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KOREANS RESIDENT IN JAPAN

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This translation is a study of the historical background and development of the Korean-Japanese problem in Japan. The author, HAKEDA TADIC (*北田 忠次*), describes previous attempts to solve the problem and explains the operation of the recent Governmental program, the Harmony Project, which seeks complete assimilation through the united effort of Japanese and Koreans.

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KOREANS RESIDENT IN JAPAN

BY

TAKEDA YUKIO *1

FOREWARD

In 1936, the Government took steps toward the assimilation of Koreans resident in Japan Proper through furthering their protection and enlightenment and by encouraging the Japanese to appreciate them more fully.

This movement, called the Harmony Project ^{*2}, anticipates assimilation of alien peoples, thereby enabling Japan, which by right should be the leading power in East Asia, to become a monument to a great experiment. Fundamentally, it is an epoch-making race movement rich in historical significance; however, its success or failure is completely dependent upon popular recognition and cooperation.

By presenting an outline of the status of Koreans resident in Japan and of the activities of the Government designed to harmonize relations of Japanese and these Koreans, the author seeks solely to encourage the reader to understand better the many problems which exist.

I. HISTORY OF KOREAN MIGRATION TO JAPAN

(1) History Prior to Annexation.

It may be said that Japan and Korea have enjoyed especially close relations since olden days. Research of scholars has made it clear that both from point of geography and from point of race, relations of the two have been on an indivisible footing. Dr. MIURA Shuko ^{*3} in his work "Historical Geography" states in the Korean section:

It has been proved by geographers and geologists that in ancient times Korea and Japan formed one continuous land mass; and the research of linguists, ethnologists, and archeologists has proved rather conclusively that the languages and relics of the two countries

*1 武田行雄 *2 協和事業 *3 三浦周行

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are a part of the same system. Our country's legends such as the famous one about drawing the countries together in the description of the physical features of Izumo Province^{*1} (author's note: the legend in which Yatsuka-Mizuomi-Zunu-no-Mikoto^{*2} drags a net from the Korean peninsula to make up the deficiency in Izumo-no-kuni on the opposite shore) are likely traces of the fact that Japan and Korea were once geographically contiguous. Crossings between the two countries were already commonplace even in the days of Susano-no-Mikoto^{*3} and Isotakeru-no-Mikoto^{*4} (T.N. The brother of Amaterasu-O-Mikami (sun goddess) and his son). At least there is no doubt that the southern part of Korea fell into our possession. Unfortunately, even our own legends have not been handed down to us very accurately, and the Koreans are almost completely lacking in ancient historical records. However, a number of factors lead us to believe that the prehistoric relationship between Japan and Korea was unusually intimate."

Such being the case, numerous Koreans emigrated to Japan and became naturalized in the ancient era.^{*5} For instance, Achiki^{*5} (T.N. The son of Kinkisu, King of Kudaru, one of the tripartite kingdoms of ancient Korea) came to Japan in the 14th year of the reign of Emperor Ojin^{*6} (284 A.D.), carrying a message from King of Kudaru^{*7}, and presented a gift of the King's prize horses to the Emperor. (Since Achiki was well versed in Chinese classics, Crown Prince Uji-no-Makiratsuko^{*8}, later the Emperor Nintoku^{*9}, studied Chinese classics under his tutelage. Up to this time the Japanese had no written language, and history was handed down from generation to generation by oral transmission. However, from this time on, written records in Chinese ideographs began to appear in ever-increasing number. The descendants of Achiki served at the Imperial Court in the capacity of recorder of public documents.) The following year, at the invitation of Emperor Ojin, Wani^{*10} came to Japan.

- | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|
| *1 出雲 | *2 八束水臣津野命 |
| *3 素戔嗚尊 | *4 五十猛命 |
| *5 阿直岐 | *6 應神 |
| *7 百濟 | T.N. also transliterated Pekche. |
| *8 菟道稚郎子 | *9 仁德 |
| *10 王仁 | T.N. also transliterated Wang-in. |

(Professor Wani was recommended by Achiki and came from Kudara, following Achiki. He presented the Emperor with 10 volumes of the Analects of Confucius and one volume of Senjimon. Prince Wakiratsuko became his student. The descendants of Wani lived in the province of Kawachi under the name Kawachi-no-Fumi-Uji and served at the Imperial Court as recorders. The old poem, "These flowers blooming at Hanizazu

(T.N. Ancient name of Osaka) have braved the rigor of winter, and are now out in full glory in the spring. These flowers are flowers doing full justice to the spring," was composed by Wani himself.) Many other Koreans came to Japan and became Japanese citizens, but the most conspicuous Korean immigration in Japanese history occurred in the Sankan (T.N. Oldest tripartite kingdoms of southern Korea, Ba-kan, Ben-kan, and Shin-kan) era. The outstanding examples recorded in historical literature are as follows:

During the reign of Emperor Tenchi (the 38th Emperor reigning from 668 to 670 A.D.) two Korean kingdoms, Kudara and Kokuri (T.N. Successor to kingdom of Koma or Koryo, from which Korea derived) were destroyed by the allied army of the Tang king of China and the king of Shiragi. As a consequence, many took refuge in Japan and became Japanese citizens. In the 4th year of Emperor Tenchi's reign, about 400 Korean men and women who had recently emigrated from Kudara were relocated in Kamimae County of Omi Province. In the 5th year about 2,000 Kudarans were moved to eastern provinces, and in the 8th year about 700 Kudaran men and women were placed in Kamau County of Omi Province and given provisions for three years.

In May of the 13th year of Emperor Temmu's reign (the 40th Emperor reigning from 673 to 689 A.D.), 23 Kudaran Buddhist priests and priestesses and laity were installed in the Musashi Province.

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| *1 河内 | *2 西文氏 |
| *3 難波津 | *4 三韓 |
| *5 天智 | *6 百濟 |
| *7 高句麗 | T.N. also transliterated Kokuryo. |
| *8 唐 | |
| *9 新羅 | T.N. also transliterated Silla. |
| *10 神前郡 | *11 近江國 |
| *13 天武 | *12 蒲生郡 |
| | *14 武總 |

In the era of Empress Jito ^{#1} (the 41st Sovereign), 23 naturalized Shiragians were placed in the same province.

In the era of Empress Koken ^{#2} (the 46th Sovereign) 165 Kudaran Buddhist priests and priestesses were placed in the Musashi province, and further, 193 naturalized Shiragians were distributed in the provinces of Mino ^{#3} , Totomi ^{#4} , Suruga ^{#5} , and Mutsu ^{#6} .

In the reign of Emperor Junnin ^{#7} (the 47th Emperor) many Shiragians became naturalized Japanese subjects and assumed residence in Musashi Province.

In addition to these, there were doubtlessly a great many other immigrants from Korea. When we look at the distribution of Koreans who became naturalized Japanese subjects, we find that Kudarans resided mostly in the five central provinces around the capital Kyoto, particularly in Kawachi ^{#8} , Izumi ^{#9} , Yamato ^{#10} , and Settsu ^{#11} , (T.N. The fifth province, Yamashiro, is the one in which Kyoto is located), and in the Kanto ^{#12} (T.N. The eastern territory, originally east of Hakone Pass). A considerable number were located in the Musashi district. However, here, it is said, many Shiragians and Komans were mixed with the Kudarans. In the province of Musashi itself, the Komans were most numerous since in the reign of Emperor Gensho ^{#13} (the 44th Emperor), the Komans scattered in the seven provinces east of Suruga ^{#14} were concentrated in the newly created Koma County in Musashi. Later on, in the 29th year of Meiji (1896), Koma County was absorbed by Irima County ^{#15} , Saitama Prefecture ^{#16} ; yet Koma Village still remains with its old cemetery. In this district are found the Koma river, the Koma pass, the Koma Shrine, the well-known Koma Hajime family, and many Buddhist temples founded by Korean priests.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|-----|
| #1 持 | 統 | #2 孝 | 謙 |
| #3 美 | 濃 | #4 遠 | 江 |
| #5 駿 | 河 | #6 陸 | 奥 |
| #7 淳 | 仁 | #8 河 | 内 |
| #9 和 | 泉 | #10 大 | 和 |
| #11 攝 | 津 | #12 關 | 東 |
| #13 元 | 正 | #14 駿 | 河 |
| #15 入 | 間 | #16 埼 | 玉 縣 |

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Further, for the many Shiragians living in Musashi, Shiragi County was established in the reign of Emperor Junnin (the 47th Emperor). Today the county exists as Adachi County (see "The Historical Consideration and Study of the Relationship between Korea and Japan" by HIGASHI Mamoru).

The next immigration wave from Korea took place about 340 years ago in the wake of the Korean Expeditions by Hideyoshi during the Bunroku and Keicho eras (T.N. 1592-3 and 1597-8). This was due to the influx of Korean ceramic and other artisans brought back from Korea by many generals who were on the expedition. The most notable of these patrons were Shimazu Yoshihiro, lord of Satsuma, and his son. They brought back more than 80 Korean men and women and let them settle at Inashirogawa Village (now Ishuin Village) and start a pottery industry. This is reputed to be the beginning of the famous Satsuma chinaware. Nabeshima Naoshige, lord of Saga, likewise brought back Korean potters who introduced their art and created the Arita wares. Other famous chinawares such as the Takatori wares in Chikuzen, the Uyeno and Hirado wares in Kokura, and the Hagi wares in Hagi, were all developed by Korean artisans. Furthermore, Kumase Yuroin, the famous Korean physician and printer, had emigrated from Korea to Japan by this time. Japanese printing developed from the models brought over to Japan by the Koreans.

During the Tokugawa shogunate, relations between Korea and Japan became gradually more and more remote due to the adoption of a policy of isolation. In the 8th year of Bunka (1811) Shogun Tokugawa Iyenari

*1	足立君	*2	白文	笠津代	護
*3	香慶	*4	島苗	川直	茂
*5	薩伊	*6	鍋有	島田	
*7	佐高	*8	筑平	前戶	
*9	上菽	*10	曲德	眞川	
*11	文	*12		家	
*13		*14		齊	
*15		*16			
*17		*18			
*19		*20			

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(reigning from 1787-1836) invited Korean embroidery artists to come and settle in Japan. This was the last such invitation. Consequently, the Koreans stopped coming to settle in Japan, and this state of affairs remained unchanged until the latter years of Meiji.

As briefly sketched above, a large number of Koreans immigrated to Japan in the ancient era, but all were assimilated by the Japanese so completely that they are today pure Japanese without traces of their Korean ancestry. And while many Koreans thus immigrated to Japan and became Japanese subjects, many Japanese migrated to Korea becoming Korean citizens, as clearly recorded on the pages of history. Thus the Japanese and Koreans are very closely related by blood. This fact must be taken into consideration when we treat the Korean problem today. Therefore, for the purposes of this article, the term "Koreans" refers to those Koreans who came to Japan after annexation.

(2) History Subsequent to Annexation.

