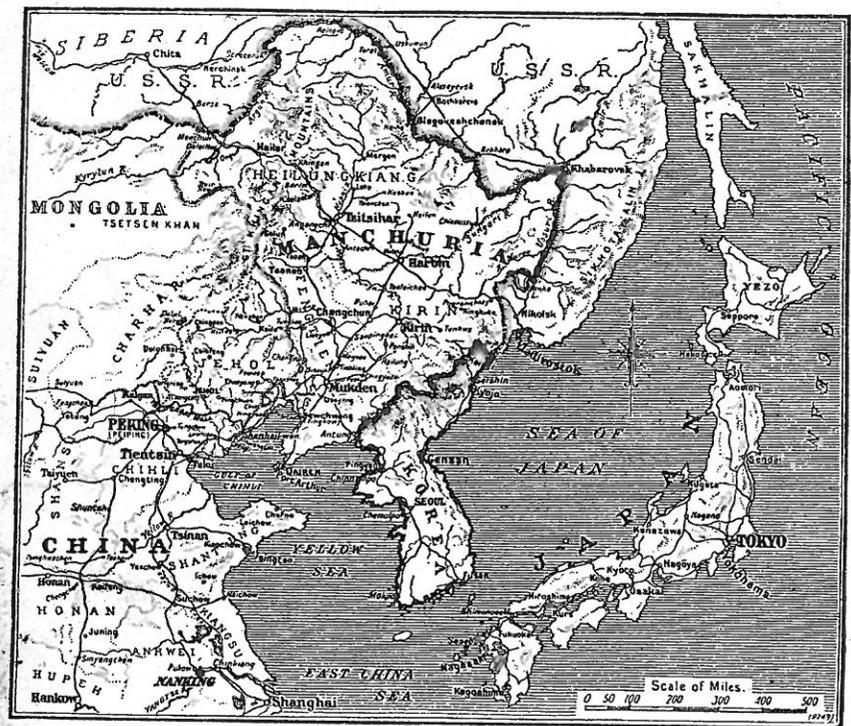


The KOREANS IN MANCHURIA

Extracts from the LYTTON REPORT
with comments by
Dr. SYNGMAN RHEE



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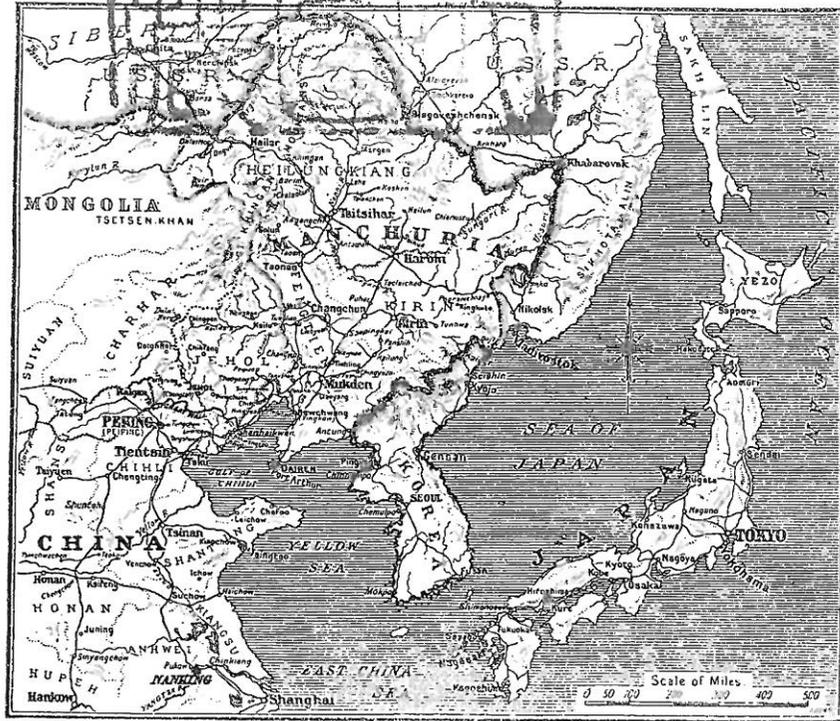
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MAP of KOREA, MANCHURIA and JAPAN

Introduction

The purpose of this booklet is to call the attention of the Government representatives delegated to deal with the Sino-Japanese conflict submitted for decision to the League of Nations, the Press and all persons or organizations which stand for justice to the oppressed, to the emphasis laid by the Lytton Report on the Korean question as a weighty factor in the just solution of Far Eastern problems.

Now that the League of Nations has still further enhanced its status as a moral tribunal in international disputes by the decision it has just taken on the Sino-Japanese conflict, a decision based on justice and on the facts as reported by the Lytton Commission, this Korean phase of the Manchurian problem should not fail to receive from the League the consideration which is its due.

For the sake of brevity, the quotations made from the Lytton Report (referred to as L. R.) and from the Supplementary Documents to the Lytton Report (referred to as Suppl. Doc.) are accompanied by as few comments as possible. In the quotations themselves the original text has been reproduced verbatim and the page number of the Report added to facilitate reference.

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The Koreans in Manchuria

Purpose.

We, the fully accredited representatives of 23,000,000 Koreans residing in Korea, Manchuria, Siberia, Hawaii, America, Mexico and elsewhere, have the honor to draw the attention of the States, Members of the League of Nations, to the fact that more than a million Koreans now residing in the Three Eastern Provinces of China, commonly known as Manchuria, demand a just and equitable settlement of the questions of their legal "status", their "dual citizenship" and their "rights" to purchase or lease land and live in Manchuria without Japanese interference.

While we await a more appropriate occasion to present Korea's just claims for the restoration of her lost independence, we confine ourselves in this discussion to questions relating to the Koreans in Manchuria who are undoubtedly inextricably involved in the Manchurian dispute and whose claim to proper consideration by the League in conjunction with the Sino-Japanese issue cannot be ignored.

In voicing the sentiments of these "suffering" and "victimized" Koreans, we request that the League, after due consideration of the situation in the light of the Lytton Report, should declare that the Korean people in general and those living outside Korea in particular have an undeniable right to be naturalized in whatever State they choose, subject only to the nationality laws of such State, and that their naturalization shall be respected by Japan, as it is by all other nations.

Causes of Turmoil.

The fundamental cause of the Far Eastern crisis, which is keeping untold millions of Oriental peoples in a state of constant terror and panic while also threatening the peace of the entire world, is what is known as Japan's "positive policy of the Conquest of Asia". The situation of turmoil in the Far East, due to the territorial ambitions of a warlike people, intoxicated with the glory of military conquests, can best be illustrated by the story of a drunken man, who occupied, at pistol point, the home of his next-door neighbor, beat the neighbor's child until the frightened child ran into a third house for refuge, followed him to that house and occupied the premises on the ground that the child was there

and needed his protection. The panic-stricken neighbor tried to remove the child from his house, hoping thus to avoid trouble. But the child refused to accompany the self-appointed guardian, who insisted that the child could not be adopted by any one else, that it had a right to live in that house and that he himself was entitled to use the house so long as the child was there.

The weakness of the neighbor is largely responsible for the whole trouble, of course. But will the community leave the unfortunate child and the helpless neighbor at the mercy of that drunken man: Do they not realize that when a wild man, armed to the teeth, is turned loose, no home in the entire community will be safe?

Will civilization turn a deaf ear? The cries of the child may be heard and the sad story of his plight can be read in the Report of the Lytton Commission.

Korean and Manchurian Problems Inseparable.

The following extracts from the Lytton Report will suffice to prove at a glance that the Korean question is so inseparably connected with the Manchurian question that the problem cannot be solved with any assurance of permanency without finding a solution for the other.¹⁾

The title of "Study No. 9" in Part III of the Lytton Report is "Korean problems in Manchuria as factors in the Sino-Japanese dispute", (Suppl. Doc. p. 251). The following are the other passages in the Report which refer to the Korean problem: "Special attention given to the Korean problem by the Commission". (L. R. p. 60.) "The Korean problem intensified the Sino-Japanese hostilities, victimizing the Koreans themselves", (L. R. p. 56). "Problems arising from conflicting claims of police jurisdiction peculiarly serious, involving the Koreans", (L.R. p. 58).

"The presence of a million Koreans in Manchuria, who possess Japanese nationality under the Japanese law, when not naturalized as Chinese subjects, served to accentuate the conflict of policies of China and of Japan. Out of this situation there arose various controversies, in consequence of which the Koreans themselves were victimized, being subjected to suffering and revolting brutalities." (Suppl. Doc. p. 259.)

