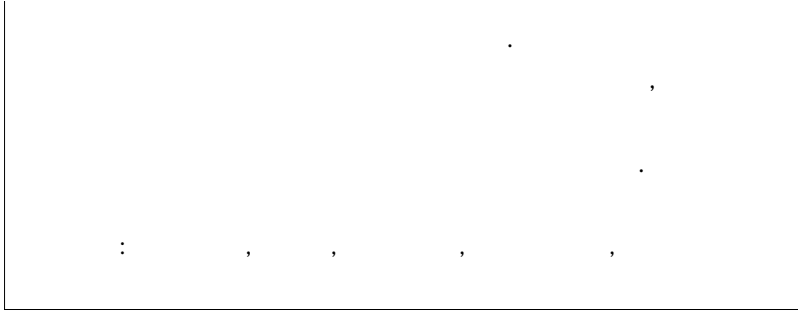


# 탈북 디아스포라 발생의 새로운 시기: 구 사회주의 권역에서 1950년대~1960년대의 상황\*

김보국



\* 2014 12 , *Hungarian Studies* “Forgotten Era, Forgotten People: The North Korean Diaspora”



## 1. 서론

108

, 660

19

, , , ,

1)

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2)

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1) 2003, 126-130).

1860

(



, ( ), 3  
 5)  
 1990  
 1950 1960  
 1950 1960  
 1990

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5) Yoon(2001, 6) .

1950 1960

(The National Archives of Hungary, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, NAH)  
 (Diplomatic Archives of Republic of Korea, DAROK)

1956 (Hungarian Revolution of 1956)

## 2. 탈북 디아스포라 발생의 세 시기

1948  
1951  
1948  
6)  
50 450  
55 65  
8)

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6) , 1946 3  
4%  
( 1992 98 99).  
7) 3  
3  
12 (50 ) 76 (12 )  
(10 ), (4 )  
"DAROK Class No.: 729.5 Reg. No. 142- 143 145. Film No.: G0001  
Frame No. 0557- 0866 0933- 1064"  
8) 25 30  
450 38  
(U.S. Department of State Publication 1974, 1310). 1945 1953  
84 ( 1992,  
95 98). 1945 ~ 1949 74

.<sup>9)</sup> (immigrant), (expatriate), (guest worker), (exile community), (overseas community), (ethnic community)

(Tölölyan 1991, 4- 5)

.<sup>10)</sup> 1951 ,

,<sup>11)</sup>

(Kwon 1977, 176-180), 65 30  
(Kwon 1977, 202-205), 1945 1953  
140

9) 3 “ (Members of diasporas define themselves in terms of at least a double identity, thus bracketing the unconditional fidelity associated with citizenship in a particular nation-state)” (Mudimbe and Engel 1999, 4).

10) “ (promiscuously capacious category)”(Tölölyan 1991, 8)

11) 200 (1951

12)

), 200 (1951 ), 200 (1952 ),  
 1,500 (1952 ), 200 (1952 ), 200 (1952 )  
 2,000  
 . 1951 , (IFRC) 100  
 1953 2  
 ( 2001, 13 16).  
 12) (Архив Внешней Политики Российской Федераций,  
 АВПРФ) 1 (АВПРФ, ф 0102, оп.16, п.24, д.6, лл.97-99;  
 2005, 58-59 )  
 (記述)  
 , 1951 1952 200  
 (Ibid). 1957 1 ,  
 1957  
 1 700 (NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000  
 0099)  
 , 1957 1 5 21 , 1 7 375  
 (Sopron) , 1 9  
 400 (XIX J-1 k. 8  
 doboz 1/25/3/ 1957).  
 110 1,200 1957 1 ,  
 (АВПРФ, ф 0102, оп.13, п.7, д.6, лл.43-45, л.78;  
 2005, 68 ).