As a result of the annexation of Korea by Japan on the 29th of August, 1910, the law restricting entry of alien laborers into Japan which had been enforced since 1900 ceased to apply to Koreans and they acquired the privilege of freely entering Japan and obtaining various jobs as unrestrictedly as the Japanese under the benevolent rule of Japan. But at that time the Korean immigrants were extremely few in number and consisted for the most part of peddlers and workers in construction gangs. Japanese industrialists, however, took heed of Korean labor at once, and solicited it by positive efforts. According to the investigation by YOSHIZAKA Shunzo^{*1}, the Settsu Cotton Mill^{*2} pioneered in employing Korean laborers in 1911, and the Akashi^{*3} plant of the same mill first hired Koreans gathered by advertisement in May, 1914. Only 16 Koreans responded to the first advertisement. During the five year period from then until November, 1918, Koreans laborers were solicited through advertisements 11 times, and 208 Koreans are said to have responded. Since the conditions in Japan were not well known in Korea, it is understandable that some difficulty was encountered in acquiring Korean labor.

*1 吉阪俊藏

*2 攝津紡績
-6- 株式會社

*3 明石

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Factories which employed Koreans and dates when they began to employ them are as follows:

Osaka Prefecture:

The Kizugawa Plant of the Settsu Cotton Mill, 1911.

(攝津紡績木津川工場)

The Sangenya Plant of the Toyo Cotton Mill, 1914.

(東洋紡績三軒屋工場)

The Sumitomo Copper Refinery, March, 1916.

(住友鑄銅所)

The Tsumori Plant of the Amagasaki Cotton Mill, June, 1917.

(尼績津守工場)

The Nitta Shipyard, June, 1917.

(新田造船所)

The Hirano Plant of the Settsu Cotton Mill, July, 1917.

(攝津紡績平野工場)

The Fujinagata Shipyard, July, 1917.

(藤永田造船所)

The Kibi Shipyard, September, 1917.

(吉備造船所)

Hyogo Prefecture:

The Akashi Plant of the Settsu Cotton Mill, June, 1912.

(攝津紡績明石工場)

The Kawasaki Shipyard, April, 1914.

(川崎造船所)

The Kobe Steel Mill, June, 1916.

(神戸製鋼所)

The Shikama Plant of the Fukushima Cotton Mill, May, 1917.

(福島紡績飾磨工場)

The Kawasaki Branch Shipyard, 1917.

(川崎造船所分工場)

The Mitsubishi Shipyard of Kobe, May, 1917.

(三菱神戸造船所)

The Kishimoto Nail Manufacturing Company, August, 1917.

(岸本製釘所)

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The Harima Shipyard, August, 1917.

(播磨造船所)

Wakayama Prefecture:

The Asahi Chemical Manufacturing Company, January, 1916.

(朝日化學工業株式會社)

The Naikai Cotton Mill, October, 1916.

(内海紡績工場)

The Wakayama Cotton Mill, November, 1916.

(和歌山紡績工場)

The Kiyo Textile Mill, November, 1916.

(紀陽織布工場)

The Yura Dyeing Plant, August, 1917.

(由良染料工場)

The Hinode Cotton Mill, September, 1917.

(日出紡績工場)

Mie Prefecture:

The Mie Lumber Drying Plant, January, 1916.

(三重木材乾溜工場)

The Maru Yoshi Cotton Manufacturing Plant, January, 1917.

(吉製綿工場)

The Tsu Plant of the Toyo Cotton Mill, September, 1917.

(東洋紡績津工場)

The Hiramatsu Woolen Mill, September, 1917.

(平松毛織工場)

The Onashi Cast Iron Ware Plant, October, 1917.

(大橋鑄物工場)

Okayama Prefecture.

The Toyokan Match Factory, November, 1913.

(東津館燐寸工場)

The Manju Plant of the Kurashiki Cotton Mill, July, 1917.

(倉紡萬壽工場)

The Kibi Textile Mill, September, 1917.

(吉備織物工場)

The Tamashima Plant of the Kurashiki Cotton Mill, November, 1917.

(倉紡玉島工場)

The Ishii Textile Mill, November, 1917.

(石井織物工場)

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This data is based on the Report of Investigation, November, 1917 by YOSHIZAKA Shunzo, Factory Supervisor, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

Thereafter, as the conditions in Japan became better known in Korea, the Koreans who wished to immigrate to Japan increased in number, and toward the end of 1917 about 14,000 Koreans came to Japan. The reasons for the gradual increase of Korean laborers in Japan by this time are said to be their display of intrinsic superiority as laborers, being extremely docile, relatively sincere, and satisfied with low wages, and the existing Japanese labor shortage and inflated wages due to the great expansion and prosperity of Japanese industry at that time. On the other hand, exaggerated success stories of one or two Korean immigrants who made good in Japan were spread in Korea, and such rumors as that any Korean could pick up gold on the streets in Japanese cities circulated freely in Korean villages. Therefore, many Koreans are said to have responded to the advertisements for laborers in Japan of their own accord. Since then Korean immigration has steadily increased. In 1919, 26,000 Koreans came to Japan. However, during the year, there was an outbreak of the Independence Movement in Korea, and as a result, restrictions were placed upon Korean immigration, decreasing the number of immigrants for a time. With the lifting of this immigration ban upon restoration of peace in Korea the number of Korean immigrants again increased. In 1923 the number of Korean immigrants reached a total of 80,000. Such a large increase in the number of Koreans in Japan naturally drew public attention. Inopportunately just at that time Japan suffered the great earthquake, and the Koreans were accused of terrorizing the stricken city of Tokyo as revenge for the annexation. As a consequence, Koreans in Japan temporarily required police protection, and new immigration of Koreans was suspended. After a short while, the disturbance subsided, and the ban was lifted. As a reaction to the immigration ban and due also to a great industrial expansion in Japan demanding more and more labor, the number of Korean immigrants jumped suddenly to about 13,000 in 1925.

However, from this time on, the financial depression in Japan gradually became worse and worse, the unemployed flooding the labor market. The increase of Korean laborers, of course, pressed Japanese laborers to

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a considerable degree and became one of the causes of the sudden increase of unemployment among Japanese laborers, but still worse, the influx of Koreans worked severe havoc on the Korean laborers themselves. Since they are mostly manual laborers, they are limited in the scope of their employment. Within this rather narrow scope Japanese industrialists preferred new comers from Korea to Koreans who had been spoiled by Japanese ways during the years of their stay in Japan. Therefore, these old timers came to be treated coldly by Japanese employers and began to lose their jobs to newly-arrived compatriots. In fact, the majority of the unemployed at that time were in this group. As a result, incidents of inter-necine strife among Korean laborers occurred very frequently, producing an acute awareness on the part of the public to the pressing need for a definite policy to deal with the Koreans. In 1925 a conditional Korean immigration measure was adopted. Thereafter Koreans, who were assured employment in Japan, could enter freely, but others, who had no definite plans and wished only to "pick up a fortune" in Japan, were persuaded not to come.

The conditions thus imposed upon Korean immigration have been modified from time to time; however, for the protection of Koreans already gainfully employed in Japan, for the prevention against newcomers falling into misery, and for the promotion of unity of Koreans in Japan, the persuasive ban on Korean immigration is still in force today. Yet, under the existing conditions, the Koreans in Japan are increasing annually by 70,000 to 80,000. Therefore, from the various conditions existing today it seems that an increase of Korean immigration to Japan is inescapable.

II. CAUSES OF THE KOREAN IMMIGRATION TO JAPAN.

(1) Prior to Annexation.

A large number of Koreans came from the Korean Peninsula to Japan in ancient times, as mentioned above, and are still coming today. Under what circumstances did they forsake the land of the graves of their ancestors, bid heart-breaking farewells to their relatives and neighbors, and brave the waves of the Genkai Sea to come to Japan?

Dr. MIURA Shuko classifies the causes of Korean immigration to Japan in ancient times, that is to say the types of Korean immigrants who

became Japanese subjects, into the three following categories:

(a) This group came to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese government. This system of invitation had been in practice ever since the dawn of history. The Koreans so invited were of high social standing, and the majority of them left their names on the pages of history as celebrities. King Shinson^{*1}, a member of the royal family of Kudara, came to Japan at the invitation of Emperor Ojin who sent Arata-no-Wake^{*2}, ancestor of the Kamikeno^{*3} family to Kudara, for the purpose of extending the invitation; King Kisu^{*4} of Kudara responded to the imperial invitation selecting King Shinson from his family to be the honored guest. King Shinson, at the Japanese court, became a counselor of education of the crown prince of Emperor Ojin, introduced Chinese classics to Japan, and preached Confucianism in Japan. In the reign of Emperor Yuraku^{*5}, physician Tokurai^{*6} came from Koma to Japan in response to an invitation of the Emperor. Other instances exist too numerous to cite here.

(b) This group consisted of Koreans who professed to have come to Japan because of their desire to be under Japanese imperial rule. As a matter of fact, some of them very likely came to escape the misrule of their home government, especially the heavy taxation. During the reign of Emperess Koken in the Nara Era, Korean immigrants were especially numerous, and all of these came over for the purpose of escaping the excessive taxes imposed upon them in their home land of Korea. Others came to Japan because of the destruction of their home states by war. They would say that they longed to live under the Japanese imperial rule and hence would go to Japan and become Japanese subjects.

(c) This group consisted of Koreans taken prisoner by the Japanese. In the ancient era Korea rebelled against Japanese domination, and Japanese forces landed on Korea more than once to restore and preserve peace. After each expedition some Korean prisoners were brought back to Japan and were treated fairly well. They were added to the Korean immigrants who became naturalized Japanese subjects. During the reign of Emperor Tenchi^{*7} the Koreans who came from Kudara and became Japanese subjects were

*1 辰孫
*4 貴須
*7 天智

*2 荒田別
*5 雄略

*3 上毛野
*6 德來

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fed by the government for three years. At the time of Emperor Temmu the Kudarans, after naturalization, were given farm land and provisions and were exempted from taxation for ten years. In the reign of Emperor Gensho^{*1}, the Komans and Kudarans, who became naturalized Japanese subjects, were made tax-exempt for life. In the 16th year of Enryaku^{*2} (T.N. 797 A.D.) during the reign of Emperor Kammu^{*3} the descendants of naturalized Kudarans were exempted from taxation forever. (A Study of Japanese History by Dr. Miura).

As shown above, the causes of Korean immigration to Japan in ancient times were either political or social. Korean scholars who came to Japan at the invitation of the Government and Korean war prisoners who were brought back to Japan from Korea can be said to have come for political reasons. Those Koreans who came to Japan professing a longing to come under Japanese imperial rule can be said to have been chiefly motivated by social factors. Whatever the causes may have been, these Koreans were received and treated well both by the government and by the people at large, and they mixed well with the Japanese.

(2) After the Annexation.

