

WANPAOSHAN, 1931:  
JAPANESE IMPERIALISM, CHINESE NATIONALISM  
AND THE KOREAN PROBLEM IN NORTHEAST CHINA ON  
THE EVE OF THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT

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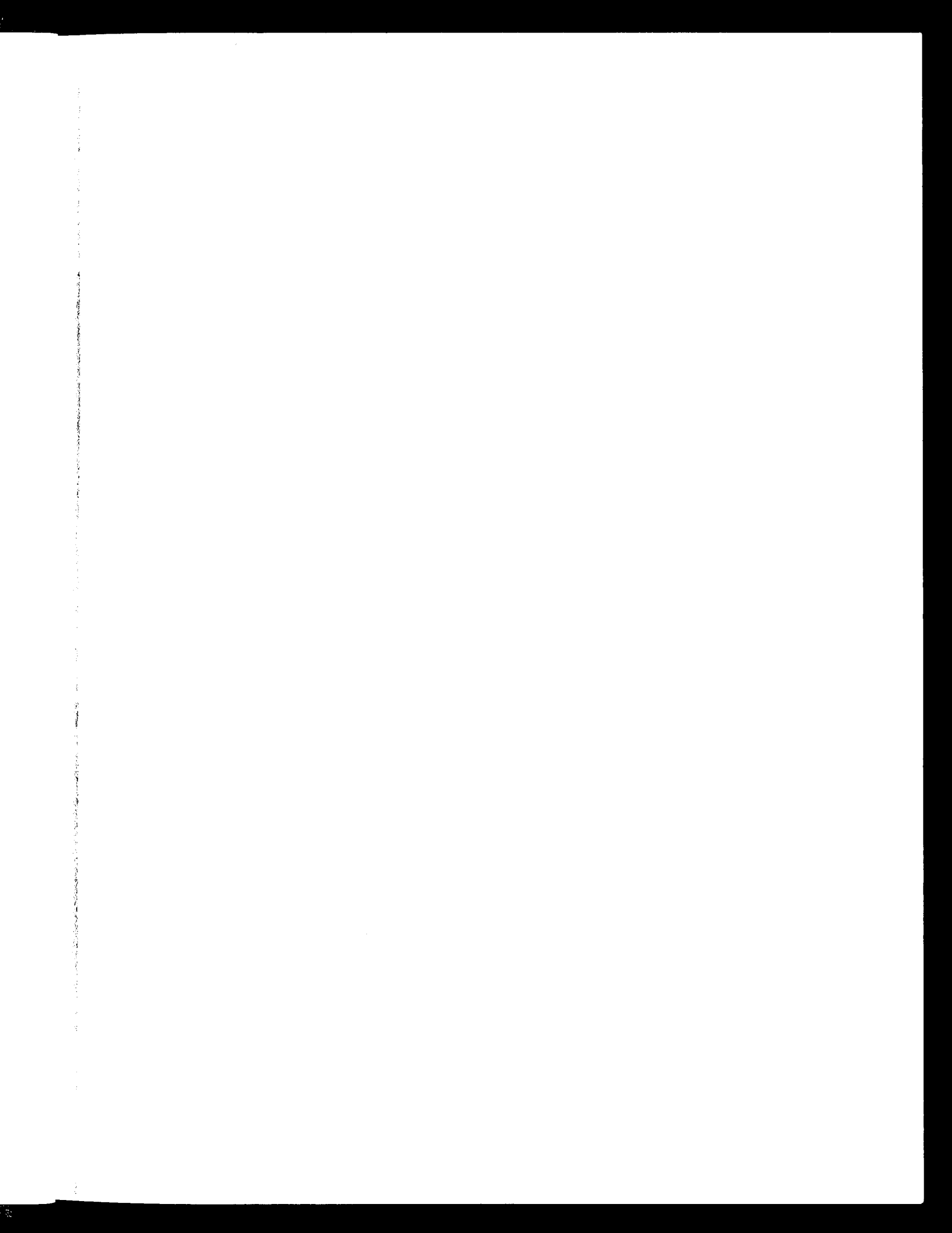
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# MANCHURIA (INCLUDING JEHOL) PRE-1931 ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS



Reprinted from IRIS, (Asia) Manchuria Administrative Area, 1931 No. 8322. Available in Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

Note: Crosshatched area is the Chientao region.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In June and July of 1931 a problem over the farming rights of a group of Koreans near Wanpaoshan in Kirin Province, Manchuria, led to a major diplomatic conflict between Japan and China. The Wanpaoshan Incident, as this problem and events surrounding it became known, has been cited, along with the Nakamura Incident shortly after, as one of the proximate causes of the Sino-Japanese crisis which culminated in the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931.<sup>1</sup>

Superficially the Wanpaoshan Incident stemmed from a relatively minor conflict between 200 Korean farmers and twelve Chinese landowners, in which a proper understanding had not been reached over the digging of an irrigation ditch by the Koreans through land owned by the Chinese. Under "normal" conditions, the dispute could probably have been settled amicably. Conditions in Manchuria in 1931 were hardly "normal," however, and Japan and China rushed police to the scene to protect the rights of their nationals. Sensationalist reports of the incident in the Korean press incited serious anti-Chinese riots in Korea, which in turn led to a mass boycott of Japanese goods in Shanghai. Sino-Japanese relations deteriorated drastically as a result of the incidents, with both sides refusing to yield to compromise in negotiations. Shortly after, Kwantung Army activists took matters into their own hands and began maneuvers to bring Manchuria under Japanese control.

During negotiations on the Wanpaoshan Incident, China claimed that what the Koreans were doing was illegal, not only because the Koreans did not have a contract with the Chinese landowners for the lease of the land necessary for the irrigation ditch, but also because Koreans who had not been naturalized as Chinese subjects did not have the right to reside in Manchuria



outside of the Chientao region, an area north of the Tumen River bordering northeastern Korea. Japan, who claimed Koreans as her nationals by virtue of her colonial powers in Korea, charged that Chinese were denying Koreans the right to extraterritoriality in South Manchuria, which had been won by Japan in 1915. Furthermore, she claimed China was pursuing a policy of oppressing Koreans in the Northeast,<sup>2</sup> including evicting Koreans from farmlands, abrogating tenant leases, forcing them to become Chinese subjects, and denying them the right to purchase or lease land.

The Korean farmers were thus caught between the irreconcilable forces of Japan and China, and the dispute affected far more than the 200 who wanted to dig a ditch. By 1931 about one million Koreans had emigrated to Manchuria because of economic difficulties or political repression under Japanese colonial rule. In Manchuria Japan claimed them as Japanese subjects and maintained the right to exercise jurisdiction over them under the rules of extraterritoriality. With the rising tide of Chinese nationalism in the mid-and late 1920s, China perceived this large number of Koreans in Manchuria as a threat to her sovereignty and a major obstacle in the path towards national unification and political independence.

One important manifestation of the emergent Chinese nationalism was the Rights Recovery Movement, a national crusade started in 1926 to abolish the unequal treaties which the West and Japan had won from China in the previous century. These treaties included agreements giving foreigners in China the right to extraterritorial status, by which foreign residents were subject to the laws and jurisdiction of their home countries rather than those of China; a fixed tariff system, controlled and determined by the Treaty Powers; foreign control of customs income; and a host of concessions to land

and economic enterprises, placing those all outside of Chinese control.

China's first task on the road to national sovereignty was national unification; she knew the West would never agree to treaty revision unless China was united politically. After Yuan Shih-kai's death in 1915, China was fragmented into contending power centers, each under the control of a local warlord, with his own army and political apparatus. By the mid-1920s, for example, an alliance of Nationalist forces controlled Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces in the South, Wu Pei-fu ruled Hupeh and Honan, Sun Ch'uan-fang governed much of the lower Yangtze, and Chang Tso-lin's power stretched from Manchuria south to Peking. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, Nationalist armies commenced the Northern Expedition in mid-1926, in an effort to dismantle the rival warlord armies and bring the nation under unified control. On June 6, 1928, after his troops had entered Peking, Chiang announced his intention for an early end to the unequal treaties.<sup>3</sup> On July 7 of the same year the Nationalist government, newly established at Nanking, declared its intention of replacing all unequal treaties with different arrangements. All treaties already expired, even if in the process of renewal, were to be cancelled, and those treaties not yet expired were to be terminated after negotiations between the respective parties.<sup>4</sup>

Japan watched these new developments in China with some discomfort. She saw the Northern Expedition as a threat to her interests in Manchuria, and Kuomintang control over the Northeastern Provinces could signal an end to her hard-won rights and concessions there. Manchuria held a special place in the hearts of many Japanese. It had been the site of bloody battles in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, and the Manchurian rights Japan had gained at the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905 and under the Twenty-One Demands of

1915 were an emblem of her thrust into the ranks of the Western imperialist powers and her worthiness to sit at international bargaining tables. In Manchuria Japan controlled the Kwantung Leased Territory, including Port Arthur and Dairen, and the South Manchuria Railway, whose main line stretched from Dairen to Ch'angch'un. Japan controlled the zones around the railway area and protected them with Kwantung Army troops. The South Manchuria Railway Company, a government-controlled corporation in charge of all activities of the railway, also operated coal mining facilities at Fushun and Yentai, as well as a number of other mining, electrical and warehousing enterprises.<sup>5</sup> Japan's stake in Manchuria was thus considerable.

After 1925 Chang Tso-lin controlled Peking and ruled much of north China, as well as his home base in Manchuria. Although his power had been established with the assistance of the Japanese army, by 1926 Chang was becoming less inclined to obey Japan's wishes and had ambitions to control all of China. After the start of the Northern Expedition, many Japanese feared that if Chang lost out to the northward-bound Nationalist forces in battle, Japan would lose any chance of keeping Manchuria separate from the rest of China; they came to regard the only way for Japan to preserve her special position in Manchuria as intervention and obtaining control of Manchurian affairs. In a plot conceived by the Kwantung Army officer, Kōmoto Daisaku, on June 3, 1928, the train carrying Chang Tso-lin from Peking to Mukden was bombed, and Chang was killed. Kōmoto's hopes for ensuing disorder to bring about Japanese intervention did not materialize. Instead, Chang's son, Chang Hsueh-liang, took power, and Chang Tso-lin's assassination had the effect of hardening the anti-Japanese sentiment of Chinese officials in Manchuria and precluding any possibility that all the pending problems

between the two nations might be settled.

In December, 1928, Chang Hsueh-liang accepted the Chinese Nationalist flag in Manchuria and declared allegiance to Nanking. In return he was confirmed as administrator of Manchuria and Commander of the Northeastern Frontier Army. Nationalist Party branches were established in Manchuria, and party publications advocated the abolition of the unequal treaties. China was thus unified, on the surface, at least. In actuality, regional leaders continued to maintain virtually autonomous control over their domains even while they professed allegiance to the Nationalist government at Nanking. This was the case in Manchuria.

In May, 1929, the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist Party) central executive and central advisory committees, at their second plenary conference, decided to step up preparations for the enactment of new laws to replace the system of extraterritoriality, and demanded the restoration to China of the special concessions, including Port Arthur and Dairen.<sup>6</sup> The Nationalist government sought to pursue the objectives of treaty revision under its close supervision in order to avoid any popular outburst of antiforeignism, which might harm them in negotiations with the Treaty Powers.

In Manchuria, however, where foreign rights were most in evidence and where local officials paid only nominal allegiance to Nanking, there was strong anti-Japanese sentiment, and officials took frequent measures to harass Japan. China began construction on railroads to parallel those of the South Manchuria Railway Company, and frequently subjected Japanese subjects to unlawful taxation both inside and outside of the Railway Zones, contravening the rules of extraterritoriality. Officials also frustrated Japanese attempts to build and extend new railways, as well as numerous other economic enterprises.

Japanese subjects who resided in Manchuria thus felt the effects of the Rights Recovery Movement to a strong degree. And Koreans suffered the most.

Under such conditions the Wanpaoshan Incident occurred. This paper will examine that incident and will place it within the milieu of the "Korean problem" in Manchuria in the years before the Manchurian Incident. The "Korean problem" in a narrow sense refers to the maltreatment accorded Korean residents by Chinese officials, especially after 1927, when Koreans were perceived as a "tool" of Japanese aggression in Manchuria. In a larger perspective, however, the "problem" entailed the fact that Koreans were caught in the maelstrom of international rivalries in Manchuria, in which China, swept up in a nationalistic fervor, sought to assert her sovereign rights by placing restrictions on Japanese subjects, and Japan, intent on maintaining or extending her "special position" in Manchuria, to an extent used the presence of those Koreans as further evidence of her interests in the region. Koreans in Manchuria were thus caught between the contending forces of Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism.

Japanese policy in Northeast China in this period has been treated in a number of English language works, but little has been written on the Wanpaoshan Incident, despite its importance in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Even less has been written in English on the subject of Koreans in Manchuria and the measures taken by Chinese officials to restrict Koreans' rights of residence and livelihood, which constituted an important part of the Chinese Rights Recovery Movement. In the absence of other monographs, we need to begin with an examination of the Wanpaoshan Incident. In it we can find all the seeds of the "Korean problem" in Manchuria as it existed on the eve of the Manchurian Incident.

## II. THE WANPAOSHAN INCIDENT

Sanhsingpao is a small farming settlement eighteen miles north of Ch'angch'un in Kirin Province, at the foot of the Wanpaoshan mountain. It was to this village that a group of Korean farmers came and surveyed a tract of land in February, 1931. After investigating the land's relation to irrigation, land quality, productivity and proximity to markets, the Koreans concluded the land was ideal for paddy rice cultivation.

The Koreans decided to go through a Chinese broker rather than negotiate with the twelve individual Chinese who owned the tract of land. On April 16, 1931, the broker, Hao Yung-teh, manager of the Chang Nung Agricultural Company, leased this tract of land from the landowners and shortly thereafter subleased it to the Koreans. The contract between Hao and the Chinese landowners stipulated that the land would depend on the nearby It'ung River for irrigation, and the owners of land transversed by any irrigation ditches would be duly compensated at a fixed rate per unit of land. The lease was also to be null and void if the terms were not approved by the district authorities. A second contract, between Hao and the Koreans, made no mention of the official sanction required by the original contract with the Chinese landowners. Also, it was understood in this second contract that irrigation ditches were to be dug, though no provisions were laid down for renting the necessary land.<sup>1</sup>

The representative for the Koreans called together Koreans from neighboring areas, and by early April about 200 fellow-immigrants had come to Wanpaoshan to take up permanent residence. Shortly after the contract with Hao was concluded, the Koreans began digging a ditch, twenty li long, from the It'ung River to the leased land. They also commenced work on a dam

on the It'ung to divert water necessary for the ditch.

Work on the ditch was eighty-nine percent complete when on May 24 the Public Safety Bureau of Ch'angch'un ordered all digging to stop. The following day China dispatched fifty armed troops to the scene and ordered the immediate expulsion of the Koreans. On May 31, 200 more Chinese troops arrived and ordered the 100 Chinese coolies employed by the Koreans in the digging of the ditch to stop their work. They ordered the Koreans to leave by June 1 and took nine Korean leaders into custody.<sup>2</sup> China sent forces to the scene because of complaints from the owners of the land cut through by the ditch. The Chinese landowners claimed the Koreans were unlawfully digging a ditch without having entered into a contract with the owners, and that the dam being built would flood surrounding fields and disrupt communications on the river.<sup>3</sup> The landowners protested to Ma, district head of Ch'angch'un, and petitioned the provincial government for suspension of the Koreans' work. The provincial government ordered Ma to take strict measures to stop further construction.<sup>4</sup>

This was the start of disputes between Japan and China over the rights of the Wanpaoshan Koreans to farm the area. On June 1 the Japanese consul at Ch'angch'un sent six police officers under Inspector Nakagawa, an officer in the Kwantung Army, to the scene to protect the Koreans and allow them to continue construction.<sup>5</sup>

Why over a month elapsed from the start of the digging to the order of suspension is something of mystery. Chinese accounts of the incident fail to explain it. Japanese versions maintain that negotiations were going on with the landlords throughout the construction period, but the landlord who owned the land through the portion of the ditch not yet completed, next to

the river, demanded an exorbitant sum from the Koreans. When they refused to pay, the landowner joined with another landlord who owned land through a completed portion of the ditch and stirred up residents at Sanhsingpao, saying that the dam would flood their fields.<sup>6</sup>

Tensions reached dramatic heights in early June. Tashiro, the Japanese Consul at Ch'angch'un, issued a warning to the Chinese, stating that although there may have been a loophole in the Koreans' contract with broker Hao—the agreement required sanction from the district, but it lacked provisions for negotiating with the other landlords themselves—the Koreans were unaware of it and had only good intentions. To suspend their work now by force would be unjust. The consul also protested the arrest of the nine Wanpaoshan Koreans, and the Chinese released them on June 3.<sup>7</sup>

In negotiations with District Head Ma, the Japanese claimed that it would be unlawful to abrogate the contract with the Koreans, for they said it had already been approved by the district authorities. As for the ditch, communications in the fields would not be cut off, because the Koreans had already promised to build two car bridges and one walk bridge across the ditch. They admitted some flooding might occur because of the dam on the It'ung, but the damaged area would be grass land. If the dam were destroyed by heavy rains, the extent of flooding would not be especially great.<sup>8</sup>

When the matter was first brought up, Ma claimed that he thought there would be forty or fifty residents at Wanpaoshan at the most; when over 200 arrived, he feared there were communists among them, making control of them extremely difficult.<sup>9</sup> Throughout later negotiations, the Chinese maintained that no further work on the ditch or dam could continue. They held that damage to surrounding fields would be significant, with severe



economic ramifications for the Chinese landowners, and the extent of the damage would make it impossible for the Koreans to compensate the landowners for their losses. Furthermore, it would be impossible for the Chinese to withdraw their forces until the Koreans left the area.