¹⁾ The Korean question has been fully discussed on the following pages. (L. R. p. 55-63, L. R. p. 109, 1st paragraph, L. R. p. 111, 1st paragraph) (Suppl. Doc. p. 24, Suppl. Doc. "Study No. 9", p. 251-279).

Korean Population of Manchuria.

About the Korean population in Manchuria, a Japanese author states that "800,000 or thereabouts is held as an approximately rational estimate". (Suppl. Doc. p. 253.) A Korean author calculates the total number of Koreans at "between 1,300,000 and 2,000,000, emphasizing that there are a great many Koreans living in the interior who are unknown to the Japanese consular authorities." (Suppl. Doc. p. 254.)

Another Japanese writer says: "More than 800,000 have settled in Manchuria in 19 years, and the number makes a striking contrast to that of Japanese immigrants, these being less than 200,000 in 25 years, the immigration of whom is facilitated by more favorable circumstances". (Suppl. Doc. p. 253.)

It is to be noted here that "special problems arose in the Chientao District, just North of the Korean border, where the 400,000 Koreans outnumber the Chinese over three to one". (Suppl. Doc. p. 260.)

Early Settlers.

"The Koreans or their racial antecedents... first appeared as a distinct racial group in Manchuria around the city of Fu-yu... Centuries later, the kingdoms of Kao-li and Po-hai arose in Manchuria and during the 13th century, the latter pushed south across the Yalu river into the Korean peninsula". (Suppl. Doc. p. 256.)

"...There is insistence among Japanese writers that to the Koreans belongs the prior right of possession of the land in Manchuria especially in those districts which their tradition depicts as their rightful patrimony. The Liaotung peninsula was once under the sway of the Kingdom of Kao-li (Korea)... Ninguta situated in the Nutan Valley, North of Chientao, which district still has traces of an ancient Korean civilization, is to-day a centre of a very important Korean community (Suppl. Doc. p. 257). A very considerable group of Koreans are natives of Manchuria, their ancestors having migrated generations ago." Suppl. Doc. 268.)

"The Chientao district... has had a very considerable Korean population before the Manchus established their dynasty in China... After 1881, the Province of Kirin was opened to Korean immigration. It is impossible to say how large the Korean population of Manchuria was before 1909." (Suppl. Doc. p. 257.)

Recent Exodus.

Since Japan annexed Korea in 1910, "the fundamental cause of Korean exodus from their homeland... has come about in consequence of a more or less definite Japanese colonial policy devised to encourage the migration either by making life unbearable for the Koreans in their homeland or by definite encouragement to Koreans to migrate." (Suppl. Doc. p. 261.)

Causes of Migration.

"What is important here is to raise the question whether the Koreans have migrated to Manchuria because of discontent with the conduct of Japanese political administration of the peninsula. Probably many Koreans would have been discontented under Japanese rule even if they had been given an Utopia; are there not deep-rooted antipathies between these peoples which antedate the period of annexation?" (Suppl. Doc. p. 263.) Korea under Japanese rule is an Utopia for Japanese "loan-sharks" land-grabbers and ruffians.

"Bishop Herbert Welch expressed his opinion as follows:

"It is perfectly clear that the Japanese administration has failed in its colonial policy in two or three matters so fundamental and so far reaching in their effects as to be almost fatal. It is true that the Koreans feel that these improvements in the country are dictated by no unselfish motive on the part of the Japanese; that they are seeking to make the peninsula better for their own occupation and benefit, rather than for the advantage of the Koreans themselves." (Suppl. Doc. p. 263.)

"Above all, there can be no question but that the outstanding feature of the Japanese administration in Chosen which has contributed most to dissatisfaction among the Koreans is the ever-present surveillance of the Japanese gendarmerie and police. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that many Koreans, especially of the educated classes and those who held official positions under the old regime, should have left the country. No doubt, the enlightened administration of Viscount Saito, which recognized the advisability of lessening the existing discriminations in favor of Japanese, did much to meet this admittedly serious problem for Japan. The task of convincing the Koreans themselves still remains unaccomplished. This is admitted by enlightened Japanese officials of the present Government-General of Chosen. (Suppl. Doc. p. 264.)

"Primarily, the problem in Korea is agrarian: land problems; a certain displacement of Korean farmers by Japanese immigrants, especially during the early post-annexation years; the acquisition of agricultural lands by Japanese land companies, especially the Oriental Development Co.; Government acquisition and administration of the former Royal lands; the cadastral registration of agricultural lands, which operated in given cases to raise the question of titles; the mounting indebtedness of the Korean land owners and tenants, in spite of a rising income; the consequent mortgaging of agricultural lands to loan associations; and the increasingly serious problem of tenancy accompanied by a general

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population problem have combined to furnish a major category of causes motivating the Korean farmers to migrate." (Suppl. Doc. p. 264.)

Dr. Yoshino, professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, after making a special study of highway constructions and administration in Chosen, severely criticised the expropriation of Korean land and the forced system of labor required from the Korean farmers to construct these roads without much consideration for the farmers' own requirements of seasonal labor in their own fields." (Suppl. Doc. pp. 264-265.)

"As to acquisition of land by Japanese interests, it seems that even before annexation, unnecessarily large tracts were practically confiscated "for military purposes". The notorious Nagamori scheme, which contemplated the granting of a concession of all the waste lands, including mineral rights, to a single Japanese subject and, as alleged, would have placed well over half of all the arable land of the peninsula in his possession, met with so much opposition that it was abandoned. Prince Katsura, who shortly afterwards again became Prime Minister, after returning from Korea declared that "there was ample room for an increase in Korea's population by 30 per cent, and no apparent reason existed why the greater part of this increment should not consist of Japanese subjects."

"Prince Katsura was a chief promoter of the Oriental Development Co. which was organized for the declared purpose of land development, including encouragement of Japanese agricultural settlement in Korea." (Suppl. Doc. p. 265.)

"Government statistics show that less than 10 per cent of the agricultural and residential lands of Korea are owned by Japanese. In the opinion of several competent and well-informed private investigators, however, between 10 and 20 per cent of the land is in Japanese ownership. Dr. Edmund Brunner of Columbia University, who in 1927, made a very thorough study of rural conditions in Korea is an authority for the statement that, in some counties in the South, Japanese ownership, based on tax records is said to extend over half of the land. He asserts that the greater part of Japanese owned land is in the South, and that probably one-fourth of the land there has passed out of Korean ownership. The Japanese authorities, however, have declared to the writer, that this estimate is too high." (Suppl. Doc. p. 266.)

Mr. M. Amano, a Japanese writer, says: "...The purchase of land and sending of Japanese agricultural settlers by the Oriental Development Co., the Fuji Industrial Development Co. and other organizations, together with Japanese capitalists, prompted the ruin of the Korean landlords and farmers, and produced a rise in the price of farm rentals." (Suppl. Doc. pp. 261-262.)

"Returning to the rural section of the Koreans, it may be said that they, and not the Chinese farmers, have been responsible for the development of rice culture in Manchuria. To be sure, the cultivation of dry rice-fields was practised by the Chinese in Southern Fengtien Province, especially around Tashichiao, long before the mass migration of the Koreans since 1900. Many Chinese farmers in Kirin and Heilungkiang Provinces have learned from the Koreans their methods of cultivating paddy-fields, but their numbers are comparatively insignificant. It is the Koreans who are largely responsible for the remarkable increase in rice production in Manchuria during the last few years. According to the Southern Manchurian Railway Research Office, production of rice increased from approximately 7,000,000 bushels in 1915 to 17,000,000 bushels (paddy rice 8,225,929 bushels and upland rice 9,224,216 bushels) in 1930. Before the Russo-Japanese war, little if any, rice was grown in Northern Manchuria -i.e., North of Changchun. Paddy and upland rice cultivation was introduced in the region between Mukden and Harbin by Korean farmers who supplied troops with agricultural produce during the Russo-Japanese war. By 1915, paddy-fields were to be found along the Eastern section of Chinese Eastern Railway and, since then, rice has been increasingly cultivated in the lower reaches of the Sungari, Amur and Ussuri Rivers, as far north as the fifty-second parallel of latitude." (Suppl. Doc. p. 256.)