After the annexation, especially in recent years, the causes of the Korean immigration differ somewhat in their nature from those in the ancient times. Generally speaking, economic reasons can be said to be the primary causes. Of course, in the migration of races various factors either in cooperation or competition are responsible. It is not initiated by any single factor such as economic distress. For example, the blood relationship mutually linking many Koreans, irrespective of their consciousness of this fact, is undoubtedly one cause of Korean immigration to Japan. From the historical aspect, Japan and Korea have been inseparably linked. Since remote antiquity peaceful intercourse has been carried on between the two countries. Furthermore, Japan and Korea are related by family ties, the blood of the two nations freely mixing. Therefore, Koreans who come to Japan may feel as intimate among the Japanese, as children of a branch family going to the house of the main family. This family affiliation

*1 元正

*2 延略

*3 桓武

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may be cited as one reason why the Koreans seldom immigrate, elsewhere than into Japan and Manchuria. Next, social conditions in Korea must be cited as a cause of Korean immigration to Japan. Before annexation, there were four social castes in Korea, namely the ryohan^{*1}, chujin^{*2}, jomin^{*3}, and senmin^{*4}, from the highest to the lowest in that order. Within the same caste some were higher in social standing than others, depending upon their occupations. Age also maintained a rigid social scale. These social customs are still strictly observed today, especially in villages. However, once a Korean sets foot on the soil of Japan, he can enjoy not only the benefits of a higher civilization but is freed from the traditional oppression of the caste system. He acquires anew in Japan the right to vote and the right to be elected to a public position. He may become a member of the Diet. In short, he has many opportunities to advance himself socially and economically, provided he has abilities. Naturally, ambitious Korean youth will avail themselves of this opportunity. Thus the Koreans are induced to immigrate to Japan.

However, the factors above mentioned are very weak in power and can hardly be the main cause of Korean immigration to Japan from a general viewpoint. It is no exaggeration to say that Korean immigration to Japan today is almost invariably due to economic factors. In other words, the Koreans are going to Japan today to seek economic security, because life in Korea is too hard for them. Then one may ask what are the present-day conditions of economic life in Korea? What causes the economic hardship which Koreans are trying to escape? The answer is that economic evils in Korea originated from disharmony between natural resources and population, and from an excess of farmers for too small an acreage of cultivated land.

The Korean population under the reign of King Li^{*5} dynasty showed an extremely slow increase, and even decreased from time to time. This decreasing tendency was seen also in the latter part of the Tokugawa

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|-------|---|
| *1 兩班 | T.N. Also transliterated <u>Yanban</u> |
| *2 中人 | T.N. Also transliterated <u>Chugin</u> |
| *3 常民 | T.N. Also transliterated <u>Sangnin</u> |
| *4 賤民 | T.N. Also transliterated <u>Choumin</u> |
| *5 李 | T.N. Also transliterated <u>Yi</u> |

shogunate in Japan, but it was more conspicuous in Korea. In the 7th year of Junso (1697 A.D.) the Korean population was 7,560,000, but about 50 years later, in the 3rd year of Tesso (1742 A.D.), it had decreased to 6,810,000. About 50 years later in the 8th year of Koba (1794 A.D.) it was down to 5,920,000.

However, as a result of our country's zealous endeavors in governing Korea, the 13,000,000 Korean population of 1910 increased to 21,000,000 by the end of 1934 — an increase of 8,000,000 in the 24-year period. The relative rate of increase in populations of Korea and Japan is 15 to 14. Moreover, there has been a corresponding annual increase in density of population. At the end of 1934, there were 4 plus persons per square kilometer, roughly equal to the density in the northeastern section of Japan Proper. On the other hand, Korean arable land represents only 20% of total land. Hence, a total of 1.52 Chō (T.N. unit of measure. 1 Chō = 2.45 acres) in paddy fields is the average amount of land under cultivation per farmer. However, as will be seen by the following figures on the provinces of southern Korea from which most Korean immigrants have come, land per farmer does not approach the 1.1 Chō figure for Japan Proper.

	Paddy fields	Dry fields	Total
Keisho Nan-do ^{*3}	0.62	0.35	0.97
Keisho Hoku-do ^{*4}	0.55	0.53	1.08
Zenra Nan-do ^{*5}	0.56	0.56	1.12
Zenra-Haku-do ^{*6}	0.77	0.30	1.07

If, added to the fact that farm land is scarce, one considers the fact that tenant farming consumes 80% of the land and that fertility and farming methods are inadequate, he will get some notion of the true state of the Korean farm population. These provide the fundamental sources of the dire economic straits in which the Korean farming population finds itself.

To cope with this, ever since the inauguration of the new regime,

*1 哲祖
 *3 慶尚南道
 *5 全羅南道

*2 光武
 *4 慶尚北道
 *6 全羅北道

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the authorities of the Chosen (Korea) Government-General have, as the main problem of Korean administration, devoted their deepest consideration and greatest endeavors to the promotion and stabilization of farm life, which encompasses about 80% of the total Korean population. Everyone recognizes the fact that such activities as the Agrarian Development Movement are reaping truly brilliant results. Moreover, a marked economic betterment of the general populace has taken place as a result of activity in the mining and industrial fields in the last few years. However, it is obvious that this life of misery and poverty in which the Korean population had to gasp for breath under misgovernment for so many years cannot be cast aside overnight.

Recklessly putting faith in the exaggerated reports which friends and relatives who had come to Japan sent them in order to bolster their own reputations, instantly believing the honeyed words of coolie-recruiters, and day-dreaming about an easy life in Japan, they have resolved to make the crossing in order to escape their lives of misery. When one considers the feelings of these persons, he can't help being overwhelmed with sympathy for them.

Since as previously stated, Korean economic conditions have gradually taken a turn for the better and culture, too, is being uplifted, in the future emigrants from Korea to Japan will undoubtedly decrease in number. However, for the present, it is believed that the phenomenon of the migration to Japan will continue under the pressure of reconciling natural resources with population and the desire to better themselves culturally.

The following are the results of a personal survey of conditions which led Koreans now resident in Japan to resolve to leave Korea and migrate to Japan Proper. Results are based upon individual interviews of 8,154 laborers residing in Kyoto-shi in 1935.

1. Because of difficulty in making a living in Korea -- 2,778 persons -- 34.1%.
2. In order to find employment and "make their fortune" in Japan -- 2,547 persons -- 31.2%.
3. In order to make money -- 1,149 persons -- 14.1%.

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There are other reasons as well, but the substance seems to be the matter of economic hardships at home. Total figures of the above indicate that 79.4% of those surveyed left their native land for economic reasons. Other incentives were:

1. Felt drawn to Japan -- 746 persons -- 9.1%.
2. Desired better living conditions -- 390 persons -- 4.8%.
3. Summoned (By family, relatives, friends, husband, etc.)--
1,149 persons -- 14.1%.

Of the above, those who felt drawn to Japan or came to better their living conditions would seem to have been moved by cultural incentives. However, these factors, also, are probably fundamentally based upon economic sources.

Of 4,278 persons, drawn primarily from laboring circles, who were interviewed in Hyogo-ken in 1937, 3,236 persons or 75.65% came because of difficulty in making a living, and 565 persons or 13.2% came to find employment and make their fortune. Thus, 88% of the total, is clearly based upon economic factors. Surveys made of unmarried persons seem for the most part to bear out these results.

Results of a survey of 11,839 laborers in Osaka-fu in 1932 indicate that about 88% came to Japan because of difficulty in making a living at home.

Surveys made in Tokyo-fu bear out these results in the main.

All of the foregoing examples illustrate the fact that most of the Korean immigration between annexation and the present was due to economic factors.

Doubtless the demand and absorption of Korean labor by economic circles in Japan, which will allow no halt in development, provide a partial basis for Korean migration to Japan. Particularly of late, maritime provisions and other general conditions have exerted pressure and become a rather powerful motivating factor.

III. STATUS OF KOREANS RESIDENT IN JAPAN.

(1) Trend of Augmentation.

As a result of Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, intercourse between Japan Proper and Korea became completely unfettered, but

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at that time very few persons were immigrating to Japan from Korea. The number of resident-Koreans at the end of 1914 was only 3000 +, however, it gradually increased as follows:

1914	1924	1934	1935	1936	1937
3,000	118,000	537,000	625,000	690,000	735,000

The trend of augmentation during these few years is astonishing with annual increases of 70,000 to 80,000. For a time in the past there was a marked tendency on the part of many immigrants to "seek their fortune" -- to make some money and then to return to their native villages; However, in late years more and more immigrants have come to settle permanently. This is illustrated by the increase in the number of families and the convergence of the numbers of males and females. In 1926, the Korean immigrant-population numbered 140,000, with families numbering 13,000. However, the 1934 population was 530,000, with families numbering 89,000. Thus, while the population increased slightly more than four-fold, the number of families increased to a figure almost eight times that of 1926.

Further, in 1912 there were 600 males per 100 females, but this ratio of males and females has gradually narrowed to 250 males per 100 females in 1931, 183 in 1934, and 156 in June, 1937.

(2) State of Distribution.

Although the Koreans are scattered throughout every fu and ken in Japan, they are especially concentrated in urban industrial areas.

The state of distribution in June, 1937 is as follows:

Osaka-fu	231,000
Hyogo-ken	63,000
Aichi-ken	59,000
Tokyo-fu	59,000
Fukuoka-ken	48,000
Yamaguchi-ken	33,000
Hiroshima-ken	20,000

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Kanagawa-ken	14,000
Hokkaido	12,000
Gifu-ken	11,000

In other words, Osaka had the greatest number - about 1/3 of the total Korean population in Japan. Next were Hyogo, Aichi, Tokyo, Hyoto, and Fukuoka, each having about 50,000 to 60,000 resident Koreans. Then came Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Kanagawa, Hokkaido, Gifu, etc., each with a considerable number of Korean residents. There are other fu and ken which have a Korean resident population, and in these, as well, the majority is concentrated in a few prosperous industrial cities. By seeking to preserve their language, customs, and mode of life, Korean communities in Japan seem to be modeled after communities in Korea. This is due to the fact that most of the Koreans are from agricultural villages and are of an extremely low cultural level. Furthermore, even after immigrating to Japan, they usually engage in manual labor, and many of them continue to be members of lower classes. Naturally, "birds of a feather flock together". The Korean community, namely the slum districts, is viewed as a common-sense solution for modern conditions. However, such an unseemly phenomenon for a city of culture is a source of grave concern from the point of public morals, sanitation, etc.

(3) Occupational Status.

A consideration of occupational status, reveals that since about 60% of the resident-Koreans are illiterate and very few possess special skills, most of them must engage in manual labor. As a result, certain natural fixed limitations have arisen with respect to place of employment, and of late years the Korean labor market has fallen into a state of saturation. It is regrettable that as the newcomers increase, the old timers are kicked up-stairs by entrepreneurs, and that, exposed to the perils of unemployment, many persons fall into the free labor status of ragmen. In spite of the present general trend toward mitigation of unemployment, unemployment among Koreans has not diminished to any great extent. This is illustrated by the ratio of Korean unemployed to total unemployed. In 1927, it was 7.2%, but in June of 1937, this ratio had increased to 15.9%.

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In June, 1937, the 390,000 employed Koreans were engaged in the following pursuits:

Learned pursuits	1,600
Mercantile pursuits	49,000
Laborers	310,000
Miscellaneous	20,000

Of the 310,000 laborers, 90,000 (about 30%) are land-workers; and the remaining 220,000 include 13,000 factory workers, 13,000 miners, 11,000 middlemen, etc. It is worthy of notice that laborers constitute 80% of the employed Koreans.

(4) Living Conditions.