Consul Tashiro reached an impasse with Chinese local officials and informed Consul General Ishii at Kirin of the situation. They decided to bring the matter up with the Kirin Provincial Government.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, construction on the ditch and dam resumed under the protection of Inspector Nakagawa, and a number of other Koreans arrived to help with the construction. On June 8 Nakagawa returned to Ch'angch'un to report the course of events since the outbreak of the incident. He stressed the need for reinforcements. The following day the consulate dispatched thirty additional police armed with machine guns to the site.<sup>11</sup>

After negotiations resumed, representatives of both sides decided to send a joint investigating team to Wanpaoshan to judge the facts of the case. On June 9 the team left Ch'angch'un. They observed the banks of the It'ung and the dam site the same day. The following day they went along the irrigation ditch to the tract of land the Koreans had leased. On their way back they again visited the dam site; they returned to Ch'angch'un that evening.

On June 11, when the Japanese members of the investigating team were still deliberating on the facts of the case in the Yamato Hotel in Ch'angch'un, they received the report of the Chinese members of the team.<sup>12</sup> The Chinese reiterated their past contentions—that there were no contracts with the landlords along the irrigation ditch, that the dam would cause flooding to large areas of land, and that the dam would severely disrupt communications on the It'ung. The Chinese concluded:

Since the matter in dispute involves the violation of legitimate and inherent rights of many landowners and farmers and interference with the public means of communication and navigation, no nation should tolerate<sup>13</sup> such violation and interference by the nationals of another nation.

The same day, in a meeting with Japanese Consul Tashiro, the Chinese suggested that the lands leased by the Koreans be used as dry fields, though without official sanction, and that the broker, Hao Yung-teh, be made to compensate the Koreans for their losses. Japan immediately rejected any proposals involving the suspension of the Koreans' work on the ditch and paddy fields. On the morning of July 12 Tashiro sent another five police to Wanpaoshan.<sup>14</sup>

Negotiations continued between the two sides through June, but neither side found room for compromise. On June 15 Consul-General Hayashi of Mukden met with Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin Province, in an attempt to reach a settlement on all outstanding issues surrounding the incident. Hayashi proposed a course of negotiations between the disputant landlords and Korean farmers over lease of the land necessary for the irrigation ditch and over damages that might arise from dam construction. Chang demurred from direct involvement, suggesting that negotiations be continued between Tashiro and a local Chinese official, Chou Yu-ping, Director of the Ch'angch'un Municipality.<sup>15</sup>

On July 1 about 400 local Chinese, apparently frustrated at the failure of their officials to resolve the case, and seeing construction continued by the Koreans under the protection of 150 Japanese police, drove the Koreans from the excavation site and filled in much of the ditch. The following day they approached the dam site, armed belligerently with various agricultural implements. The Japanese police fired shots and dispersed them.

Consul Tashiro attempted a meeting with Chou, but the latter refused,



Plate 1. Scene of the completed irrigation ditch.  
Photographs reproduced from Wanpaoshan Incident and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Korea.

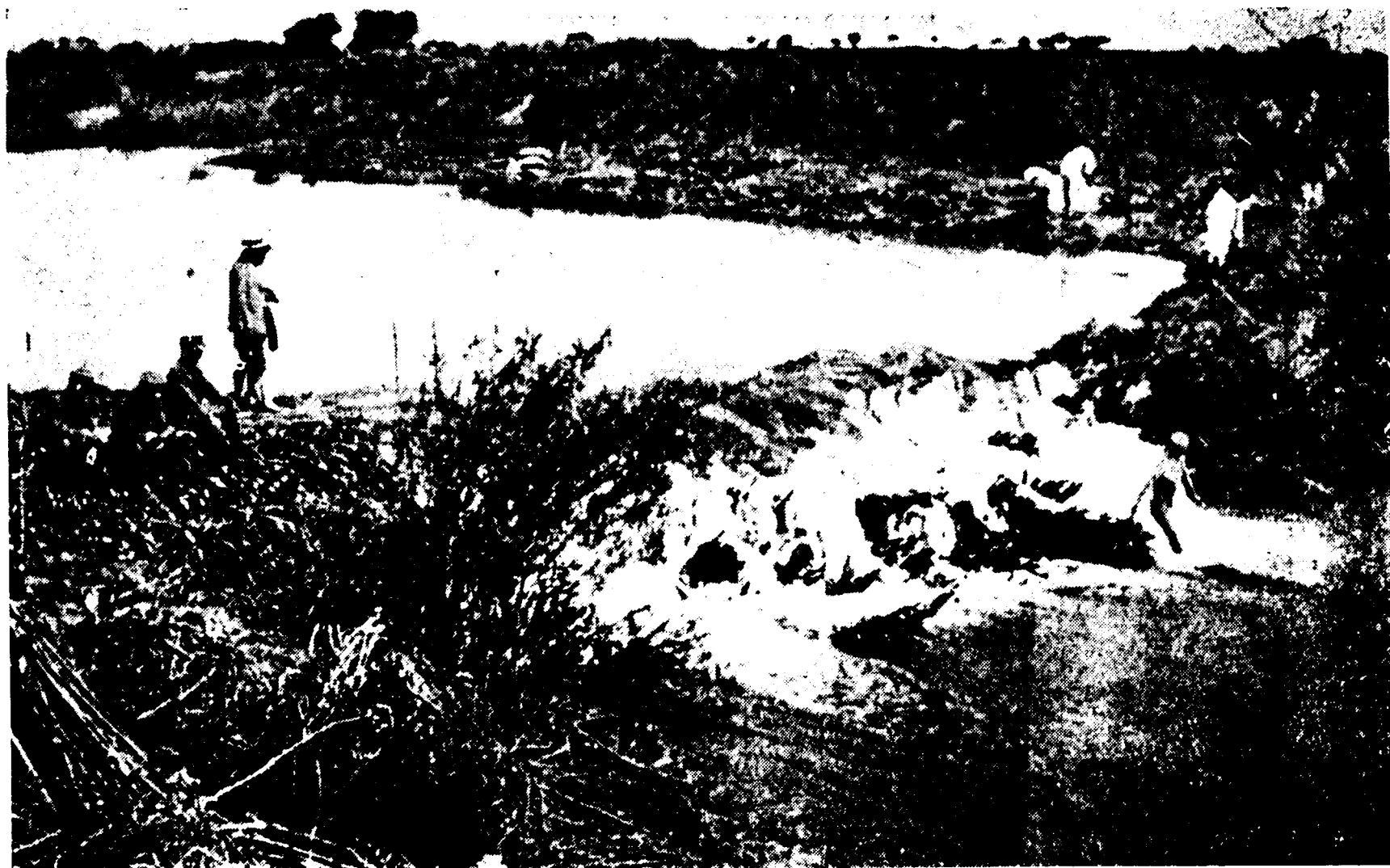


Plate 2. Dam on the I'tung to divert water to the irrigation ditch. Notice the Japanese police to the left.



Plate 3. Street in P'yongyang, Korea, after anti-Chinese riots.

claiming illness. Tashiro warned that this and any subsequent incident would be the complete responsibility of the Chinese. The Chinese in turned claimed that, given the merits of the case, it would be impossible to suppress the spontaneous feelings of the Chinese farmers. They vigorously protested the firing on the Chinese by the Japanese police.<sup>16</sup>

The same day (July 2) the consulate dispatched Police Chief Matsunaga to Wanpaoshan with an additional force of nine men; China also sent 300 mounted forces to the site. Nakagawa called for the mobilization of Japanese forces. On July 3 Japan sent in a machine-gun corps, including mounted troops. The presence of the heavily armed Japanese forces precluded any further incidents on the part of the Chinese, and the Koreans began to repair the ditch and continue dam construction.<sup>17</sup>

As if the escalation of hostilities at Wanpaoshan were not enough, events taking place in Korea as a result of the July 1 and 2 incidents further complicated negotiations between Japan and China. Sensationalist reports in the Korean press concerning the incident of July 1 and 2, and stories of Chinese persecution of Koreans in Manchuria in general, sparked a number of anti-Chinese riots. Known collectively as the Korea Incident, they caused considerable loss of life and property to Chinese residents in all parts of Korea.

The first attacks on Chinese started on the evening of July 2 at Wŏnsan; similar incidents spread to P'yŏngyang and Seoul shortly after. Mobs assaulted Chinese residents, and thousands of Chinese stores and houses were looted and destroyed. The Chinese Minister to Japan, Wang Yung-pao, claimed that 119 Chinese were killed, approximately 370 injured, and 82 were still missing as of August 26. In addition, damage to Chinese property was over 2,700,000

yen.<sup>18</sup> What was most galling to the Chinese was that they believed Japanese police in Korea did not take adequate measures to prevent or stop the violence. They demanded compensation for the families of all those killed and for damages sustained by Chinese merchants.

On July 7 the Japanese Cabinet met to discuss the Wanpaoshan and Korea Incidents. They devised methods to guarantee the safety of Chinese lives and property in Korea and to institute relief measures for the sufferers. Foreign Minister Shidehara maintained that it was not Japan's legal responsibility to compensate the victims, but he did express sympathy and proposed that a fund be established for the families of those Chinese killed. Neither side could come to terms in resolving the Korea Incident by the time of the Manchurian Incident on September 18.<sup>19</sup>

The riots against Chinese residents in Korea led to a boycott of Japanese goods by Chinese merchants in Shanghai. In such an atmosphere little progress could be realized towards a settlement of the Wanpaoshan Incident. Negotiations did continue between the two sides, however. On July 11 Chang Hsueh-liang ordered Kirin authorities to settle the incident locally. On the fifteenth, Consul-General Hayashi of Mukden, whose appointment as ambassador to Brazil was postponed due to the situation in Manchuria, met with Chang Tso-hsiang and reached an agreement on views.<sup>20</sup>

On July 22 Japanese consular officials in Manchuria resumed negotiations with local officials and exchanged notes with the Chinese Foreign Office. The Japanese withdrew their forces from Wanpaoshan on August 8, but still maintained that the Koreans must be allowed to continue farming. On August 13 the Japanese suggested that the contract with the Koreans be put on a legal basis and that their farming become a joint Chinese-Korean enterprise,

under the control of the Chinese authorities, but China rejected the proposal.<sup>21</sup>

The Wanpaoshan Incident involved more than just a simple dispute over the irrigation rights of the Korean farmers; the whole subject of Korean residence rights in Manchuria was at issue. Japan maintained that, under the terms of treaties signed as a result of the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 (to be discussed in detail in Chapter IV), Koreans, as Japanese subjects, were entitled to the right to reside and travel freely and engage in agricultural enterprises in any part of South Manchuria. Furthermore, she contended that China's attempt to evict the Wanpaoshan Koreans was but one of many Chinese acts of oppression against Koreans throughout the Northeast.

China maintained that Koreans had no residence rights in South Manchuria outside of the Chientao region. Under the terms of the Chientao Agreement of 1909, Koreans had the right to reside in specified areas to the north of the Tumen River bordering the northeastern corner of Korea. China did not accept the validity of the Twenty-One Demands. Furthermore, she stated that it was impossible for her to accept the use of Japanese forces in any part of the Three Eastern Provinces.

Behind China's contentions was the fear that Koreans in Manchuria were being used by Japan in a predetermined plan to take over Manchuria. According to Whitewall Wang, the Chinese author of a volume on the Wanpaoshan and Korea Incidents:

The Japanese government has long cherished, and is even dreaming for the realization of, a set of policies with respect to Manchuria and Mongolia. But as Japanese are bad colonists, so the Korean settlers in Manchuria are utilized as its "cat's paw." The forced excavation of a channel at Wanpaoshan by the Koreans is, therefore, but one phase of the sinister designs which the Japanese government has long entertained for the exploitation of the land . . .<sup>22</sup>



This fear was a pervasive feeling among Chinese officials in Manchuria. We will now address the question of whether Koreans were indeed the "cat's paw" of Japan by examining the reasons for Korean emigration to Manchuria.

### III. KOREAN EMIGRATION TO MANCHURIA

By the time of the Wanpaoshan Incident, there were about one million Koreans living in Manchuria.<sup>1</sup> Most of them were concentrated in areas contiguous to Korea, north of the Tumen and Yalu rivers, but there were not a few who settled in remote reaches in the northern and western extremities, far from major centers of commercial or political activity. The presence of such a large number of Koreans cannot but have had significance in the conflict between Japan and China in Manchuria, for they came to be perceived by the late 1920's as an "advance guard" of Japanese imperialism in the Northeastern Provinces. The causes for this large influx of Korean immigrants have direct bearing on the merits of that contention.

Koreans have a long historical connection with Manchuria. Before the seventeenth century, Koreans occupied a number of areas in eastern Liaoning Province. Even after the Manchu conquest of China in 1644, a number of Koreans still inhabited areas north of the Yalu and Tumen Rivers. The Manchu rulers of the Ch'ing Dynasty made the fertile Tumen Valley part of an imperial reserve and restricted immigration there.<sup>2</sup> Also, the Korean government at the time pursued a strict exclusionist policy, and officials executed on the spot those subjects found attempting to cross the border into China. A number of Koreans emigrated there despite the prohibition. This was especially evident after 1869, when a severe drought and famine in western Korea lasting five years brought large numbers across the border.<sup>3</sup> China subsequently abandoned her policy of restricting immigrants and in 1877 opened a special office at Chutsuchieh for the purpose of inviting Koreans to bring the virgin soils in Manchuria under cultivation.<sup>4</sup>

There were probably quite a few Koreans emigrating to Manchuria after

the Russo-Japanese War. A number had been forcibly transmigrated to the Sino-Korean border in 1904-5 in order to form a bulwark against Russian penetration.<sup>5</sup> This area of Korea, especially in the Hamgyōng Provinces, was economically depressed. Korea was a vassal state of China until the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. Korean immigration, therefore, was not an active concern of the Chinese authorities. Despite the evidence of early emigration to Manchuria, however, large-scale immigration did not occur until after Korea became a colony of Japan.

Japan raised the Sino-Korean border question shortly after the Sino-Japanese War, claiming that the area north of the Tumen River, known as the Chientao region, should be Korean territory because of the large number of Koreans there. Two years after Korea became a Japanese protectorate, in September, 1907, Japan dispatched a small garrison of troops to the area with the ostensible aim of protecting the lives of resident Koreans. At the same time she set up a Detached Office of the Residency-General of Korea, which aided in the establishment of schools, post offices, markets, agricultural stations, an observatory and a charity hospital. On September 4, 1909, Japan and China signed an agreement, commonly referred to as the Chientao Agreement, which established the Tumen River as the border between Korea and China. With the border question finally settled, Japan closed her Detached Office. This Agreement also contained provisions for the right of Koreans to reside in the Chientao region,<sup>6</sup> and will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Population statistics for Koreans in Manchuria for the period before 1910 are unreliable because no detailed records were kept by China, Japan or Korea. A figure of 82,999 Koreans in 1909 was given by the Japanese

MAP 2



Reprinted from A History of Korea by Takashi Hatada  
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Gendarmerie Station in Chientao,<sup>7</sup> but this must be considered a poor approximation, for a number lived in areas outside of Chientao. Also, Japanese control over Koreans in the region was not all-inclusive in these years.

Through the annexation treaty of August 22, 1910, Korea became a colony of Japan, ruled by a Japanese administration, with little real practical power in the administration of the peninsula given to Koreans. Although most Koreans acquiesced in Japanese colonial rule, their compliance often masked a seething resentment towards the new administration. This resentment was at times manifested in belligerent acts against police forces on the peninsula or in nonviolent demonstrations against the discriminatory policies of their Japanese rulers. The causes for Korean emigration to Manchuria must thus be viewed in light of the manner in which Koreans responded to colonial rule and the difficulties the people faced in earning a livelihood.

