

# The Settlement and ~~Return~~ Repatriation of Koreans in Northeast China after Liberation

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## Abstract

After liberation, the Northeast region in China was divided into the Guomindang's "reclaimed area" and the Communist Party's "liberated area." At first the Guomindang treated Koreans as "overseas Koreans" and confiscated or seized their assets. As a result, some 100,000 Koreans in the Guomindang-occupied area either returned to Korea or moved to the liberated area under the Communist Party. On the other hand, the Communist Party's dual nationality policy and land policy received major support and collaboration from most Koreans. Subsequently, Koreans actively participated in building the Communist Party basis in the Northeast during the Third Revolutionary Civil War, and hundreds of thousands of Koreans decided to stay in China instead of returning to Korea.

Keywords: Guomindang, Communist Party, repatriation of Koreans, reclaimed area, liberated area, Northeast Korean Office

## Introduction

Before liberation in 1945, approximately 2.3 million<sup>1</sup> Koreans ~~was~~ ~~were~~ residing in Northeast China, and around 800,000 of them returned to Korea after ~~l~~liberation. The settlement and ~~return~~ ~~repatriation~~ of Koreans in Northeast China in this period took place within the complex political and military environment in China. In Northeast China in particular, military conflict between the Guomindang and the Communist Party divided the region into the reclaimed area under the Guomindang and the liberated area under the Communist Party. The Guomindang considered Koreans in the Northeast as overseas Koreans and established a policy to return all of them to Korea. At the same time, they confiscated and ~~levied~~ ~~fin~~ ~~es~~ ~~on~~ ~~seized~~ Korean industry and assets as legacies left by the Japanese, thereby depriving Koreans of their livelihood. ~~Thus~~ ~~As~~ ~~a~~ ~~result~~, most Koreans living in the reclaimed area had to either return to Korea or move to the liberated area. The Communists, on the other hand, following the ethnic equality policy, granted dual nationality to Koreans and, by allotting lands for free, facilitated Korean settlement in the new area.

Research on the settlement and ~~return~~ ~~repatriation~~ of Koreans in Northeast China after liberation has been largely inactive. A few articles and books<sup>1</sup> have been published in recent years, but as they focus more on the ~~return~~ ~~repatriation~~ of Koreans from Northeast China, they fail to investigate in detail the process of settlement in the locale. Bearing this in mind, I examine separately the ~~return~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ process of Korean ~~repatriation~~ ~~and~~ settlement ~~\_~~—that took place in the areas under the Guomindang and the Communist Party, and each party's policy regarding Koreans in their area.

### **The State of Affairs in Northeast China after Liberation**

<sup>1</sup> Yeom, In-ho, ~~Joseon uiyong-gun yeon-gu (Study on Joseon Voluntary Army) (Doctoral Thesis, Gungmin University, (-1994); Song, Chun-il (2002); Yi, Joseon uiyonggun-ui dongnip-undong (Independence Movement by Joseon Voluntary Army) (Seoul: Nanam Publishing, 2001); Song, chun-il, Haebangjilk-hu-jaemanhan-indeul-ui-hanbando-gwihwan (The Return of Koreans in Manchuria after the Liberation) (Presented at the Ninth Seoul Academic Conference on Local History on November 15, 2002 at Seoul City University); Yi, Hae-yeon (-Jae-icha-segyedaejeon-hu-jung-gukdongbukjigu-geoju-joseonin-ui-inyangsiltae-e-daehayeo (On the Conditions of the Return of Koreans Living in the Northeast China after the Second World War), Rikkyo Research No. 136 (2002); Han Si-jun, Rikkyo Research-Edito (2003); Kim, fial-Committee, Graduate School, Rikkyo University; Han, Si-jun, Daehanmin-guk-imsijeongbu-ui-hwan-guk (The Return of Korean Provisional Government) in Haebang-hu-he-oei-hanin-ui-gwihwanmunje-yeon-gu (Research on the Return of Overseas Koreans after the Liberation) (Collected Papers for the Academic Symposium on Modern and Contemporary Korean History as a Part of Support for Basic Studies Project in the Field of Humanities and Science, May 24, 2003); Kim, Jung-saeng (2000); Yi Jong-seok (2001); and Yeom In-ho (2001), Joseon-uiyong-gun-ui-mil-ibbuk-gwa-yuk-to-jeonjaeng (Joseon Voluntary Army's Smuggling into North Korea and Korean Civil War) (Seoul: Myeongji Publishing, 2001).~~