"It is interesting that nowhere else in the world is rice grown in large quantities so far north and that, according to a Russian agronomist of Harbin who is a specialist in rice culture, the production per unit of cultivated area is much larger contrary to a very prevalent view in Manchuria generally, than in tropical regions such as Java and the Philippine Islands. It is also interesting that there is a much larger acreage of upland rice than of paddy-fields cultivated by the Korean farmers in Manchuria. In this connection, a statement of Mr. H. K. Lee, a Korean economist, may be quoted: "The basis of Korean colonisation in Manchuria is especially rice cultivation. Paddy-fields (151,238 acres) make up about 26 per cent, dry fields (492,541 acres) about 74 per cent of the area under Korean utilisation. The longer the pioneers work, the larger proportion of dry fields over paddy-fields. In the counties located along the Korean border, the acreage of dry field is far greater than that of paddy-fields. This simply means that the Koreans mainly settle in a new place in connection with the possibility of rice cultivation; later, as lands suitable for paddy-fields become fewer, they also utilise the dry fields." (Suppl. Doc. p. 256.)

"Lord Curzon, the British statesman student of Eastern Asia, after a visit to Korea in the early nineties, wrote: "The racial hatred between Koreans and Japanese is the most striking phenomenon of contemporary Chosen." (Suppl. Doc. p. 263.)

If history has any influence upon human sentiment, it can neither be called a "phenomenon" nor is it confined to "contemporary" Chosen. It is a perfectly natural outcome of the repeated Japanese invasions of the Korean Peninsula as the first step towards her military conquest of China covering the last four centuries. The most disastrous of all these attacks was the Hyeyoshi invasion of 1592-1597 when 3,000,000 Koreans, men, women and children were killed and the country completely devastated. Recent events have not contributed to diminish this hereditary animosity.

Under the topic of "Political Causes of Korean Migration to Manchuria", the Lytton Report goes on to say:

"The Koreans have a very strong race and culture consciousness. Theirs is a very ancient civilization, developed even until to-day on Confucian lines; whatever may have been the shortcomings of the native dynasty which ruled Korea until the transitional period from 1905 to 1910, and it is well known that few rulers have abused their authority more -- the Koreans, which is to say at least the great majority, who are farmers and extremely conservative, have had deep respect for the dynastic tradition itself. Much that is new in the Chosen of to-day and many circumstances which surrounded the closing years of the Korean dynasty violated the traditions and characteristics of the Koreans."

"The involvement of the Japanese Minister in the murder of the Queen in 1895, the drastic steps taken by the Japanese to suppress the "Righteous Army" of some 5,000 Korean guerilla patriots in 1907-8, when some 14,000 Koreans, most of them peasants, were said to have been killed... the stern military regime... described in the Japanese Diet as "military despotism" contributed toward the independence uprising of 1919... Influenced, no doubt, by President Woodrow Wilson's strictures about self-determination, but emboldened by the increasing rigours of life under the surveillance of ubiquitous Japanese gendarmes, nation-wide demonstrations occurred, known as the "Mansei" rising on the eve of the State funeral of the old Korean Emperor, whose dynasty had ceased to rule in 1910. Although the so-called independence movement seems to have progressively become less important since that date, the stern measures taken by the Japanese authorities to repress the rising in 1919, and to stamp out independence advocacy since then, have very probably not served to instil into the minds of the Koreans a feeling of gratitude for the material achievements of Japanese administration in Chosen." (Suppl. Doc. p. 268.)

For obvious reasons the Lytton Report omitted some of the most outstanding events which added fuel to the flame of the old racial hatred between these two peoples. It would be well for the Western people to see before it is too late some of the ugly spots of "civilized" Japan, so carefully concealed behind the mask of silk kimonos, chrysanthemums and cherry-blossoms. It should be remembered that the poisoning of the old Emperor of Korea was the immediate cause of the Independence Revolt of March 1919. The brutal methods the Japanese employed in repressing the passive resistance and the numerous accounts of massacres and torture told by foreign eye-witnesses, which gradually trickled through in spite of the Japanese censorship, aroused a deep sense of righteous indignation all over the world. Some of these stories will be found in the appendix. No wonder then that a Korean Christian once asked in his prayer, "Oh Lord, how can we love all our neighbors?"

Chinese Attitude towards Koreans.

"Being an oppressed race in Korea, ruled by an alien government in which the Japanese monopolized all the important official posts and policed the peninsula with ubiquitous gendarmes, the Koreans, according to this Chinese view, migrated to Manchuria to seek political freedom and an economic livelihood. Such a migration was welcomed as an economic asset and favored out of a natural sympathy for "an oppressed race", dispossessed of their patrimony, long-suffering, destitute and worthy of humanitarian sympathy. This was so much more the case as the 90 per cent of the Koreans are farmers, the majority of whom are cultivators of rice-fields, an industry in which they do not compete with the Chinese farmers who do not cultivate paddy-fields in Manchuria (Suppl. Doc. p. 260).

"The fact is, however, that probably over 600,000 Koreans do live in Manchuria outside Chientao, widely distributed especially in the eastern half of Manchuria, being concentrated in the region lying north of Korea, in Kirin Province, and penetrating in large numbers into the region of the eastern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the lower Sungari Valley. Moreover, partly because a very considerable group of Koreans are natives of Manchuria, their ancestors having immigrated generations ago, and partly because others have renounced their allegiance to Japan and have become naturalized as Chinese subjects, a great many Koreans today actually possess agricultural lands in Manchuria, outside of Chientao by virtue of freehold title and leasehold. (Suppl. Doc. p. 268).

"Japanese consular sources admit that over 15 per cent of the Koreans have become naturalized subjects of China. The farther

the Koreans resided away from the Japanese consular offices, the greater the tendency to become naturalized as Chinese. This is particularly evident in Kirin Province, in the Mutan River region, especially around Ninguta, where there are several old Korean villages whose inhabitants long ago became Chinese citizens, either by birth or by naturalization. Many wear Chinese clothing and without losing their race and culture consciousness, have adjusted themselves to Chinese social life in a manner which shows that, except for such political questions as have been intruded because of the irreconcilable policies of China and Japan concerning the Koreans, they can and do live on terms of friendly intercourse with the Chinese. A foreign resident of Harbin, whose profession for many years has been largely concerned with the Koreans, expressed his opinion to the writer in summer of 1932 that probably half of all the Koreans in North Manchuria had "taken out Chinese citizenship paper". Another foreign resident of Harbin, who, similarly has long had intimate knowledge of the condition of Korean communities in North Manchuria, expressed to the writer the following views:

"My impression is that fully 80 per cent of the Koreans in the areas along the Eastern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, including Mishan and Jungningsien in eastern Kirin Province, away from the railway, have become naturalized. At one village I visited, out from Lishuchen, Kirin, the people said they had all taken out Chinese citizenship and all, except some of the older people, were wearing Chinese dress. There has been no special reason why they should retain Japanese citizenship, since there are no Japanese there and no protection is given them, nor have they needed any. They never expect to return to Korea unless the country becomes independent of foreign rule. An exception to the rule is that class of Koreans in the Harbin area who are engaged in the sale of morphine and opiates, these enjoying the protection of the Japanese consulate." (Suppl. Doc. p. 270.)

"According to the most recent figures obtained from the Japanese Foreign Office, the total arable land in Chientao is 440,000 *cho* (1 *cho* equals 2.45 acres) of which 242,000 are at present under cultivation. Of the area actually under cultivation, 141,500 *cho* is given as owned by Koreans, 100,500 being owned by Chinese. These figures create an impression that there is no agricultural land in Chientao possessed in freehold title directly by Japanese, a circumstance which may be doubted in view of the known existence of the cases of concealed ownership through the use of "dummy" title-holders, and more particularly, because of the practice of Japanese loan associations, and especially the Oriental Development Co., of obtaining liens on land in Chientao and elsewhere in Manchuria through the media of land mortgages. The Oriental Development

Co. some years ago extended its sphere of operations to Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. A branch office was established at Lungchingsun in the Chientao district, where it has been stated — though this assertion cannot be verified — that of the more than 200,000 *cho* of cultivated land, something over 50,000 had been acquired by Japanese by 1928, especially through the operations of the Oriental Development Co." (Suppl. Doc. p. 268.)

"The Chinese, on the other hand, while equally desirous of having the cultivable lowlands produce rice have generally employed the Koreans as tenants or laborers to prevent the land itself from falling into Japanese hands." (Suppl. Doc. p. 269.)

Beginning of Conflict.