Japanese officials during the colonial period gave rather vague reasons for Korean emigration to Manchuria. Government-General sources in Korea cited the generally high cost of commodities on the peninsula after annexation and the attractiveness of the many virgin fertile lands north of the Tumen, where Koreans could earn a livelihood more easily than at home.<sup>8</sup> Others, such as M. M. Amano, writing on the problems of Koreans in Chientao, spoke disparagingly of the Koreans' inability to cope with the modern capitalist form of agriculture established by the Japanese colonial administration and the mounting indebtedness of the farmers.<sup>9</sup>

The Chinese, at least before 1915, to an extent welcomed Koreans, for they felt genuine sympathy for their plight. They believed Koreans were forced off their lands by Japanese companies and individuals, and thought Japan had a preconceived plan to force Koreans out of the country in order

to make room for Japanese.<sup>10</sup>

Causes for Korean emigration can be broken down into those political and those economic, although it would be impossible to venture a guess as to which cause was predominant. Japan tended to downplay political causes, for recognizing them would reflect back on the inadequacies of her colonial rule on the peninsula. A field survey of 201 Korean families in 1931 in central Kirin Province showed that only seven cited political oppression as the reason they emigrated; the rest cited economic reasons, for the most part their inability to make a living at home.<sup>11</sup>

The number leaving for political reasons must not be underestimated, however. That disaffected Koreans and Korean "malcontents" (futei Senjin) posed a serious problem to Japan throughout the entire period after annexation, and even after the establishment of the state of Manchukuo in 1932, is evidenced by rigorous Japanese surveillance and the rounding up of Koreans into "Subsidized Settlement Zones" or "Chosenese Farm Settlements" in Manchuria. Such measures did not, however, rid Manchuria of large numbers of independence activists and communist groups.

Japanese colonial rule in Korea was especially harsh, and those world-wide currents of thought calling for self-determination of nations or liberation from colonial powers, enunciated most clearly in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, also manifested themselves in Korea on a wide-scale after the First World War. The rules of the first two Governors-General of Korea, Terauchi and Hasegawa, culminated in the celebrated March 1 Uprising of 1919. Thousands of Koreans gathered in Seoul, and later in other parts of the country, to declare their independence from Japanese rule. The demonstrations were for the most part peaceful, led by Ch'ondogyo and Christian leaders, many of

whom had been stirred by Wilson's rhetoric. The disturbances were quickly suppressed and many thousands of Koreans were killed or imprisoned.<sup>12</sup> The ruthless tactics used by the Japanese in suppressing the demonstrations created an outcry in many parts of the world, including Japan.

Although again it is impossible to state the total numbers that emigrated due to political reasons, patterns in the numbers emigrating in certain years appear to coincide with crucial events occurring within Korea. In the three years after annexation, about 60,000 emigrated to Manchuria, a small number (less than 3,000) of which returned. A number of these emigrants may have left out of dissatisfaction with the new Japanese colonial administration. In 1917 over 12,000 left, half of which returned the same year. In 1918 and 1919, 32,000 and 37,000 emigrated respectively, and about 10,000 of these returned.<sup>13</sup> This sudden increase is probably indicative of the rising discontent among the populace which culminated in the March 1 disturbances.

Although the rule of Baron Saitō Makoto, initiated in 1919 as a direct result of the March 1 Uprising, worked to ameliorate some of the gross inequities of colonial rule to this point, Japanese control over the peninsula was actually strengthened by an increase in the number of police, as well as by the establishment of more Japanese police boxes in rural areas, whereby surveillance over the local citizenry was virtually complete. Under such a situation, it was impossible for a successful liberation movement to materialize within Korea, and large numbers of Koreans emigrated to Manchuria to carry on anti-Japanese activities. In addition, there were perhaps as many as 200,000 Koreans living in Siberia by 1921, some of whom were trained in revolutionary activities by the Bolsheviks.<sup>14</sup>

Border raids by Korean revolutionaries in Manchuria against Japanese

police in Korea became frequent after 1920. From September to October 1920 a group of about 400 revolutionaries created disturbances, including the burning and looting of the Japanese consulate office at Hunch'un, in the Chientao region, forcing Japan to send six batallions there to restore order.<sup>15</sup> Japanese concern over the growing menace of dissident Korean elements in Northeast China led to the signing of the so-called Mitsuya Agreement of 1925, discussed in detail in Chapter IV, which gave China the right to suppress anti-Japanese societies in eastern Liaoning Province and arrest those Koreans of "bad character" and turn them over to Japanese police officials.

Those emigrating to Manchuria for economic reasons probably predominated after 1920, due to the deterioration of conditions for the Korean farmers and the dislocations caused by indebtedness and dwindling areas of cultivable land on the peninsula. Although the numbers leaving the country purely for economic reasons cannot be ascertained, economic factors which could induce the emigration of impoverished farmers are more easily quantifiable. Because the majority of those leaving for Manchuria were farmers, and because Korea was throughout the colonial period primarily an agricultural country, with eighty percent of its residents farmers, we can infer some of the reasons for emigration by examining the economic situation of the Korean farmer.

The completion of the cadastral survey in 1918 was perhaps the single most important accomplishment of the colonial administration. The massive eight-year project was initiated in order to establish ownership rights over lands on the peninsula so that a proper system of taxation could be instituted and land ownership by Japanese facilitated. Because ownership in many areas had never been clearly established, many people who had cleared and cultivated



land over a long period were deprived of ownership rights. Lacking written confirmation, there was little they could do to defend themselves. The cadastral survey was not a land reform and did not involve the redistribution of land on an equitable basis. The survey, therefore, had the effect of legitimizing an unjust system of landlord-tenant relations inherited from the Yi Dynasty. Under the new system a number of Koreans lost their lands upon failure to pay taxes, and by the end of the survey, there were 40,000 fewer Korean households owning farmland than before.<sup>16</sup>

In the wake of the survey, Japanese began to purchase a number of fertile lands on the peninsula. According to an investigation completed in 1922, there were 148 Japanese companies and individuals owning farm estates of over thirty chō each (one chō equals approximately 2.45 acres) on the peninsula as of 1921. Most of these lands were tenant cultivated and located in the predominantly agricultural provinces of the south. These lands constituted over 100,000 chō of arable farmland. In addition to these lands, almost 80,000 chō were lands owned by the Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha, or Oriental Development Company, a quasi-official Japanese concern established for the purpose of purchasing and developing land for the settlement of Japanese farmers in Korea.<sup>17</sup>

It would be incorrect to say that an influx of Japanese farmers into Korea led to the displacement of native residents, for the number of Japanese farm families in Korea was never high in relation to the total population, but there was a definite trend towards the concentration of lands in the hands of a small number of Japanese, as seen from the above. The total amount of land owned by Japanese ranged from under ten percent, as given by official Government statistics, to between ten and twenty percent, as given by private

investigators. Dr. Edmund Brunner, an American scholar of Columbia University, in his survey of Korean rural conditions in 1927, concluded that as much as one-fourth of the agricultural lands in the south were in Japanese hands.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that a large amount of land was not in Korean hands does not in itself mean that it worked towards driving Koreans to emigrate to Manchuria, for most of that land was still cultivated by Koreans on a tenancy basis. The scope of tenancy on the peninsula, however, and the severe economic dislocations attendant with it, had perhaps the most devastating effects on the lives of Korean farmers and is probably more responsible than any other single cause for the widespread emigration. The Korean tenant paid on the average one-half of his crop to the landlord as land rent. In addition, the tenant often had to pay the burden of taxes, irrigation fees, seeds and fertilizers. Over sixty-two percent of the tenant households subsisted on a diet that nutritionists considered inadequate. In 1930 the average farm household debt was 137 yen, about thirty percent of its annual income.<sup>19</sup> It is clear, then, that the majority of Korean tenants earned barely enough to lead a subsistence livelihood.

By 1931 the number of tenant households was 52.8% of the total agricultural population, an increase from 41.7% in 1912. Part of this increase was due to a decrease in the number of those who owned a small portion of land and tenanted land from others at the same time. The number of these self-cultivator/tenants decreased from 32.4% of the total in 1912 to 25.3% in 1931, suggesting that some farmers may have been forced to sell what little land they had and become full-time tenants. The number of those who cultivated their own land also decreased during the same period, from 22.8%

of the total to 16.3%, indicating a possible trend towards the accumulation of lands into the hands of a few.<sup>20</sup>

When population figures for Koreans for the period are examined, we can further appreciate the extent of the agrarian problem. The population of Koreans in Korea in 1910 was estimated at 13,832,376. By 1931 this had increased by almost fifty percent, to 20,037,273.<sup>21</sup> This certainly served to aggravate the problem of finding suitable farmland on the peninsula.

There were, of course, a number of other important factors affecting the economic plight of the Korean farmer, many of them stemming from problems attendant upon the transformation of Korean society from a semi-feudal state to that of a modern capitalist economy. Many found it hard to cope with the new money economy, and indebtedness to financial interests and the mortgaging of agricultural lands to loan associations was common. Commodity prices rose steadily and taxation rose threefold from the period from 1917 to 1927, offsetting any gains from increased productivity from the lands from new strains of rice, modern agricultural implements, or new farming techniques.<sup>22</sup>

Other economic factors which may have served to induce emigration would include such periodic natural disasters as floods, droughts, or famine, not uncommon in societies depending on the cultivation of rice, more sensitive to variations in weather than other crops. By the 1920s Korea became more and more a one-crop economy. Japan rigorously pursued a policy of encouraging rice production in order to meet her demands at home, and for this reason Korean agriculture became heavily dependent on export to Japan. So much rice was exported to Japan, in fact, that Koreans did not have enough remaining to meet their own consumption needs. Cheaper grains were imported from

Manchuria to take the place of rice - in 1912, 15,000 sŏk (a sŏk, equivalent to the Japanese koku, equals about 4.96 bushels) of Manchurian millet was imported; by 1930 this had increased to 1,720,000 sŏk. Export of Korean rice also depended on Japan's needs. An agricultural panic in Japan in 1929-30 forced Japan to reconsider her plans to increase Korean rice production.<sup>23</sup> This naturally had a deleterious effect on the Korean agricultural sector.

From all of the above it is apparent that there were significant forces working within Korea which encouraged many to move out of the country in order to look for a better source of livelihood. Many of these Koreans often chose Manchuria as a place of refuge because of its proximity and its lack of restrictions on immigration. Exaggerated reports of the bountiful virgin fields awaiting cultivation in Manchuria from those who returned also stimulated this trend. Perhaps unhappy with the Japanese colonial administration running their homeland, and unable to make a living from farming, Koreans viewed emigration to Manchuria as an opportunity to lead a better life. The bitter reality for most Koreans who crossed the border, however, was that conditions in Manchuria were no better than those in Korea. They found no relief from Japanese surveillance, and the very question of their right to live there came into dispute due to the deepening crisis in relations between China and Japan.

#### IV. THE STATUS AND CONTROL OF KOREANS IN MANCHURIA

Koreans were given the right to reside in Manchuria under the terms of two Sino-Japanese agreements: the Treaty Relating to the Chientao Region of September 4, 1909 (commonly known as the Chientao Agreement) and the Treaty and Notes of May 25, 1915 (signed as a result of the Twenty-One Demands). Problems over interpretation and implementation of the above agreements were a frequent source of conflict between the two countries. Also, the problem of dual nationality of Korean residents in Manchuria, arising out of differences in Japan and China's nationality laws, created a situation in which the two countries argued over who had jurisdiction over the Korean population.

The Chientao Agreement, signed before Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, resolved a short-standing boundary dispute between China and the Japanese Residency-General in Korea. The Chientao region in Manchuria borders Korea on the northeast, lying across the Tumen River, and comprises the three districts of Yenchi, Holung and Wanch'ing. In practice, Japan included Hunch'un District as well because of the large numbers of Koreans there, although this was not included in the agreement. Due to proximity, Chientao historically had been a refuge for Korean emigrants, and the region was most frequently chosen when Koreans moved out of the Japanese-ruled peninsula. By 1931 there were almost 400,000 Koreans living there, outnumbering the Chinese three to one.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to resolving the boundary dispute, the Chientao Agreement provided for the right of Koreans to reside on agricultural lands in the region;

they were allowed to freely cross the Tumen into Chientao, unless they were bearing firearms, and they were also free to export their cereals out of the country (except in times of scarcity). Koreans there were to be under the jurisdiction of Chinese officials and were to have the same rights and duties as Chinese in regards to taxation and all administrative matters. Japanese consular officials were allowed to be present when Koreans faced charges in a Chinese court and had the right to apply to Chinese officials for a special trial if they believed that the court decision was not in accordance with Chinese law. In exchange for the "concession" delineating the border, China was to extend the Kirin-Ch'angch'un Railway to the southern boundary of Yenchi, connecting it at Hoiryong (Huining) with a Korean railway.<sup>2</sup>

After the annexation of Korea, Koreans became Japanese subjects and as such were entitled to the rights and protection of extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction, as provided in commercial treaties between China and Japan signed in 1896 and 1903. The Japanese Law Relating to the Adjudication by Consular Officers in Chientao, issued on April 5, 1910, stipulated that the trial of offenses liable for capital punishment or imprisonment were to belong to the District Courts of the Residency-General of Korea and the accused could be delivered to a prison in Korea if deemed necessary.<sup>3</sup> In practice, however, the Chientao Agreement was recognized by both countries as still in force, and China continued to maintain jurisdiction over Koreans there until 1915,<sup>4</sup> when the Treaty and Notes of 1915 were signed.

Imposed by Japan on China, the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 resulted in the signing of a number of agreements giving Japan special rights and privileges in China (known as the Treaty and Notes of 1915). The Treaty Respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, the agreement which

concerns us here, contained provisions for: extending the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen and the terms of the South Manchuria Railway and Antung-Mukden Railway leases to 99 years; permitting Japanese subjects to reside and travel freely in South Manchuria and to engage in any business or manufacture; granting Japanese subjects the right to lease, by negotiation, land necessary for trade, business, or agricultural enterprises; creating the possibility of joint business or agricultural enterprises between Japanese and Chinese; opening up certain areas in Eastern Inner Mongolia as Commercial Ports; placing Japanese subjects under Japanese consular jurisdiction, in effect granting them the right to extraterritoriality; and stipulating that the terms of the terms of the Kirin-Ch'angch'un Railway Loan Agreement would be renegotiated on more favorable terms to Japanese financiers.<sup>5</sup>

The provisions affecting Koreans were in Articles Two and Three, viz.,

Article 2.-Japanese subjects in South Manchuria may, by negotiation, lease land necessary for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for prosecuting agricultural enterprises.

Article 3.-Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and to engage in business and manufacture of any kind whatsoever.<sup>6</sup>

A subsequent exchange of notes between Japan and China determined that the term "lease by negotiation" in Article Two would imply a long term lease of not more than thirty years, with the possibility of its unconditional renewal.<sup>7</sup> Also, Article Five of the Treaty entitled Japanese subjects in all of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia to extraterritorial status (rather than being limited to certain open ports as in earlier agreements). Japan maintained that Koreans, as Japanese subjects, were guaranteed the right under the Treaty to lease land and reside in South Manchuria. She further contended that these provisions also applied to Koreans in the Chientao region.

Although the Treaty was signed by China, its terms were shortly

thereafter rejected by them and most of its provisions were thwarted in application. The Chinese claimed that the agreements resulting from the Twenty-One Demands contravened "all principles of international justice" and jeopardized the "territorial integrity and administrative independence of China." The Chinese Parliament never ratified the Treaty and subsequent Chinese governments declared the Treaty null and void.<sup>8</sup>

In areas of China outside of Manchuria, Koreans enjoyed extraterritorial status in the same manner as Japanese and other foreign residents. In Manchuria, however, the very large number of Koreans living there made it impossible for China to concede in granting them this same right.

Aside from questioning the basic validity of the Treaty, China rejected Japan's assertions on its applicability to the Chientao region on the basis of Article Eight, namely the provision that "All existing treaties between China and Japan relating to Manchuria shall, except where otherwise provided for by this Treaty, remain in force." In other words, China held that the 1915 treaty could not supersede the Chientao Agreement of 1909. Also, she claimed that the Chientao region was outside of South Manchuria. The demarcation between South and North Manchuria was never clear, but usually based on "spheres of influence," especially those railway rights of Japan and Russia, but no formal boundaries were ever established.<sup>9</sup>

The problem of dual nationality further complicated the legal status of the Korean minority in Manchuria. Under the Chinese Nationality Law of 1914, only those foreigners permitted under law by their home country to become naturalized to another country were allowed to obtain Chinese citizenship. The Revised Nationality Law of February 5, 1929, removed this exclusion. Japan, however, by imperial decree refused Koreans the right to acquire another nationality, even though this was allowed for the Japanese themselves



under the Revised Nationality Law of 1924. The naturalization issue thus created an anomalous situation.

Chinese officials initially welcomed, more often, forced, Koreans to become naturalized, in the hope that they would forego any recourse to Japanese consular protection. Japan, however, consistently maintained the right to exercise jurisdiction over the Korean population in Manchuria, whether naturalized or not. In practice, the exercising of this authority was generally limited to the Chientao region and areas around major cities which had Japanese consulates.

It was natural, then, that jurisdictional disputes were to provide a constant source of conflict between the two countries. The question of jurisdiction becomes even more complicated when we examine the various forms of control over Koreans in different areas within Manchuria itself (See Table 1). Koreans were usually under the control of either Chinese or Japanese officials (or many times both, as in Chientao). In some parts of the interior, however, where there were no Japanese consulates and Chinese authority was weak, Koreans were often under the control of independence or communist bands of their own countrymen. These groups often levied military fees and duty on the local Korean farmers.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that Japanese consulates in Manchuria maintained a sizeable police force was an extreme irritant to the Chinese. Japan contended that this privilege was a corollary to the right of extraterritoriality and justified their necessity as being due to the unstable conditions in Manchuria and the preponderance of her interests there.

