavily engages with collective memory, which itself can act as an intra-community commonality that provides a common basis on both sides of the border to allow for intercountry folk diplomacy. It can be incredibly influential, particularly on the local scale and in matters of soft power; thus, folk diplomacy is a common mechanism used by non-state actors, particularly those that use collective memory as a tool.

Folk diplomacy has two main characteristics. The first is its incredibly local nature. Although designed as a whole to engage with multiple facets of the population to maximize the potential for intercountry relations, examples of it tend to focus on a small segment of the population, such as local youth or families of colonists. Additionally, folk diplomacy is relatively contained in scope, either temporally or geographically. Interactions are short, such as a one-time virtual meeting between local schoolchildren or the brief period of coexistence between Japanese colonists and Soviet settlers in the postwar period. They are also generally built upon the lived experience of participants, as opposed to abstract diplomatic concepts and official bureaucratic

networks. The second characteristic of folk diplomacy is its generally non-state nature. Although state actors can help facilitate folk diplomacy by easing restrictions on border crossings and hosting programs, the actual act of folk diplomacy occurs at the point of contact between two non-state actors. In other words, folk diplomacy tends to exist not as an explicit end goal for relevant parties, but as a consequence of local, non-state interactions.

Folk diplomacy reflects earlier mentioned findings regarding non-state actors and collective memory. It exemplifies the use of collective memory by non-state actors, as well as the possibility of collective memory as a productive tool for policymaking. Folk diplomacy, and the soft power associated with it, is most effective when there is a common base, which is often provided by collective memory. For example, Russian settlers in the immediate postwar years reported positive interactions and cohabitation with Japanese colonists, who similarly had experience with settling and farming in Sakhalin. This collective memory served as the basis of later movements for small-scale cultural exchange, which in turn paved the way for larger-scale, official cultural exchanges.

Additionally, folk diplomacy reflects the reciprocal nature of collective memory and non-state actors. A more recent example of folk diplomacy is the increased interactions between Sakhalin Koreans and Peninsular Koreans (i.e. Koreans from South Korea). The collective memory at the Memorial at Pozharsky has turned it into a pilgrimage site for Sakhalin Koreans and Peninsular Koreans alike. There is a yearly Day of Remembrance held at the site, which is attended by Koreans from across the area; today, the ceremony serves as a centering event for local Sakhalin Koreans, and raises awareness of the massacre among Peninsular Koreans. The limiting factor of collective memory is visible in the location and the scope of the actions of non-state actors; events are either directly at the monument or are directly related to it in theme. The

effect of non-state actors on collective memory is also evident; the emphasis on the massacre at Mizuho results in that specific experience becoming overrepresented within collective memory and overshadowing other instances of societal trauma. Tragic events similar to Mizuho occurred throughout the Imperial period and during World War II, but the memorial at Mizuho is the most well-established because of the activism of non-state actors.

Finding 3: Interactions of Non-state Actors with State Actors

Absorption of Non-state Actors into State Actors

Although the previous sections have divided actors into “state” and “non-state,” my research indicates that such categories are not rigid, and change over time. In particular, my research has identified a trend of non-state actors transforming into state actors via absorption. This phenomenon is most visible over a long-term trajectory; that is, the pattern is most visible with sources that span multiple periods. An example of this is the Memorial at Pozharsky; although it was originally built by non-state actors (the Sakhalin Korean community), today it is maintained by government-associated institutions (Children’s Korean Association “Mire” of School No. 9 in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk). Another example is the small-scale cultural exchange programs between local citizens in the postwar era; today, such programs are a key part of local programming in Japanese border towns and are encouraged via in-person and virtual events. It is unclear whether this trend is period-specific (that is, whether or not the historical context is a confounding variable), as evidence from the modern-day era is scarce; however, this may also be because the long-term effects are not yet available for examples from modern-day sources.

There are two potential reasons for this absorption. One is that absorption allows for non-state actors to access resources that would otherwise be unavailable, particularly funds

and political connections. In the case of the Memorial at Pozharsky, the state-funded school most likely has access to a stable stream of funding with which to maintain and promote the memorial; the local Sakhalin Korean population, which has increasingly concentrated in the cities, may not have sufficient resources to independently maintain the memorial. Likewise, in the case of cultural exchange programs, local absorption allows for greater access to political channels, which can increase participant capacity and outreach capabilities. The second reason is that absorption may be a result of greater cooperation between non-state and state actors, where absorption is encouraged for efficiency. The second theory is evidenced by the existence of quasi-governmental actors, which I describe below. Further research is needed to clarify this process.