3

13)

13)

subjective) (Marienstras 1989, 125), (a range of dispersion) (Tololyan 1996, 9). (Marienstras) (both objective and





1960

### 3. 1950년대 중 후반: 탈북 디아스포라 발생의 배경

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 . ,  
 ,  
 .  
 3  
 , ,  
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 .  
 ( 2011, 228).  
 1959  
 25  
 1958 10 18)  
 .  
 ,  
 .  
 19)  
 ,

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18)  
19)  
(2009)

(2006, 265-291)  
:

1950

20)

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20) 1956

( 50 ),  
1957

( 54 ), 1960

49 )

4 (

1950 ,

1956 ‘8 ’

<sup>21)</sup>

,

,

,

, 1956

‘8 ’ 1956

, 1956

2 20

<sup>22)</sup>

,

,

,

(imaginative geography)

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21) ‘8 ’ (2012) , 4 5 ,

22) 1953 6 , 50

#### 4. 최인환 파일<sup>23)</sup>

1934 3 10

<sup>24)</sup> 1953 9

1956 10 , 56

<sup>25)</sup>

23) ‘

39

1949

~ 1989

(roll)

(Szalontai Balázs)

Szalontai(2008, xv- xviii)

(2012)

24) DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0185

25)

(HILFSAKTION FÜR FLÜCHTLINGSSTUDENTEN IN DER SCHWEIZ Ungarn Kommission Zürich)

(Chō Huan)

(前)

(Dr.



9 ,<sup>26)</sup> ,<sup>27)</sup>  
<sup>28)</sup> 1957 9 7 , (Zürich)  
<sup>29)</sup> (Bonn)  
<sup>30)</sup> ,

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Jozsef Diossilagy) 1956 10 (Belgrade)  
 (UN High Commissioner for Refugees)  
 (Mr. David Galloway)

(a genuine political  
 refugee)  
 (loyalty) (DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No.  
 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.0184). 56  
 (Herzum Péter)  
 (街) (T zoltó utcai harc)  
 2  
 (Adrienne et al. 2006, 124 241).

26) (UNHCR) 1956 20  
 18 , 2  
 37 (Colville 2006, 2).

27) DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame  
 No.0188

28)  
 (NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000  
 0063).

29) 1957 10  
 1957 9 7  
 (DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN  
 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.0184).

30) 1963 2 11

(American-Korean Foundation)

31)

1958 3 (Bonn)

32)

1959 7

(Bern)

(unió)

(konföderáció)

33)

10

34)

(Bonn)

1958 8

31)

1

200

100 )

(DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959

Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0192).

32)

(NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0065). 1958 2 28

( : , )

(DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0189- 0190)

1960 9 13

“23092”

(NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0066).

33) NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0094.



10 27

56

1

35)

12

38)

37)

(Bonn)

38)

1960 1 21 (Bern)

38)

34)

1963

35) NAH Roll No: 53706 Frame No: 2008 0000 0092- 0100

7

[ 1]

36)

1959 12 08

(NAH Roll No: 53706 Frame No: 2008 0000 0089).

37) NAH Roll No: 53706 Frame No: 2008 0000 0087- 0088

38)

1

(NAH Roll No: 53706 Frame No: 2008

0000 0063).

39)

(NAH Roll No: 53706 Frame No: 2008

0000 0068 0070)

[ 2]

,<sup>40)</sup> 1 27 1

.<sup>41)</sup> 1960 1 26 ,  
(attaché) ,

.<sup>42)</sup> ,

40) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0065- 0066

(Historical  
Archives of the Hungarian State Security, Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történelmi  
Levéltára, HAHSS)

1 1958 8 16 , 56  
(Nagy Sándor) (Papp Endre)  
70 1959 , 1  
6 56

(HAHSS 3.2.4 K-84/1-61). 56 1958  
13,766 (HAHSS 3.2.5  
O-8-95/1. Svájci Magyar Emigráció 58), (BM Politikai  
Nyomozó F osztály hírszerző osztálya)

(Svájci Magyar Emigráció)  
(HAHSS 3.2.5 O-8-95/1-5).

1956  
(Nagy Imre) 2  
56

41) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0067.

42) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0063.