Japan maintained over 400 consular police in Chientao. Officials of consulates established there, in cooperation with functionaries of the Government-General of Korea, exercised broad administrative powers, including the

TABLE 1  
CONTROL OF KOREANS IN MANCHURIA

AREA	FORM OF CONTROL
1. South Manchuria Railway Zones	South Manchuria Railway Company Kwantung Government
2. Chientao	Japanese Consulates Government-General of Korea Chinese Officials
3. Part of North Manchuria (especially the interior, away from the Korean border and large cities)	Chinese Officials Bandits Korean Ideological Groups
4. Other Parts of North and South Manchuria	Chinese Officials Japanese Consulates Korean Ideological Groups

Source: Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kyūjō to sono kaiketsusaku (Dairen: Shin Tairiku Sha, 1931), pp. 58-59.

maintenance of schools, hospitals, and financing institutions for Koreans.<sup>11</sup> The political importance of the region was great, not only because of its pivotal location in Manchuria, wedged between the Soviet Union and Korea, but because it was a hotbed of independence activists and communist elements. Japan freely indulged in police searches, seizure of property, and surveillance over the Korean community.

The control of these Korean "malcontents" was of importance to both China and Japan. China perceived the Korean revolutionaries in Manchuria as a menace because their activities brought the intrusion of Japanese consular

police and troops into Chinese territory and complicated negotiations between China and Japan on the extraterritoriality issue.

The two countries reached some degree of cooperation over the problem of jurisdiction and surveillance of Koreans by the signing of the so-called Mitsuya Agreement in 1925, negotiated by the Police Commissioner of Korea, Mitsuya Miyamatsu, and the Police Commissioner of Liaoning Province, Yu Cheng.<sup>12</sup> There were actually two agreements. The first, signed on June 11, 1925, stipulated that Chinese authorities would regulate Koreans by means of the Regulations for Bandit Suppression, whereby a census of the Koreans would be taken and each family would be responsible for the other's conduct. No Korean was permitted to carry arms, and Korean societies were to be suppressed and any arms or ammunition confiscated. In addition, the Chinese were to arrest those leaders of Chinese societies whose names were designated by the Korean police authorities. In exchange for this, the Korean police were not to enter Chinese territory for the suppression of bandits, nor would Chinese forces enter Korea; this could be done only with the mutual consent of both parties.

The second Agreement, signed on July 8 of the same year, further defined the provisions of the earlier Agreement: residence certificates were to be issued to Korean residents in eastern Liaoning; if a Korean was found along the river of eastern Liaoning (bordering Korea) carrying arms or with the intent of invading Korean territory, the Korean would be extradited to Japanese authorities in Korea upon verification of guilt by Chinese local officials; Koreans of "bad character"—any person suspected of being a threat to the government of China or a danger to Japanese rule in Korea, especially communists and independence activists—in other parts of Liaoning Province

were to be handed over to the nearest Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for extradition to a Japanese consul; and all Korean societies of whatever form or purpose were to be suppressed and dissolved.

The treaty contradicted many of Japan's contentions up to that point, namely that Koreans were to be given extraterritorial privileges and were to be under Japanese consular jurisdiction. A number of Japanese criticized it harshly. In the words of H. Funabashi of the Dairen bureau of the South Manchuria Railway Company:

For the control of only a few hundreds or a few thousand undesirables at the most out of one million Koreans, the Mitsuya Agreement has been misconstrued by the Chinese authorities as instrumental in depriving the Korean settlers of their privilege of extraterritoriality, leaving the ignorant and tyrannical Chinese authorities to deal with the Koreans as they pleased. The evils of the Mitsuya Agreement are too stupendous to describe. . . the repeal of the same agreement at an early date is fervently prayed for.<sup>13</sup>

In a sense the Agreement fulfilled a common desire of both sides to remove the menace of "Reds" from the Three Eastern Provinces and it reflected the intense anti-communist sympathies of both the Japanese government and the Chang Tso-lin regime.

A number of measures were adopted at both the provincial and district levels to control and regulate Koreans in Manchuria. Japan claimed these measures formed part of a campaign of oppression waged by China against Korean residents. China admitted that some measures were taken to restrict the free residence of unnaturalized Koreans, primarily to protect the economic well-being of Chinese in Manchuria from Korean competition. This she declared as her sovereign right. Furthermore, much of what Japan charged as oppression, China said, was nothing more than a set of measures designed to carry out the spirit of the Mitsuya Agreement.<sup>14</sup>

In the following three chapters we will examine some of these measures

taken by Chinese authorities to restrict or control Koreans. Only in doing so can we come to appreciate the conditions that confronted the Korean minority in Manchuria and understand the complexity of the Korean problem.

## V. CHINESE OPPRESSION I: MEASURES TO RECOVER CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY

In the 1920s China set herself on a course to recover her political independence. This could only be achieved through the complete abolition of the unequal treaties. The system of extraterritoriality irritated Chinese sensibilities the most. In China proper most foreigners lived in the special treaty ports, so their privileges were at least confined to defined areas. In Manchuria, however, Japanese subjects could be found everywhere. Also, important areas around the South Manchuria Railway in such large cities as Mukden and Ch'angch'un were completely under Japanese control.

The resolution of the extraterritoriality issue was the number one priority of the new Nationalist government. By the late 1920s China began making preparations for the reform of her judicial system and the return of the foreign concessions to Chinese control. China found the treaty powers, however, reluctant to give up their extraterritorial privileges. The United States and Great Britain, for example, insisted into 1931 that, even with the abolishment of extraterritoriality, foreigners should not be under Chinese criminal jurisdiction and that certain concessions be kept out of the Chinese legal system.

Japan, too, was deeply involved in negotiations with China on the extraterritoriality issue. She insisted, however, that if Japan were to agree to its abolition, the interior of China must be opened to the free residence, travel, and trade of foreign subjects. Furthermore, the South Manchuria Railway zone and Japan's concessions in Manchuria were to remain under Japanese control and jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

Although China believed that the treaty powers would eventually concede

to the termination of the system, many times officials at the local level took measures on their own initiative to assert China's sovereignty over foreign residents. In Manchuria this often took the form of placing restrictions on Korean residents.

#### Restrictions on Korean Educational Institutions

One of the most glaring examples of the lack of Chinese administrative control over foreigners was in the educational system for Koreans. As can be seen in Table 2, there were ten different types of schools for Korean residents in Manchuria, very few of which were under Chinese control. Various departments of the Japanese government subsidized a number of the schools and the Japanese language and Japanese textbooks were used as a means of instruction. Korean communist organizations also operated a number of schools, especially in the interior.

Restrictions placed on Korean educational institutions were one of the earliest and most frequent forms of Chinese oppression of Korean residents in Manchuria. As early as 1922 the governor of Hsingching (or Hsinpin) District assembled all Korean school principals in the district and ordered that each of their schools employ at least one Chinese teacher and use Chinese teaching methods. If they did not comply, their schools would be closed.<sup>2</sup> In September, 1925, officials in the same district stipulated that Korean elementary schools must employ one Chinese teacher and have a Chinese principal. They were to be paid at a prescribed monthly salary (30 and 40 yen, respectively). Seven schools in the district, unable to raise the extra money needed to hire the Chinese, were closed as a result.<sup>3</sup>

By 1927, when the Rights Recovery Movement came into full swing, many Chinese called for the closing of private Korean schools. At the Kirin

TABLE 2  
SCHOOLS FOR KOREANS IN MANCHURIA  
(AS OF 1928)

Affiliation	No. of Students	No. of Schools
South Manchuria Railway-Run Schools	1,798	7
Schools Subsidized by Government-General of Korea	4,123	54
Schools in Chientao under the Jurisdiction of North Hamgyōng Province	2,308	5
Schools for Koreans Established by Chinese	6,869	108
Schools for Chinese and Koreans	7,528	167
Schools Run by Foreigners	1,019	19
Schools Connected to Religious Groups	5,413	89
Schools Connected to Korean Anti-Japanese Groups	1,864	34
Independent Private Schools Established by Koreans	6,619	205
Private <u>Sōdang</u> -Style Schools (old-style schools dedicated to the reading and writing of Chinese characters)	451	31
TOTAL	37,992	719

Note: In addition to the above, over 700 Korean students were enrolled in Chinese middle schools, 241 in Japanese elementary schools, and over 61 in Japanese middle schools. There were also 4 Korean private middle schools with over 900 students.

Source: Kim San-Min, Zai-Min Chōsenjin no kyūjō to sono kaiketsusaku (Dairen: Shin Tairiku Sha, 1931), pp. 54-55.



Province Educational Conference in March, 1927, delegates declared that the existence of schools exclusively for Koreans was an impediment to China's educational sovereignty. They petitioned the provincial Bureau of Education to close all schools for naturalized Koreans.<sup>4</sup>

In February, 1929, Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin Province, sent local officials orders for the abolition of Korean schools. Having a separate educational system for Koreans, he declared, ran counter to the spirit of China's nationalist revolution. All Korean schools were to follow China's educational system. He warned, however, that this should be a gradual process, so as to not arouse the ire of Japan by any precipitate action.<sup>5</sup>

Liaoning Province took similar measures for the control of Korean schools. In December, 1927, the Province head sent orders to all district governors for the closing of all Korean elementary schools in the province. Koreans, he declared, were "a race of cunning scoundrels" who used their schools as headquarters for malcontent Korean association meetings.<sup>6</sup>

The province accelerated steps for the recovery of educational rights in early 1929, when a new head was appointed to the Bureau of Education. At the First Educational Administrative Conference in February of that year the head proposed the establishment of an Educational Rights Recovery Committee within the Bureau of Education. He outlined plans to bring all foreign schools under Chinese control by the end of the year and suggested methods for the improvement of the province's educational system.<sup>7</sup>

The Nationalist government was of course interested in the same objective of bringing foreign schools under Chinese control. In April, 1929, the Nationalist government, according to Japanese intelligence sources around Mukden, sent a message to Chang Hsueh-liang concerning Korean schools in the Northeast run or subsidized by Japanese agencies. These schools teach

in Japanese, it said, and assist in the realization of Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria, thereby posing a serious danger to China's independence. Also, malcontent Korean groups in the interior use the schools for subversive activities. The Nationalist government suggested that these schools be destroyed.<sup>8</sup> No specific instructions were given to that effect, however, and it is doubtful that it wanted this carried out, especially since it was engaged at the time in sensitive treaty revision negotiations.

The number of schools actually closed as a result of Chinese measures does not appear to be especially great, but there were numerous restrictions placed on their operation. These usually took the form of requiring them to employ Chinese teachers, use Chinese textbooks, and use Chinese as a means of instruction. The objective of these measures was to steer Korean residents away from any form of reliance on Japan. As we shall see, placing restrictions on Korean educational rights was only one of the possible means employed by Chinese officials to solve the problem of jurisdictional sovereignty.

#### Forced Naturalization

As noted in Chapter IV, Chinese officials often tried to solve the problem of jurisdiction over the Korean population in Manchuria by forcing them to become Chinese subjects. If all Koreans were to become naturalized to China, officials rationalized, there would be no need for the Japanese police contingents attached to the consulates in Manchuria. In Manchuria there was no single person or administrative body that was responsible for enacting new laws or regulations. Provincial and district authorities often devised their own means to handle local problems, in an effort to solve what they believed were national problems. This was evident in the naturalization issue.

There were numerous orders for Koreans to become naturalized as early

as 1925. In July of that year Fengch'eng District officials in Liaoning Province ordered 1,000 Korean households to become naturalized. Besides the naturalization fee of 35 yuan, there was no other requirement.<sup>9</sup> In August Chinese officials ordered 3,000 Koreans engaged as tenant farmers in the Fushun District of Liaoning to go through naturalization procedures; they also ordered all Korean children to enter Chinese schools.<sup>10</sup>

Orders for the naturalization of Koreans were especially frequent in Kirin Province. Kirin, except for the four districts of the Chientao region, was considered outside the realm of the Demands of 1915 and the Chientao Agreement of 1909. In June of 1928 the Civil Chairman of Kirin Province ordered the naturalization of Koreans in the province. Koreans were to sever any connections to Korean residents' associations, enter their children in district schools, and wear Chinese dress. They were not to become indebted to Japanese banking institutions. Those not becoming naturalized were to be expelled.<sup>11</sup>

When China saw that there was going to be no change in Japan's policy of denying Koreans the right to become subjects of China, her position on the naturalization issue changed. Also, there were a number of cases, especially in the Chientao region, where naturalized Koreans purchased land and transferred it to Japanese. China viewed Koreans as pawns of the Japanese and an "advance guard" of Japanese penetration in the Northeast, so the indiscriminate naturalization of Koreans came to be perceived as a threat to the integrity of China.

In 1929 Kirin Province reversed its policy of encouraging naturalization. In March the province ordered that only those who had lived in China for over three years could become naturalized. Those already having citizenship

to Korea or Russia were not allowed to become naturalized to China, and those returning to either place had to relinquish their citizenship papers.<sup>12</sup> In August, 1929, Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin Province, ordered:

Japanese imperialists, using the Koreans, are attempting serious aggressive acts and play with all sinister schemes. . . . Now we will stop the immigration of Koreans. In order to try to stop Japan's evil influence, naturalization of Koreans will not be permitted, and Koreans will not be granted land ownership rights.<sup>13</sup>

The naturalization fee, which had been previously reduced to encourage naturalization, was raised back to its original level.

The naturalization issue was even more complicated in the Chientao region of Kirin, where disagreements arose between Japan and China over the interpretation of the Chientao Agreement of 1909. Japan maintained that all Koreans had the right to purchase land in the region, under the terms of a clause in the agreement that stipulated that "land and buildings owned by Korean subjects [italics mine] in the mixed residence district to the north of the River Tumen shall be fully protected equally with the properties of Chinese subjects." China maintained that only those Koreans naturalized had the right to own land. Koreans themselves realized that the only chance they had of purchasing land was to become Chinese subjects.

A number of Koreans did become naturalized as Chinese; estimates of the naturalized Korean population in some districts ranged from five to twenty percent. In Chientao, Japanese consular officials claimed that over fifteen percent of the Koreans in that region had become naturalized.<sup>14</sup> And despite prohibitions against indiscriminate naturalization after 1929, a number of Koreans still became naturalized, often with the connivance of local Chinese officials who welcomed the revenues that this process brought. In some districts officials also issued "temporary naturalization certificates," which

were never approved by provincial authorities.<sup>15</sup>

The refusal to allow the naturalization of Koreans, however, appears to have been more limited to the Chientao region than other areas (such as North Manchuria). During the approximate two-year period from the spring of 1928 to the end of March, 1930, 5,457 Korean heads of household in Kirin were naturalized. If the number of those whose naturalization proceedings were still pending are included, the total would be 16,263.<sup>16</sup>

After the Wanpaoshan Incident, Kirin Province again reversed its stand on the naturalization issue. In secret instructions to district authorities issued on July 15, 1931, the province recognized that Koreans were deserving of humanitarian sympathy, but because they were being used by the Japanese in their policy of aggression, it was necessary to insist on their naturalization.<sup>17</sup>

Why this reversal in policy took place is difficult to understand. One possible explanation may be that China was aware of the discussions in the various ministries of the Japanese government concerning the naturalization of Koreans to China, and she hoped that a reversal of Japan's policy would bring about an easing in tensions over this complicated situation.

Koreans became naturalized either by force or out of a desire to own land, not necessarily out of any emotional desire to become Chinese subjects. Koreans often settled in Korean communities or in areas with a large population of their fellow countrymen. Especially in the border areas, most continued to speak Korean, wear their native dress, and live in Korean-style homes. There were few signs of their assimilation into the Chinese culture.<sup>18</sup> There was considerable difference of opinion on the merits of naturalization, however. A number of associations were formed and assemblies met in 1927 and 1928 to discuss the problem of persecution of Koreans in Manchuria. Korean residents of Kirin met in December, 1927, and formed the Kirin Research

Association for Countermeasures to the Problem of Expulsion of Korean Residents. They sent a petition to Kirin Province authorities seeking permission to form a Naturalized Koreans Provincial Association, which would establish branch offices in every district. These would be responsible for the control of Koreans in that area and would have the task of getting all Koreans naturalized within one year. The province replied that although it would be impossible to approve of the establishment of these associations, the naturalization of Koreans was expected within six months and they were to wear Chinese clothes. The Korean representatives were generally pleased, seeing in this some relief from the oppression of Chinese officials.<sup>19</sup>

An All Manchuria Koreans' Convention convened in Mukden in January, 1928. Participants (the total number of which is unknown) suggested a number of measures to solve the problem of oppression. Two factions, those favoring naturalization and those seeking more reliance on Japanese protection, divided the assembly. Delegates from Kirin composed the former group, while southern participants, especially from the Mukden and Antung areas, made up the latter. Although the assembly adopted a resolution favoring a change in Japan's nationality laws to permit naturalization to China, the two factions never ironed out their differences.<sup>20</sup>

Those not favoring naturalization were of the opinion that, if they became Chinese subjects, their treatment by Chinese officials would not change. In 1922 a Korean association, the Pominhoe (Hominkai in Japanese), met in Mukden and asked delegates how Chinese officials treated naturalized Koreans in comparison to those not naturalized. One branch office reported that about 200 had become naturalized by inducement but, because there had been no difference in their treatment since about 1918, most had given up their Chinese citizenship. This same trend was confirmed by other branches.<sup>21</sup>

Most Koreans in Manchuria preferred to throw in their lot with the Chinese. Outside of Chientao, Koreans did not receive satisfactory protection from Chinese oppression by Japanese consular police, and their desire for Korean independence made them less inclined to rely on Japan. They blamed their problems in China not on Chinese oppression but on Japan's refusal to allow their naturalization.