Local Governments Co-opting Collective Memory

Research indicates that local governments also directly co-opt collective memory in the policymaking process, independent of non-state actors. This is not new; as seen in the literature review, local governments have long identified collective memory as a powerful vehicle for enacting policy, particularly after trauma of the majority population. The case study demonstrates similar behavior, wherein local government actors identify with and promote the collective memory of majority populations. I use the word co-opt in this case because local governments were seen to adopt collective memory of various populations, regardless of representational accuracy. For example, during the postwar years among some Japanese border towns the predominant narrative towards Sakhalin was that of “lost lands,” or of nostalgic reminiscing of former colonial lands. This memory, and its associated collective memory of inherent belonging to a specific territory, was heavily associated with specific communities, particularly the descendants of colonists and certain right-wing organizations. Despite the fact

that the collective memory was associated not with the whole community but a segment of it, local governments adopted it as justification for pursuing politics that argued for greater local movement across borders in the area. The extent to which local governments co-opt collective memory is up for debate; this is because the distinction between directly co-opting collective memory by its own accord, and co-opting memory as a result of the influence of previously-absorbed non-state actors, can be at times unclear. In general, however, the research provides positive evidence towards local governments using the collective memory of local communities (and thus co-opting it) as part of the policymaking process.

Mini Case-Study 4: Quasi-Governmental Actors

Aside from non-state and state actors, in the course of my research I have identified an interesting phenomenon: that of the quasi-governmental actor. I define the quasi-governmental actor as one that is independent, but partially receives support (monetary, political, or otherwise) from governmental organizations. This actor can exist in many forms, such as research institutions in universities, civic organizations that are associated with state institutions such as schools, and NGOs that receive some government funding. Many of the research institutions from modern-day sources exist in this category, such as the Far Eastern Federal University International Japanese Studies Conference in Vladivostok, Russia, or the Research Hokkaido University Research Center for Slavic and Eurasian Studies in Sapporo, Japan. These institutions are notable in that they combine both the independence of non-state actors (and thus the ability to advocate for policies) while having access to funds and resources generally limited to state actors.

Quasi-governmental actors can be read as an evolution of the absorption process mentioned earlier, as it combines the advantages of being both a state and non-state actor while

staying intact and independent. By already existing in a semi-merged form, quasi-governmental organizations can efficiently advocate for policy change, as the external costs from the absorption process are reduced. Because of this, quasi-governmental actors may be an attractive alternative for local community members interested in influencing policy. Thus, there is the possibility of seeing more quasi-governmental actors in place of non-state actors in the future.

Key Insights for Policymakers

Based on my findings, I have developed three key insights for policymakers regarding collective memory and state/non-state relations. The following statements are purposefully broad in order to focus on the policymaking repercussions of the case study. I have made some references to the case study, whose findings can be seen in the “Findings” section above; however, for the sake of conciseness I have opted to omit concrete examples.

1.) Community memory can simultaneously exist in multiple forms

As demonstrated in the case study, community memory is a dynamic, evolving concept that can simultaneously exist in diverse, even contradictory, forms among different segments of the population. When engaging with community memory for policymaking purposes, it is important to identify exactly what form of community memory is being utilized; it is also necessary to consider its origins, particularly if it originates from a minority population. Each form of community memory comes from its own specific source, and thus will interact in unique ways towards policy and state actors. As seen in the case study, failing to properly address specific sources can also lead to unintended consequences, such as long-term generational trauma and in-group behavior. This can lead to difficulties fully engaging with local populations and result in lower rates of policy effectiveness.

2.) Non-state actors are influenced by and help shape community memory

Community memory - in its various forms - is a powerful motivating tool for non-state actors and serves as a core part of its direction (or “mission”), as well as acting as an internal cohesive force. Non-state actors incorporate community memory as a starting point to map out paths of action and expansion. One form of action is folk diplomacy, or local interactions among populations with some commonalities. Commonalities tend to be either geographic or professional, but are designed to engage a broad swath of the population. Folk diplomacy that does not focus on commonalities tends to be organized around apolitical soft power topics.

It is important to note that non-state actors, in their utilization of community memory, also exert pressure and change on community memory. In consolidating themselves around specific narratives and experiences, the community memory associated with these perspectives become reinforced and expanded upon in the community. As per the case study, we see a homogenization of certain perspectives, particularly relating to majority populations. However, the expansion of community memory can also lead to its heterogenization among minority populations, as discussing and publicizing community memory becomes more accepted among the majority population.

3.) Non-state actors operate outside of local governmental policymaking, but can be incorporated at a later date

Non-state actors generally exist outside of the scope of local governmental policymaking. This can be seen in the emphasis on apolitical topics among non-state actors

engaging in folk diplomacy and the inward focus of action among minority groups. However, this outside nature does not preclude them from engaging in the policymaking process, particularly if the policy in question directly ties into the community memory at hand. Quasi-governmental state actors, which simultaneously embodies both state and non-state actors, can be seen as an evolution of this state/non-state dynamic. These organizations are particularly powerful as they have the resources and connections to strongly influence policy while remaining independent.