~~Geographically~~, Northeast China was of strategic military importance after liberation, due to its unique geopolitical location. With the USSR, Mongolia, and ~~Joseon~~ Korea bordering on the northeast and ~~Hebei Province~~ Huabei region and Shandong ~~Peninsula~~ peninsula to the southwest, if the Communist Party seized Northeast China, they could establish an extensive liberated area linked to the Huabei region ~~Hebei Province~~ away from Guomindang besiegement. The region also had the advantage of receiving support and cooperation from the USSR and ~~Joseon~~ Korea, which would be decisive in the Communist Party's military development. However, if the Guomindang seized the Northeast, the connection between the USSR, ~~Joseon~~ Korea, and the Communist Party could be cut off, and the Guomindang would gain a favorable position in effectively suppressing the Communist armed forces by attacking the liberated area from both north and south.

After World War II, world order was newly organized into two camps: the democratic camp led by the US and the socialist camp led by the USSR. Both the US and the USSR showed great interest in China, as it was impossible to anticipate its future given the continuous violent conflict between the Guomindang and the Communist Party. In January 1945, the US established a basic principle that it would help support and lead China to develop into a strong, moderate, and unified government. Based on this policy, the US entered into the Yalta ~~Agreement~~ Conference with the USSR. As compensation for restoring the USSR its ~~special rights~~ concessions in China as during the ~~Tsar~~ Russian ~~Era~~ era, the U.S. ~~received~~ obtained the USSR's acknowledgment of the absolute sovereignty of the Guomindang in the Northeast and a ~~declaration of~~ the USSR's willingness to conclude the treaty of alliance between the USSR and China. However, ~~the USSR~~ Soviet policy toward China was much more passive than that of the US. ~~The~~ Soviet external strategy at the time was focused on ~~its~~ security more than anything, ~~and~~ the protection and development of ~~the East European people's~~ democratic people's nations in Eastern Europe ~~nations took precedence~~ was the most important strategy. Their plan ~~in for~~ the ~~Northeast~~ East was limited to resuming ~~their~~ the status they held before the Russo-Japanese War ~~in of~~ 1904. In short, ~~the center of the~~ Soviet external strategy was centered on Europe, with and the ~~Northeast~~ East and China as were only secondary concerns. This was because the USSR had concluded, ~~that~~ "the future ruler of China was Chiang Kai-shek, not the Communists."<sup>2</sup> On ~~8~~ August 8, 1945, the USSR declared war on Japan and dispatched a million ~~troops~~

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<sup>2</sup> 王德貴 Wang Degui (et al. (eds), The State of Affairs in China Before and After August 15, Northeast Normal University Press (1985), p. 445).

of Red Army troops to the Northeast China. With plans to first take over the Northeast area first of all by through diplomatic means, the Guomintang sent their delegation, led by Song Ziwen (Soong Tzu-wen), (Soong Tse-ven) to Moscow and began negotiations with the Soviet government concerning the restoration-reclamation of the Northeast. As a result, they concluded the Agreement of Alliance and Friendship between the USSR and China on 14 August 14, 1945, and agreed that 1) the USSR would recognize the Northeast as a part of China and respects the absolute sovereignsovereignty-rights of the Guomintang in the Northeast, 2) China and the USSR would eo-managejointly exploit the Changchun Railway in China, 3) the USSR would stations the army, the navynaval and the air forces at Luüshun (Ryojun), and 4) the USSR would begins withdrawal from the Northeast within the three weeks of the Japanese defeat and completes it within three months.