Just as Japanese military penetration into the Peninsula had brought untold misery and ruin to Korean homes and the Korean nation, the same military penetration into the mainland began to spread terror and despair among the Korean colonies in Manchuria. Since the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, "Japan's policy was deliberately directed towards elbowing the Koreans out of their own land" with the two-fold purpose of making room in Korea for Japanese immigrants, and of using them in Manchuria as the "vanguard of her economic and military penetration" into the Asiatic mainland. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people had welcomed the Korean settlers as pioneers and granted them the privileges of buying and leasing land and living alongside the Chinese as if they were their own countrymen. The Chinese would probably have extended the same treatment even to the Japanese immigrants, if they had come to live among the Chinese, as did the Koreans, without any ulterior motives.

When Japan, however, found the number of Koreans sufficient to form an effective instrument for extending her political jurisdiction into China, she claimed that since the annexation of Korea, the Koreans were Japanese subjects and that therefore, Japan must extend her system of police and gendarmerie surveillance to Chinese territory.

China's Attempts to Satisfy Japan.

China's policy was to solve the problem by satisfying Japan's demands. With this aim in view, the Chinese authorities at first tried to suppress Korean nationalist activities. When that failed to satisfy Japan, they tried to compel all Koreans either to be naturalized as Chinese subjects or to leave Chinese territory. When a large percentage of the Koreans became naturalized as Chinese subjects Japan declared that Chinese naturalization of Koreans could not be recognized, because the Japanese Emperor never

extended that privilege to the Koreans. The Chinese then ruled that Koreans should have no right to buy or lease land and live in China. Japan branded this as Chinese oppression of the Koreans and extended her police jurisdiction to Chinese territory. Thus every effort China had made to avoid further conflict had proved futile. It was quite clear that nothing short of territorial occupation would satisfy Japan.

Suppression of Korean Societies.

"The Chinese, while admitting a certain sympathy with the Koreans, draw attention to the existence of the "Mitsuya Agreement" of July 1925, as evidence both of a willingness on the part of the Chinese authorities to curb the activities of Koreans whom the Japanese consider "bad characters", and a menace to their position in Korea, and of official sanction on the part of the Japanese themselves for certain of those very acts which the Japanese would have others believe are instances of Chinese "oppression" of the Koreans." (L. R. p. 61.)

"The Agreement provided for co-operation between the Chinese and Japanese police in suppressing Korean societies (presumably of an anti-Japanese character) in Eastern Fengtien Province, stipulating that "the Chinese authorities shall immediately arrest and extradite those leaders of the Korean Societies whose names had been designated by the authorities of Korea", and that Koreans of "bad character" should be arrested by the Chinese police and turned over to the Japanese for trial or punishment. The Chinese assert, therefore, that "it is largely for the purpose of giving practical effect to this agreement that certain restrictive measures have been put into force governing the treatment of Koreans." (L. R. p. 61.)

Chinese encouraged Naturalization.

"Under a Chinese Nationality law of 1914, only aliens who, under the law of their own country, were permitted to become naturalized in another were allowed to become Chinese subjects. The Chinese revised Nationality Law of February 5, 1929, however, contained no provision by which an alien was required to lose his original nationality. Koreans were therefore naturalized as Chinese regardless of the Japanese insistence that such naturalization could not be recognized under Japanese law. The Japanese Nationality Laws have never permitted Koreans to lose their Japanese nationality and, although a revised Nationality Law of 1924 contained an article to the effect that "a person who acquires foreign nationality voluntarily loses Japanese nationality", this general law has never been applicable to the Koreans by Special Imperial Ordinance. Nevertheless, many Koreans in Manchuria, varying from 5 to 10 per cent of the total Korean population in certain dis-

tricts, especially where they are relatively inaccessible by the Japanese consular officials, have become naturalized as Chinese. Others, incidentally, when migrating beyond the Manchurian borders into Soviet territory, have become citizens of the U. S. S. R." (L. R. pp. 57-58.)

"The fact that the Manchurian authorities did issue orders discriminatory against non-naturalized Koreans is not denied by the Chinese, the number and character of these orders and instructions, especially since 1927, establishing beyond a doubt that the Chinese authorities in Manchuria generally regarded the Korean infiltration, in so far as it was accompanied by Japanese jurisdiction, as a menace which deserved to be opposed." (L. R. p. 60.)

"These local officials, especially in areas far removed from Japanese consulates, often readily consented to the issuing of such (naturalization) certificates to the Koreans who applied for them, and on occasions, no doubt, actually compelled the Koreans to become naturalized or to leave the country, their actions being influenced both by the policy of the Japanese and by revenue derivable from the naturalization fees. The Chinese have asserted, moreover, that some Japanese themselves actually connived at this business of naturalizing Koreans in order to use them as dummy land-owners or to acquire lands by transfer from such naturalized Koreans. Generally speaking, however, the Japanese authorities discountenanced naturalization of Koreans and assumed jurisdiction over them wherever possible." (L. R. p. 58.)

Treaty Rights.

"The Chinese deny that the Koreans have the right to purchase or lease agricultural lands in Manchuria outside the Chientao District, since the only Sino-Japanese agreement on the point is the Chientao agreement of 1909, which is restricted in its application to that area. Only Koreans who are Chinese subjects are, therefore, entitled to purchase land or, for that matter, to reside and lease land in the interior of Manchuria. In denying the right of the Koreans to lease land in Manchuria, the Chinese Government has contended that the Chientao agreement of 1909, which granted Koreans the right of residence with special landholding privileges in the Chientao District alone, and specified that the Koreans were to be subject to Chinese jurisdiction, is, in itself, a self-contained instrument, "purporting to settle by mutual concessions local issues then pending between Chinese and Japanese in that area." The Chientao Agreement contained a *quid pro quo*, Japan waiving the claim of jurisdiction over the Koreans, China granting them the special privilege of possessing agricultural lands. Both countries continued to observe the agreement after the annexation of Korea

by Japan in 1910, China contending that the treaty and notes of 1915 could not alter the situations of the Chientao Agreements, especially as the new treaty contained a clause specifying that "all existing treaties between China and Japan, relating to Manchuria, shall, except as otherwise provided for by this treaty, remain in force". No exception was made for the Chientao agreement. The Chinese Government further contends that the treaty and notes of 1915 do not apply to the Chientao District since the latter is geographically not a part of "South Manchuria" — a term which must be defined in a geographical sense, since it has no agreed political definition."

"This Chinese contention has been contested by the Japanese since 1915, their position being that, inasmuch as the Koreans became Japanese subjects by virtue of the annexation of Korea in 1910, the provisions of the Sino-Japanese treaty and notes of 1915 concerning South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, granting Japanese subjects the right to reside and lease lands in South Manchuria and to participate in joint agricultural enterprises in Eastern Inner Mongolia, apply to the Koreans. The Japanese Government has contended that the Chientao Agreement was superseded by those provisions of 1915 agreements in conflict therewith, that the Chinese contention that the Chientao agreement is a self-contained instrument is untenable, since the right secured by the Koreans in Chientao was actually in consequence of Japan's agreement to recognize that region as a part of Chinese territory, and that it would be discriminatory on their part to refrain from seeking for the Koreans in Manchuria rights and privileges granted to other Japanese subjects..." (Suppl. Doc. p. 269.)

Dual Citizenship.

"The problem of dual citizenship of the Koreans influenced the National Government of China and the Provincial authorities in Manchuria generally to look with disfavor upon indiscriminate naturalization of Koreans, fearing that, by acquiring Chinese nationality temporarily, they might become potential instruments of a Japanese policy of acquiring agricultural lands. In regulations issued by the Kirin Provincial Government, Sept. 1930, governing the purchase and sale of land throughout the Province, it was provided that "when a naturalized Korean purchases land, investigation must be made in order to discover whether he wants to purchase it as a means of residing as a permanently naturalized citizen, or on behalf of some Japanese." (Suppl. Doc. p. 271.)

The Kirin Provincial Government issued the following instructions, June 1931, to the local authorities :

"The bulk of the immigrants into the Province under your jurisdiction are Koreans mostly engaged in farming and they are law-abiding and peaceably striving to develop our territory, but they are doing so in accordance with the plan that, always acting as vanguards of the economic invasion on the part of the Japanese Government, they will eventually occupy the North-Eastern Provinces through such wicked means as the fraudulent purchase of land." (Suppl. Doc. p. 273.)

"The principal reason, therefore, why the Chinese opposed the acquisition of lands by Koreans in Manchuria was the Japanese Government's insistence on the right to exercise jurisdiction over them and refusal to recognise their right to become naturalized as Chinese subjects. Here arose the delicate question of dual nationality. Under a Chinese nationality law of Dec. 20, 1914, only aliens who under the law of their own country were permitted to become naturalized in another could be naturalized as Chinese subjects.