The status of non-state actors regarding local state actors exists on a spectrum depending on resource availability and community impulses. As per the case study, non-state actors can indirectly influence state actors by becoming an outsized influence within the community, establishing itself as a key stakeholder. However, influence is more commonly obtained through an absorption into local governmental policymaking, which generally occurs via the partial or full incorporation of the non-state actors' mission statements into official policy. This occurs after a certain level of success and prestige is achieved by the non-state actor within the local community. Thus, in either case operations outside the scope of local governmental policymaking remain crucial to the policy aspirations of non-state actors.

Conclusion

This thesis comes to three conclusions. First, collective memory is an aggregate of individual interactions that extend over a long-term period; depending on the population in question (and its status amid the larger community), this collective memory can exist within an individual or in the interpersonal space between generations. Appropriately responding to and understanding collective memory is conditional on understanding its origin and its position within social relationships.

Second, collective memory is a powerful tool for non-state actors, particularly in the realm of social movements such as folk diplomacy. Non-state actors using collective memory are most effective when establishing social space within a community and harnessing pre-existing networks to expand their messaging. Non-state actors in turn also influence collective memory by either affirming specific viewpoints (majority populations) or promoting heterogeneous perspectives (minority populations).

Finally, collective memory plays a significant role in the relationship between state and non-state actors. Although collective memory is most prominent among non-state actors who exist outside the direct influence of state actors, it is also a tool for local state governments in promoting and disseminating policy to the public. Thus, collective memory encourages a merging of the state and non-state actor, which is done through an absorption of the non-state actor into the state actor.

The above points point to a complicated relationship between state and non-state actors, one of semi-reciprocity and informal influence. Future research can shed greater light on this relationship by exploring the role of other stakeholders (such as the general public) or comparing different case studies. The above also points to the potential of understudied policy examples in bringing greater clarity to existing literature. The findings of the thesis are generally in line with previous literature; however, its unique perspective on the issue is useful in expanding current understanding to new countries and cultures.

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Appendix

Glossary

- **Contemporary** (*and its variants*) --- Refers to the period contemporaneous to the creation of the novel *Tragedy at Mizuho* and the *Memorial to the 27 Victims* [**confirm**] in the village of Pozharsky. This roughly corresponds to the late 1980s - early 1990s.
- **Imperial Japan** (*also known as: Empire of Japan*) --- In this paper, this term refers to the period between 1905 to 1945. The Empire of Japan itself lasted from 1868 to 1945, when it was dissolved at the end of World War II. However, 1905 was chosen as the starting point because it was then that Sakhalin was annexed into the Japanese Empire. The time period was therefore adjective to reflect the fact that this primarily deals within the limited context of Sakhalin, and therefore any influences of Imperial Japan would not be felt on the island until 1905.
- **Modern** (*also known as: modern-day*) --- Refers to the current-day period, or early 2010s - Early 2020s.
- **Mizuho Memorial** (*also known as: the memorial, the memorial at Pozharsky*) --- Refers to the *Memorial to the 27 Victims* located near Pozharsky Village, Sakhalin, Russia. The memorial was created by local Sakhalin Koreans, Konstantin Gaponenko, and other members of the community. For more information, refer to the “History of the Memorial” section of the appendix.
- **Postwar Sakhalin** *or Postwar period* --- Refers to the period after World War II. In this paper, the period is from 1945 to the early 1960s, which roughly corresponds to one generational period after the war’s end. This time frame was also chosen because of its historical significance in Soviet history; the period encompasses both the latter part of Stalin’s rule, as well as the roughly 10 years of thaw that followed.
- **Soviet settlers** *or settlers* (*пересельцы*) --- A group of Soviet citizens, mainly ethnic Russians and Ukrainians, who moved in large numbers to Sakhalin after the war. The Soviet government heavily encouraged migration to Sakhalin as a way to re-populate the islands after the repatriation of Japanese colonialists, as well as to strengthen Soviet control of the island and improve border security. The first wave of settlers came in 1946; the largest group of settlers came in the early to mid 1950s.

Detailed Histories Relevant to the Case Study

History of Sakhalin

Sakhalin is Russia’s largest island, located off the coast of Eastern Russia and north of the Japanese archipelago. Home to the Indigenous Ainu, Oroks, and Nivkh peoples, Sakhalin’s location has long made it a hub of trade and cross-cultural exchange. In addition, the island’s rich

deposit of raw materials and its strategically important location has historically made it highly contested ground. The name *Sakhalin* comes from the Manchu word Sahaliyan, meaning “Black,” and for most of its pre-modern history acted as a tributary to the Manchu Qing dynasty. From the mid-1600s onwards, the island also maintained a sizable population of Japanese traders.