The Guomintang government launched-established the Northeast Bureau-Military Area Command and the Northeast-AdministrationPolitical Committee under the command on 18 August 1945. Then on August 18, 1945 and on 30 September, it -30, in order to begin negotiations with the Soviet General Headquarters on the requisition of the Northeast, dispatched Chiang Ching-kuo and 30 other personnel, including representatives from diplomacy, state affairs and finance, and military officials of the Northeast Military Area CommandBureau, in order to begin negotiations with the Soviet General Headquarters on the requisition of the Northeast. During the almost month-long negotiations-that lasted almost a month, the Guomintang requested the following from-of the USSR: 1) The USSR would cooperates with the Guomintang in founding the government and taking over the administrative systems of all provinces and municipalitiescities,-; 2) the USSR would helps the Guomintang in seizing all machinery and facilities set up by the Japanese and the puppet regime of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo) the false government in the Northeast,-; 3) the Guomintang would lands its troops at Port Dailan-Dalian by sea, and 4) the USSR would cooperates with the Guomintang in transporting some of its troops to Shenyang and Changchun by plane in order to retain a significant military force before the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and to maintain public security in major provinces and municipalitiescities. However, as the Soviet army refused the Guomintang's request to land at Dailian and to commit troops into Shenyang and Changchun by plane, the Guomintang's "administrative take over" of the Northeast by diplomatic means could not be actualized.

In reality, however, Chiang Kai-shek had long had plans to "reclaim" the Northeast with military forces. After the Liberationliberation, he sent a telegram to Mao ZedongTze Tung demanding negotiations at Chungking-Chongqing while planning the advance of

his main forces to the Northeast. The first troops to arrive in the Northeast were the ~~13<sup>th</sup>~~ ~~13th~~ and ~~52<sup>nd</sup>~~ ~~52nd Army~~ ~~Army~~. They had 70,000 troops in total and were armed with advanced weaponry from the US. In April 1946, there were seven Guomindang armies with some 320,000 soldiers in the Northeast. From February 1946, the Guomindang launched a mass attack on the Communists. The Guomindang took over Shenyang by ~~13 March~~ ~~13,~~ and occupied Changchun and Jilin on ~~22 May~~ ~~May 22~~ and 28 ~~May,~~ respectively, securing its command over the ~~south of Songhua River~~ ~~area south of the Songhua River~~ in the Northeast.

~~In August 1945~~ ~~b~~ Before Japan's defeat ~~in August 1945~~, the Communist Party was also making its moves to assume the Northeast region. On ~~10 and 11~~ August ~~10 and 11,~~ 1945, ~~at the the Eighth Route Army General~~ Headquarters ~~of the Eighth Route Army~~ in Yanan, ~~in the name of the~~ General Commander-in-Chief Zhu De, ordered each unit to advance swiftly to the Northeast and cooperate with the Soviet army to reclaim the ~~Northeast region~~. On ~~15~~ August ~~15,~~ they sent notifications ~~were sent~~ to the Chinese ambassadors in the US, Great Britain and the USSR stating that the Guomindang government could not represent the vast number of people within the liberated area and the area under Japanese occupation, and that all anti-Japanese armed forces within these ~~areas~~ ~~liberated area and the area under Japanese occupation~~ had the rights to coerce Japan's defeat under the ~~General Yanan~~ Headquarters' command.