One can tell, even from a superficial examination, that with few exceptions, Koreans lead miserable lives. There are those who live in sod-covered or dugout hovels along the road or in structures which they build as squatters on others' land. It has already been related how many others live cramped in unsanitary, stuffy tenements and work in the great slum areas. The principal causes of the wretched nature of their lives are thought to be not only old customs but also their extremely meager income.

According to surveys, the average household monthly income in Tokyo-fu in 1934 was 27 yen, 3 sen; in Kyoto-shi in 1935, it was 46 yen 21 sen; in Osaka-fu in 1932, it was 46 yen 35 sen; and in Kobe in 1935, it was 56 yen 55 sen. The reason for the especially low average income in Tokyo-fu is that the overwhelming majority were common laborers and coolies -- the former having an average monthly wage of 27 yen 78 sen, and the latter making no more than 19 yen 60 sen. Since income is, for the most part, very low, it is inescapable that the living standard also be low.

However, oddly enough, the Korean resident in Japan actually had a considerable surplus. This fact attests to his resignation to a low standard of living and his zeal in frugality. Average monthly household expenditures in Tokyo-fu were 25 yen 88 sen, leaving an average monthly surplus for the family of 1 yen 50 sen. Average expenditures in Kyoto-shi were 40 yen 6 sen leaving a surplus of 6 yen 15 sen. In Osaka-fu, average expenditures were 39 yen 84 sen, leaving a surplus

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of 3 yen 18 sen.

Regarding the disposition of these excess funds, according to the Kyoto-shi survey, savings constituted 47%, and remittances to Korea amounted to 43%. The savings are proof of their steadfastness. The foreign remittances are believed to be due to the large number of persons they left in their native land who need their financial assistance.

(5) Educational Status.

The educational level of 690,000 Korean residents in 1936 was as follows:

College level --	1,455	0.24%
Technical school level	2,342	0.37%
Middle school level	8,144	1.33%
Primary school level	224,751	36.42%
Illiterates	342,988	55.61%
Children of school age not attending school	37,099	6.02%
Children of pre-school age	73,722	

As indicated by the above, the educational level is generally low, with an illiteracy rate of over 50%.

In other words, 340,000, or 56% of the 620,000 remaining after excepting children of pre-school age from the 690,000 total number, are completely illiterate. The greater proportion of the remainder are persons of primary school level. Relatively few persons have an education of middle school level or above, numbering only 10,000. Since school attendance is mandatory for Korean children in Japan and since school attendance has been encouraged in each fu and ken, the number of children in primary school in 1936 reached 55,000 or a school attendance ratio of about 60%. This indicates excellent results particularly in view of the fact that the school attendance ratio in Korea for 1935 was only 25%. Students attending middle schools, technical schools, and colleges numbered 9,800 in June of 1937, and there is an annual increase tendency. It should be observed that a great many of these students return to Korea upon graduation.

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(6) Crime Conditions.

Out of such conditions, many crimes arise, such as controversies between Japanese and Koreans and theft, fraud, etc., on the part of the Koreans. Rather surprisingly general crime statistics reveal that despite the strong effects of their environment and their disposition to "seek their fortune", the Korean crime rate, in comparison with the 2.2% ratio of Japanese in 1934, is quite low.

From all outward appearances, their "outlook" has taken a sharp turn for the better since the recent Incident. However, since a considerable number of persons has, in the past, been engrossed in movements of various doctrines whose keynote was race prejudice, special attention should be accorded the contriving of appropriate leadership for the "outlook" of the many Korean students who attend Japanese middle schools and institutions of higher learning.

(7) Status of Japanization.

Koreans, who have been residents of Japan for a long time, naturally are being Japanized, and in recent years the number of those endeavoring on their own to become Japanized has shown a marked increase.

This tendency seems to have become especially marked after authorities recently began actively to encourage the Japanization movement. Needless to say, the true meaning of "Japanization" lies in a definite grasp of consciousness of being Japanese.

At this point we shall undertake a survey of tendencies which have appeared:

To begin with, in late years a remarkable number of Koreans have learned the Japanese language. At the end of 1936, they numbered 187,000 or about 30% of the total; 233,000 or about 37% had some knowledge of Japanese; and the remaining 233,000 had no grasp of the language. This is a matter requiring special attention, since an understanding of the Japanese language is the all-important key to perfection of social existence.

Secondly, many persons have gradually come to use a Japanese name jointly with their Korean name. According to the Kyoto-shi survey of 1935, 45% also used a Japanese name, and this practice is equally prevalent in other areas. This is due to the fact that from occupational and other

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standpoints, use of a Japanese name is advantageous in every respect. Thus, since it had become more and more desirable to take a Japanese-style name from birth, in 1937 the authorities made it possible to add a Japanese name to the name of an infant.

Last, intermarriage of Japanese and Koreans has tended to increase rapidly of late. According to the Kyoto-shi survey in 1935, there were 94 instances of intermarriage; in Osaka-fu in 1935, there were 85 such instances; and in Kobe-shi in 1935, there were 78 cases of intermarriage recorded.

Since there have been no surveys in other areas, no definite information is available, but it is certain that intermarriages have taken place. With the deepening of mutual understanding between Korean and Japanese, this tendency shall grow in the future.

IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MATTER OF KOREANS RESIDENT IN JAPAN.

Before undertaking a discussion of the living conditions of Koreans resident in Japan let us consider what the results would be in the future if the current disposition is left unchanged.

Obviously, if the present disposition were altered, there would be no hope for harmonizing of the relationship of Japanese and Koreans. It would become difficult to bring about happiness for Korean immigrants, and eventually their existence would become entirely isolated from Japanese life. As a result, the unity of national mobilization would be impeded, thereby seriously affecting the advancement of our national destiny.

These reflections lead one to believe that the problem of Koreans resident in Japan is of great significance from the aspect of national prosperity and increased welfare of the Koreans.

(1) Importance from the Standpoint of the Advancement of National Destiny.

As this number has increased, the problem of Koreans resident in Japan has finally achieved a significance that will influence the progress of our national destiny.

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First of all, the Koreans, as members of the community, are in a position that is important from the aspect of augmenting total national strength. In the second place, since most of them are manual laborers, they have become the principal source of Japanese labor. Third, their attitude is important with respect to our delicate relations with the Korean Government. Fourth, they possess significance as a touchstone for Japanese development.

A. Importance of Strengthening the Tendency toward National Coalition.

As previously stated, the number of Korean residents has steadily increased until now it exceeds 700,000 or 1% of Japan's population. If this increase tendency is maintained, within 10 years this number will reach 1,500,000 or 2% of the population. Even today Korean residents constitute more than 5% of the total population in Osaka prefecture. If number alone is considered, since it is simply an increase in Japanese who come from Korea, it possesses significance only from the standpoint of the general population problem, and should cause no surprise or alarm from the standpoint of the Korean problem. The importance of the problem lies in the fact that the standards of culture, customs, habits, and language differ radically from those of Japan.

Since the majority of the Koreans in Japan are laborers of very little education, they are easily influenced by rumor, and there is no assurance that certain elements among them might not act rebelliously.

As expressed in Emperor Meiji's poem "The unanimity of 10,000,000 citizens is a country's road to greatness". In short, the foundation of a country's prosperity lies in complete national unity. A situation, such as the present one, in which 700,000 fellow countrymen in Japan exist isolated from Japanese life can hardly be termed a perfect society.

This condition is felt with particular keenness in the present emergency. We should not be contemptuous of the relatively high number of Koreans who are cooperating in national defense and are engaging in rear echelon defense. Today it is most urgent that this attitude should be

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strengthened and that every Korean should be treated in such a way that deep down in his heart he will become a Japanese.

B.. Importance as a Source of Labor.

390,000 Koreans resident in Japan (55%) are employed, and 310,000 or 80% of these (as of the end of June, 1937) are laborers. Since, according to the latest census figures, (1930), the total of laborers engaged in industry, mining, transport, etc. in Japan is 7,050,000, a comparison shows that 4.5% of the laborers in Japan are Koreans. In Osaka Prefecture, 17% are Koreans. An examination of these conditions reveals the very considerable importance of Korean laborers to the Japanese labor market. Most of these laborers are engaged in construction work, fibre industries, and machine and chemical industries. Since they generally are submissive and industrious and will work for relatively low wages, they are welcomed by industrialists. Today they form an indispensable labor supply in Osaka and other important industrial cities. Their great services in the development of industry in modern Japan must be recognized.

Although obviously the role of Korean laborers in Japanese industry will gradually gain in importance as future emergencies develop, since many of them are illiterate and possess no special skills, industrialists will not be able to place complete confidence in them. From these factors, the urgency and deep significance of the problem of Koreans resident in Japan may be easily understood.

C. Importance as a Touchstone of Japanese Development.

Third, the Korean problem has importance as a touchstone for the development of Japanese hegemony in the Orient. The most important element in the development of a race is the unanimous support of other races. Therefore, the embracing and equalization of 700,000 Koreans in Japan is a promise of confraternity to 23,000,000 new brothers in Korea and demonstrates our ability to absorb millions of Orientals. The firing at Lukow Bridge in 1937 was the turning point, and now the Asiatic Situation has changed with the Japanese race ready to transform the world with its deep racial feelings. In order to succeed in this great racial undertaking, a solution of the problem of Koreans resident in Japan is a prerequisite.

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D. Importance from the Standpoint of Governing Korea.

Last, we must consider the fact that the problem of Koreans resident in Japan has a considerable effect on the governing of Korea. This is due to the passage back and forth between Japan and Korea of about 100,000 Koreans each year, the close relations between resident Koreans and their relatives and friends at home, the flourishing exchange of students, etc. Consequently, the method of handling the various problems concerning Koreans in Japan immediately influences the minds of Koreans in Korea, and has a tendency to give rise to suspicion even in the basic policies of Korean government. Administration in Korea has been admirable due to the efforts of successive Governors-General, but several factors indicate that it is not enough that they devote themselves wholeheartedly to governing Korea. The special effort of the Korean government to let Koreans resident in Japan go their way as they have previously, has always been threatened by some quarters in Japan, and ultimate success is fraught with difficulties.

The Korean government is the affair of the Korean people. It is essential that it strive with measured steps for the increased happiness in the spirit of Japanese-Korean joint leadership.

(2) Importance from the Standpoint of the increased happiness of Koreans in Japan.

All Japanese subjects desire that the imperial command of "universal brotherhood", which was promulgated long ago, should achieve concrete realization for our new brothers so that their happiness may be assured, harmonious unity of Japanese and Koreans may be achieved, and cooperation for the sake of national growth may be secured.

However, since, as has been stated, the Korean immigrants, who increase in numbers year by year, settle densely throughout Japan and continue to live just as they did in Korea, they are only rarely assimilated into Japanese life. It is obvious that a citizen's happiness is achieved only when he becomes a Japanese from the bottom of his heart. If the present disposition were changed, the Korean castes would gain wide appeal, and the opportunity of becoming Japanese would vanish.