It was against this background, then, that the Wanpaoshan Koreans, who were not naturalized to China, found themselves ordered to leave by Chinese authorities. Wanpaoshan was outside of the Chientao region, and whether or not it was in the realm of South Manchuria is uncertain, because it was located a few miles northwest of the northern terminus of the South Manchuria Railway. But this was a moot point, because China, having rejected the validity of the Twenty-One Demands, denied Koreans the right to reside in Manchuria outside of Chientao.

## VI. CHINESE OPPRESSION II: MEASURES TO CONTROL KOREANS AND RESTRICT THEIR FREE RESIDENCE

Koreans posed a problem for China not only because they represented an obstacle to achieving full jurisdictional sovereignty, but also because they were perceived as a threat to China's territorial integrity. Measures were necessary, therefore, to control the activities of Koreans and their associations and to restrict the free residence of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces.

Although Chinese felt sympathy for Koreans in general, they also had a genuine fear that Japan was using Koreans in an effort to colonize Manchuria for Japanese subjects. In the tense atmosphere of the late 1920s it was not unusual for reports or rumors to circulate among Chinese concerning Japan's plans of aggression in Manchuria. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty and Notes of 1915, for example, Kirin Province sent Yench'i District an order banning the sale of land. According to a report of the province's investigators, the veracity of which is unknown, the Agricultural Affairs Department of the Government-General of Korea was encouraging Korean farmers to emigrate to Manchuria in order to make room for Japanese. The continued sale of land to increasing numbers of Korean immigrants would pose a problem to China in the future.<sup>1</sup>

Another unverified report, circulated in 1928, stated that Japan was organizing a Manchurian Development Corps, composed of pro-Japanese Koreans, whose purpose would be to buy and rent land in Manchuria. The Corps would give each Korean family a pistol, which would be used to shoot Chinese with whom they had problems. Japan would then use the incident created by this as a pretext to send in troops. According to the same report, the Japanese consulate at Antung had already purchased thirty such pistols.<sup>2</sup>



The following year the president of the South Manchuria Railway Company, Yamamoto Jōtarō, was rumored to be in the process of forming the Manchurian Immigration Agricultural Company, capitalized at an amount equivalent to 500,000 yuan by the Japanese government. The company would purchase lands with lucrative offers to Chinese landowners, or lend them money at low interest as mortgage on their property. Eventually 200,000 Japanese and Koreans would be invited to immigrate to these lands. They would be primarily involved in rice production.<sup>3</sup> Although this rumor cannot be verified, Yamamoto was a strong advocate of an aggressive role for Japan in Manchurian economic development. He believed that Manchuria would play a key role in providing Japan's exploding population with foodstuffs and natural resources for continuing industrial development. The proposal, then, does not seem out of character.

Coupled with these rumors or reports was the belief that many Koreans or Korean associations were pro-Japanese and used by Japan in her aggressive schemes. In June, 1921, Chinese officials in Huatien and P'anshih Districts stated that Korean associations, as instruments of Japanese consulates, were obstacles to achieving sovereignty. Koreans, whether naturalized or not, were to obey China's laws and follow Chinese officials' orders. These associations would need the approval of officials before branch offices could be established in their districts. The same month, the governor of Wanch'ing District summoned the head of the local Korean Peoples' Association and ordered that his organization, a pro-Japanese group, quickly disband.<sup>4</sup>

Also, in March, 1929, the Civil Chairman of Liaoning Province, Chai Wen-hsuan, sent a message to the Kirin Provincial government warning them of the activities of the Tong-a Pominhoe (the same organization referred to in the previous chapter):

Japanese and Koreans all around Antung are forming Tong-a Pominhoe groups. They claim that the organization's purpose is to promote the welfare of Koreans, but in fact they secretly rally pro-Japanese Koreans in Manchuria. . . .If every government in the Three Eastern Provinces does not devise countermeasures to this, future incoming Korean pioneers, whose numbers are increasing daily, will be lured into the Tong-a Pominhoe. This will have a tremendous impact on both our territorial sovereignty rights and in matters relating to their [Koreans] control.

Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin, immediately delivered the message to the provincial assembly and ordered that they investigate measures to handle this problem.<sup>5</sup>

Chinese officials often took surveys of the Korean population in order to evaluate the dangers involved in their continued residence in the Three Eastern Provinces. In February, 1929, for instance, the head of Kirin Province ordered district governors to take a household survey of Koreans. Of particular interest were the following: the distinctions between those naturalized and those not naturalized; Koreans' future plans to become naturalized; details concerning land ownership of both groups; the differences between pro- and anti-Japanese Korean groups; and whether any disturbances were created by Koreans after becoming naturalized. The Province gave as reasons for this survey the possible efficacy of inducing Koreans to become naturalized, the economic competition posed for Chinese farmers by Koreans, and the problems caused by the fact that both naturalized and unnaturalized Koreans sometimes did not follow China's laws (i.e., some were pro-Japanese or communist).<sup>6</sup>

The Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Nationalist government ordered a survey of Korean immigrants in November, 1929. In addition to the usual demographic data requested, it also wanted to know the Koreans' sentiments towards both Japanese and Chinese officials, their ties to Japanese police or officials, their connections with factions (i.e., ideological groups), and if their children entered Chinese schools.<sup>7</sup> The Chinese government was concerned

that Koreans, coming to Manchuria under the guise of cultivating rice, were actually receiving orders from Japan.<sup>8</sup>

Officials at the province and district level often adopted measures at the local level to control Koreans and regulate their movements. The Fengt'ien Province Regulations for the Control of Resident Koreans, issued in May, 1921, was one of the first measures adopted locally to regulate Koreans in the Northeast. The Regulations delineated areas of responsibility for officials at the district level and ordered that a survey be taken every spring and fall of Korean households in every district, showing births, deaths, and in- and out-migration. Provincial officials would no longer allow those temporary residents without proper employment to reside in the Province and would expel them within a fixed period. The Province would issue a certificate granting residence rights to those confirmed to have proper employment, but if later they were found to be "malcontents," they were to be arrested and punished according to the public safety laws.<sup>9</sup>

By 1925 a number of districts began issuing orders for the outright expulsion of Koreans. In April, 1925, for example, the governor of Ian District ordered local police officials to gradually apply pressure on Korean residents so that they would be forced to leave. The same month the governor of Linch'iang District ordered all Koreans within the district, except those receiving special permission from the governor, to leave within one month. Those refusing to comply were to be severely punished.<sup>10</sup> In a Korean village in Shenyang District in May, 1925, a Chinese police officer twice ordered the Koreans to leave. If they refused, he told them officials would destroy their homes. On the second visit he ordered that their schools be closed. Similar incidents took place in K'uantien and Pench'i Districts that same year.<sup>11</sup>

The signing of the Mitsuya Agreement in June, 1925, however, really

marked the turning point in Chinese treatment of Korean residents. Thereafter orders for the expulsion of Koreans became numerous. Chinese officials often subjected whole communities of Koreans to unreasonable persecution and issued orders for the expulsion of Koreans on the pretext that there were communists among them.

In November of 1926 the governor of Ch'angpai District issued orders stipulating that only those Koreans carrying certificates of identification issued by a Korean police chief and having as his guarantor the magistrate or trustworthy local resident would be allowed residence. Those with changed names or pseudonyms, as well as those intimate with officials in Korea, were to be investigated.<sup>12</sup>

In 1926 Liaoning Province adopted measures to control recalcitrant Koreans. A survey of Korean residents was to be taken every April and October; certain classes of people, as a result of the survey, were to be expelled across the border within ten days:

1. Those who do not obey our country's laws and regulations.
2. Those without proper employment and idle.
3. Those with bad conduct or suspected of it.

In addition, those involved in the following crimes were to be arrested and punished in that jurisdiction after careful investigation by local authorities:

1. Those doing definite criminal acts.
2. Those carrying weapons or ammunition.
3. Those people in groups or meetings of two or more who disturb the peace.
4. Those heads of groups, or suspects of the same, and bandit types.

The above, of course, ran counter to the Mitsuya Agreement, which stipulated that Koreans of "bad character" were to be handed over to the proper Japanese authorities.

The most intense oppression of Koreans in Manchuria occurred in 1927. There were numerous anti-Japanese demonstrations, including a major rally in

Mukden on September 4. The sentiment against Japan was strong. China believed that Japan's so-called "positive" policy in China was aimed at the eventual acquisition of Manchuria as a colony. From June 27 to July 7, 1927, the newly appointed Prime Minister of Japan, Tanaka Giichi, and cabinet and military officers held a meeting in Tokyo, known as the Eastern Conference, in order to come to a consensus on Japan's future course of action in China. No change occurred in Japanese policy as a result of the conference—Tanaka stressed the need for stability and order in China and pledged support for moderate elements, while not endorsing any one particular group. The conference members did, however, defend the right to use force to protect Japanese interests in China, especially in Manchuria, which they considered a region distinct from China proper. The mere fact that Japanese leaders held such a conference (apparently well-publicized) evoked mistrust of Japan's goals from China. This suspicion was compounded in July, when the Japanese consul at Mukden, Yoshida Shigeru, coarsely demanded Chinese action on a Japanese request to open negotiations to settle pending problems between the two countries, in particular China's construction of lines parallel to the South Manchuria Railway. Yoshida inferred that Japan would take decisive action, if necessary, if China did not respond.<sup>14</sup> For the Chinese all of this was too reminiscent of the situation in 1915 when Japan imposed the Twenty-One Demands.

All of these tensions in Sino-Japanese relations affected Chinese treatment of Koreans. To make matters worse, in the spring of 1927 Japan opened a branch consulate at Maoerhshan (Linch'iang city) in Linch'iang District, an area with a large Korean population. China vigorously protested this as yet another violation of her sovereignty. Orders for the expulsion of Koreans became frequent in Linch'iang District, and similar orders appeared over much

of South Manchuria.

On March 27, 1927, the police chief of Maoerhshan ordered all Koreans to leave the city within a week.<sup>15</sup> Officials in several areas of the same district applied pressure and violence on Koreans, forcing 500 or 600 to leave.<sup>16</sup>

In Kaip'ing District Chinese officials in April, 1927, instigated Chinese villagers in one area to destroy the Korean residences that were being built. Four Chinese policemen arrived, ordered the Koreans to leave, and beat some of them.<sup>17</sup> In Pench'i District, where there had been previous orders for expulsion, district officials issued numerous orders for Koreans to leave. In one area Chinese police fired upon the Korean residents, with one sustaining a serious wound.<sup>18</sup>

Liaoning Province, considered as part of South Manchuria under the Treaty and Notes of 1915, was especially sensitive to the complications in Sino-Japanese relations that arose because of jurisdictional disputes over the large Korean population there. In February, 1927, the province told district officials that Korean residents created diplomatic problems with Japan and interfered with China's sovereignty. Koreans not naturalized should be expelled from the country. This could be achieved by making Chinese landlords take back land rented to Koreans. Those Chinese violating this by allowing Koreans to continue farming should be severely punished.<sup>19</sup>

Some relief from Chinese oppression came in 1928 as a result of Japanese protests, but there was a renewed campaign against Koreans by the following year. In February, 1929, the police bureau in one part of K'uantien District ordered Koreans to leave.<sup>20</sup> And, the Linch'iang District government again in May, 1929, demanded that Koreans leave. As the Koreans had just finished planting, they were in a panic and sent a representative to meet with the district head. As a result they were permitted residence, but under the

conditions that they wear Chinese dress, change their buildings and residences to Chinese-style, and that they gradually become naturalized as Chinese.<sup>21</sup> Whether they agreed to this or not is unknown.

In Liaoning Province, on January 13, 1930, the Provincial Government sent the following order to all Public Safety Bureaus in the province:

According to reports of special area magistrates in this province, malcontent Koreans residing all over Manchurian villages are divided into all factions of independence groups and communist propaganda groups. They infiltrate all areas of the Three Eastern Provinces and make contact secretly with resident Koreans. . . All district governments will strictly control that type of malcontent Korean entering the border; this will prevent scandalous incidents. Also, except for those resident Koreans who have a positive Chinese guarantor, all Koreans will be prohibited by March 1 from renting houses and will be expelled out of the country by the same day.<sup>22</sup>

By 1931, shortly before the outbreak of hostilities at Wanpaoshan, a new wave of oppression swept through much of Manchuria. In Tungning District in Kirin Province officials ordered over 1,000 Korean households, many of whom had cultivated the land for over ten years, to leave.<sup>23</sup> Similar orders were especially numerous in the districts of Hsingching (Hsinmin), Liuho, Ch'ingyuan, T'iehling, Tunhua and Fenghuangch'eng, each of which had governors noted for their anti-Japanese sympathies.<sup>24</sup>

The above are but a few of the hundreds of orders for expulsion of Koreans in Manchuria. There was little that Koreans could do to defend themselves against Chinese oppression. Outside of Chientao and the major cities, Koreans rarely had recourse to Japanese consular protection. There were numerous complaints to regional Japanese consulates in such cities as Mukden, Kirin, Ch'angch'un, and Antung, but consular officials could do little more than protest to Chinese officials or dispatch officials to investigate disputes. In some instances the consulate ordered Korean residents to disobey such Chinese orders until the consulate received a suitable reply to its protest. This was the case in late 1927, when Koreans in the Mukden area met with

Consul Uchida of the Japanese Consulate-General in Mukden. They related eighteen separate instances of oppression, in which Chinese landowners were ordering Korean tenants off their land. Consul Uchida suggested that they not leave until the Chinese replied to the consular protest.<sup>25</sup> And in cases where Korean residents turned to a Japanese consulate for relief, they surely invited the wrath of Chinese officials.

When the League of Nations' investigating team on the Korean problem in Manchuria visited Manchuria after the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931, it received numerous Korean delegations that related stories of their persecution at the hands of Chinese officials. A number of Korean peasants were examined who had suffered "brutalities and torture. . .these incidents too commonplace to be ignored, and the obvious suffering endured by these Koreans being of such a character that their plight could not but have invited sincere humanitarian sympathy."<sup>26</sup>

The attempted expulsion of Koreans at Wanpaoshan was thus not an isolated case of oppression. Ch'angch'un District, having jurisdiction over the area around Wanpaoshan, had previously issued orders to expel Koreans. In late 1927 the district ordered Koreans residing outside of the International Settlements who did not become naturalized Chinese to leave.<sup>27</sup> More important, on May 6, 1931, the Kirin Provincial Government sent a secret message to the Ch'angch'un city head:

Koreans are easily inclined to cause disorder in all areas; in the future devise suitable steps to expel them out of the country. As well, you must absolutely not permit the residence of new Korean immigrants.<sup>28</sup>

Eighteen miles north at Wanpaoshan, 200 Korean farmers had just begun cultivating their paddy field and were working on the excavation of an irrigation ditch.



## VII. CHINESE OPPRESSION III: MEASURES TO RESTRICT LANDHOLDING RIGHTS

Approximately 90% of Koreans in Manchuria were farmers, as in Korea, and as such dependent on the acquisition of land from which to earn a livelihood. Due to problems over interpretation and implementation of the Sino-Japanese treaties described in Chapter IV, Koreans' rights to live on, purchase, lease or tenant land in the Northeastern Provinces were never satisfactorily settled in the period before the Manchurian Incident. In the fervor of the Rights Recovery Movement a common form of oppression against Koreans was in the form of restrictions placed on landholding rights. This was a less blatant form of oppression than outright expulsion, but nevertheless had the same effect on the Korean farmer.

The typical Korean emigrant, after having sold his belongings at home, moved first to the Chientao region, where he often had friends or relatives with whom he could live; he often moved on to other areas in the interior, as was the case with the Wanpaoshan farmers, after a period.<sup>1</sup> Upon taking up farming, he often started a rice paddy field in low marshy grounds or in areas where irrigation was possible. This form of agriculture was virtually unknown in Manchuria until the arrival of Koreans, who proved themselves quite adept at it, even under adverse conditions. The climate of Manchuria was never considered ideal for wet rice, with its short and hot summer season,<sup>2</sup> yet Koreans could be found even in the northern reaches along the Sino-Soviet border laboring in their paddy fields.<sup>3</sup>

Not all Koreans were paddy rice cultivators, however. When the available land suitable for paddy rice diminished, Koreans often turned to dry field crops, such as soybeans, kaoliang or wheat. In Manchuria as a whole

the ratio of Korean paddy to dry field cultivators was about one to one, with paddy rice cultivators predominating in the southern regions.<sup>4</sup>

Having meager belongings and not enough money to buy land, most Koreans were forced to become tenants to Chinese landlords. Very often they had to borrow money from the landlords at high interest rates in order to tide them over until harvest time. After paying for seeds, implements, transport, labor costs, tenancy fee, house rental costs, irrigation taxes, and other necessary expenses, the balance sheet was often in the red, forcing the Korean farmer to borrow again, falling deeper into indebtedness.