"The Japanese Government, contending that Koreans, under their own nationality laws before Japanese annexation, had not been entitled to acquire another nationality, took the position that no Korean could be recognized under Japanese law as having become a Chinese subject, but would remain under the Japanese jurisdiction whether naturalized as a Chinese or not. An exchange of notes on the subject took place in 1916 between the Chinese and Japanese Governments, the Japanese contending that Koreans in the so-called Chientao District could not be recognized as having become Chinese subjects through naturalization. The Chinese Government has argued that it was discriminatory against the Koreans and against the Chinese, that Japan should permit Koreans to become naturalized as Russian subjects, or subjects of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and deny the same privilege *vis-à-vis* China." (Suppl. Doc. p. 270.)

Japan claims that by virtue of the annexation of Korea the Koreans are "Japanese subjects" and that they are not permitted to be naturalized as Chinese. But the Koreans have consistently and persistently refused to be classified as such. There were a great number living outside of Korea long before the annexation. Furthermore, thousands of them are "natives of Manchuria, their ancestors having migrated there generations ago," and Japan has no claim on them. (Suppl. Doc. p. 268.)

Granting that all the Koreans were Japanese subjects, by what law could the Japanese Government deny the Koreans their inalienable right to renounce Japanese citizenship and become naturalized in any other country? By article 20 of the revised nationality law of Japan under the date of July 1924, "a person who acquires

foreign nationality voluntarily loses Japanese nationality." Under this law, even Japanese subjects can renounce their nationality without the Japanese Government being able to stop them. Now the Japanese in Russia and the U.S.A. are at liberty to renounce their nationality and become citizens of the country of their birth. Japan can anyway never make loyal Japanese subjects of the Korean race.

Wanpaoshan Affair.

The Wanpasohan affair is a typical example of the Japanese system of encroaching upon China's sovereignty by driving the Koreans into Manchuria, then creating trouble for them and, in the wake of this trouble, marching Japanese police, gendarmes and the Army into the zone of disturbance in order to "protect" them and "maintain peace and order".

In Wanpaoshan, a small village near Changchun, Koreans constructed a canal for irrigation purpose, diverting water supply from a large number of Chinese farms. Had there been no Japanese police to "protect" the Koreans, the Koreans would have stopped the construction of the canal when the Chinese authorities appeared and the matter would have ended there. But "the Koreans assisted by Japanese consular police, continued to dig the ditch!" (L. R. p. 62.)

When 400 Chinese farmers drove the Koreans away, "the Japanese consular police thereupon opened rifle fire to disperse the mob and to protect the Koreans; but there were no casualties. The Chinese farmers withdrew and the Japanese police remained on the spot until the Koreans completed the ditch and the dam across the Itung River". (L. R. p. 62.)

"...In consequence of sensational accounts of the situation at Wanpaoshan, especially of the events of July 1st, 1931, which were printed in the Japanese and Korean Press, a series of anti-Chinese riots occurred throughout Korea..."

"The Chinese state, on the basis of their official reports, that 127 Chinese were massacred and 393 wounded and that Chinese property to the value of 2,500,000 yen was destroyed."

"The Japanese Government expressed regret at the occurrence of these riots and offered compensation for the families of the dead." (L. R. pp. 62-63.)

The significant statements of facts in this connection are the following:-

- 1) "The Japanese claim, however, that these riots were due to the spontaneous outburst of racial feeling..." (L. R. p. 63.) No racial feeling had so far been reported between the Koreans and the Chinese. In that case, who is responsible for this "outburst"?

- 2) "A result of importance was the fact that these outbreaks in Korea served directly to revive the anti-Japanese boycott throughout China." (L. R. p. 63.) This explains why, in spite of all the efforts on the part of the Japanese to create racial animosity between the Koreans and Chinese, the two peoples, always stand together against their common foe, the Japanese.
- 3) "The Chinese Government maintained that the difficulties at Wanpaoshan were due to the fact that the Koreans were living where they had no right to be, since their privileges of residing and leasing of land did not extend outside the Chientao District." (L. R. p. 63.) This points to the main source of trouble. The Koreans had been there for years without any question being raised as to their legal status. But as soon as China discovered Japan's ulterior motive in claiming the right to "protect" the Koreans, China at once raised the question of their citizenship and as a consequence the Koreans became the innocent victims.
- 4) "The Japanese Government consented to the withdrawal of the consular police from Wanpaoshan, but the Korean tenants remained and continued to cultivate their rice lands." (L. R. p. 63.) This is an eloquent testimony of the fact that the Koreans do not want Japanese protection. In fact, the Koreans would like all the Japanese police and military forces to withdraw not only from Wanpaoshan, but from the entire mainland of Asia.
- 5) "The Relation of the Wanpaoshan affair to the events of September 1931." (L. R. p. 61.) When Japan was ready to invade Manchuria, she first used the "racial outburst" in order to furnish a pretext for her military operations. But that scheme did not work because the Chinese instead of retaliating against the Koreans, as had been expected, started a nation-wide boycott against the Japanese themselves. So the latter apologized and used the railway incident as their pretext for the military invasion of Sept. 18, 1931."

Sino-Korean Friendship.

It is clear that the Koreans and Chinese have been living side by side in Manchuria, Chientao and elsewhere for decades, in many cases for generations, each retaining their own culture and racial characteristics without any serious friction arising.

"In fact, it seems that in spite of ill-treatment at the hands of the Chinese authorities, the majority of them preferred to throw in their lot with the Chinese." (Suppl. Doc. p. 271.)

"It should be remembered here that during the Wanpaoshan riots, certain Koreans in Korea under Japanese instigation, mas-

sacred a number of Chinese and caused a large material damage. The Chinese, instead of staging a counter-riot against the Koreans, inaugurated a nation-wide boycott movement against the Japanese. (L. R. p. 63.)

"No doubt, in certain of these cases, the Korean landowners, when hardpressed by financial difficulties with the Chinese, willingly solicited the financial assistance of the Japanese moneylenders and officials, although generally speaking, it seems that Koreans once naturalized as Chinese subjects, refrain thereafter from placing themselves willingly under obligations to the Japanese or seeking their protection." (Suppl. Doc. p. 269.)

"In remote regions, as in the lower Sungari Valley, it is known that Korean Communities, containing many naturalized Koreans, have had to endure the same insecurity as their Chinese neighbors, forcing them to rely largely on such extraordinary measures as self-protection by local corps (Pao An Hui) of village vigilantes, or a system of bandit insurance, whereby they acquired some measure of protection through buying off the guerillas, or financing the precarious device of pitting one bandit group against another." (Suppl. Doc. p. 270.)

"Among the Koreans naturalized as Chinese are the independence advocates, the communists (excluding those who are subjects of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and those who, either because of the remoteness of their residence from Japanese consular surveillance or protection or because of their desire to identify themselves as much as possible with Chinese life, especially in order to purchase and lease land freely, prefer to divest themselves of Japanese nationality. No doubt, however, many Koreans have been forced by the Chinese authorities to become naturalized as Chinese in order to compel them to forego recourse to Japanese consular police protection, as well as to obtain the revenues from the naturalization fees. Even when the central authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces issued instructions discountenancing or intending to restrict such naturalization, the local Chinese authorities, in numerous cases which have come to the author's attention, have continued to naturalize Koreans through the means of "temporary naturalization certificates", unapproved by the central authorities." (Suppl. Doc. p. 271.)

"It is interesting that, at the "All-Manchuria-Koreans' Convention" held in Mukden in January 1928, the congress adopted a resolution favoring the adoption of legislation by Japan enabling Korean naturalization as Chinese subjects to be recognized under Japanese law." (Suppl. Doc. 271.)

Manchuria Indispensable to Japan.

"Public opinion in Japan is, generally speaking, convinced that the resources of Manchuria are capable of providing an effective solution for the over-population of Japan. The Japanese believe that Manchuria is not only indispensable to Japan from the standpoint of national defence, but also from the economic standpoint." (Suppl. Doc. p. 72.)

So Manchuria is "indispensable" to Japan both for her surplus population and for her national defence? The time has passed when the world believed that Japan was really sincere in presenting these two weighty pleas in favor of her national aggrandizement.

Surplus-Population.

At the time when Korea was annexed, Japan made great play with the argument that she needed Korea for her surplus population. Twenty-three years have since elapsed and there are no more than 400,000 Japanese in Korea. Now Japan proffers the same plea that she needs Manchuria for her surplus population. If she were really concerned about this population problem, she could have sent millions of her people into Manchuria just as the Chinese and Koreans did, without claiming any jurisdiction over them and China would have raised no objection.