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A survey at the present situation clearly reveals the following facts. Most Koreans do not understand either Japanese language or Japanese customs. Since they have no skills, they are naturally limited in their sphere of occupations and must be content with relatively low wages. As a result, they cannot raise their standard of living and many of them are forced to lead wretched lives. Since not only their unhappiness but also that of their children is involved, it is a real loss to the state. Intelligent Koreans have been quick to observe this point and spontaneously have advocated assimilation into the Japanese community, but unfortunately the majority have not concurred. Since this is the result of their extremely low educational level, it is essential that they be truly and devotedly led with the cooperation of the citizenry and be gradually assimilated.

Thus we can assert that the problem of Koreans resident in Japan is one which must be investigated for the increased welfare of the Koreans. A proper solution of this problem will be answer to the Imperial Command that "The people should be caressed by the Emperor's love and their welfare furthered".

V. JAPANESE IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS AND THE PROGRESS OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO COPE WITH THE KOREAN PROBLEMS.

(1) Immigration Problems.

A. Increase in Immigration and Unemployment.

Many Koreans have sought a peaceful living in Japan and year after year have come to settle in Japan, but have they been able to realize their cherished dream?

As the demand for labor in construction industries increased after the earthquake disaster in the Taisho Era, the immigration of Korean laborers spurted upward. However, very few either knew the Japanese language or had any special skills and they were relegated to unskilled labor such as construction, coolies, etc. Since the beginning of the Showa Era, an unprecedented change for the worse has occurred due to their severe financial depression. Due to the fact that there was no survey in 1927 and 1928, a detailed statement is impossible; but according to the

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report of the Social Welfare Office of the Ministry of Home Affairs for 1928, the number of persons who may be assumed to be unemployed reached 310,051. Of this number, Korean unemployed amounted to 24,000 or a little less than 9% of the 270,050 Koreans in Japan at the time. Since this financial depression affected Korea as well as Japan, there was not the slightest decrease in immigration. On the contrary, there was a gradual increase in the number of immigrants who came in the expectation that "if we go to Japan, perhaps there will be a job". Due to the intensification of the financial depression, the number of unemployed Koreans steadily mounted, reaching 42,000 in 1931 and increasing to 62,000 in 1932; of the 463,000 Koreans resident in Japan that year, over 13% were unemployed and were subject to unemployment emergency measures. These Korean laborers had to be employed in manual labor due to their ignorance of the language and lack of ability, and consequently their income was low. Since even in ordinary times they have difficulty in making both ends meet, the financial depression affected them profoundly. The pleasant life in Japan of which they had dreamed was cruelly brought to naught. Those who found employment were situated in work that was unfamiliar to them. For most, it was simply a continuation of the poverty in Korea, and a repetition of the struggle for existence. Consequently, there was an increase in the number of those who impeded Japanese-Korean conciliation.

(2) Protection of Koreans and Termination of Aimless Immigration.

Although Koreans aimlessly immigrated during the period of immigration fever, they could not find suitable positions. As a result, except for those who brought something beside fond hopes when they left home, most of the Korean immigrants were reduced to beggary.

On the other hand, since oddly enough, there is a tendency for business men to welcome healthy newcomers from Korea, older immigrants lost their positions to the newcomers. As previously stated, this is simply due to the fact that the abilities and nature of the Korean limits his sphere of occupation, and the labor market cannot indefinitely assimilate such labor.

In any event, the increase in Korean unemployed could not be ignored. Since late 1928 when the situation first became apparent, the authorities have urged these aimless migrants to return to Korea.

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Simultaneously, they labored on behalf of those who came with positions assured by expediting their passage and by assisting them after arrival.

Such has been the policy up to the present day, and it seems possible to assert that the decrease in Korean unemployment of recent years is entirely a result of this policy of assistance. The highest point was reached in 1932 with 62,000; the following year had 60,000; 1934 had 53,000; 1935 had 56,000; 1936 had 51,000; and in September 1937, 42,000 were receiving assistance. Of course, improved industrial conditions were the general basis of the decrease in unemployment; but if the present policy had not been adopted, the number of Korean unemployed would probably have remained high due to their limited occupational sphere.

Even today the rate of Korean unemployment decrease is much lower than that of the Japanese. A survey of the percentage of total unemployed shows that Koreans comprised 7.7% in 1929, 9 % in 1931, 15.9% in 1933, 16.1% in 1935, 16.1% in 1936, and 15.2% in September 1937.

As explained in detail above, authorities have discouraged rash immigration of Koreans so that they will not encounter unexpected misfortunes. By the execution of this policy, the standard of living of Koreans already resident in Japan has been protected.

(3) Development of the Policy Toward Koreans Resident in Japan.

The official attitude toward Koreans resident in Japan has varied from time to time. For purposes of this discussion, the subject shall be divided into the "do-nothing" period, the fusion period, and the assimilation period.

A. "Do-Nothing Period" (annexation - 1922).

The term "do-nothing" period" indicates the 12 year period from annexation to 1922. During this period, annual new arrivals numbered from 10,000 to 20,000. Since most of them returned to Korea, no particularly annoying problems arose between the Japanese and Koreans. Such being the case, neither the authorities nor the people took any special countermeasures, nor was there any real necessity for such action.

B.. Fusion Period (1922 - 1933).

Later, however, Korean immigration rapidly increased, resulting in a greatly enlarged Korean resident-population. The number of

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more than 38,000 immigrants in 1921 was surpassed by the 59,000 number of 1922, and in 1923, the figure exceeded 80,000. This tendency toward increase attracted general attention, but the Korean problem became of general sociological import with the unfortunate incident at the time of the Earthquake disaster in 1923. In every sphere of society the seriousness of the Korean problem was felt more acutely and was the cause of widespread alarm. Nevertheless, the tendency toward an increase in Korean residents continued unabated year after year. As a result, Japanese-Korean fusion came to be advocated and in each locality, fusionist bodies, supported by volunteers, grew up like bamboo sprouts after a rain. Japanese-Korean fusion period was one in which capital was quickly amassed. Although there were variations in conditions with the times the era of fusion continued until 1933.

The leading spirits of the fusion era was the policy of economic and cultural equality for Japanese and Koreans and a fusion based upon this equality.

The government itself did not institute progressive measures, but rather took the attitude that this should be a voluntary public enterprise. It did no more than to grant subsidies to private enterprises and to encourage them. Thus private fusion groups sprang up without any control, and, as a result, few achieved the desired result.

Only the Japanese-Korean Associations in Osaka (Established in 1924), Kanagawa Prefecture (Established, 1925), and Hyogo Prefecture (Established 1925) cooperated with prefectural authorities and achieved some results. Of the rest, it was often rumored that Japanese-Korean fusion had been exploited.

These circumstances betrayed the expectations of resident Koreans and bitterly disappointed them, resulting in quarrels with the Japanese. Furthermore, the attempt made to achieve Japanese-Korean equality despite the differences in standards of culture fell short of happiness for the Koreans and ended in total failure.

(4) Era of Assimilation (after 1934).

In the fusion and assimilation of two races, mutual love and respect are requisite. Without mutual love and respect, assimilation is impossible.

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The government gave special thought to this point and recognized the necessity for a reinvestigation of the previous policy. In October 1933, Mr. Horida,^{#1} an official of the Social Affairs Office of the Ministry of Home Affairs was dispatched to Korea where he investigated general conditions and endeavored to formulate a basic policy. Thereafter, study gradually progressed and on 7 March 1934, the following principals met and conferred on a policy for handling the problem:

Mr. Niwa,^{#2} the Chief of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs; Mr. Tomita,^{#3} Chief of Social Affairs Office; Mr. Hasegawa,^{#4} Chief of the Occupations Section; Mr. Nakazato,^{#5} Chief of Documents Section of Police Bureau; Mr. Nagano,^{#6} Administrative Official; Mr. Kawada,^{#7} Vice-Minister of Colonial Affairs; Mr. Ikoma,^{#8} Head of the Management Bureau; Mr. Inai,^{#9} Inspector-General of the Korean Government-General; Mr. Watanabe,^{#10} Head of the Bureau of Education and Mr. Tanaka,^{#11} Head of the Foreign Affairs Section. On the 26th of October of the same year the Governmental policy was finally settled. The former policy was abandoned, and the government bent new efforts to solution of the problem. The government undertook the protection and guidance of Koreans resident in Japan. It attempted to improve the Korean standard of living and to enlighten the average Japanese citizen so that he might appreciate the better equalities of the Korean.

The Osaka authorities, who were harassed by the great increase in Koreans, promptly saw the merit of the Government policy and organized the Osaka Japanese-Korean Conciliation and Research Committee, and on the 19th of September embarked upon a concrete policy based upon the conciliation policy of the government. Excellent results have been obtained.

#1 堀田
 #3 富田
 #5 中里園
 #7 河田
 #9 今井
 #11 田中

#2 丹羽
 #4 長谷川
 #6 永野
 #8 全駒
 #10 渡邊

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In 1936, the government, in name of harmony, drew up a budget of 50,000 yen and launched the nation-wide enterprise under the aegis of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

VI. THE OPERATION OF THE HARMONY PROJECT AND ITS MISSION.

(1) Operation of the Harmony Project.

In the past, various measures have been devised and put into effect in order to promote the welfare of Koreans resident in Japan and to encourage harmony and cooperation; however, as shown above these measures had Japanization as the keynote, and there was no way to reach this objective except by protecting and enlightening the Koreans. As a result of various investigations, the government decided on a new policy toward Koreans resident in Japan, and in 1936, it instituted an enterprise under the name "Harmony Project," to embrace the entire country under one leadership and policy, and appropriated about 50,000 yen for its expenses.

Results are as indicated by the Minister of the Imperial Household at the Preliminary Conference of the Head of the Educational Affairs Division, Head of the Police Division, Head of the Social Affairs Division, etc. and by the Conference of Prefectural Governors held in July of 1936 (see below). Moreover, in August of the same year a communication covering the details was issued to the regional authorities, outlining the purport of the measure as well as explaining the government's attitude and policy. Thus the Harmony Project with its new mission was born in 1936.

(2) Mission of the Harmony Project.

A. The Concrete Realization of the Imperial Command of^{*1}
"Universal Brotherhood" .

If we were to answer in a word the question "What is the mission of the Harmony Project?", we could say that it is to realize concretely the Imperial Command of "Universal Brotherhood."

The Emperor who gave us the above command devoted profound thought to the enjoyment of peace under new fraternal benevolence, and proclaimed in the Imperial Edict of Annexation promulgated in 1910,

*1 ISHIDŌMIN 一視同仁

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"We, the Emperor, take the people under our direct love and protection and wish to promote their welfare." In the Imperial Edict on Administrative Reform promulgated in 1919, the Emperor proclaimed, "As loyal subjects of the Emperor, there shall not be the slightest deviation from the policy of universal brotherhood toward those people who are under the love and protection of the Emperor."

The Project has as its fundamental spirit this Imperial wish for "universal brotherhood", makes its mission the concrete realization of this wish, and has as its aim a policy of assimilation.

In other words, the mission of the Harmony Project is (1) to furnish direction to the Korean-born compatriots resident in Japan with Japanization as the keynote, (2) to devise improvement of their living conditions (3) to enlighten the average native Japanese by promoting his understanding of Koreans and his recognition of the importance of this Project; and (4) to encourage harmony and cooperation between the two peoples, with the intention of complete Japanization.