‘ (illegally)’

43)

(Földes László)

2 ~ 3

,

44)

4 14 ,

,

3 , 1

45)

46)

‘ (other passport)’

‘ (exit visa)’

47)

### 1) 다른 유사한 사건들과 함께 탈북 디아스포라 발생의 새로운 시기

43) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0073

44) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0081- 0082

45) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0084

46) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0108

47) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0110

, 1990

, 1950                      1960

‘8                      ’  
20

3

1950

(Lankov 2005, 194- 195                      ),<sup>48)</sup>

1962

,<sup>49)</sup>                      1950

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48)                      57                      .

49) 4

“                      :                      ”  
(                      2013, 230-232)<sup>49)</sup>  
,                      3

50)

incident)’ 20 ‘8 (the August 51)

1990

50) DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959 Reg. No. 329 Film No.: K0001 Frame No.: 0183, DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959 Reg. No. 329 Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0193 (Dresden) 10 (IM Sung Man, KIM Young Soo, CHA Dong Cho, KIM Kook Young, KIM Sang Ha, RA Chai Chung, LEE Sung Cho, LEE Myong Keun, CHUN Yong Chung, KIM Sang Bong) (DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959 Reg. No. 329 Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0195).

51) ( 2012, 59-62), 20 ( 2013, 231), ‘8 1956 ~ 1957 (“LEE Sang Jo, KIM Da Bong, CHOI Chang Ik, PARK Chang Ok, YOON Kong Hung, SUH Hai, KO Bong Ki, BANG Ho Sang, PARK Il Woo, President of Pyongyang Communist Party, Many Generals and high ranking Red Army personnel.”) (DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959 Reg. No. 329 Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0200) ‘8

## 2) 이 시기 이후 엄격해진 해외 유학생들의 관리

1950

1960

52)

53)

52)

(Eötvös Loránd Univ.)

1987

(Egy modern Magyar-koreai szótár koncepciója)

ELTE

1983

60

(Kim 1984, 2).

1950

~ 1956

922

1960

(1966 ) 2

(Белов 2003, 212-219)

2005, 60

).

53)

, 1956 6 17 20

6 18 ,



54)

55)

56)

iskola)

(H vösvölgyi  
“ ...

(Kim Ir Szen

(... felemelked , fejlőd Koreának sok-sok szakmunkásra van szüksége. A haza azt várja, hogy Magyarországról is jól képzett ügyes szakemberek térnek majd vissza)”

(Szabad Nép 1956. Június. 23. [http://szabadnet.origo.hu/20060621\\_szeresetek.html](http://szabadnet.origo.hu/20060621_szeresetek.html)).

54)

1956

( 2012. 54. 64), 1957

‘10’ ( 2012. 54. 64).

55) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0063

56) NAH Roll No.: 53706 Frame No.: 2008 0000 0073

2013, 210),

(1976 , 1986 ),

(

2013, 212).

57

58

57) 1962 11 8

1969

( )

(Khrushchev)

(Li Szün Phal)

(Fagyejev) 3

(NAH

Roll No.: 53694 Frame No.: 2008 0000 2320).

58)

(АВІРФ, ф 0102, оп.13, п.7, д.6,

лл.43~45, л.78; 2005 68 )

(АВІРФ, ф 0102, оп.13, п.74, д44, лл.2~8;

2005 69 ),

. 1957 2



) (This information is rather an old story already known to the people, but the reason why I am reporting this to Your Excellency is that this has been confirmed by the two students and also this might be useful in counteract against the recent Communists' unification propaganda campaign).<sup>60)</sup>

60)

60) DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0199.

20 (Bonn)

(“

... (As Your Excellency advised me, I am checking their background and shall continue to be careful to handle these students. ... But still I am careful and I am trying to obtain information on them)”)

(DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0201).