The Communist ~~Army~~ ~~army~~ began advancing to the Northeast from August 1945, and by October some 130,000 people, including 110,000 troops and 20,000 ~~Committee party~~ members, were stationed in the Northeast. The Communist Party ~~of China~~ ~~of China~~ (CPC) ~~Central Committee~~ (CPC) ~~Central Committee~~ founded ~~the CPC~~ ~~its~~ Northeast Bureau on ~~18~~ September ~~18~~ at Shenyang and, among many issues, resolved to 1) discharge armed forces disguised as the enemy and purge the local rebels, 2) suppress the traitors ~~of the Han people~~ ~~to China~~ and spies with special tasks, 3) destroy ~~the government full of falsity~~ ~~the puppet regime of Manzhouguo~~ and establish a democratic government, and 4) stabilize social order and restore production. At the same time, the CPC ~~Central~~ Military Commission ~~ordered~~ ~~informed~~ the CPC Northeast Bureau that "as the US and Great Britain were actively cooperating with the Guomindang in reclaiming the Northeast, our policy is to occupy the ~~major~~ provinces, ~~municipalities~~ ~~cities,~~ and counties ~~and townships~~ bordering the USSR, ~~Joseon~~ ~~Korea~~, Outer Mongolia and Rehe, and found a strong base for struggle." Following this order, ~~the the Northeast People's~~ ~~Voluntary Army was~~ ~~Northeast Democratic Allied~~ ~~organized~~ ~~Army~~ with Lin Biao as the ~~General~~ ~~general~~ ~~Commander~~ ~~commander-in-Chief~~ ~~chief~~ ~~was established in the~~ ~~Northeast~~ on ~~31~~ October ~~31~~. As the Communist Party had to take Sino-USSR

Agreement into consideration, the ~~unit-unit~~ was called an ~~Allied Army~~ Voluntary Army rather than Eighth Route Army or People's Liberation Army.

By ~~3~~ May 3, 1945, the Soviet ~~Army~~ army had withdrawn from the entire Northeast region except Dai lian. At this time, the CPC established ~~eleven~~ 11 provincial administrations, ~~four~~ 4 municipal administrations ~~directly under the central government~~, ~~thirty~~ 30 ~~municipal~~ city, ~~township~~ district and ~~village~~ league administrations, and ~~two hundred~~ 200 county and local military administrations. Although the CPC had handed over ~~some~~ such major cities ~~such~~ as Shenyang, Changchun and Jilin to the Guomintang, they established a stable Northeast base in the ~~northeast~~ Northeast area of ~~the~~ Songhua River around Dongman, and was ~~getting ready~~ preparing for a decisive battle against the Guomintang.

### The Settlement and ~~Return~~ Repatriation of Koreans in ~~the~~ Guomintang's Reclaimed Area

#### ~~H~~ Northeast Korean Office and the Association of Korean Societies

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In November 1945, Kim, Hong-il followed ~~Fu~~ Du Yu-ming, the ~~deputy~~ Deputy Commander ~~commander-in-chief-in-Chief~~ of the Guomintang's Northeast "Bandit Suppression" Headquarters, into Jinzhou and learned from the president of the ~~Association of Korean Societies~~ Korean Society of this region that the Chinese in the Northeast ~~region~~ were looting Koreans of their assets and land under the assumption that "Koreans will all be returned home just as Japanese." Kim immediately drew up ~~the~~ "Provisional Management of Koreans" and the "Outline of the Structure of Korean Societies in the Northeast Region," and distributed them under ~~Fu~~ Du Yu-ming's name. As a result, 43 Korean societies were established in the ~~Guomintang~~ Guomintang-occupied area.<sup>3</sup> ~~A Korean Association societies were also organized~~ was also launched in the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet-occupied area around the same time. On ~~27~~ August 27, 1945, Sin Suk and others held a general meeting for Koreans at Jilin, which was under ~~the~~ Soviet control, and formed ~~the~~ Jilin Korean Association Society. This led to the establishment of 17 branches in other counties ~~and provinces~~, including Yongji County, and in the countryside. Based on this progress, Sin Suk organized the Northeast Association of

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<sup>3</sup> 「各地韓國僑民會」(Korean Societies in the Northeast Region), 『東北韓僑狀況』(Korean Societies; The Conditions of Living for Koreans in the Northeast Region China), possession of Collection at the Research Institute of Ethnical Issue History, Yanbian University.

Korean Societies in October of the same year, and by negotiating with the Soviet ~~MMilitary-ilitary~~ ~~Headquarters~~ ~~Headquarters~~, released about 10,700 Korean prisoners imprisoned throughout the Northeast region.