Two examples of this, both typical of their respective regions, will show the plight of the Korean immigrant farmer. A study of the finances of a Korean family of five near Mukden in 1928, conducted by M. Akatsuka of the South Manchuria Railway Company, showed a deficit of ¥64.65 after expenses were met. Total receipts for their unhulled rice and rice straw were ¥607, but almost half had to be paid to the landowner as his tenant fee (¥292). After paying for all expenses related to his farming, paying for interest on previous loans (¥56), house rent (¥15), and taxes (¥5), there was not enough money remaining to meet living expenses.<sup>5</sup>

Hoon K. Lee of Union Christian College in P'yŏngyang, Korea, in 1932 reported on a survey taken the previous year of 201 Korean farm families in six districts in central Kirin Province. Three-quarters of the land the Koreans tilled was dedicated to paddy rice; the rest was used to grow maize or soybeans. Twenty of the families owned some land, but none owned the entire land they cultivated; the remaining were tenants to Chinese landowners. The average farm size was 16.5 acres, quite large in comparison with the average size in Japan or Korea, but half of the farms were between five and ten

acres. Although the farmers only paid the landlord an average of twenty percent of their produce as rent for the land, one third of them were not making a profit, and the others barely made a profit. The reason for this was the Koreans' indebtedness to Chinese loan offices and pawnbrokers. More noteworthy is the fact that, when asked if they would like to live there permanently or move on, 198 of the 201 families answered that they would like to move. Four-fifths of the families had already moved from three to seven times since immigrating.<sup>6</sup>

This pattern of moving from one area to another was quite common among Koreans in Manchuria. From a purely economic standpoint, Koreans were often unable to make a decent living on the land they tilled and moved on when their indebtedness became intolerable, or if they saw better opportunities in some other area. A common desire was the opportunity to purchase land, but because of their economic plight they were seldom able to have this opportunity. More important, however, was the fact that China by the late 1920s objected to their right to live on land, let alone purchase it.

Chinese discrimination against Koreans in the area of landholding rights stands out, and is more plainly remarkable, when seen against the Chinese position towards Koreans before the Rights Recovery Movement began. As noted previously, many Chinese felt considerable sympathy for the Korean settlers, believing them to have been forced off their land in Korea by the Japanese. Also, Chinese landlords frequently welcomed Korean tenants because of the great profits they could reap from their cultivation of paddy rice. Rice was in demand by the Japanese in the Kwantung Leased Territory and in the South Manchuria Railway Company Zones. On the average, profit from

paddy fields for the landlord was four times that from dry fields. Even during the height of the Rights Recovery Movement, there were some voices in China which expressed concern for the Korean farmer. At the end of June, 1931, the Liaoning National Foreign Policy Association stated:

We will protect Koreans in Manchuria, and we will try to give them a hand in developing rice fields. Furthermore, as for the expulsion of Koreans, it is a great damage to the four provinces of the Northeast.

Also it is apparent from the number of times districts issued calls to expel Koreans that many Chinese were often lax in carrying out orders. Many times stiff measures were imposed on the Chinese themselves to have regulations concerning Koreans enforced.

The economic competition that Korean farmers posed for native Chinese is not easy to ascertain. Although Korean farmers generally settled in areas heretofore not cultivated, often low marsh grounds not suitable for anything but paddy rice, Chinese farmers often resented the presence of neighboring communities of Korean farmers making a living from tilling Chinese soil. There were too many native Chinese suffering from poverty or famine to allow their lands to fall into foreign hands.

The years 1926-1928 saw an influx into the Three Eastern Provinces of over one million Chinese per year, about half of them becoming permanent settlers, and there were numerous colonization projects initiated by officials in the northern regions.<sup>8</sup> Many of the immigrants were impoverished Chinese farmers from Hopeh and Shantung. In orders for the expulsion of Koreans or when they placed restrictions on Korean landholding rights, Chinese officials frequently referred to the danger Koreans posed because they were immigrating to Manchuria in such large numbers and taking land that was needed for China's own populace.

### Measures to Restrict the Lease and Sale of Land and Buildings

The Twenty-One Demands of 1915 entitled Japanese subjects to lease land in South Manchuria and erect buildings on such land for the pursuit of agricultural enterprises. The Chinese, having rejected the terms of the Demands, perceived Japan's insistence on this right as but another attempt to take complete control over Manchuria. Strict measures were taken to prevent the lease and sale of lands, and orders were sent out at all levels which imposed heavy penalties on those transferring land to foreigners.

Initial measures took the form of requiring foreigners to get the approval of district officials when leasing land or buildings. Linch'iang District in Liaoning Province issued such an order as early as June, 1924.<sup>9</sup> In October of the same year the Hsingching (Hsinpin) District governor issued a warning to Chinese household owners that if they did not get the prior approval of district authorities before renting buildings to Koreans, they would be fined an amount determined by the size of their holding, anywhere from ten to one hundred yuan. The Chinese fined under this order were in turn demanding the money from the Korean renters, saying that they would be expelled if they did not obey.<sup>10</sup>

Especially troublesome for the Chinese was the fact that many lands were being sold in freehold to Koreans, even though this right was only granted to those in the Chientao region under the 1909 Treaty. Frequent prohibitions against this did not appear to completely prevent its occurrence. More disturbing was the fact that some naturalized Koreans were selling or mortgaging their land to Japanese. It is impossible to say how much land Japanese were able to acquire in Manchuria, because Japanese normally used the names of Koreans, or went through naturalized Koreans, when purchasing land.

In August of 1925 Liaoning Province sent a warning to every district that Chinese farmers, seeking high profits, were indiscriminately selling rice fields, dry fields, and buildings to Koreans; since this was prohibited by law, all district governors had to ban this practice and punish the violators without pardon.<sup>11</sup> In September of 1927 the province repeated the warning.<sup>12</sup>

It would seem, from the frequency of prohibitions against the sale of land, that many landlords and district officials were not complying with the law. By the late 1920s more forceful measures were adopted to prevent this. On February 2, 1929, Liaoning Province received an order from the Nationalist Government banning the misappropriation and sale of lands to Japanese subjects. The order stated that Japan's attempt to buy land was "a plot and ambition to try to annex the Eastern Provinces in the future." Selling land indiscriminately to foreigners, without the approval of district authorities, was to be treated as a capital crime. Local officials were to strictly control and inspect land sales.<sup>13</sup>

On August 14, 1929, Liaoning again issued detailed orders to ban the sale of land to foreigners. All lands, whether publicly owned, privately owned or owned by officials, were not to be sold, leased or mortgaged to foreigners; any such transactions that did take place were to be considered void by the province, and the seller was to receive capital punishment or life imprisonment and have all his sale earnings and personal property confiscated. Those reporting any such incidents of land sale were to receive a reward of from 500 to 1,000 yen.<sup>14</sup>

The authorities in Kirin Province were doubly concerned about the lease and sale of land, for it was in the Chientao region of Kirin that Japanese

maintained jurisdiction over Koreans, and Japanese acquisition of land was most in evidence. About fifty-five percent of the cultivated land in Chientao by 1929 was owned in freehold by Koreans,<sup>15</sup> and there were a number of cases reported in which Japanese companies were using naturalized Koreans to negotiate the purchase of land with Chinese landowners and acquiring Korean-owned land through mortgages and loans. In August, 1928, for example, Chinese officials in Chientao discovered eighteen cases of land transfers, in which a Japanese company (the name was not reported) had used Koreans to purchase land from Chinese. They arrested five Chinese landlords and three Koreans. The officials declared that the practice of Japanese using Koreans to purchase land must be immediately stopped. Koreans, as "running dogs" of the Japanese, caught doing this were to be punished as traitors.<sup>16</sup>

Also, it was rumored that the Oriental Development Company, which had an office at Lungchingtsun in Chientao, had acquired over 50,000 chō of the over 240,000 chō of cultivated land in the region by 1928.<sup>17</sup> Tōa Kangyō Kabushiki Kaisha, a subsidiary of the South Manchuria Railway Company, also had an office in Chientao for the purpose of providing funds for Koreans to buy land.

On January 16, 1929 Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin Province, issued orders to prevent the sale of land to Japanese through Koreans:

1. When any naturalized Korean attempts to buy land, it must first be reported to the police in that jurisdiction. A policeman will be dispatched, witness the contract, ensure that the land is for personal cultivation, have the Korean submit a pledge that in the future they will not transfer the land to a foreigner or to a Korean not naturalized, and have a guarantor.
2. As for those naturalized Koreans who already own land, every district will investigate to determine if the land has been transferred to a foreigner or to a Korean not naturalized.
3. When any Chinese mortgages land to a naturalized Korean, or tries to sell land, the seller must submit a guarantee and report to the police district. If this is violated, even though it may be after the

- money settling the contract is received, the contract will be void.
4. If any naturalized Korean attempts to buy land with a large amount of Japanese money, the police must interrogate him to determine the source of the money. If the branch office cannot accurately determine this, they must report it and seek the disposal of higher officials.
  5. Local officials and police must exercise prudence when they follow these provisions, so as to not give rise to problems by bringing about the attention of Japanese.<sup>18</sup>

In July of the same year Kirin again warned that the lease and sale of land was incompatible with the national goals of recovering rights from the Great Powers and achieving national unity. Giving convenience to foreign immigrants would be a serious mistake, for "if at night we open the door, it is like attracting thieves." Newly arrived foreigners were to be denied the right to rent residences, whether inside or outside of the foreign concessions. Those Chinese presently renting houses to foreign residents were to recover those residences upon termination of the lease; those not complying would be fined an amount over twenty percent of the value of the residence being rented.<sup>19</sup>

To ensure enforcement of these regulations, in August, 1929, Kirin authorities ordered that any Chinese selling land or building to foreigners would receive the death penalty immediately, and officials not reporting knowledge of such transactions were to be severely punished. Also, the naturalization fee, which had been previously reduced in order to encourage more Koreans to become naturalized, had the opposite effect in that Koreans were using naturalization to buy land and sell it over to the Japanese. The fee was to be raised to its original amount (30 yuan).<sup>20</sup>

#### The Problem of Tenancy Rights

The majority of Korean farmers in Manchuria never faced the problem of being denied the right to buy land; few of them could ever afford the purchase price. Instead, they became tenants on Chinese land and were required to pay the landlord a fixed percentage of their crops. In this matter



also, Koreans were faced with similar types of regulations which restricted that right.

Efforts to tighten control over tenancy leases and contracts of Korean farmers began around 1924, when several district governments began requiring tenant contracts to be first approved by district officials. By the following year, provincial and district authorities were issuing legislation to fix the period of tenancy.

Up until 1925 Liaoning Province had no restrictions on the length of such contracts. It was generally left up to the discretion of the landlord; some contracts were as long as seven or eight years, but the majority were one year contracts, always renewable at the discretion of the landlord. In July of that year, however, the provincial authorities ordered that the tenancy period for Koreans was not to exceed one year, and all contracts with a third party were to be void. Furthermore, all contracts would need the approval of the local police bureau.<sup>21</sup> Linch'iang District in the same province on April 20 had also ordered that the period for tenancy contracts be reduced from the currently fixed five years to six months. In addition, they were required to pay a procedural charge for the change and to apply for approval from the governor's office. The district strictly enforced this ruling—a Korean by the name of Kim and six others, having neglected the new procedures, were taken into custody on April 27 to the governor's office and fined 300 yen each. Unable to pay, they were beaten and ordered to leave the district.<sup>22</sup>

In August, 1925, Liaoning Province sent new orders to all district governors—Koreans were no longer to be allowed to enter into tenancy contracts with Chinese landlords. A few Koreans could be employed at fixed wages, but they would be permitted to cultivate rice fields only; no other occupation

was allowed for them. If the Koreans created any type of disturbance, their employment contract was to be abrogated and they were to be expelled out of the country.<sup>23</sup>

In February, 1929, the provincial authorities sent admonitions to district authorities to move faster in enforcing the new regulations to terminate tenancy rights. Koreans were not being expelled, and they were enticing landlords with bribes to continue their tenancy rights. It was the intention of the Liaoning government, supposedly based on instructions from Nanking, to recover all rice fields. Any contracts for land leased as rice fields after that month were to be cancelled. In addition, the Province would compensate the thirty-seven districts that had rice fields 5,000,000 yuan for any losses sustained.<sup>24</sup>

A number of Koreans complained that they were refused renewal of lease contracts shortly after their first harvest. A considerable amount of time was necessary to develop lands into paddy fields, requiring extensive cultivation and construction of irrigation facilities. Being forced to leave the land after only one harvest was a tragedy in view of the effort required. Chinese farmers, however, gradually learned the techniques of paddy farming and needed the services of Korean farmers to continue cultivation less. On April 25, 1929, the Department of Civil Affairs of Liaoning sent the following instructions to the Yingk'ou District government:

The people (Koreans) wandering into our province is increasing, having a great influence on our nation's rights and peoples' livelihood. Although the purpose of these Koreans is to run rice fields, the Agriculture and Mining Office has gained knowledge of rice varieties. Not only is it not important to employ Koreans, there is suspicion that bandits are concealed among them. . . .<sup>25</sup> Therefore we order measures to expel Koreans out of the country.

There were a number of cases in which Koreans were refused the right

to continue tenanting the land, even when valid contracts existed. In Hsinmin District, for example, a Korean-run company with a five year contract, after having operated for three years without difficulties, was refused continuance of the contract in November, 1925. In April, 1929, over 50 Korean households in Fengch'eng District were refused a tenancy contract under orders from the district government and were forced to leave.<sup>26</sup>

The Wanpaoshan farmers were thus not alone when faced with an order for their expulsion; the same was happening to other Koreans all over Manchuria. What made the problem at Wanpaoshan different from other cases of oppression, however, was the fact that this time Japan took an active role in opposing China's decision to evict the Koreans.

### VIII. JAPANESE POLICY TOWARDS THE KOREAN PROBLEM

Koreans in Manchuria, as subjects of Japan, were naturally of concern to Japanese policy makers, and the right to maintain extraterritorial jurisdiction over them was consistently asserted from 1915. Japan did not, however, follow any continuous policy of limiting or encouraging immigration and, until the Wanpaoshan Incident of 1931, did not intervene militarily against any Chinese acts of oppression towards Korean residents in Manchuria. But there were a number of Japanese, especially among the Kwantung Army activists and Japanese residents in Manchuria, who sought to use the Korean problem as a pretext to promote the extension of Japanese authority on the continent and viewed the presence of large numbers of Korean residents as "the van of the Japanese development" of Northeast China.<sup>1</sup>

There was no official policy towards the emigration of Koreans to Manchuria. Crossing the border was a relatively simple matter, not requiring passports or emigration certificates; the emigrant was only required to register a change of domicile with the local police authorities in Korea.<sup>2</sup> Because Manchuria was a traditional outlet of emigrants, emigration there was considered a "natural" phenomenon, and therefore did not arouse great concern among Japanese policy makers. What did concern the Japanese profoundly, however, was that among the emigrants there were large numbers of independence advocates and communists whose common desire was to liberate the peninsula from Japanese rule. It no doubt can be assumed that Japan's insistence on maintaining jurisdiction over Koreans in Manchuria stemmed more from the need to control dissidents and prevent the spread of dangerous thoughts on the peninsula than out of humanitarian concern for their plight. It was not until late 1927, when the Chinese Rights Recovery Movement

appeared to pose a threat to Japan's "special position" in Manchuria, that some Japanese began to speak of the "1,200,000 Japanese" in Manchuria, all suffering from Chinese oppression.<sup>3</sup>

There is some evidence of the encouragement of emigration on the part of the Government-General of Korea in the two or three years before the Manchurian Incident. The government encouraged the migration to the Hamgyōng Provinces (North and South) in northeastern Korea, south of Chientao, which was the area from which the majority of emigrants to Manchuria originated. Also various schemes were proposed to establish emigrant training schools, distribute economic information concerning Manchuria, and provide financial relief through government or government-subsidized agencies.<sup>4</sup> Although there is no evidence that these proposals were ever implemented, the intent of the proposals reveals a great deal about the thinking of Japanese in responsible positions in Korea, especially since they were recommended at a time when Chinese persecution of Koreans was at its height.

As noted in a previous chapter, a number of Japanese institutions were maintained in Chientao for Koreans, including schools, financial institutions and hospitals. By 1930 there were 431 schools for Koreans in Chientao and 63 in other parts of Manchuria. Some schools in Chientao were established and operated by the Government-General of Korea, while those in other areas were often run by the South Manchuria Railway Company along the railway lines which she controlled.<sup>5</sup> But these schools only accommodated students in a limited number of areas. Even in Chientao, funds for schools were disbursed through residents' associations in eighteen localities; those living outside of these areas were left on their own.