The history of modern Sakhalin can be traced back to 1807, when the entire island was first claimed as a part of Japan; the country re-claimed its sovereignty over the island in 1845. The first Russian presence on the island was established in 1849 with the Russian navigator Nikolay Rudanovsky; soon after, Russian settlers established mines and churches on the island, marking the beginning of Russian settlements on the island. In 1855, Russia and Japan signed a treaty to establish a rough demarcation line on the island, with Russians in the north and Japanese in the south. However, the lack of clarity led to prolonged border disputes, and in 1875 Japan renounced its claim on the island in exchange for the Kuril Islands.

The island once again became a point of contention during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), when Japan invaded the island near the end of the war. The 1905 treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war, established the 50th parallel line as the official boundaries between Russia and Japan. Russia occupied the northern three-fifths, while Japan occupied the remaining southern portions; however, in the 1920s Japan also briefly occupied the northern part.

Within the Japanese Empire, Sakhalin was known as *Karafuto*; its capital was the port city of Toyohara, formerly the small Russian penal colony of Vladimirovka. As a colonial enterprise, resource-rich Karafuto brought much-needed wealth and supplies to the ever-growing Japanese empire and its insatiable hunger in the form of raw materials and labor. The colony’s wealth was generated via the countless Japanese colonial settlements scattered along the rough mountainous terrain, which were connected to the outside world by the island’s railway network. Additionally, the island was home to a large population of Koreans, who were brought over from the Korean Peninsula and exploited as forced labor. Roughly 400,000 people lived on the island, of which around 150,000 were Koreans.

Sakhalin returned to Soviet control in 1945 during the invasion of South Sakhalin. As agreed upon in the Yalta Conference earlier that year, the Soviet Union invaded Sakhalin on August 11, 1945, in violation of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact and a few days before the Japanese surrender. Both sides suffered a high number of casualties, including civilian deaths; the island fully surrendered to the Soviet Union in 1945 after the capture of Toyohara.

Of the 400,000 people of Imperial Japan, 100,000 were immediately evacuated at the end of the war; waves of repatriations continued throughout the late 1940s, and the large majority of residents were successfully repatriated. However, due to political reasons tens of thousands of Koreans (around a third of the pre-war Korean population) were unable to be repatriated and remained in Sakhalin.

In 1947, Sakhalin officially became an independent oblast within the RSFSR, and the former city of Toyohara was renamed to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The island’s postwar population dramatically increased thanks to a government-sponsored resettlement program that encouraged

thousands of migrants from western Russia and Ukraine to immigrate; as a result, most of Sakhalin's inhabitants today are of Russian descent. There still remains a distinct Korean population in Sakhalin that number around 45,000; although they generally have Russian citizenship, they still retain a strong sense of identity as Sakhalin Koreans.

Konstantin Gaponenko - Biography

Konstantin Gaponenko (b. 1933, Trushky, Ukrainian SSR - d. 2019, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Russian Federation) was a well-known journalist, historian, and teacher based in Sakhalin. A well-respected local historian, he is the author of 14 books and countless publications on local history, including his novella *Tragedy at Mizuho Village* (1993 1st ed., 2012 2nd ed.), and helped organize the construction of the memorial at Pozharsky.

Gaponenko was born in Trushky, Ukrainian SSR (today Ukraine), as the son of kolkhoz (Soviet-era collective farms) workers. His father, who was arrested and shot by the Nazi regime occupying Ukraine, passed away during his early childhood. After spending his youth in Ukraine, in 1951 he moved to Sakhalin with his older brother's family at the age of 17. He graduated from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk Pedagogical University with a degree in Russian literature and history, after which he briefly served in the army for three years. Later, he served as the Chairman of the Chaplanovsky Village Council (1985–1987), and the secretary of the party committee of the state farm "Chaplanovsky" (1988-1991).

Gaponenko's connection to the case study can be traced to his 1993 novel *The Tragedy of Mizuho Village*, an investigative piece on the Mizuho Village massacre which itself was based off of previously written articles. In 1987 he started conducting research using a series of police files - written records of the military tribunal - that would later serve as the books' foundation. It is unknown how exactly he first came across the files; he merely mentions that, until that point, he shamefully knew little about Korea and its history, despite having Korean neighbors and students. In any case, Gaponenko first wrote a series of articles for a local newspaper, but was unable to publish them due to government censorship. Although initially deterred, Gaponenko was able to publish his research in the form of a book, with the encouragement of Japanese investigative journalist Hayashi Eidai and financial assistance from Yi Chung Gwon and Shin Udegi from the Sakhalin Regional Association for Charity and Regional Assistance⁵.