However, as Korean societies were civilian social groups ~~that were~~ organized voluntarily by Koreans, they faced limits in solving many issues involving politics, economy, culture and education in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area. Under such circumstances, Kim Hong-il actively promoted the establishment of the Northeast Korean Office (hereafter referred as NKO) as an administrative organization that would manage Korean affairs directly. The State Affairs Committee of the Guomindang government acknowledged the need for the management organization of Koreans and set up the ~~Northeast Korean Office~~ under the Northeast “Bandit Suppression” Headquarters on 2 April 2, 1946, appointing Kim as ~~a~~ director. The ~~Northeast Korean Office~~, together with Korean societies in other regions, focused on securing people’s livelihood including farming and education in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area.

As the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area expanded rapidly, the number of Korean societies and Korean refugees also increased, and on 20 August 20, the Northeast Association of Overseas Koreans Societies was established at Shenyang.

Upon Kim’s return in September 1946, the ~~Northeast Korean Office~~ under the Northeast “Bandit Suppression” Headquarters was placed under the Northeast ~~Special Missions Office~~ Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was again moved to the Northeast ~~Bureau~~ Administrative Office in April 1947. What is important here is that the changes in jurisdiction of the ~~NKorean Office was were~~ not only a simple matter of changing supervising organizations, but ~~it~~ also showed changes in the Guomindang’s perception of Koreans. In other words, it meant that the Guomindang government considered Korean residence and trade ~~as to be~~ a “part of domestic affair,” not a foreign one. Such changes in the Guomindang’s perception is ~~shown-reflected~~ in the fact that more than ten Korean-related regulations, including “Detailed Regulations on the Management of the Northeast Korean Office Changes in under the Northeast Bureau Administrative Office” ~~Office~~ (1 May 1, 1946), were enacted between May and August 1947, the period when the ~~N-Korean Office~~ was under the Northeast Administrative Office Bureau. In short, ~~after it was placed under the Northeast Bureau,~~ with the ~~Bureau’s~~ support and cooperation of the Northeast Administrative Office, the ~~NKorean Office~~ was able to develop into an important organization that managed all Korean-related affairs such as wealth, education, ~~return-repatriation~~ to Korea and farming in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area.

## 2) Confiscation and Management of Koreans' Assets

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In August 1945, the Guomindang established the Northeast Restoration Association Committee under the Central Planning Bureau and wrote up the “Draft Outline of the Plans to Demobilize the Northeast.” This Draft-draft Outline consisted of 16 categories, including domestic affairs, foreign affairs, military, economy and finance, and the Articles 9 and 16 of the draft were specifically Korean-related. Article 9, “Agriculture,” stated stated “the requisition of farming, forest and fishing industry and other institutes established by the Japanese, and also the requisition and management of the farms of Korean and Japanese immigrants.” At the same time, Article 16, “Korean and Japanese Immigrants,” stipulated that “immigrants with Japanese nationality will uniformly be ousted from the area, and Koreans who immigrated during the Japanese occupation of the Northeast will be returnedreturned home and their assets will be disposed according to the law.”<sup>4</sup>

In order to dispose of the Japanese assets in the Northeast, the Guomindang had established the “Committee for the Unified Requisition of the Enemy Industry and Assets in the Northeast” under the Northeast Administrative OfficeBureau. However, confiscation and management of the Korean assets was still the responsibility of the Northeast Korean OfficeO under the Northeast “Bandit Suppression” Headquarters. The Korean-ONKO issuedffice enacted the “Provisional Management of Koreans” at the time, and the Article 9 stated, that “in-In the case of return of Koreans in the Northeast or confiscation of his-[this?-their?] industry, all the assets will be seized temporarily following the process and regulation of Korean and Taiwanese industry management. Residing-Koreans’Korean residents’ industry will be investigated and registered, and the-removal or change of the industry is not allowed.”