B. The Japanization of Koreans.

- (1) Improvement of Life, Stabilization of Residence, and Mixed Residence.

Since in planning the Japanization of the Koreans, the first essential is to plan for improvement of life, stabilization of residence, and mixed residence, with native Japanese this undertaking seeks to improve the life of the Koreans by protecting and enlightening them, while at the same time directing them toward the aforesaid mixed residence and stabilized residence.

However, since the Koreans resident in Japan display remarkable differences in language, customs, living standard, etc. from the native Japanese, it is difficult to be able to expect any improvement in life or stabilization of residence even though they are treated just like native Japanese in all points of education, residence, etc. To say that they are treated just like Japanese seems at first glance to imply equality, but actually this is not the case. For example when a young Korean who does not understand Japanese too well enters primary school,

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he is educated in the same way as a native Japanese boy. There is really no other way to promote the happiness of these people than to provide measures to cope with actual conditions. Accordingly, the Harmony Project, taking into consideration the differences of language, custom, human nature, living standard, etc., seeks to improve their life by providing separate simplified education, employment, household economy management, etc., in order to protect and enlighten the Korean resident. This improvement in their life will probably result in a natural stabilization of their residence, and gradually lead to mixed residence with native Japanese. A constant residence movement like that of the Koreans today is not conducive to that friendly Japanese spirit of neighborliness which has been epitomized "Three houses -- two neighbors". As a result, they lack permanency, and it is difficult for them to merge into Japanese life.

Since this is the case, what is the aim of improvement? It is, of course, to furnish a gradual leadership with a view to attaining fluency in the Japanese language, familiarity with Japanese customs and mores, understanding of the Japanese character, and proximity to the standard of living of the native Japanese.

The furnishing of protection to Koreans resident in Japan and the betterment of their life by no means implies giving them material aid, but actually means furnishing the leadership to encourage them to better their lot by their own efforts. Material protection would do more harm than good.

2. Living Improvement with Japanization as Keynote.

Next, the Harmony Project, having improved the Koreans' living both materially and spiritually, plans their Japanization. In other words, improvement in their living is planned by providing proper employment, housing, etc., and their residence is stabilized near the level of that of the native Japanese. However, at the same time there is the mission of attaining spiritual Japanization beginning with the outward Japanization of the Koreans' customs, mores, etc. For this purpose Moral Reform Societies^{#1} have been established in the various localities, each with its director who is mainly in charge of leadership in Japanization.

#1 KYŌFUKAI

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At first glance it is not difficult to imagine that this would seem unpleasant to the Koreans and be accompanied by hardships on them. Nevertheless, since Koreans are Japanese subjects, and since, for the most part, they intend to spend the rest of their lives in this country, Japanese assimilation is fit and proper. It will be impossible for these people to attain happiness unless they merge into Japanese life as in the proverb "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." And how much more important it is for the second generation that their parents should change from their present tendency of isolation from Japanese life; otherwise, where can those of the second generation seek their place for peaceful living? Is it not proper that parents should suffer hardships for the sake of their children's welfare?

When we look at it from this point of view, we come to understand how this policy of Japanese assimilation has the happiness of the resident Koreans themselves as its first consideration.

3. Rousing Brotherly Love on the Part of the Average Japanese.

Finally, the Harmony Project has as its mission the inspiration of an awareness of the Korean in his true character on the part of the native Japanese and at the same time awakening of a consciousness of the importance of the Project itself, in order to encourage treatment of the Korean as a good neighbor. The Project will fail if all parties do not cooperate toward its success.

It is essential that the native Japanese should receive the Koreans with open arms and give them kindly treatment. Time and again historical facts show us that the matter of race assimilation is begun by mutual understanding and perfected by respect and kindness. In olden times many Koreans came to our country, in answer to our invitation, in response to a yearning to be under Japanese rule, or as prisoners of our troops. Toward all these, the successive generations of the Imperial Family have accorded fine treatment, bestowing many favors upon them. Since the populace treated them in a similar friendly way, they endeavored to become naturalized and assimilated. Thus, as a result of mutual respect and kindness, these people were completely assimilated into the Japanese nation, and today hardly a trace of them remains.

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However, in the present-day conditions of lack of mutual understanding, to expect assimilation is similar to expecting pigs to fly, and shows a lack of thorough investigation of the origins of the problem. It is necessary for the leaders to act in a positive manner, so that the average Japanese will adequately understand and fraternize with the Koreans.

In other words, the Harmony Project aims to devise the Japanese assimilation of resident Koreans by calling on the average native Japanese, clearing up his ignorance about the Korean, making him aware of the importance of this Project, rousing his brotherly love, and enlisting his support.

The results steadily attained by the assimilation policy, as stated above, will first of all promote the welfare of the resident Koreans, and further will probably bring about national harmony and cooperation, making a great contribution to the prosperity of the nation.

VII. OPERATIONAL STATE OF THE HARMONY PROJECT.

(1) Administrative Machinery of the Harmony Project.

A. Central Agency.

The Central Agency of the Harmony Project is the Ministry of Public Welfare, the Project being under the supervision of the Prosperity Section of the Social Welfare Bureau of that department. The problem of Koreans resident in Japan had been under investigation of the central government since 1933; however, since it was the Korean unemployment problem which provoked the interest of society at that time, the Occupations Section of the Business Division of the Social Welfare Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs arbitrarily became its Central Agency. Later it was transferred to the Prosperity Section of that division to facilitate execution of its functions, and through the efforts of that section, eventually a budget was established for it in 1935. After the establishment of the Ministry of Public Welfare, in January 1938, control of both Harmony Project Affairs and the Social Welfare Bureau was transferred to that Ministry. This Project due to its nature demands close liaison with the Police Bureau, etc. of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Overseas Affairs, the Ministry of Education,

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the Government-General of Chosen (Korea) etc., and executes its functions under adequately strong control.

B. Local Agencies.

In the local prefectures the Harmony Project is under the supervision of the Social Welfare Section of the Educational Affairs Division. The Superior Section of the Police Division (Police Superintendents, with the Japan-Korea Section), other branches related to the various administrative agencies and social affairs bodies handle its over-all enforcement, with close liaison with local commissioners. Thirty fu and ken, including Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Kanagawa, Hyogo, Aichi, Fukuoka, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, and others where there are a comparatively large number of Korean-residents, have initiated the Project.

(2) Harmony Project Bodies.

A. Leadership and Control Bodies.

Since it was recognized that due to the nature of the Harmony Project and to local conditions much of its operation should properly be conducted by specially established bodies, the authorities encouraged the formation of very strong organizations. However, since these bodies were incapable of administering the operation of the Harmony Project as Agencies of the capital, fu and ken, rather than seeking the creation of new bodies, other expedients such as setting up special harmony divisions in the regularly established social welfare associations were encouraged. A considerable national expenditure in grants-in-aid was made, and 30 bodies were set up in the thirty main fu and ken from the end of 1936 through 1937. Among them the Osaka-fu Harmony Society, the Kanagawa-ken Japan-Korea Harmony Society, the Hyogo-ken Japan-Korea Harmony Society, and the Nagasaki-ken Japan-Korea Harmony Society were reorganized and strengthened; moreover, new Harmony Committees were created in Tokyo, Kyoto, Aichi, and Hiroshima. In each one the prefectural governor serves as committee head and the membership includes concerned public officials and persons of other concerned quarters.

Harmony Sections were incorporated into the Social Welfare Associations in the remaining 22 cases.

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B. Privately Operated Protection Project Bodies.

As projects established for the protection of Koreans resident in Japan, there are, besides the fu and ken Harmony Societies and Harmony Sections of the Social Welfare Associations, the organizations of outright private protection. Most of them were organized after the great Kanto earthquake by benevolent Japanese and Koreans who had as their objectives the protection of Korean residents and reconciliation of Japanese and Koreans. The principal private organizations in Tokyo are the Brotherly Love Foundation Hall^{*1} (lodging, housing, medical care, job referral, etc.), Coalition Association^{*2} (lodging, subsistence relief, job referrals, etc.), and the Self-supporting Students Association (lodging, for young students, assistance in finding employment, lectures, etc.) Also, in Fukuoka-ken, there is the Japan-Korea Philanthropical Association (child protection, lodging, and job referrals).

The necessity of special cooperation of privately established social welfare agencies in attaining the objectives of the Harmony Project is the same in this type of undertaking as in any other. Since the authorities demonstrate the operation of the Harmony Project by offering among the essential elements of its operation the item "subsidy for superior organizations", sound development of non-governmental organizations of Korean protective project is anticipated. The Government is voluntarily issuing adequate grants-in-aid to these bodies. However, just as in the case of other undertakings, so long as there is doubt concerning the present excellence of the organization or concerning its possession of requisites for obtaining excellent results in the future, encouragement should not be indiscriminately accorded.

It must be admitted that in the future this spirit of generosity could go astray. There are numerous instances of a few inferior organizations blackening the reputations of the rest of the good ones. Hence it is essential that the Government should in the future select the especially excellent non-governmental bodies and, granting an adequate subsidy, rush on hand in hand with them toward realization of its objectives.

*1 Zaidan Hojin Soai Kaikan

*2 Daido Kyokai

(3) State of Government Regulation and Control.

This Project is a new undertaking and its substance is of extreme importance; hence especially thorough attention and prudent care have been paid to its regulation and control. The main features of the policy adopted by the Government are as follows:

(1) Suggestions of the Report on the Fundamental Principles of the Operation of the Harmony Project (31 August 1936).

a. The Purport of the Harmony Project.

In consideration of the conditions contributing to the gradual increase of problems related to Koreans resident in Japan, thorough strengthening of social welfare establishments based on assimilation is planned. Thereby, the realization of an enriched national life of harmony and cooperation and the essence of co-existence and co-prosperity is anticipated.

b. Fundamental Elements of Operation of the Harmony Project.

A. Matters related to investigation of living conditions of Koreans resident in Japan.

B. Expansion of education and cultural establishments, especially endeavoring in the development of national spirit.

C. Pressing for reform in all phases of life-morals, housing, etc.

D. Endeavor for protection and relief through social institutions concerned with economic protection, medical aid, and relief in general.

E. Promise of thoroughness in police protection such as protection of persons returning to native land, crime prevention, actions of health facilities, etc.

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- F. Endeavor for widespread diffusion of the spirit of harmony and the promotion of national conciliation.
- c. Regulations for Operation of the Harmony Project.
 - A. The Harmony Project, in the spirit of national solidarity, shall operate systematically through united efforts of the government and the people with the various institutions exercising their own discretion in accordance with conditions in their respective areas.
 - B. There are numerous instances in which the Harmony Project may best be jointly operated by the branches of various connected governmental administrative organs, social welfare bodies, and district commissioners. Active cooperation from these quarters is essential chiefly in education, cultural activities, and various types of protection and relief. However, in accordance with local conditions, there are some phases in which operation by specially established Harmony Bodies is deemed appropriate

Principal examples are:

1. Various investigations and research projects pertaining to Koreans resident in Japan.
2. Promotion of school attendance and elementary education facilities.
3. Teaching of the Japanese language, Japanese etiquette, etc.
4. Fostering of national customs.
5. Operation of social service (over-all administration of social welfare institutions).