Besides, Japan is not the only country in the world that is over-populated... "...There are to-day 21,000,000 persons in Korea living on 85,000 sq. miles and the annual population increase is over 200,000. It is already an over-populated country." (Suppl. Doc. p. 260.)

"The total volume of Korean migration to Manchuria from 1910 to 1920 is probably not very much more than the population increase of the peninsula in one year — migration to Manchuria has so far contributed very little to a solution of the agrarian problem." (Suppl. Doc. p. 267.)

National Defence.

Here again it should be remembered that at the time of the annexation of Korea, Japan asserted very vigorously that Korea was indispensable for her national defence. Now she claims that she needs Manchuria! It would seem that the farther Japan's boundaries extend, the more adjacent territory is needed for the longer defence line. Will there ever be a limit to Japan's wider-flung frontiers or will all nations have to sacrifice their own national existence to the interests of Japan's national defence?

Japanese Protection.

Japan's "humanitarian sympathy" has been so profoundly stirred by Chinese "oppression" of the Koreans that she had to rush her police, gendarmerie and army into Chinese territory to "protect"

the Koreans. What a mockery! What "oppression" could be worse than that exercised by the Japanese in Korea? Koreans in Manchuria prefer Chinese "oppression" to Japanese "protection".

Under the pretext of protecting Korean independence and integrity, Japan destroyed the sovereignty of Korea in violation of her solemn treaties and lofty protestations. Under the pretext of "protecting" the honor and safety of the Korean Imperial family Japan murdered a Korean Queen, poisoned an Emperor and replaced the ruling dynasty by a Japanese Governor-General. In order to "protect" peace and order, the Japanese robbed the Koreans of their homes, farms and national rights, abused, bayoneted and shot down unarmed men, women and children and filled the jails with patriotic men and women, whom they flogged, tortured, maimed and murdered for no other offence than that of shouting in orderly meetings "mansei" (long live) for their country. The unfortunate Koreans left their beloved country only to escape this Japanese "protection", but find that it is now reaching out to Manchuria to reimpose its strangle-hold on them. They dread and resent the self-imposed Japanese protection more than any of the alleged Chinese oppression.

Koreans in Russia.

"The factor of migration of Koreans across the national boundary lines, from Korea to Manchuria and from Manchuria to territories of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there being a very consequential annual "back-flow", further complicates the problem." (Suppl. Doc. p. 252.)

"There are Korean Communities distributed on the Manchurian, as well as on the Siberian, side of the Amur river, throughout its entire course as the boundary of northern Manchuria, their numbers having increased materially in recent years due to the "back-flow" of Koreans from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Koreans have, in fact, for many decades migrated east and north from Eastern Kirin Province to the adjacent Russian territories beyond the Ussuri and Amur rivers. There are tens of thousands of Koreans in the maritime Province of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in the regions north of the lower reaches of the Amur. The occasional traveller over the Amur route of the Trans-Siberian Railway around Northern Manchuria would hardly realise that a very large part of the peasantry who greet the incoming trains at the railway stations between Blagovestchensk and Habarovsk are Koreans. In 1929, the writer talked with many of these Koreans, assuming them to be Chinese, since they wore Chinese clothing, but found them to be bilingual or trilingual Koreans. One cannot fail to notice the large numbers of Koreans in Vladivostok." (Suppl. Doc. p. 254-255.)

"A second and less important group has migrated from North-Eastern Korea across the lower reaches of the Tumen, or by the sea route to the Maritime Province of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, then dispersed North of Nikolsk on the right bank of the Ussuri river and around Lake Hanka, from there penetrating far north into Siberia." (Suppl. Doc. p. 259.)

"Many Koreans in Chientao and in the neighboring Ussuri Primorsk Province of Siberia are the descendants of Koreans who had settled before the Chinese, Japanese or Russians, when Korean domination projected beyond the present borders of Korea. They look on the border regions as a kind of "Korea Irredenta". Moreover there are, among the Koreans in Manchuria, besides many anti-Japanese revolutionaries, numbers of enthusiasts for the Russian type of revolution." (Suppl. Doc. p. 24.)

If these Koreans retain their status of Japanese subjects, when Japan is ready to invade Russian territory, Japan will surely use them as "vanguards of her military aggression" and the Koreans will be subjected to the same massacres and brutalities as in Manchuria. More than that; the danger of a clash between Russia and Japan is latent here. So it would be an act of far-sighted statesmanship to settle this grave and portentous problem at once if the Manchurian invasion is not to be repeated in Siberia.

Korean Nationalism.

Japan finds plenty of excuses to justify the invasion and occupation of her neighbors' territories. For instance, she holds the "Korean Societies", "Koreans of bad character" and "the independence advocates" in Chientao and elsewhere to be the "most serious problems intimately associated with the general problem of governance of Korea". (Suppl. Doc. p. 267.) Her 23 years occupation of Korea should be sufficient to convince her that she can no more extirpate the Korean spirit than she can exterminate the Korean race.

Frazier Hunt, writing from Korea, in March 1920, to the Philadelphia Press, says: "More Korean independence demonstrations, more Japanese repression, more oppression, more cruelties, more promises... these are the signs for Japan in Korea. The revolutionary movement lives here to-day and no power of Japanese bayonets and no amount of Japanese promises can kill it..."

A policy of wise statemanship would suggest that instead of making further futile efforts to hold down by sheer force of arms 23,000,000 hostile people who are seeking every possible chance to fly at her throat, Japan should restore the peninsula to its owners, the Koreans, who had managed to maintain an independent

existence for nearly 4300 years. Japan will derive more benefit from Korea as an independent friendly state, than as a rebellious subject.

"One class of case cited as descriptive of Chinese "oppression" of Koreans in Manchuria has to do with the advocates of independence of Korea from Japanese rule and those Koreans who are communists. It should be remembered that the so-called Chientao District was the scene of a widespread rising of Koreans, independence advocates infused with communists, in 1920, following the "Mansei Rising" in Chosen in 1919, and that this rising in South Eastern Manchuria was not suppressed by the Japanese military force and police until after many months, with heavy loss of life, especially among the Koreans". (Suppl. Doc. p. 273.)

"Mr. Owen Lattimore states that the Koreans even when naturalized as Chinese show great resistance to absorption, and no tendency at all to consider themselves truly Chinese. They remain Korean in race, language and culture. They tend to settle in strong enough groups to prevent modification in this attitude even in the second generation. They have a technique of Northern rice-culture which the Chinese themselves cannot rival, and are thus able to occupy land in important numbers and with a density of population which makes them practically immune to Chinese linguistic and cultural influences." (Suppl. Doc. p. 24.)

Appeal to Humanity.

The following few extracts are intended to appeal to the humanitarian sympathies of the world leaders now at Geneva in particular and of the enlightened public of the Western nations in general. No one can reasonably qualify it as specious propaganda, since all the excerpts are with the exception of one reference and the appendix, quoted verbatim from the Lytton Report, which has, incidentally, been rejected by Japan and accepted by all the rest of the civilized world. No one, whether man in the street or professional politician can turn a deaf ear to the appeal of this suffering and struggling humanity. It is his duty as a human being to lend an ear to the grievances of his fellows, especially when the grievances are such as those suffered by the Koreans in Manchuria, to say nothing of the 23,000,000 Koreans.

Sufferings.

"For decades, Koreans, travelling in small groups, have crossed the mountain passes in North-Eastern Korea into Manchuria, this movement, in so far as it is of a secretive character, taking place especially in winter months, when official surveillance is at a minimum. How large this type of migration has been in recent years is impossible to say, but it is known that especially during

1919 and 1921, during the independence uprising in Korea, this phenomenon occurred, as the following quotation from a foreign resident of Manchuria suggests:

"The untold afflictions of the Korean immigrants coming into Manchuria will doubtless never be fully realized, even by those actually witnessing their distress. In the still closeness of a forty-below-zero climate in the dead of winter, the silent stream of white clad figures creeps over the icy mountain passes, in groups of tens, twenties and fifties, seeking a new world of subsistence, willing to take a chance of life and death in a hand-to-hand struggle with the stubborn soil of Manchuria's wooded and stony hillsides. Here, by indefatigable efforts, they seek to extract a living by applying the grub axe and hand-hoe to the barren mountain sides above the Chinese fields, planting and reaping by hand between the roots the sparse yield that is often insufficient to sustain life." (Suppl. Doc. p. 258.)