The-sSeizure of assets was most common in Liaoning Province, followed by Jilin Province and Andong Province. This was because Liaoning Province was the center of military industry under the Japanese occupation and because most of the provinces fell under the-Guomindang control. Therefore, most of the confiscation in Liaoning Province was on-of industries such as mining, factories and machineries, whereas in Jilin Province it was concentrated on land, especially rice paddies-in-Jilin. After the

<sup>4</sup> 「東北復員計劃綱要草案」(Draft Outline of the Plans to Demobilize the Northeast), Material-material at the Second Historical Archives of China in Nanjing, *quanzong Collection*-171, *juan Book*-91.

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Liberation, the population in ten ~~municipalities~~ cities and counties in ~~the~~ Jilin reclaimed area dropped by 60 percent and ~~the~~ farming land decreased by more than 80 percent.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, a large number of Koreans who lost their ~~basis~~ means of living in the ~~Guomindang~~ Guomindang-occupied area had either to return to Korea or to move to the ~~Communist~~ Communist-occupied liberated area where they were ~~given~~ granted land ownership as a result of land reform.

The Guomindang's confiscation and seizure ~~on the~~ of Korean assets in the Northeast eased a little after the proclamation of the "Management Plans for Korean Industry in the Northeast" and "The Detailed Regulation on the Enforcement of Management Scheme on Korean Industry in the Northeast" in May and July 1947 respectively by the ~~Bureau~~ Administrative Office. Based on these regulations, Koreans were able to recover some of the industry and land confiscated or seized by the Guomindang government after ~~the~~ Liberation. However, these measures were very restrictive, and most of the industry and land were occupied by force by the Guomindang government or officials under the name of "take-over."

### ~~3) The Return~~ Repatriation of Koreans from the ~~Guomindang~~ Guomindang-occupied Area

Unlike other regions within Chinese jurisdiction, only a river separated the Northeast region from Korea, ~~and~~ ~~Koreans~~ people had ~~the~~ advantage to ~~could~~ return to Korea whenever they wished, regardless of Chinese regional administrations. ~~In particular, a~~ As ~~this~~ region was in ~~an~~ anarchical a state of ~~anarchy~~ after ~~the~~ Liberation, ~~Korean~~ the ~~return~~ repatriation of Koreans took place more freely than before. According to statistics, out of 2,163,115 Koreans residing in the Northeast before ~~the~~ Liberation, 700,000 returned to Korea ~~with~~ upon ~~the~~ Liberation, leaving 1,402,131 Koreans in the region.

The ~~return~~ repatriation of Koreans in the Northeast after ~~the~~ Liberation was mostly voluntary, but a large number of them were forced to return due to ~~the~~ oppression by the local ~~government~~ authorities, local rebels and gangs. ~~The~~ An investigation carried out by the Korean Provisional Government's Delegation to China ~~compiled~~ found that in the area occupied by the Central Army, 176 died under Chinese oppression, including 44 in Shenyang and 75 in Changchun. ~~The~~ injured ~~Koreans~~ totaled 1,866, including 63 in

<sup>5</sup> 『吉林省收復區內各縣韓僑民會長第一會議錄』(Minutes Taken at the First Meeting of the Korean Society Representatives of Counties in Jilin Reclaimed Area), ~~possession of~~ Collection at the Research Institute of Ethical ~~Issue~~ History, Yanbian University.

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Shenyang, 200 in Anshan, 700 in Kaiyuan, 237 in Changchun and 289 in Jilin. Furthermore, and 3,468 were imprisoned, 320 raped and 128,085 assaulted. According to the report ~~“Compilation of the Reports by Korean Societies on the State-state of Koreans in the Northeast Reclaimed-reclaimed Area-areaat the General Meeting,”~~ out of the 800,000 Koreans who returned home after the Liberation, 600,000 passed through Andong. This reflects the fact that more Koreans returned from the ~~Guomindang Guomindang-~~occupied area on the Yalu River coast than from the ~~Communist Communist-~~occupied area on the Tumen River coast.