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6. Operation of moral reform (expansion of moral reform societies).
7. Encouragement of cleanliness and diffusion of the concept of sanitation.
8. Reform and administration of housing and prevention of crowded housing.
9. Encouragement of saving and establishment of mutual aid societies.
10. Exhaustive medical care such as medical protection of persons suffering from morphinism, vaccination, inoculation against typhus, etc.
11. Protection of persons returning to their native place.
12. Mediation of disagreements and disputes.
13. Assistance in finding employment and personnel conferences.
14. Leaders, training of leadership groups, public recognition of competent personnel, and assistance for high calibre organizations.
15. Strict enforcement of temporary residence and other such formalities.
16. Liaison of various types of social welfare establishments.
17. Other establishment deemed pertinent and beneficial to the rapid advance of harmony.

(2) Dictated Suggestions of the Minister of Home Affairs to the Conferences of Local Officials.

- a. Suggestions to the Governors' Conference (16 June 1936).

The growth of problems attending the marked increase of Koreans resident in Japan is a source of grave concern. It is desired that

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you work for harmony and accord and co-prosperity by close study of the reasons these problems have arisen and by contriving institutions which will meet them properly.

b. Suggestions to the Preliminary Business Meeting of the Prefectural Police Chiefs. (25 June 1936)

Since there are a great number of instances where the cooperation of police will be necessary in the execution of this project, hereafter the utmost consideration is to be given this field and especially strict coalition and liaison with concerned divisions and sections, concerned organizations, etc., shall be devised.

c. Suggestions to the Preliminary Business Meeting of the Chiefs of the Educational Bureaus. (3 July 1936)

The Government, cognizant of the necessity that this project attain even greater power with respect to protection and enlightenment, has appropriated new funds for the Harmony Project in the budget for this fiscal year which contemplate a rapid advance of necessary establishments through allotting office expenses to the fu and ken which are primarily concerned and through granting subsidies to social welfare bodies.

d. Suggestions to the Preliminary Business Meeting of the Heads of Social Welfare Section in the Capital and Prefectures. (22 July 1936)

In consideration of the seriousness of this undertaking all the main fu and ken are maintaining close liaison with the concerned divisions and sections and concerned social welfare bodies; and, with regard to improvement of living conditions they are devising suitable policies in accordance with respective local conditions for all-out effort in augmenting leadership

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and direction and also in moral reform and education.

In view of the seriousness of the undertaking the suggestions to the Governors' conference were repeated in 1937 and exhaustive effort has gone into attaining these objectives.

- (3) Training of Leaders for the Harmony Project, Delegation of Lecturers, etc.

Accutely conscious of the necessity of training leaders in order to effectuate this Project, in May 1937, the first session of the Harmony Project Training School was opened in Osaka-shi under the Social Welfare Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs in cooperation with Osaka-fu which has had a good deal of experience with regard to this work. In this short course of training, 180 trainees, consisting of delegates from the offices of the Social Welfare Section, the Special Superior Police Section, etc., nominated by the Prefectural Governors, were given a grasp of the objectives and operation of the Harmony Project. When training classes are opened in the Districts and local Harmony Bodies, lecturers are delegated upon request. By delegating other clerks-in-charge and to observe local conditions, in time of emergency, they can be put in charge of leadership there. In this manner, a foundation for growth of this project is being constructed.

VIII. OPERATIONAL STATE OF THE HARMONY PROJECT IN ALL PREFECTURES.

- (1) Prefectural Organization.

In the middle of 1936 suitable measures for coping with the Korean policy were taken, and operations were initiated in the respective prefectures in accordance with conditions and based upon Government suggestions and leadership. These included encouragement of education, thoroughness in moral reform and enlightenment, extension of protective establishments, strict enforcement of guiding supervision by police, etc. Since educational matters were based upon the Ministry of Education's

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concept of "Compulsory education for children of Koreans resident in Japan", and since school attendance was very strongly fostered, effective results have come to be realized. This program is rooted in the thorough spread of education inasmuch as its objectives can only be attained over a period of several generations. It is essential that henceforth we increase our endeavors both in number and content. Moral reform, nursery, and housing projects were surveyed and as necessary they were opened either as direct undertakings or as subsidized projects. Osaka-fu leads the others and has been at work on this matter since 1934. In April of that year the Osaka-fu Japan-Korea Conciliation and Research Committee was established, and important phases of operation were considered. As a result, in September of 1939, informal instructions were issued fixing its basic policy, and from that time, good results have steadily been obtained.

(2) Local Harmony Societies (or Harmony Divisions).

The Local Harmony Societies have become identified with the Prefectures; and, as periphery organizations of the Prefectures, they are charged with the practical operation of the undertaking. Although the details of the respective organizations differ somewhat, they may be summed up as follows:

1. Operation of moral reform projects as a resident Korean material and spiritual Japanization movement.
2. Extension of various kinds of social institutions to insure adequate living standards.
3. Enlightenment of both Japanese and Koreans and the acceleration of assimilation.

As a moral reform project, Moral Reform Societies (or Harmony Society branches) are set up which have the district under jurisdiction of a police station as the zone of their activity. As a social institution, kindergartens (to give preparatory training to children for school attendance), elementary schools, housing administration, employment agencies, settlement houses, medical establishments, etc. are provided. As enlightenment projects, since their work has only just begun, there is nothing in the way of actual results to be recorded as yet.

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a. Moral Reform Societies (Harmony Society Branches).

Moral Reform Societies, under the direction of the Harmony Societies, contribute to the cultivation of the characters of members of the Society and to the development of national spirit. At the same time, they aim at improvement of living conditions and realization of harmony and accord in national life.

Consequently, as their task, they conduct spiritual awakening, reform of public morals, promotion of education, improvement in living, health facilities, etc. They execute their tasks in cooperation with the police station personnel and employees of the city, chō, or village with the area under jurisdiction of the police station (in the case of branches of Harmony Society, the area of the city, chō, or village) as their zone of operation. All of the resident Koreans of this area are included as members, but as a fundamental principle, dues are not collected from them. At the end of 1936, there were 12 offices in Osaka-fu, 10 offices in Tokyo-fu, 5 offices in Kanagawa-ken, 12 offices in Aichi-ken, etc., and the number is gradually increasing.

b. As for the other social institutions, matters pertaining to general protection such as subsistence relief for resident Koreans, medical protection, protection of women and children, etc. are as a rule entrusted to the respective regularly instituted, applicable establishment by way of the district commissioner and others; however, the creation of institutions recognized as of special necessity to the Koreans is encouraged. Since this work is still in a rudimentary state, more remains to be done. Social welfare establishments in operation at present include settlement houses (at the end of 1936, there were 6 in Osaka-fu, 1 in Hyogo-ken, and 1 in Yamaguchi-ken), elementary schools (at the end of 1936, there were 4 in Osaka-fu, 5 in Kanagawa-ken, 1 in Hyogo-ken, 1 in Hiroshima-ken, and 3 in Fukuoka-ken), employment agencies, housing projects and their administration, leadership for all associations and institutions, protection and care of drug addicts, protection of persons returning to their native land, etc.

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IX. THE ATTITUDE OF KOREANS RESIDENT IN JAPAN TOWARD THE RECENT INCIDENT.

Unusual concern has been paid lately to the matter of the trend of Korean attitude in the present national emergency. It is unavoidable that such misgivings should be entertained due to unpleasant memories of the past. The fact cannot be denied that, while we should not call it "discontented", the Korean, deep down inside, has felt somewhat "fretful". How will the attitude of these people manifest itself in the present Incident? Since their attitude is testimonial to the results of our administration spanning the quarter of a century since the annexation of Korea, it attracts general attention.

What are the results? Now that six months have elapsed since the Incident burst forth and the Incident has finally grown to proportions of a long war, it would not be a waste of time to reflect upon the trend of ideas of Koreans resident in Japan.

(1) Group Solidarity in the Patriotic Movement.

Since it was most important that the Koreans resident in Japan have an accurate consciousness of conditions when the recent Incident broke out, the authorities took steps to give wide publicity to these conditions. Furthermore, the Koreans took it upon themselves to acquaint themselves with the situation, attaining a remarkably true understanding despite difficulties of speech and script. As a result the Koreans have not been far behind the native Japanese in flocking to participate in the home front patriotic movement.

The patriotic movement of these Koreans has often been noted in the newspapers of the various localities and has become the object of gratitude on the part of the average Japanese.

A. Contributions for National Defense Expenses, etc.

1. MATSUDA Saburo, who lives in Nishinari-ku in Ōsaka-fū, tells the story of one Mr. SHŪ-BO-SHŪ^{*1} who, saying "It has been twelve years since I came to Japan; with the outbreak of the China Incident I must show my devotion; please let me make this contribution," came to Ōsaka-fū on the tenth of last month, a slight man in a jumper stained with sweat, grease and iron rust, to make a contribution of 1,000 yen.

*1 周 茂 秀

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His story, in resume: "I came to Japan on January 15, 1926. At first I was a boatman. Then I became a railroad trackman. After that I was employed at the Osaka Steel Works and came under the protection of General Mr. KTMURA Tsurukichi.^{*1} I worked sincerely, and after seven years he said, 'How would you like to go into business on your own?' and loaned me and another fellow like me the large sum of 13,000 yen. I wept, and vowed that I would work hard and be worthy of his trust.... After the present Incident broke out, I felt that we Koreans must show our loyalty in every way possible, and only a month ago returned to my country to make speeches, which is quite out of my line. And since I want to do everything I can personally in the way of loyalty, I have come with this 1,000 yen." (Reported by the newspaper ŌSAKA-ASAHI-SHIMBUN.)

(b) On November 10 a meeting of the officers of the East Asia Advancement Society of Chukei-ku^{*2}, Kyōto, was held. The meeting closed with the unanimous agreement: "We Koreans are already experiencing increasingly fine results under the protective guidance of the Kyōto-fu Harmony Society recently established for us. There is no need for individual amity organizations. In the future we shall strive for an improvement in harmony through the guidance of the Harmony Society." A fund of 51 yen 90 sen was contributed to national defense. (Report of the Kyōto-fu Harmony Society.)

(c) Mr. SŌ-KAI-SEI^{*3} of Kyōto is a junkman, and his wife works in a dye-works. Although they are very poor and have two children to care for, they are leading a perfectly happy life. The only thing troubling them was that they could not repay their obligation to the nation, so they decided to economize on their living expenses; since the outbreak of the Incident, they have lived under the strictest economy, and are contributing their savings each month through the Kutsugawa office. 17 August, 5 yen; 17 September, 3 yen; 16 October, 3 yen; 17 November, 3 yen. (Report of the Kyōto-fu Harmony Society.)

(d) Mr. SAI-KŌ-SEKI is a bakery salesman in Tōkyō. He visited his customers and acquaintances, saying "The very fact that we can live here in peace day after day is all due to the kind grace of the Emperor."

*1 木村 鶴吉

*3 宋海正

*2 中京區

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and collected 8 yen to contribute to the War Ministry for the China troops' relief fund. (Report of the Tokyo-fu Harmony Society).