Gaponenko dedicated his life to researching and preserving local history. Most of his research was published in the form of publications; however, he also published 14 books, most of which were written and published in the 1990s. He was famous for his distinct style of writing, which combined sharp historical analysis with genuine passion and empathy towards the

⁵ In Russian: Сахалинская ассоциация благотворительности и своевременной региональной помощи обездоленным «Стриж» при Сахалинском обкоме Общества Красного Креста. Yi Chung Gwon was the general director of the association, while Shin Udegi was his deputy for humanitarian affairs.

subject matters. He covered a broad range of history, but more often than not focused on Soviet Sakhalin and the individual histories from that time. Today, his books are available across the island and at the Sakhalin Regional Universal Scientific Library; they are also available online. Aside from his research, Gaponenko was a strong supporter of local education. He worked as a history teacher in Pyatirechye General School for 22 years, after which he worked as its principal. At school, he was known for his interactive lessons, including field trips to local historical sites, and for establishing and running a small museum on local history for children. In this vein, Gaponenko's active involvement in building of the memorial can be seen as an extension of this desire to preserve and teach local history to the younger generation. For his efforts, Gaponenko was awarded the Jubilee Medal "In Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" in 1970 and a Ministerial Award from the Ministry of Public Education of the RSFSR. He was also named a Sakhalin Cultural Foundation Laureate in 2007, and a Distinguished Citizen of Sakhalin Oblast in 2010. Gaponenko passed away in 2019 at the age of 85, and is buried in his beloved Sakhalin.

History of Pozharsky Village (Пожарское село)

Pozharsky (population 79, established c. 1945) is a small village on the southern tip of Sakhalin that is located along the Lutogy river. The village is located 40 km east of Kholmsk, an important seaport and the administrative center for Kholmsky District to which Pozharsky belongs. The village is also located 25 km west of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, the largest city on the island and its capital.

Early History

Pozharsky was first founded as a Japanese settlement at some point after Japan's annexation of the island in 1905. The village was known as Mizuho and contained close to 500 residents. The village had a significant Korean population; this was not uncommon, as the Japanese Empire forcibly moved Koreans across various parts of the empire to work as laborers. However, Mizuho was unique in that the sizable Korean population lived side-by-side with their Japanese neighbors in relative peace for most of the village's brief history. Inter-marriage between Koreans and Japanese villagers, which would otherwise be looked down upon due to the racialized purity-politics of Imperial Japan, was not unusual; and even those families with no blood ties to the Korean minority nevertheless shared social ties via employment and community relations.

Mizuho Village Massacre

The Mizuho Village Massacre was the murder of 27 Koreans by their fellow Japanese villagers that occurred over the span of three days, from August 20 to 23 1945. 18 Japanese villagers - ranging from decorated army veterans to youths just barely over 18 - took up arms against their defenseless Korean neighbors and senselessly killed 18 men, 3 women, and 6

children, including infants. The massacre is an example of similar murders of Koreans by the Japanese across Sakhalin; however, the Mizuho Village Massacre is notable because of its size and because it is extremely well-documented.

According to eyewitness testimony, there was no one concrete reason behind the massacre. Some participants reported that they acted in blind obedience of elders, while others referred to a conspiracy theory that accused the Koreans of spying for the fast-approaching Soviet army (one that was completely unfounded, as the Koreans of Mizuho were completely unrelated to the Soviet forces). Still others point to a violent denial, fueled by Japanese Imperial militarist propaganda, of Japanese defeat. Whatever their motivations may have been, most researchers point to the easy access of Japanese villagers to weapons (most of whom had swords or guns through the local veterans' and youth associations) as a key reason for the rapid escalation of events. The first Korean was killed on August 20 by a couple of individuals who would later become the leaders of the massacre. Soon after, other villagers joined together and formed an uncontrollable mob and started to indiscriminately kill Korean villagers on the street and in their houses, pausing only to partake in secret meetings and have dinners at the leaders' houses. Victims were brutally mutilated, as evidenced by recovered corpses covered in sword wounds, extensive head injuries, and missing limbs; their bodies were hastily disposed of in shallow pits around the village. The massacre only ended when the participants' families evacuated the village to be repatriated to Japan.

After the war, a military tribunal was held by the Soviet counterintelligence agency SMERSH to investigate the massacre and persecute Japanese participants of the massacre. Key members were sentenced to the death penalty, while the rest were given 10 years of hard labor. The executions by shooting were carried out in February 1947. Out of those sentenced to hard labor, two died in prison and five were repatriated to Japan; the fate of the others is unknown. The investigative and trial records of SMERSH were compiled to create a dossier, which was later used by Konstantin Gaponenko for his book *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*.