Under an agreement reached in 1921 between the Government-General of Korea and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the former was to be in charge of education, public health, banking, industries and relief work for Koreans in Manchuria, while the latter was in charge of all jurisdictional matters, including investigations, census registrations and police matters. The Consul-General in Chientao and the Consuls at Mukden, Ch'angch'un and Antung were given the additional post of Secretary of the Government-General in order to facilitate communications between the two government agencies. The Government-General also maintained in its budget from 1921 a fund to subsidize education, banking, medical care, farming and industries, as well as to aid in relief and finance educational tours. In April, 1930, this amounted to 819,647 yen.<sup>6</sup>

Although something was done to help Koreans in Chientao, there was little aid available for Koreans elsewhere. In 1920 and 1921, due to a severe drought in Manchuria, Korean farmers appealed to the Japanese authorities at Mukden for relief. The Government-General and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs allocated 300,000 yen for relief, to be administered through the Koreans' Association and the Pominhoe, both at Mukden, but Koreans in charge of its allotment misappropriated the money, with very little reaching those in need.<sup>7</sup>

At various times Japanese concerned with the Korean problem in Manchuria proposed measures to provide relief for the Korean farmer. H. Funabashi of the South Manchuria Railway Company recommended the establishment of financing institutions to give small sums of money directly to Korean farmers, rather than through the Korean associations. This would make the farmer less dependent on loans from Chinese landowners or users. He also recommended some sort of facility that would buy the crops the

farmers produced in areas far from centers of commercial activity, because these farmers often had to sell their produce to landowners below full market value.<sup>8</sup>

M. Akatsuka, also of the South Manchuria Railway Company, writing in 1930, two years after Funabashi, criticized those who simply recommended financing mediums for the relief and guidance of Koreans or urged the establishment of more educational facilities, without view to the overall political situation. Whatever type of relief or guidance afforded them would do little good; political problems had to be reckoned, such as difficulties created by the activities of Korean anti-Japanese groups who often worked against Japanese activities and sought retribution on Koreans who received aid from Japanese sources. There was also the problem in Japan's relations with China, in which existing treaties were not being implemented. Furthermore, the Koreans themselves were in part to blame for their current plight:

Many Koreans, dissolute and improvident, seem to [be] living only for satisfying their carnal desires. Having no regular means of living they will still indulge in the fleeting pleasures of a dissolute life as best as they might contrive. On taking out the naturalization paper, they will buy a piece of land only to sell it at a profit, and then to purchase another tract of land . . . . Many of the Korean settlers will make nothing of overbidding the tenant-fee in their eagerness to tenant a farm, thereby placing themselves at the disadvantage to their landowners who might greedily squeeze them. . . . The Koreans are often treacherous. If hired to sow seed rice by a Chinese land-owner, the Korean will sooner sow cock's shin in place of rice. . . . He will borrow money and then slip away at night. . . . Among the Koreans in Manchuria, there are a number who eke out a precarious [sic] living by smuggling -in or -out of contrabands. There are also undesirables and vagabonds.

Japanese often maintained an air of superiority towards Koreans, believing them to be at a "low level of civilization," "inferior in character," and "lacking of a progressive spirit."<sup>10</sup> This attitude was prevalent towards Koreans in general, and not merely manifested towards Manchurian Koreans. This possibly

explains the absence of any sort of relief agency for destitute Korean farmers outside of Chientao.

There were a number of Japanese who favored large-scale settlement by Koreans in order to further Japan's economic penetration of Manchuria. Koreans would help increase rice production for Japanese residents in Manchuria, and the presence of one million Koreans could serve to advance the realm of Japan's special interests in that area.

About ninety percent of the rice consumed by Japanese residents in South Manchuria was grown locally, primarily by Korean farmers;<sup>11</sup> the remainder was imported from Korea. The price of Manchurian rice was also cheaper, selling for 18 sen per shō in Chientao, compared to 35-40 sen in Japan.<sup>12</sup> The South Manchuria Railway Company encouraged the cultivation of rice in the districts along the main line in 1917 and 1918 and established seed farms in various localities.<sup>13</sup>

Japanese agricultural enterprises in Manchuria also employed Koreans. When the East Asia Industrial Company (Tōa Kangyō Kabushiki Kaisha) was founded in 1922, a number of Korean farmers were drawn to its fields in Eastern Mongolia. The Hailin Agricultural Encouragement Society, formed in 1925, also facilitated the rice farming of Koreans.<sup>14</sup> All of this was for local consumption, because Japan produced enough rice in Japan and Korea to meet her own needs.

The Chientao region, with its large population of Koreans, was of both economic and strategic importance for Japan. A correspondent of Mannichi, a Japanese newspaper in Manchuria, referred to Chientao as the "rear entrance" to the continent.<sup>15</sup> The value of Korean agricultural produce in that region (which included Hunch'un District in Japanese statistics) amounted to over 27



million yen in 1930.<sup>16</sup> This compares quite favorably to the situation in North Hamgyōng Province in Korea, adjacent to the Chientao region. In 1938 the province produced agricultural products valued at over 39 million yen, but had over twice the amount of arable land.<sup>17</sup>

Strategically, as well as economically, Chientao provided an efficient and inexpensive link between Japan and the continent. With the completion of the Hamgyōng rail line in 1928, which started at Wōnsan and ran north up the coast, a link was established between Korea and Chientao, where it would connect with the Kirin-Tunhua line. There was considerable discussion of building a port in the northeastern corner of Korea which would serve those lines, thus enabling another route to be established between Japan and the continent. Although the travel time over the lines from Pusan through Seoul to Mukden was less, the route via Chientao would have been less costly because of the relative cheapness of boat over rail transportation.<sup>18</sup>

Concerning the problem of Chinese oppression of Koreans, Japan did little before the Wanpaoshan Incident to intervene. Japanese consulates in Manchuria naturally protested such acts, but the anti-Japanese feeling among Chinese officials and populace was far too widespread and the protests were often ignored. Japanese consulates in Manchuria sometimes sent investigative teams or consular police to areas where incidents of oppression were reported. The Mukden consulate, for example, dispatched Police Sergeant Ito in late 1927 to Pench'i District to survey the situation there. Ito reported that Chinese officials were demanding "extortionate taxes" and other levies on the Korean population. Also, the Koreans had ignored the province's order to become naturalized.<sup>19</sup> What happened to Koreans such as these after the Japanese investigative teams or police left the area is unknown.

In regards to the naturalization issue, Japan did not allow Koreans to become naturalized Chinese. There were differences of opinion within the Japanese government concerning this, however, and at various times there was talk of reversing their policy. The Government-General of Korea maintained a hard line, contending that Koreans could not become naturalized under any condition. In 1922 a group of Korean farmers in Kirin Province petitioned the Civil Chairman of the Province to allow them to become naturalized. They met with Chang Tso-lin in Mukden, who told them they must first get the approval of the Japanese authorities. They then met with the Consul-General at Mukden, who relayed their message to the Foreign Ministry, Kwantung Government, and Government-General of Korea. The Government-General promptly quashed any further discussion on the matter.<sup>20</sup>

The Foreign Ministry under Shidehara was at one point in 1930 rumored to be favorable to the proposal of allowing Koreans to become naturalized, in part to remove any contention of the Chinese that Japan was using Koreans as a vanguard of aggression in Manchuria.<sup>21</sup> In May of the same year the Minister of Colonial Affairs was considering the same matter, but a series of disturbances by Korean communists in Chientao brought heated reaction to the plan from the military and Japanese residents in Manchuria.<sup>22</sup> Many of these Japanese feared that if all Koreans were allowed to become naturalized, Japan would be helpless to stop the activities of Korean communists. This fear was reinforced in March, 1930, when the main body of the Korean communist movement in Manchuria announced its decision to form a united front with the Chinese Communist Party. From that point on, Korean communists worked in concert with, and under orders from, the Chinese communists. Japanese concern over the extent of communism in China thus

affected Japan's stand on the naturalization issue.

Japanese residents of Manchuria were extremely critical of the "weak-kneed" policies of the Foreign Ministry, and felt neglected by the Japanese government in Tokyo. Foreign Minister Shidehara's policy towards China represented a conciliatory approach, in which Japan sought to reach some accommodation with Chinese nationalism and at the same time preserve Japan's rights and interests in Manchuria; this included keeping the region free from the chaos and political changes taking place in China. These rights and interests were often defined narrowly, based on economic determinations, and rested on the principle that Manchuria's prime importance laid in its position as an export market for Japanese products. Shidehara therefore willingly entered into negotiations with the Nanking government on the issue of tariff autonomy and the abolition of extraterritoriality, in the hope that by showing Japan's concern for her relations with China, her special position in Manchuria would be safeguarded. Japanese residents in Manchuria attacked Shidehara diplomacy because they believed any accommodation with Chinese nationalism would signal the end to the special privileges they enjoyed. If Chinese nationalism were allowed to run its natural course, not only would there be more discriminatory measures placed against them, but the growing ties, be they economic or social, between Manchuria and China would create a situation in which Japanese would be left out.

By the late 1920s a number of these residents formed associations in various areas in order to publicize their maltreatment by Chinese officials. On June 16, 1931, Japanese residents in Hunch'un District met and held a Hunch'un Japanese Residents' Association Assembly, at which time they criticized the "weak-kneed" policies of the Foreign Ministry and local officials,

and petitioned various ministries within the government to increase and strengthen the power of Japanese police.<sup>23</sup> In the summer of 1931 representatives of the Manchurian Youth League toured major cities in Japan and complained of Chinese discrimination against them and the indifference of Japanese officials. On June 13, 1931, the same group called for the "harmony of various races residing in Manchuria-Mongolia" and, shortly after the Manchurian Incident, recommended the establishment of a "Manchuria-Mongolia Free State," based upon the principles of racial harmony and local autonomy.<sup>24</sup>

In the absence of the large Korean minority in Manchuria, however, these views would have had little merit. Japanese subjects in Manchuria numbered only 200,000; most of them were government officials, military personnel, or employees of the South Manchuria Railway Company and lived in the railway zones or large cities. Koreans, on the other hand, numbered one million strong and inhabited even the remote areas of the interior of Manchuria. The watchword of "1,200,000 Japanese," then, added leverage to the contention that Japan had paramount interests in Northeastern China.

Reaction among Japanese residents was especially strong against the Foreign Ministry's handling of the Wanpaoshan Incident. At a cabinet meeting on July 3 Foreign Minister Shidehara seemed to downplay the whole nature of the incident by saying that it occurred simply because of a lack of understanding between the Korean farmers and Chinese landlords over irrigation ditch rights. A research journal of the South Manchurian Railway Company, Mammo Jijō, attacked the Foreign Minister, saying that it was hardly just a "local issue, not an important problem." Instead it reached to the very heart of Sino-Japanese difficulties in Manchuria, and was one of many other similar incidents taking place all over.<sup>25</sup> Many officials of the South Manchuria

Railway Company thus shared the beliefs of other Japanese residents in Manchuria.

Negotiations continued between Foreign Ministry officials and local Chinese officials on the Wanpaoshan Incident throughout August, but they were ignored by officers within the Kwantung Army. There is no evidence to indicate that the Kwantung Army precipitated actions that led to the outbreak of hostilities at Wanpaoshan. Officers within the Army did, however, create a climate in which very few options were open for Foreign Ministry officials to reach an amicable settlement of the incident. Foreign Minister Shidehara was besieged with criticism of his China policy both at home and by the Kwantung Army and Japanese residents in Manchuria. By the time of the incident, there was considerable talk that the Kwantung Army was preparing its own solution to the Manchurian crisis. Ishiwara Kanji, a staff officer in the Kwantung Army and the mastermind behind the Manchurian Incident, and Colonel Itagaki Seishirō, a Kwantung Army Senior Staff Officer, had their subordinates begin drawing up plans for a military takeover of Manchuria. Ishiwara believed that Japanese control over Manchuria, and eventually all of Asia, was necessary so that Japan would be triumphant in what he saw was to be a "total war" of the future, in which Asia would be pitted against the West.

Support for action to bring Manchuria more under Japanese control was strong among Japanese residents in Manchuria, and soon gained a following among a number in Japan. The opposition party in Japan, the Seiyūkai, took advantage of the widespread dissatisfaction with Japan's Manchuria policy and called for more forceful measures to be taken to check Chinese nationalism. In the middle of July, 1931, Mori Kaku, Secretary-General of the Seiyūkai,

went on a four week tour of Manchuria, ostensibly to investigate personally the Wanpaoshan Incident and other conflicts between Chinese and Koreans. Before he left, however, Mori stated, "There is really no need for me to visit the site of the Wanpaoshan Incident. The Investigating Commission will take care of that. I have a different idea."<sup>26</sup> In Manchuria Mori met privately with Japanese residents and Kwantung Army officers, airing their views on the nature of the current crisis there. Upon returning to Japan Mori declared that cooperation and concessions could not bring about a solution to problems in Manchuria—it was time now to use force.<sup>27</sup>

Though support for a change in Japan's policy towards Manchuria was evident, a provocation was still needed to use military force for a takeover. At a cabinet meeting on July 7, at which the Wanpaoshan and Korea Incidents were discussed, Koiso Kunioki, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau within the Army Ministry, urged the sending of an army division to Korea and Manchuria,<sup>28</sup> but this was rejected. Meanwhile, subordinate officers within the Kwantung Army were making their own plans to concoct incidents which would provoke violence from the Chinese. Doihara Kenji of Special Intelligence was involved in a scheme to use the warlord Yen Hsi-shan in a battle against Chang Hsueh-liang<sup>29</sup> and sought to provoke anti-Japanese incidents in north China; Captain Amakasu Masahiko had hopes of stirring up new riots against Koreans in Manchuria.<sup>30</sup> Chinese officials caught wind of these intrigues, and on May 15, 1931, Chang Tso-hsiang, Civil Chairman of Kirin, secretly warned district and city governments to be on the watch for any suspicious actions.<sup>31</sup> Surely the actions of these Kwantung Army officers added to the mood of anti-Japanese, not to mention anti-Korean, sentiment among Chinese officials.

Ishiwara Kanji managed to stop the plots of these other Kwantung officers, for by August he believed these plots could only serve to detract from the crisis surrounding an incident involving the death of a Japanese officer at Chinese hands. Nakamura Shintarō, an active duty army officer, on a spy mission in western Manchuria near the border of Inner Mongolia, was captured and executed by Chinese soldiers. The news of his death was not confirmed until August. Nakamura's execution was considered to be a direct affront to the Kwantung Army, showing arrogant disrespect for the Japanese army and nation. It was made clear that a simple apology from the Chinese would not be acceptable. To make matters worse, or possibly more advantageous in the eyes of Ishiwara and others, China at first refused to disclose the full facts of the case and would not give an apology for the actions of the Chinese soldiers.

On the evening of September 18, 1931, Japanese troops, pretending to be Chinese guerillas, exploded some tracks on the South Manchuria Railway north of Mukden. The Kwantung Army swung into action, and by the following day Mukden was in Japanese hands. Japan's takeover of Manchuria had begun.

It perhaps says a great deal that the record of several years of oppression of one million Koreans by Chinese local officials was not enough to provoke the Japanese to take any dramatic action. But it took the murder of just one Kwantung Army officer to catalyze the Manchurian Incident.

## IX. CONCLUSION

There were several other incidents of oppression towards Korean residents in Manchuria after the outbreak of violence at Wanpaoshan. These became especially evident even in North Manchuria, where there were few such incidents before. In addition to numerous orders for expulsions, there were about 140 Koreans believed to be in the Kirin Provincial Government prison, most of them arrested on charges that they were communists.<sup>1</sup>

On July 3 about fifty farmers were arrested by Chinese authorities and escorted to Ch'angch'un in the mistaken belief that they were Wanpaoshan farmers. It was later confirmed they were from Harbin. In Heilungkiang Province forty Korean farmers petitioned the Japanese consulate in Harbin for relief when nearby Chinese farmers destroyed their irrigation ditch, forcing them to abandon their rice fields. On the south line of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Taolaichao, 350 Korean farmers were told on July 6 by Chinese officials that those not naturalized were to be denied residence and immediately expelled. Because of maltreatment, about twenty of them went to Ch'angch'un to seek refuge.

Korean residents in and around Harbin were in a panic due to anti-Japanese and anti-Korean demonstrations in the area. On July 7 the Chinese Youth Alliance at Harbin distributed a pamphlet proclaiming, "We shall massacre all Koreans in Harbin." The Koreans appealed to the Japanese consulate several times for protection. The same day about twenty-five Korean elementary school students in the same city were attacked by Chinese students, and two students sustained injuries. The next day four more students were beaten, and the Korean residents decided to suspend classes in their schools for one month.



On July 8 about 1,500 Chinese students demonstrated in Ch'angch'un. The students carried placards which read, "Down with the Korean farmers who forcibly occupy Wanpaoshan! Down with the Korean farmers who encroach upon our territory! Keep our mountains and rivers intact!" Thousands of leaflets were distributed which called for an end to Japan's special privileges in Manchuria.