61) “ 400

(Dresden) 10  
(件)

(美韓) (AKF)



62)

1958 9

( 1967/7/8),

63)

(They told me that there are many students about 400 persons only in East Germany, but almost all of them are not delighted to study under the communists' rules and are wondering whether it is true that they would be able to continue to study in West Germany when they chose freedom. Thus I obtained a name list of freedom loving students who, if we could secretly get into touch with them, might come to West Germany. I am enclosing the list showing 10 persons, who are in Dresden, East Germany. Under these circumstances I am studying how I could confidentially handle this case and also I wonder how we can provide school expenses for so many persons in case they could come to us. I presume that AKF may be able to take a necessary measure to meet the possible increase of such necessary assistance as we are now doing to them)"(DAROK Class No.: 743 73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0194).

62) ' ' 1967 7 8

194

. 2006

63) , 1958 1 11 ,

(Frankfurt)

" (our

students)"

(DAROK Class No.: 743

73GE/KN 1957- 1959. Reg. No. 329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No.: 0193).

## 5. 결론

1950

1960

64)

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64) 1980  
52 ), 1980

( 14

1989 12 19



( )

65)

3

. 2012

### 참고문헌

- . 1992. “ ” .
- . 2012. . 93- 131.
- . 2012. : . (1945-

65)

47

4 19

(Golub Mhály)

1

5 16





1993). .

. 2012. “ .” EAI Asia Security Initiative Working Paper 29 .

, (Razuvaev, Vladimir Nikolaevich). 2001. 6 25 3 .

. 2006. “ 對 .” 29 4 . 265- 291.

. 2005. “ (1945~ 1960).” 8 2 . 39- 83.

. 2003. “ : , , .” . 123- 150.

. 2009. “ .” 52 3 . 189- 282.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2011. “ .” 54 1 . 220- 283.

. 2013. “ : .” 7 1 . 199- 234.

. 2012. “ : .” 54 . 257- 285.

. 2012. “ .” 19 2 . 5- 39.

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DAROK Class No.: 729.5. Reg. No.142~ 143, 145. Film No.: G0001. Frame No. 0557~ 0866. 0933~ 1064.

DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957-1959. Reg. No.329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0183~ 0185.

DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957-1959. Reg. No.329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0188~ 0190.

DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957-1959. Reg. No.329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0192~ 0195.

DAROK Class No.: 743.73GE/KN 1957-1959. Reg. No.329. Film No.: K0001. Frame No. 0199~ 0201.

HAHSS 3.2.4. K-84/1. 61.

HAHSS 3.2.5. O-8-95/1. Svájci Magyar Emigráció 58.

HAHSS 3.2.5. O-8-95/1-5.

NAH Box No.: 43. Code No.: 81-72. Document No.: 0012.

NAH Box No.: 43. Code No.: 81-72. Document No.: 0012.

NAH Roll No.: 53694. Frame No.: 2008 0000 2320.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0063.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0065~ 0068.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0070.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0073.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0081~ 0082.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0084.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0087~ 0089.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0092~ 0100.

NAH Roll No.: 53706. Frame No.: 2008 0000 0110.

NAH XIX-J-1-k. Box No.: 8. 1/25/3/1957.

<http://www.unikorea.go.kr/CmsWeb/viewPage.req?idx=PG0000000166>( :  
2013 4 22 ).

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/08/16/statement-press-secretary-hr-1402-hr-3670-hr-4240-s-3510>( : 2013 4 29 ).

# North Korean Diasporas in Eastern Europe at 1950s~1960's and Its Importance as New Era of Occurrence of Diaspora

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Sungkyunkwan University

Since the middle of the 1990s, more than 25,000 North Koreans have settled in South Korea, and researchers estimate that a further 20,000 North Korean refugees have migrated mainly to China, Southeast Asia, America, and Europe. Many of these refugees cite economic factors as the main motive for their escape, which more or less coincided with the North Korean famine, but before the 1990s there were two other periods that saw relatively large-scale emigration from North Korea, which occurred for other reasons. This paper identifies and compares the three periods, using archival sources from Korea, Hungary, and the former Soviet Union. It also uses the representative case of a North Korean medical student in Hungary to provide a unique perspective on a number of important historical events, including the August Incident in North Korea and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

**Key Words:** Korean Diaspora, North Korean Defectors, Archives, Confidential Documents of Foreign Affairs of Hungary and South Korea, Hungary

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