Post-war and Modern-day History

With the war's conclusion in 1945 Pozharsky, like the rest of southern Sakhalin became Soviet territory. Similar to many colonial-era Japanese villages, citizens were repatriated back to Japan, which were mostly completed by 1948. At the same time, Soviet citizens started to move into Pozharsky, most likely as a result of government encouragement. The process of repatriation and resettlement occurred simultaneously, leading to a brief period of time where both Japanese and Soviet settlers simultaneously lived together. Relations between the two groups were often peaceful and cooperative. First-person testimony from Soviet settlers indicate a sense of quiet resignation from the Japanese, who in turn taught the Soviet settlers how to farm. Settlers also

report that land and equipment was given by the Japanese settlers to Soviet citizens in good will.⁶ The postwar history of Koreans in Mizuho is more complex. Unlike Japanese citizens, who were freely (and sometimes unwillingly) repatriated back to the Japanese mainland, many Koreans were not able leave: Barring certain exceptions (mainly regarding those related to Japanese citizens via blood or marriage), Koreans were not considered Japanese citizens, and thus were not eligible for repatriation. Furthermore, due to post-war politics and a general distrust by the Soviet government of ethnic Koreans who lived along the Soviet border, Koreans were also unable to be repatriated to neither North nor South Korea. Thus, Pozharsky and the surrounding area continued to have a notable Korean population by the time Soviet settlers first moved into the village somewhere between late 1945 to early 1946.

At some point after 1945, the village was renamed Pozharsky and became majority ethnically Russian. Owing to its small population, Pozharsky acted as a satellite village to the nearby larger town of Chaplanovo and the administrative capital of Kholmsk. The village was quickly assimilated into mainstream Soviet society. Despite this, there is evidence that the village still maintained a small Korean population; Gaponenko in his novel reports of elderly Koreans living in the village, and in the second edition there is photographic evidence of students with ethnically Korean names in nearby school's yearbook. The town continued to be part of Soviet territory until the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, when it became part of the Russian Federation. Today, Pozharsky is a small, sparsely populated village whose buildings cluster around the main road running through it. The *Memorial to the 27 Victims*, which was jointly created by local Koreans and Konstantin Gaponenko, is located along the road near the village entrance.

Mizuho Memorial in Pozharsky

The *Memorial to the 27 Victims* is a memorial dedicated to the victims of the Mizuho village massacre. The small, unassuming memorial, which is located 1 km away from the Pozharsky village entrance, stands in the middle of a brick terrace on top of a hill sandwiched between the main road and the bank of the river Okulovka. Made up of a pillar of black stone and gracefully engraved Hangul, it is surrounded by three trees - birch, cherry, and fir, which represent the Russian, Japanese, and Korean nations, respectively - and the quiet hills of Sakhalin. There is some confusion over the memorial's creation date, which is either before 1993 or in 1996. Some sources state 1996 as the date of creation; however, this is in conflict with Gaponenko's retelling of events, as in his novel (published in 1993) he treats the building memorial as if it were an already completed, past event. Thus, if Gaponenko's account were true, the memorial would have to have been built before 1993. In any case, the memorial is confirmed to have existed by 1996, where it has remained since.

⁶ For more information, refer to the chapters “Письмена на сердце” and “Братья и побратимы, мужья и жены” in

According to Konstantin Gaponenko, he first came up with the idea for creating a memorial after the publication of his articles on the Mizuho Village massacre. Surprised and gratified at the warm reception he received from both the domestic public and from researchers abroad, he thought that it was important to preserve this part of local history and to ensure it stays remembered. His actions may also be a reaction to postwar policies towards assimilation, which considered Sakhalin Koreans to potential sources of “anti-Soviet” behavior and resulted in long-term discrimination. Postwar policies, particularly Stalinist ones, strongly encouraged Sakhalin Koreans to become Soviet citizens and assimilate into mainstream society; cultural elements, such as language and traditions, were viewed with extreme suspicion. As a result, generational knowledge was lost or heavily hidden; Gaponenko reports that his Korean students seemed to know little of their family origins, and asking older Koreans resulted in replies that ranged from “insignificant” answers to defensive questions that questioned Gaponenko’s motives.

Even if the idea originated from a single individual, the physical creation of the Mizuho Memorial was a community effort. From selecting the location and material of the memorial, to the donation of and planting of the saplings, locals took an active part in every step of the process. The memorial’s location in view of, but still separate from, the village was chosen in order to encourage passersby to stop at the memorial and to promote reflection. Upon the memorial’s completion on May 12th, a short ceremony was held at the site, where Gaponenko and others gave short speeches and planted the trees with everyone present. There was a diverse group of participants at the ceremony, including students and community elders, Russians and Koreans, teachers, community leaders, housewives, NHK representatives, and the then-vice-governor of Sakhalin. Gaponenko notes the following individuals as having significantly contributed to the project: Mikhail Fedorovich Rybachuk for selecting the location; Alexander Ilyenkov for bringing the memorial stone to the location; Gwon Pong-Hyun for providing the saplings; Heinrich Rnovich Tsai of Chaplankovsky middle school for providing shovels; Yu Den Han, the Pyatirechsky teacher, for providing stretchers and gathering together the local Korean population; kolkhoz driver Seo Chen Dek for providing transportation; and countless nameless participants at the planting ceremony.