Such contributions, stemming from the free will of the people, extend over all localities and bring tears to the eyes of the authorities.

The total amount of contributions up to 1937 was 65,000 yen, and the number of contributors was 34,000. This sum can not, of course, be termed a great amount, but it must be borne in mind that all the contributions were spontaneous, and most of the contributors were from lower economic levels. Large contributions like the Osaka one mentioned above are exceptional, most of the money being a collection of the individual contributions of poor people.

Since the contributions are continuing, they may reach a sizable sum in the future.

(2) Victory Prayers.

(a) On August 20, 1700 ladies of the ^{*1} SEMBI Moral Reform Society of Osaka-fu gathered together under the leadership of their officers for a ceremony of prayer for eternal good fortune of our troops, bowing toward the shrine Yasaka-jinja. The meeting closed with three banzai for the Emperor. The Japanese who saw the long lines of us Korean ladies, each carrying a small Japanese flag, were deeply moved by our sincerity and voiced their respect. (Monthly Report of Osaka Harmony Society.) In addition, all the Moral Reform Societies connected with the Osaka-fu Harmony Society are making pilgrimages to the shrines of the various tutelary deities and organizing victory prayer ceremonies.

(b) Having heard, "A Korean comes here to pray to the war-god Hachiman every morning", one of the leaders of the Moral Reform Society hid himself behind the great torii (gate) of Hachiman-jinja (shrine) at 6:00 o'clock in the early morning of September 11. At 6:15 a man appeared on a bicycle. He was recognized as the coolie ^{*2} KIN-TAN-30 who stays at the barracks of Akagokoro park in Fukugawa. KIN left his bicycle, cleansed his mouth and hands at the wash-stand, ascended the steps, and brought his hands together in a clap which cut the clear morning air. Several days later

*1 泉尾

*2 金旦相

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KIN answered a casual question put to him by the leader, in the following manner: "I am praying with all my heart for the everlasting good fortune of the soldiers." All the Moral Reform Societies connected with the Tōkyō-fu Harmony Society are organizing victory prayers. (Report of Tōkyō-fu Harmony Society.)

(c) On October 15 all the officers of the Patriotic Training Society of Gekai-ku^{*1}, Kyōto, made a pilgrimage by bicycle to the stone shrine Hachiman-gu in Kiyomizu to have ceremony of prayers for military victory. (Report of Kyōto-fu Moral Reform Societies.)

(d) On July 20 the Patriotic Improvement Society of Shinkawa-gun, Toyama-ken, stimulated by the China Incident, organized a ceremony of prayers to enhance the national glory, and donated 3 yen as a contribution to national defense. At the same meeting, the delegation from Namerigawa-machi presented the sum of 5 yen to the national defense fund as a contribution of the womens' organization of their city, which had organized a junk collection drive to raise the money. (Ken report.)

In addition to the above, fervent victory prayers are being held throughout the various ken and fu.

(3) Other Home Front Activities.

(a) About 200 Korean ladies engaged in spinning work in Hazu-gun^{*2}, Aichi-ken, feeling that they should not be idle in the country's great effort, met together in their white aprons and decided to join the local Women's National Defense Society. (Reported by the newspaper ŌSAKA-ASAHI SHIMBUN.)

(b) 39 men of Korean origin at the railroad workshop in Magi, Tokushima-ken, have made contributions from time to time, but their devotion does not end with this. In their lunch room those who have not been drafted are heard saying such things as, "If they would at least let me be a coolie following the troops, I could do something outstanding..." "This time we've got to punish China thoroughly."

Moreover, they have joined the Home Front Societies established in the various machi and mura in which they live, and their wives organize among the neighbors daily prayers for the everlasting

*1 下京區

*2 幡豆郡

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military fortune of the local soldiers serving at the front and arrange send-offs for draftees and celebrations for returning heroes, in order to show their appreciation for the struggle of the Imperial troops. The sight of their enthusiasm assures an early victory, as they loudly play the march "Japanese and Koreans United in Mighty Defense." (Reported by the newspaper ŌSAKA ASAHI SHIMBUN.)

(c) Seeing the shortage of labor in the nearby farm villages caused by departures for the front since the 10th of last month, the president and 34 members of the Harmony Club, which is composed of Koreans working in the town of Tosu in Saga-ken, have been going to the country to help in the rice harvest, taking their lunches with them. Through this brotherly help and cooperation the harvest was completed, and the farmers were grateful from the bottom of their heart; the Governor of Saga-ken himself was deeply touched, and sent a public eulogy of this beautiful example of Japanese-Korean unity to the Head of the Korean Police Affairs Department. (KEI-NICHI Report.)

(d) The ladies belonging to the Hiratsuka Branch of the Kanagawa-ken Japanese-Korean Society have participated in home-front activities like filling "choor" packages for the soldiers, giving send-offs for departing troops, etc.; and in addition their officers have visited the Yokosuka Naval Hospital, deeply touching the heart of the Japanese public. Later they collected war relief money and visited the Army First Garrison Hospital, presenting this money together with five cans of rice crackers. (Ken report.)

(e) The Japanese-Korean Amity Society of Kurume, Fukuoka-ken, are displaying the sign "Give a Day's Work" during the Week of Emphasis on National Spiritual Mobilization, and are helping in the preparatory work on the site for the city's Kobayashino-machi Athletic Society stadium during the twelve days from the 17th through the 28th. It is reported that fifteen men from the Amity Society work on this project every day from 7:00 a.m., hoping to see a splendid stadium built. (Reported by the newspaper ŌSAKA-ASAHI-SHIMBUN.)

(4) Recent Attitude.

It is generally recognized that the Koreans have shown deeper

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trust in the Empire since the Manchurian Incident. At that time they proved their extreme admiration and gratitude toward the Imperial Armies by giving receptions and send-offs when troops would cross Korea and by making contributions. Since then, hand in hand with progress toward favorable conditions of government in Korea, the peoples' feelings have tended to become stabilized, and this atmosphere is carried over to those resident in Japan proper, cultivating a growing consciousness of their status as Imperial subjects.

However, it must be admitted that there are still a few Koreans who, unable to obtain a more or less clear understanding, have not completely become Imperial subjects and attained a Japanese-Korean integrity. There have even been those who devoted themselves to various movements keynoting race-mindedness. However, the general trend since the outbreak of the present Incident has been toward a true devotion facilitating a consciousness of their group solidarity. In Tokyo, the representatives of several Extremist Left-Wing Organizations are reported to have appeared before the Metropolitan Police Bureau to announce the voluntary dissolution of their organizations. And there are even quite a few people who beg to follow the troops as workers behind the lines. When announcement was made of the establishment of the present Korean Voluntary Military Service System, the joy of the Koreans was boundless, and they lost no time in holding great meetings of gratitude throughout the country. According to newspaper reports, some two thousand resident Koreans have already volunteered. There are those who, viewing this present-day state, worry whether it will last, and what will happen should Japan suffer adversities, since the Koreans are easily agitated and tend to worship the powerful, but we consider this nothing more than needless anxiety. Should not we Japanese accept the sincere devotion of the patriotic and home front movements in which the Koreans are showing equally great zeal both in Korea and on the home islands, with a feeling of humble gratitude?

In our opinion, the fact that many Koreans have come to worry about our country and earnestly desire its advancement just as we do is a direct result of good government toward the Koreans. We believe that as the Korean has his education improved, grasps the spirit of our beneficent rule, and feels deep gratitude for our kind protection, he will come to

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understand the true purport of our actions toward foreign nations and realize the happiness and glory it is to be an Imperial subject. This is really something which aims at equal happiness for both Japanese and Koreans. We must admit that this of course is based on the supposition that both Japanese and Koreans enjoy equal happiness. However, it goes without saying that the present condition leaves no room for complaint with regard to the Korean problem. There can be no doubt that the general attitude of the Koreans has taken a turn for the better, but even today there remains some room for further consideration in regard to intellectuals among the resident Koreans. Moreover, it is obvious that many problems will arise among Korean workers in Japan, when our heroes return looking for jobs at the conclusion of the present disturbance. Since in our opinion such problems will be comparatively less in the instance of those Koreans who have become completely Japanese, it is important to continue encouragement of this Japanese-Korean integration. We must strike while the iron is hot. This is the time to promote the Japanization of the Koreans, by endeavoring to increase their welfare and to provide still better education through the realization of the Harmony Project.

Beginning with such action, we can hope that even the most trivial apprehensions will be cleared up, so that the day may not be far distant when both Japanese and Koreans will be integrated into one people.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding discussion, we have described in detail the conditions of the Koreans resident in Japan, and have presented in so far as possible the policies taken by the government with respect to them; however, there still remains some tendency to worry needlessly whether the Japanization planned by the Harmony Project is really possible.

There are quite a number of those arguing this point who hold a pessimistic attitude in regard to the problem of Koreans resident in Japan; their reasoning stems directly from the difficulties of minority problems in European countries or the failure of French racial policies in French Indo-China and American ones in the Philippines.

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However, the cause of failure in the European countries was that their motives were exclusively those of self-interest, and it would be a mistake in judgment to apply this failure directly to conditions in our country, forgetting how great a distance separates us both racially and geographically.

Naturally the assimilation of an alien people is not an easy matter, but in my opinion the Japanese people are not so lazy as to dismiss this as an impossible matter. It is just that most of these pessimists are ignorant of the special nature of our nation's assimilation of alien peoples.

Japanese history clearly shows, time and again, that the present composition of our people is a result of the assimilation and fusion of many alien peoples who were our ancestors.

The "New Name Register" compiled by MANDAI SHINHO^{*1} and others in response to an Imperial command in the year 815 A.D. in the Early Heian Period contains 1191 names of families of that time in Kyoto and the five provinces around Kyoto, of which 373 were Koreans or Chinese. It is clear from the records that those who were Chinese had come to Japan by way of Korea, having settled there some time before. However, all these families were completely absorbed by the Japanese people in the course of a few generations and became Japanese through and through. Among their descendants are many persons who have made a name for themselves and are remembered by later generations as worthy subjects of their time.

Furthermore, scholars have shown that the Japanese and Korean peoples are most intimately related, and were originally one people whose separation was a product of differing environments, so that it is basically no matter of mixing oil and water, as it were.

Thus we think it becomes clear that the Japanization of all Koreans is in no way an impossibility if done with adequate care and resolution, since it will be possible to do away with differences produced by environment and return to the original unified state in a relatively easy manner by equalizing the environment. How much easier should be the Japanization of a small number of Koreans numbering less than a million who live in the

*1 萬多親王

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midst of a large number of Japanese. Of course, it may not be possible to attain assimilation within one generation, but in the course of two or three generations we should certainly be able to attain this aim.

Since the differences between the two peoples are products of two thousand years of history, it is natural that their dissolution should require considerable time, and it is, so to speak, an undertaking in history. It is historical blindness to think such a great undertaking can be completed in the short space of ten or twenty years. It is a common fault of both Japanese and Koreans to rush to hasty conclusions and to be impatient for results; so we must guard against falling into this vice and expect results only as a result of patience and sincere hard work.