A large number of Koreans were affected in one way or another as a result of the oppressive measures of Chinese officials and landlords. Statistics of the Government-General of Korea show that for the years 1928-1931 over 11,000 more Koreans returned to Korea than emigrated to Manchuria. This is in marked contrast to most previous years, when the number of emigrants far exceed those returning.<sup>2</sup>

Figures given by Kim San-min of the South Manchuria Railway Company support the above.<sup>3</sup> As shown in Table 3, there was a drastic change in the numbers returning to Korea or relocating to North Manchuria from 1927 to 1930-31. In 1927 only 930 people returned to Korea; by 1930-31 this increased by over 1,000 percent, to 9,320. Also, by 1930-31 there was a large number moving to the South Manchuria Railway Zones. It is impossible to say how many of those Koreans moving to North Manchuria did so to escape persecution, because Koreans in Manchuria were a fairly mobile group. It is safe to assume, however, that, given the conditions in the Northeast, a large segment of those returning to Korea or to the railway zones did so due to persecution.

Koreans in Manchuria found themselves, in the words of Kim San-min, caught "between the devil and the sea."<sup>4</sup> Most Koreans had emigrated to Manchuria out of economic duress or because of dissatisfaction with the Japanese colonial regime, but, once there, China regarded them as a vanguard

TABLE 3  
KOREAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Immigration in 1927	
Koreans Returning to Korea . . . . .	930
Koreans Moving to Other Parts of Manchuria . . . . .	1,300
TOTAL . . . . .	2,230
Immigration from Fall, 1930, to End of March, 1931	
Koreans Returning to Korea . . . . .	9,320
Koreans Withdrawing to South Manchuria Railway Zones . . . . .	4,640
Koreans Moving to North Manchuria . . . . .	1,900
TOTAL . . . . .	15,860

Source: Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kvūō to sono kaiketsusaku  
(Dairen, Shin Tairiku Sha, 1931), pp. 66-67.

of Japanese aggression on the continent and subjected them to numerous orders for their expulsion.

China initially welcomed Koreans and considered them an oppressed race, deserving of compassion and sympathy. But in the fervor of the Rights Recovery Movement, when China sought to abolish the unequal treaties and regain her sovereignty, Koreans were regarded as a nuisance. There were frequent jurisdictional disputes, in which Japanese consular police freely made arrests of Korean "malcontents" and searches of Korean homes in Chinese

territory. There were also some cases in which Japanese were using naturalized Koreans to purchase land. In Chientao Japan maintained a virtual state within a state, exercising broad administrative powers over the Korean population. Together with all of Japan's existing special rights in Manchuria, these acts were regarded as part of a plot by Japan to annex Manchuria, just as she had done in Korea. If China were to accede to Japan's assertions, and allow Japan to maintain jurisdiction over all Koreans in Manchuria, she would never be able to achieve complete control over her destiny and the inequitable system of extraterritoriality would remain. Although the Nationalist government hoped to abolish the unequal treaties through patient negotiations, the anti-Japanese sentiment was so strong that local officials often took matters into their own hands.

Koreans were easy victims of Chinese resentment. Outside of Chientao most Koreans had no recourse to Japanese consular protection when faced with Chinese oppression. Besides, Koreans were often anti-Japanese and appealed for aid only when their situation became intolerable. Those few "camp followers" among them restricted themselves to the railway zones and Japanese concessions. Some Koreans did facilitate the purchase of land for Japanese, but their number was few and often done as a result of foreclosure by Japanese mortgaging institutions or because of impoverishment.

Japan's hard line on the naturalization issue and her insistence on exercising jurisdiction over Koreans were the primary factors contributing to Chinese oppression. Her refusal to allow Koreans to become naturalized to China, even though naturalization was not discountenanced for Koreans in other countries, such as the Soviet Union, created suspicion on the part of China that Japan was using Koreans in a policy of aggression in Manchuria.

Many Japanese did not overlook the significance the large Korean minority had in contributing to Japan's "special position" in Manchuria. Their role in providing rice for Japanese residents was acknowledged, but their importance rested more on the fact that they formed a large part of the Japanese population in Manchuria, all of whom were being denied many of the rights granted under existing Sino-Japanese treaties. Chinese oppression was directed not just at a small number of residents from Japan, but at "1,200,000 Japanese." The suffering of Koreans was also used by Japan as a defense in an attack on the effects of Chinese nationalism. Japan claimed that China was both contradictory and hypocritical when she spoke of her concern for oppressed races, for in Manchuria she was waging a relentless campaign of oppression against Koreans.

It was at Wanpoashan that Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism had their final confrontation before the Manchurian Incident. The problems the Korean farmers faced at Wanpaoshan embodied many of the tensions existing in Sino-Japanese relations—the questions of residence and land lease rights, jurisdiction, and extraterritoriality. Both countries stood their respective grounds on these issues. China was fighting for her survival, Japan to maintain her status as an imperial power. Caught in the middle were the 200 Wanpaoshan farmers who, like their compatriots in other parts of Manchuria, were struggling to earn a livelihood as best they could from their fields.

## NOTES

## I. INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>League of Nations, The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Sino-Japanese Dispute (Tokyo: League of Nations Association of Japan, 1932), p. 102.

<sup>2</sup>China referred to Manchuria as the Three Eastern Provinces, or simply the Eastern Provinces. In this paper these terms, as well as the "Northeast" or "Northeast China," are used interchangeably with the term Manchuria to cover the area of the provinces of Liaoning, Kirin, and Heilungkiang. Also, Eastern Inner Mongolia is included in Japanese references to Mammō, meaning Manchuria and Mongolia.

<sup>3</sup>Marius B. Jansen, Japan and China: From War to Peace, 1894-1972 (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1975), p. 306.

<sup>4</sup>Akira Iriye, After Imperialism: The Search for a New Order in the Far East, 1921-1931 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 225.

<sup>5</sup>Jansen, Japan and China, p. 372.

<sup>6</sup>Iriye, After Imperialism, p. 255.

## II. THE WANPAOSHAN INCIDENT

<sup>1</sup>For the text of the two contracts, see Waichiaopu, Memoranda Submitted by the Chinese Assessor to the Commission of Enquiry of the League of Nations (Nanking: Waichiaopu, 1932), pp. 164-68.

<sup>2</sup>"Bōrei o kiwameshi Wanpaoshan jiken", Mammō Jijō (June 25, 1931):34-36.

<sup>3</sup>Waichiaopu, Memoranda, pp. 149-50.

<sup>4</sup>"Bōrei o kiwameshi," p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-40.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-43.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-47.

<sup>13</sup>Waichiaopu, Memoranda, p. 171.

<sup>14</sup>"Bōrei o kiwameshi", p. 46.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 46-47.

<sup>16</sup>"Futatabi Wanpaoshan mondai okori; kore ni inshite Chōsen jiken boppatsusu," Mammō Jijō (July 25, 1931):3.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>18</sup>For accounts of the Korea Incident, see Whitewall Wang, ed., Wanpaoshan Incident and the Anti-Chinese Riots in Korea (Nanking: International Relations Committee, n.d.), pp. 16-50; "Futatabi Wanpaoshan," pp. 11-14, 18-22; also, Waichiaopu, Memoranda, pp. 173-80.

<sup>19</sup>Seki Hiroharu, "Manshū jihen zenshi (1927-1931)" in v. 1 of Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed., Taiheiyo sensō e no michi (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1962-3), p. 354.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.; also, "Futatabi Wanpaoshan," p. 23.

<sup>21</sup>Waichiaopu, Memoranda, pp. 157-59.

<sup>22</sup>Wang, Wanpaoshan Incident, p. 1.

### III. KOREAN EMIGRATION TO MANCHURIA

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the various population figures given for Koreans in Manchuria, see League of Nations, Appeal by the Chinese Government: Supplementary Documents to the Report of the Commission of the Enquiry, No. C.663.M.30.1932.VII, Study No. 9, "Korean Problems in Manchuria as Factors in the Sino-Japanese Dispute: An Analytical and Interpretive Study," pp. 252-54.

<sup>2</sup>Robert H. G. Lee, The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 134; also Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kyūjō to sono kaiketsusaku (Dairen: Shin Tairiku Sha, 1931), p. 42.

<sup>3</sup>"Koreans in Manchuria," Contemporary Manchuria (April, 1940):54; Waichiaopu, Memoranda, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup>"Koreans in Manchuria," p. 54.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>6</sup>Government-General of Korea, The Third Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Korea (1909-1910) (Seoul: Government General of Korea, 1910), pp. 9-11.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Government General of Chosen, Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen (1918-1921) (Seoul: Government General of Chosen, 1921), p. 19.

<sup>9</sup>Cited in League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," pp. 260-1.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>11</sup>Hoon K. Lee, "Korean Migrants in Manchuria," Geographical Review (April, 1932):202-3.

<sup>12</sup>Frank Baldwin, "Participatory Anti-Imperialism: The 1919 Independence Movement," Journal of Korean Studies, vol. 1 (1979), p. 128.

<sup>13</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," pp. 264, 274.

<sup>14</sup>Government General, Annual Report (1918-1921), p. 18.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>16</sup>Woo-keun Han, The History of Korea (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), p. 468.

<sup>17</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu, Shomubu, Chōsaka, Chōsen ni okeru naichijin (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1922), pp. 47-57.

<sup>18</sup>Cited in League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 226.

<sup>19</sup>Sang-chul Suh, Growth and Structural Changes in the Korean Economy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 82-83.

<sup>20</sup>Kobayakawa Kurō, ed., Chōsen nōgyō hattatsushi, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Yūhō Kyōkai, 1960), p. 93.

<sup>21</sup>Himeno Minoru, Chōsen keizai zuhyō (Seoul: Chōsen Tōkei Kyōkai, 1940), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 264.

<sup>23</sup>Hatada Takeshi, A History of Korea (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio Press, 1969), p. 117.

#### IV. THE STATUS AND CONTROL OF KOREANS IN MANCHURIA

<sup>1</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 254.

<sup>2</sup>For the text of the agreement, see John V. A. MacMurray, comp. and ed., Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, Manchu Period (1894-1911), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 796-97.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 797-98.

<sup>4</sup>C. Walter Young, The International Relations of Manchuria (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 91-92; Paul Hibbert Clyde, International Rivalries in Manchuria (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), pp. 216-17.

<sup>5</sup>For the text of the Treaty, see John V. A. MacMurray, comp. and ed., Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, Republican Period (1912-1919), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 1220-21.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1220.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1226-27.

<sup>8</sup>Chi Meng, China Speaks on the Conflict between China and Japan (n.p., 1932; reprint ed., Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 33.

<sup>9</sup>Waichiaoapu, Memoranda, pp. 109-10.

<sup>10</sup>Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kyūjō, pp. 59-60.

<sup>11</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 267.

<sup>12</sup>For the text of the agreements, see League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," pp. 278-80; Waichiaoapu, Memoranda, pp. 120-24.

<sup>13</sup>H. Funabashi, "Pleadings for Korean Settlers in Manchuria," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (July 1, 1928):13.

<sup>14</sup>Waichiaoapu, Memoranda, p. 110.

## V. CHINESE OPPRESSION I: MEASURES TO RECOVER CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the negotiations on the abolition of extraterritoriality, see Iriye, After Imperialism, pp. 286-87.

<sup>2</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin to Shina kanken (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, 1930), p. 34. This work is a compendium of Japanese translations of numerous Chinese orders and directives directed at Koreans in Manchuria and has been heavily consulted for this paper. The work was classified "Top Secret."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 305-6.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.



<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-41.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 216-17.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 218-19.

<sup>14</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 270.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>16</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, p. 227.

<sup>17</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 273.

<sup>18</sup>Owen Lattimore, Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 239, 241.

<sup>19</sup>Minami Marshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha, Shomubu, Chōsaka, Shinagawa no tai-Senjin seisaku ni taishi Nihon no toritaru shochi (Dairen: Toa Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1929), pp. 7-9.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-7; League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 271.

<sup>21</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, pp. 201-2.

#### VI. CHINESE OPPRESSION II: MEASURES TO CONTROL KOREANS AND RESTRICT THEIR FREE RESIDENCE

<sup>1</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, pp. 112-13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 115-16.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-20.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 195-96.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 116-18.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-28.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 165-66.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 311-12.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 178-79.

<sup>14</sup>William Fitch Morton, Tanaka Giichi and Japan's China Policy (Folkestone, England: Wm. Dawson & Sons, Ltd., 1980), pp. 96-103.

<sup>15</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 317.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 179-80.

<sup>23</sup>Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kyūjō, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>25</sup>"Evidences of Persecution of Koreans," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (January 1, 1928):10.

<sup>26</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 272.

<sup>27</sup>"The Hard Lot of Korean Settlers in Manchuria," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (January 1, 1928):10.

<sup>28</sup>Seki, "Manshū jihen zenshi," p. 353.

## VII. CHINESE OPPRESSION III: MEASURES TO RESTRICT LANDHOLDING RIGHTS

- <sup>1</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 259.
- <sup>2</sup>Nobuo Murakoshi and Glenn T. Trewartha, "Land Utilization Maps of Manchuria," Geographical Review, v. XX (1930):492.
- <sup>3</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 256.
- <sup>4</sup>M. Akatsuka, "Korean Settlers in Manchuria, I," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (February 1, 1930):12.
- <sup>5</sup>M. Akatsuka, "Korean Settlers in Manchuria, II" Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (March 1, 1930):10.
- <sup>6</sup>Lee, "Korean Migrants," pp. 202-3.
- <sup>7</sup>"Futatabi Wanpaoshan," p. 2.
- <sup>8</sup>Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Colonization in Manchuria," Geographical Review, v. XXII (April, 1932):185-89.
- <sup>9</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, pp. 270-71.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 271.
- <sup>11</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, p. 272.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 273.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 273-74.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 275-77.
- <sup>15</sup>Lee, "Korean Migrants," p. 203.
- <sup>16</sup>Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Zai-Man Senjin, pp. 285-86.
- <sup>17</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 268.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 286-87.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 300-02.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 289-91.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 246.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 317.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 247.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 258-59.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 262-63.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

# VIII. JAPANESE POLICY TOWARDS THE KOREAN PROBLEM

<sup>1</sup>"A Great Unopen Country of Chientao," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (May 1, 1928):12.

<sup>2</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 262.

<sup>3</sup>"1,200,000 Japanese in Manchuria," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (January 1, 1928):10.

<sup>4</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 262.

<sup>5</sup>Government General of Chosen, Annual Report on Administration of Chosen (1929-1930) (Seoul: Government General of Chosen, 1931), p. 17; "Koreans in Manchuria," p. 66.

<sup>6</sup>Government General of Chosen, Annual Report (1929-1930), pp. 17-18.

<sup>7</sup>Funabashi, "Pleadings for Korean Settlers," p. 12.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>9</sup>Akatsuka, "Korean Settlers in Manchuria," pp. 10-11.

<sup>10</sup>"Koreans in Manchuria," pp. 62, 66.

<sup>11</sup>"670,000 Koku of Rice," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (June 1, 1925):16.

<sup>12</sup>"A Great Unopen Country," p. 12.

<sup>13</sup>"Improvement of Agricultural Products in Manchuria," Contemporary Manchuria (September, 1937):71.

<sup>14</sup>M. Akatsuka, "Korean Immigrants in Manchuria as Studied by Period of Immigration," Manchuria Daily News Monthly Supplement (April 1, 1928):14.

<sup>15</sup>"A Great Unopen Country," p. 12.

<sup>16</sup>Government General of Chosen, Annual Report (1929-1930), p. 17.

<sup>17</sup>Himeno, Chōsen keizai zuhyō, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup>"A Great Unopen Country," pp. 12-14.

<sup>19</sup>"The Hard Lot of Korean Settlers," p. 10.

- <sup>20</sup>Funabashi, "Pleadings for Korean Settlers," p. 12.
- <sup>21</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 271.
- <sup>22</sup>Seki, "Manshū jihen zenshi," p. 338.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup>Sadako N. Ogata, Defiance in Manchuria: The Making of Japanese Foreign Policy, 1931-1932 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 38-40.
- <sup>25</sup>"Futatabi Wanpaoshan," pp. 4-5, 7.
- <sup>26</sup>Takehiko Yoshihashi, Conspiracy at Mukden: The Rise of the Japanese Military (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 147-9.
- <sup>27</sup>Morton, Tanaka Giichi, p. 168.
- <sup>28</sup>Seki, "Manshū jihen zenshi," p. 354.
- <sup>29</sup>Mark R. Peattie, Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 117.
- <sup>30</sup>Jansen, Japan and China, pp. 379-80.
- <sup>31</sup>Seki, "Manshū jihen zenshi," p. 352.

## IX. CONCLUSION

- <sup>1</sup>This and the following examples of oppression are from "Futatabi Wanpaoshan," pp. 7-10.
- <sup>2</sup>League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 274.
- <sup>3</sup>Kim San-min, Zai-Man Chōsenjin no kyūjō, pp. 66-67.
- <sup>4</sup>Quoted in League of Nations, "Korean Problems in Manchuria," p. 271.

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