Today, the memorial is cared for by the Children’s Korean Association “Mire” of School No. 9 in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Additionally, there is a remembrance ceremony held every year on August 15, attended by local Sakhalin Koreans and South Koreans. Walking along the small, well-maintained brick plaza on which the memorial stands and looking at the many flowers gingerly placed as offerings, one understands that the memorial is, to this day, still an important part of the community which it represents.

Detailed Data and Charts

Sources of Data

Name	Author	Year	Language	Time Period	Origin	Type	Additional Notes
Трагедия деревни Мидзухо	Константин Гапоненко	1993	Russian	Postwar	Non-Governmental	Interview	Contains a mix of sources
Трагедия деревни Мидзухо	Константин Гапоненко	2012	Russian	Contemporary	Non-Governmental	Interview	Contains a mix of sources
<i>Россия и Япония: от контактов к взаимодействию</i>	Людмила Владимировна Афанасьева		Russian	Contemporary	Non-Governmental	Publication	Doctoral Thesis
Памятник «В память 27 невинно убитых корейцев», с.Пожарское.	Municipal Historical and Cultural Center of Kholmsk	N/A	Russian	Modern-day	Governmental	Website	
Туристический паспорт муниципального образования	Kholmsk Municipal Government	N/A	Russian	Modern-day	Governmental	Website	
Официальные визиты и рабочие поездки	Kholmsk Municipal Government	2020	Russian	Modern-day	Governmental	Official Document	Official news report from government on visit to Japanese village Kushiro
令和元年度（平成31年度）の主な国際理解促進事業	Hokkaido International Exchange and Cooperation	2019	Japanese	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Publication	

	Center						
Humanitarian Aid for Foreign Residents in Hokkaido	Hokkaido International Exchange and Cooperation Center	2022	Japanese	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Website	Mix of languages depending on target population
北海道・サハリン州市民交流会議	NGO Hokkaido Association of Russians and Japanese	N/A	Japanese	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Publication	Covers multiple years
協会の概要	NGO Hokkaido Association of Russians and Japanese	N/A	Japanese	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Website	General overview of their activities
北海道とロシアとの地域間交流	Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	2020	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Other	Powerpoint presentation; possibly internally-oriented
ロシアとの地域間交流（ロシア交流系のページ）	Hokkaido Prefectural Government	2020	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Official Document	General overview of their activities
サンクトペテルブルク市との医療交流ウェブ会議結果概要	Hokkaido Prefectural Government	2022	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Official Document	Summary of conference events

ポロナイスク市 (ロシア連邦・サハリン州)	Kitami Municipal Government	N/A	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Website	
REPORT TO THE U.S. DELEGATION, U.S.-RUSSIAN JOINT COMMISSION ON POW/MIAs	TASK FORCE RUSSIA -- BIWEEKLY REPORT 19 DECEMBER 1992-8 JANUARY 1993 12TH REPORT	1992-1998	English	Contemporary	Governmental	Official Document	
令和3年度サハリン友好都市青少年交流事業「稚内・サハリン間青少年オンライン交流」開催		2022	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Official Document	
サハリン交流	Wakkanai Municipal Government	2022	Japanese	Modern-day	Governmental	Website	General overview of their activities
НА САХАЛИНЕ ВЫШЛО 2-Е ИЗДАНИЕ КНИГИ К.Е. ГАПОНЕНКО «ТРАГЕДИЯ ДЕРЕВНИ МИДЗУХО»	https://www.arirang.ru/	2012	Russian	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Newspaper Article	News site for local Sakhalin Korean population
A Forgotten People: The Sakhalin Koreans	Center for Asian American Media	1995	English	Contemporary	Non-Governmental	Video	Interviews Sakhalin Koreans from the 1990s

Школьники посетили памятник корейцам, погибшим при освобождении Южного Сахалина	Sakhalin.info	2004	Russian	Contemporary	Non-Governmental	Newspaper Article	
What's in a Name? For the Koreans of Sakhalin, an Anguished History	Anton Troianovski, NYT	2021	English	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Newspaper Article	
Why I am a Russian Korean: My Family's Story The Sad Case of Sakhalin Koreans	Zoya the Russian Korean	2021	English	Imperial Japan	Non-Governmental	Interview	Local Sakhalin Korean youtuber talks about family history
沿革と概要	Hokkaido University Research Center for Slavic and Eurasian Studies	N/A	Japanese	Modern-day	Quasi-Governmental	Website	
Библиотечный туризм развивают в Аниве	CitySakh.ru	2018	Russian	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Newspaper Article	
По следам Холмской десантной операции	Sakh.com	2018	Russian	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Newspaper Article	