"Many have died from insufficient food. Not only women and children, but young men have been frozen to death. Sickness also claims its toll under these new conditions of exposure. Koreans have been seen standing barefooted on the broken ice of a riverside fording-place, rolling up their baggy trousers before wading through the broad stream two feet deep, of ice-cold water, then standing on the opposite side while they hastily readjust their clothing and shoes..."

"Thus it is by hundreds they come, old and young, weak and strong, big and little... Babies have been born in wayside inns..." "In this way, over 75,000 Koreans have entered during the past year, until the number of Koreans now living in both North and Western portions of Manchuria totals nearly half a million." (Suppl. Doc. p. 258-259.)

Oppression.

"The Japanese assert that, about the end of 1927, a movement for preventing Korean immigrants in Manchuria was launched, under Chinese official instigation, as an aftermath of a general anti-Japanese agitation, and state that this oppression was intensified after the Manchurian provinces declared their allegiance to the national Government of Nanking in 1928. Numerous translations of orders issuing from the central and local Chinese authorities in Manchuria have been submitted as evidence of a definite Chinese policy of oppressing the Koreans by forcing them to become naturalized as Chinese, driving them from their rice fields, compelling them to re-migrate, subjecting them to arbitrary levies and exorbitant taxation, preventing them from entering into contracts of lease or rental for houses and lands, and inflicting upon them brutalities and indecencies of a most cruel and revolting character." (Suppl. Doc. p. 272.)

"...The author examined several Korean peasants — men, women and children — who had suffered brutalities and torture, photographs of them being presented to the Commission of Enquiry, these instances being too commonplace to be ignored, and the obvious suffering endured by these Koreans being of such character that their plight could not but have invited sincere humanitarian sympathy. The difficulty of passing any fair judgment on the individual cases, months or even years afterwards, and especially in view of the developments in Manchuria since Sept. 18, 1931, naturally raised serious questions as to the value of their testimony. Nevertheless, it is patently evident that the plight of the Koreans was deplorable, and, in the great majority of cases, for reasons for which they were not themselves responsible." (Suppl. Doc. p. 272.) "...Whole Korean communities, especially in the interior, were on many occasions subjected to unreasonable persecution or expelled under the pretext that there were communists among them. If items which appeared in the Japanese Press in Manchuria between 1927-1930 may be taken as indicative of the Japanese official attitude, moreover, it would seem that these activities of the Chinese authorities under the guise of stamping out Korean communism were not invariably condemned. The result was that thousands of innocent Koreans, who knew nothing of communist ideology and wanted nothing but to be left alone to eke out a livelihood from the soil of Manchuria, were innocent victims. For one Korean communist imprisoned, tortured or killed by the Chinese authorities, a hundred innocent Koreans, — men, women and children — suffered similar fates. No doubt, many of them were victimized as well, in consequence of the political activities of their less submissive countrymen." (Suppl. Doc. p. 274.) The Chinese deny that the efforts admittedly made by their officials in Manchuria especially after 1927, to restrict the free settlement of Koreans on the land in Manchuria except as mere tenants or laborers, can be regarded as instances of "oppression". (Suppl. Doc. p. 260.)

Espionage.

Mr. Kim San-min, a Korean employee of the South Manchurian Railway Co., (Dairen) said :

"Many innocent Korean farmers find themselves in Manchuria between the devil and the sea, very much to their discomfiture... In fact, Koreans in Manchuria receive no benefits of Japanese protection, but are, on the contrary, trammelled by the dual registration laws, Japanese policy to make use of the Koreans, and Japan's interference and control. We believe that the expatriation of the Koreans ought to be permitted, in principle, by Japan... the naturalization question is one of the chief causes for rousing the hatred of the Korean intelligentsia against the Japanese Government, and

should be nullified without further delay... The Japanese police authorities keep an intelligence service for watching and capturing the undesirable Koreans in Manchuria besides employing a good number of secret agents... This espionage policy will only serve as a stimulant to make the activities of some thought leaders all the more subtle. What could be the use of such information at so heavy an outlay? We should think that any such money might be used to far greater advantage towards mitigating the distress of the poor Koreans, of whom there is a host in Manchuria. The espionage policy should be discarded." (Suppl. Doc. p. 271.)

The Koreans who left their homes and homeland during the last 25 years solely to escape Japanese terrorism and after long years of suffering, dangers, deprivation and struggles have turned the wild waste of Manchuria into habitable settlements in the hope of peacefully enjoying a hard-earned livelihood, are again being crushed under the relentless advance of Japanese military rule.

Appendix.

Japanese Atrocities.

The Lytton Report has mentioned, on several occasions "the stern measures taken by the Japanese authorities to repress the rising of 1919." (Suppl. Doc. p. 263.) The following few accounts are quoted from Press reports:

The Associated Press despatch, dated March 13, Peking, which appeared in the Press describing the Japanese atrocities in Korea contained, inter alia, the following statement:

"Students of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary were seized stripped of all their clothing and tied to rough wooden crosses, which they were forced to carry, barefooted and nude, through the streets. The Japanese said, as their master bore a cross, they should have the same privilege." (Washington Star, May 26, 1919.)

"Conditions in Korea during the recent uprising against Japan are described in a letter written March 11 by Miss Grace Dillingham of New York, teacher in a Christian School at Pyeng Yang, Korea, to Mrs. I. L. Lomprey of Flushing, L. I. The letter said, Korean school girls had been tied to telephone poles and flogged publicly by Japanese gendarmes; Christians in jails had been tied to crosses, stripped of their clothing and beaten; two American women had been beaten by Japanese soldiers, and churches had been looted and Bibles destroyed..." (Washington D. C. Evening Star, May 6, 1919.)

"Japan has no sympathy with the Korean rebel. The penalty of revolution is death, as this picture shows... The photograph was taken shortly after the victim had been shot to death. They were placed in a kneeling position, their arms extended and attached to rudely-constructed crosses. The recent Korean attempt to gain independence engulfed the whole peninsula. There were fatal riots in hundreds of places, and wholesale massacre by the Japanese was reported." (Boston Transcript, May 15, 1919.)

The Literary Digest, May 31, 1919, adds: "The Koreans have no weapons whatever, but the soldiers fired in the crowd, knocked bystanders down, and dragged girls by

their hair, old men and women are beaten until they cannot walk... they take them to the Japanese Independent Church, and there, telling them to "bear their cross", stretch them out on crosses and beat them twenty-nine times... Yesterday, one hundred were brought in (jail) and two on a car, not dead yet... A Japanese non-Christian who saw the atrocities said: "I am made so sick that I can hardly stand..."

The Japan Advertiser, published numerous stories of atrocities. We quote only the following lines from a long report which appeared on April 29, 1919:

"... Soldiers came to the village, some time in the early afternoon, and ordered all the male Christians to gather in the Church. When they had so gathered, to a number estimated to be thirty by our informers, the soldiers opened fire on them with rifles and then proceeded into the Church and finished them off with swords and bayonets. After this, they set fire to the Church, but as the direction of the wind and the central position of the Church prevented the upper houses catching, soldiers fired these houses individually, and after a time, left..."

Hunchun Incident.

"It should be remembered that the so-called Chientao District was the scene of a widespread rising of Koreans, Independence advocates infused with communists, in 1920, following the "Mansei Rising" in Chosen in 1919, and that this rising in South-Eastern Manchuria was not suppressed by the Japanese military and police until after many months, with heavy loss of life, especially among the Koreans." (Suppl. Doc. p. 273.)

"The occurrence of the Hunchun incident in Chientao in 1920, which was a reaction to the situation in Korea itself, is indicative of the disturbed condition of this part of Manchuria which operated to diminish the migration from Korea, those returning in 1920, suddenly increasing from about 4,000 to 10,000..." (Suppl. Doc. p. 264.)

This Hunchun Incident has been frequently referred to in the Lytton Report. But for obvious reasons, it never related what actually happened. It might be well to quote some of the British missionaries who were living among these Koreans and could not but be eye-witnesses of the shocking atrocities perpetrated against them by the Japanese.

For some years the Japanese Government had been seeking an opportunity to crush the Korean national movement among the

Korean residents in Chientao. The bandit raids afforded an excellent pretext. Troops were sent to Chientao on a punitive expedition to accomplish the purpose.

From October 5, 1920 on, the Japanese soldiers divided into four sections and inaugurated a systematic reign of terror — burning villages, massacring inhabitants, devastating fields. Besides the stories told by Koreans and Chinese themselves, we have at least the testimony of three competent British witnesses:

Dr. S. H. Martin of Newfoundland, a physician attached to the Canadian Presbyterian mission at Yong Jung, who visited the village of Norabawie on October 31, two days after the Japanese went through that district, states:

"The facts recorded below apply to the whole district of Kando or Chientao, in the southern part of the province of Kirin, China.

"Japan, under the strongest protest from China, has sent over 15,000 men into this part of China with the seeming intention of wiping out, if possible, the whole Christian community, especially all young men.

"Village after village is daily being methodically burned and the young men shot, so that at present we have a ring of villages surrounding this city that have suffered from fire or wholesale murder or both. The facts below are absolutely accurate:

"At daybreak a complete cordon of Japanese infantry surrounded the main Christian village of Norabawie, and starting from the top of the valley, set fire to the immense stacks of unthreshed millet, barley and straw and then ordered the occupants of the houses outside. In each case as the father or son stepped forth, he was shot on sight, and as he fell on his face, perhaps only half dead, great piles of burning straw were thrown on top of him.

"I was shown the blood marks on the ground caused by the bayonet thrusts inflicted on the men as they strove to rise from the flames, in spite of the fact that they had been shot three times at close range. The bodies were soon charred beyond recognition. The mothers, wives and even the children were forced spectators of this treatment of all the grown males of the village. Houses were fired and soon the whole country was full of smoke which was plainly visible from this town. The Japanese soldiers then spread out and burned houses of Christian believers in other villages all the way down the valley to the main road. Then they returned home to celebrate the emperor's birthday.

"As we approached the nearby villages we found only women and children and some white-haired men. The women with young babies on their backs were walking up and down wailing.

"I photographed ruins of nineteen buildings, among which were old men tearing their hair and crying while the mothers and daughters were recovering bodies or unburned treasures from the burning ruins. So many women were crying and I was so angry at what I had seen that I could not hold my camera steady enough to take a time exposure.

"We have names and accurate reports of thirty-two villages where murder and fire have been used. One village has had as many as 145 inhabitants killed. Houses have been burned with women and children in them. At Sonung-tung 14 were stood up in front of a large grave, then shot and their bodies destroyed with burning wood and oil. This is typical."

The Rev. W. H. Foote, Canadian Presbyterian missionary at Yong Jung, names several villages in which the homes, schools or churches of Christian natives were burned; in one of them 25 people were shot and the bodies burned. The cases, he declares, are absolutely authentic, the premises having been inspected by four missionaries and a Customs official.

Continuing the story, he says that 23 persons were shot and 7 burned to death in their own houses at Cheng San; that 80 were shot at Un Tong Ja and that these were all Christian villages.

"The soldiers and commanding officers who go to these places", asserted Mr. Foote, "as a general thing have no conversation whatever with the people but do their diabolical deeds and pass on. Ku Sei Tong is the only place where any reason was given to the people at all for the action. A Korean accompanied the soldiers and told the people that the officer said he had evidence that the owner of the house had collected money for Korean patriotic purposes. If only the offenders suffered, even the Koreans would not seriously object; but it is because the perfectly innocent and helpless are put to death without even an opportunity to say a word in their own behalf that the injustice and hardship appear."

Describing the action of the Japanese soldiers at Kan Chang, the Rev. Mr. Foote said that the young men of the village were "herded in front of a Korean house and without even a form of examination, shot down, 25 in all. Then the bodies were heaped together in two piles, covered with wood and burned. While the

fuel was being placed on them, some of the wounded still were able to rise but were bayoneted to the ground and met their fate in the flames.

"I know these people well", Mr. Foote continued. "They live in an out-of-the-way glen. The land was not fertile and firewood is scarce. They were a quiet, hard-working people, who struggled hard to make a living. Their church and school, their Bible and hymn books, their Sunday worship, and above all, their Saviour, were their joy. They were not patriotic soldiers and disapproved of the church taking part in politics."

Miss Emma M. Palethorpe of Ontario, a member of the Canadian Presbyterian mission at Yong Jung, tells in her statement of the execution of five men from the village of Suchilgo who, she says, were led by the Japanese soldiers to the top of a hill about three miles from Yong Jung and there put to death.

"On the top of the hill", she declared, "there is quite a large hollow not visible from the road or village. The victims were made to sit at the bottom of this where they were slashed at with swords. It is reported by an eye witness that two swords were broken and then the awful work was finished with bayonets. Then the loose earth was pulled down from the sides of the hollow to cover the mutilated bodies."

The reign of terror continued for 2 months until the reports on Japanese atrocities sent out by the Canadian missionaries began to get a hearing in the outside world.

Tokyo Massacre.

On Nov. 20, 1923, Dr. Floyd W. Tomkins of Philadelphia, as President of the League of Friends of Korea in America, filed a protest with the Secretary of State of the United States, Charles Evans Hughes, against the massacre of some 500 Koreans and the imprisonment of 15,000 others during the Tokyo earthquake disaster. He said "episodes occurring during the Japan earthquake again attract attention to the justice of the Korean cause". Captain Hedstrom, assistant Dock Superintendent at Yokohama, who has lived in Japan for years, reports that the official order went out to "kill as many Koreans as possible".

The protest says, in part, as follows:

"In furtherance of that order he vouches for the fact as an eye-witness, that on Sept. 2, 1923, 250 Koreans were bound hand and foot, in groups of five, placed on an old junk, covered with oil, and burned alive..."

"Another eye-witness, W. H. Stevens, on Tuesday night,

Sept. 4, 1923, hired an automobile to take himself, his wife, his sister-in-law, Miss Ethel Wainwright and Mr. George Ross of New York to Nikko. The auto was stopped by the Japanese soldiers and Mr. Stevens and his party were compelled to witness the preparation for the execution of eight Koreans, who were to be shot. The soldiers apparently enjoying the horrors of the party, instead of shooting the Koreans, bayoneted them, compelling them to die by inches. The mutilated bodies were then thrown into the highway and the party was forced, at pistol point, to drive the auto over the dead bodies and were threatened a similar fate to that of the Koreans if they disobeyed."

"These are two instances which can be placed before your Department along with many others. The spectacle, vouched for by authentic despatches, of hundreds of Koreans massacred and thousands interned with insufficient supplies, with no one to protest or to reprimand, much less punish or exact reparation from the offenders, must remind the world that this is the status of Korea..."

The following story is quoted from a long list of these horrible massacre accounts, secretly brought out by the Koreans who had narrowly escaped massacre themselves, the rest being too revolting to relate:

"Over 2000 Koreans, men and women, young and old, were tied up together in groups of five or more, and a number of such groups was assigned to each of the army, gendarme and police stations in Kawa Hara and vicinities, where they were all killed either by bullets or by bayonets. In addition to the regular forces, the so-called Self-protectors or Vigilante corps, armed with rifles, pistols, swords and bamboo spears, were running wild like hungry wolves in search of Koreans. At a signal cry, "Koreans here", hundreds, if not thousands, of bloodthirsty rioters flocked to it from all directions, every one eager to participate in the murder..."

J. M. Tokugawa, First Secretary to the Japanese Embassy in London, wrote to the Manchester Guardian, Oct. 10, 1923, stating that :

"...Your correspondent's supposition that all Koreans in the neighborhood of Tokyo and Yokohama have been exterminated is entirely unjustified and contrary to the facts... A number of Korean malcontents took advantage of the earthquake to spread the conflagration which broke out by means of bombs, oil and other incendiary materials and they were likewise guilty of acts of rioting and rape... The result was that some groups of Japanese took what

they imagined to be precautionary measures into their own hands, and a number of Koreans caught in acts of violence and others possibly innocent were killed and wounded in the first days following the disaster... As a measure of protection, the Government assembled the Korean residents mostly laborers and students, to the number of 5,000 and despatched them under police protection to various centres, 1,500 being sent to Narashino, 60 to Meguro, and about 2,500 to the vicinity of Tokyo..."

The above statement was typical of the attitude taken by all the Japanese officials and leading journalists at first, in their efforts to excuse themselves by laying the blame on the Koreans. But when the foreign sentiment showed itself so overwhelmingly against the wrong perpetrated and the gross misrepresentation of facts, the Japanese Premier Yamamoto made a public statement to the effect that the Korean massacre "was entirely due to the misunderstanding of certain facts on the part of the Japanese people". The truth that the Japanese Government authority had broadcast an official order through the Radio station at Funa Basi, just outside of Tokyo, was at last revealed during the debate on this subject in the Imperial Diet on Nov. 15, 1923, and full accounts can be found in the official Records of the Diet.