Ученые ДВФУ и Японии приблизились к созданию памяти для электроники нового поколения	Far Eastern University	2021	Russian	Modern-day	Quasi-Governmental	Publication	
Main Page	Sakhalin Regional Museum	N/A	Russian	Postwar	Governmental	Website	
ДВФУ и Япония: партнерство в науке и образовании для развития межгосударственных связей	Far Eastern University	2016	Russian	Modern-day	Quasi-Governmental	Publication	
Russia–Japan Relations: New Stage of Development	Russian International Affairs Council	2019	Russian	Modern-day	Non-Governmental	Publication	

Additional Sources; Used to Develop Context, but Not Incorporated for Analysis

- Dunja Dušanić (Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature and Literary Theory at the University of Belgrade), interviews on the role of fiction in remembering memory
- James. E Young in *The Hedgehog Review*: “The Uses of the Past”, an interview article-format
- KBS World TV, *Battle Trip* (Joee and Yeonwoo’s trip to Sakhalin!) - Korean with English Subtitles; small discussion at the beginning that reflects the South Korean view regarding Sakhalin Koreans

Distribution of Sources by Category

Comparison of Source Origin and Language

	Non-Governmental	Quasi-Governmental	Governmental	Total
Russian	8	2	4	14
Japanese	4	0	6	11
English	3	1	1	4
Total	15	3	11	29

Distribution of Source Time Period	
Imperial Japan	1
Postwar	2
Contemporary	5
Modern-Day	21
Total	29

Distribution of Source Type	
Interview	3
Website	8
Newspaper Article	5
Official Document	5
Video	1
Publication	6
Other	1
Total	29

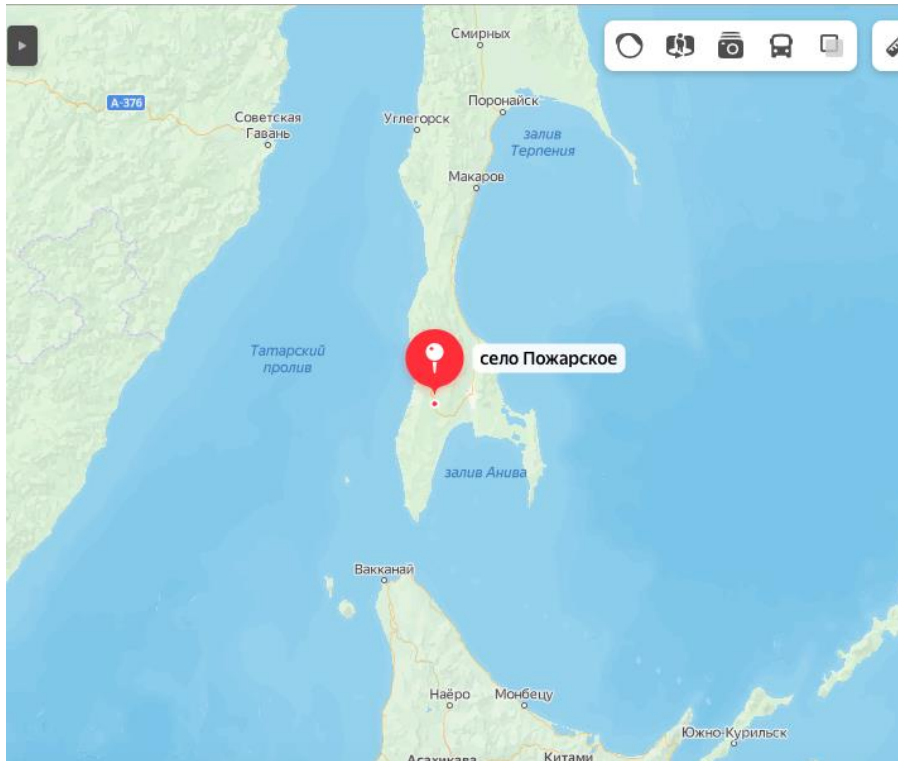
Maps and Images



Location of Sakhalin (Red) in Russia



Image of Sakhalin relative to Japan. Territory in blue was controlled by Imperial Japan until 1945.



Location of Pozharsky Village, Russia, Sakhalin



Image of the Mizuho Memorial, c. 2016.



Image of author Konstantin Gaponenko



Cover image of *Tragedy of Mizuho Village*, 1st ed., 1993.