In April 1946, Northeast “Bandit Suppression” Headquarters proclaimed the “Provisional Management of Koreans” stating that “Koreans not in production or without proper occupation will be the first to be repatriated.”<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, the Northeast Bureau-Administrative Office enacted-drafted the “General Principles on the Management of Koreans in the Northeast,” which stipulated the Guomindang’s repatriation policy on Koreans. The regulation divided the Koreans into “temporary residents” and “immediate repatriates” according to their occupations. In other words, those in the production industry were to stay temporarily whereas the rest were to be repatriated. In addition, single Koreans were listed for immediate repatriation, and while the family members of the long-term residents who were over 60 and below 15 were also to be repatriated prior to the other family members. The Koreans due for immediate repatriation in Liaoning and Andong provinces were assembled at Andong; those from Jilin, Songjiang and Xingan provinces at Yengji Yanji; those from Heilongjiang and Nenjiang provinces at Changchun; and those from Liaobei and Xingan provinces were gathered at Shenyang. The duration of such concentration immediate repatriations was set for one month, with and all of them were to be repatriated and to be completed within three months.<sup>6</sup>

The first repatriation of the Koreans in the Northeast took place in December 1946. The First Repatriation Plans were to select 15,000 Koreans living below lat. 38° N. degrees north latitude and send them back to Korea. From 7 December 1946 Following this plan, Tiexi Concentration Camp at Shenyang began accommodating Korean refugees mostly from outside of Shenyang from December 7, 1946, while Xita Concentration Camp accommodated Koreans from Shenyang. The number of Koreans at the two camps totaled at 2,492. Although the initial plan was to repatriate 15,000 Koreans, due to lack of time, cold weather and inconvenient transportation, only 2,483 out of 2,492 Koreans who were gathered at the two camps (six died of illness and three ran away) due to the

<sup>6</sup>—「東北韓僑處理通則」(General Principles on the Management of Koreans in the Northeast), possession of Collection at the Research Institute of Ethnical Issue History, Yanbian University.

~~pressing of time, cold weather and inconvenient transportation, only 2,483 (six died of illness and 3 ran away)~~ were able to leave for home. They were divided into First Incheon Unit, Second Incheon Unit and Busan Unit, and left Shenyang on 22 December 22. ~~On the following day~~ they arrived at ~~Qinhuangdao~~ Huludao at 13:20 ~~the following afternoon~~, and on the morning of the 24 December<sup>th</sup>, they returned to Korea on ~~the~~ ships provided by the US ~~Army~~ army.<sup>7</sup>

The Second Repatriation Plans began in September 1947. As the Guomindang-occupied area became smaller, a vast number of refugees flocked into Shenyang and to the rest of Liaoning Province, amongst which the number of Koreans demanding repatriation exceeded 10,000. The second repatriation was also planned to first gather approximately 10,000 Koreans at Shenyang and return them to Incheon, Mokpo and Busan through ~~Qinhuangdao~~ Huludao. The Northeast ~~Bureau-Administrative Office~~ commissioned the Guomindang Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to contact the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Army Powers at Tokyo to send three ships that could carry 3,000 people to ~~Qinhuangdao~~ Huludao by 15 October ~~15 three ships that could carry 3,000 people~~. The ~~Bureau-office~~ also planned to divided the refugees at Shenyang into one unit of 40 refugees, one squad of three units and one battalion of three squads, and planned to transport them from Shenyang to ~~Qinhuangdao~~ Huludao by train.<sup>8</sup> However, this plan does not appear to have been implemented.

From 1948, the ~~People's Liberation Army~~ Communist Party ~~began to have gained~~ military superiority over the Guomindang and seized areas around Shenyang. Some refugees moved to Tianjin and Beijing around this time, and ~~the officials of the~~ Korean Society officials and the Korean Delegation to China also withdrew to Tianjin. Under such circumstances, Kim, Hak-gyu, vice director of the Northeast Office established by the Korean Provisional Government, discussed with ~~陳納德~~ Chen Nade at ~~운수대대~~ Transportation Battalion in Shanghai ~~the a~~ plan to rent 40 planes to evacuate Koreans in Shenyang to Tianjin and Beijing, and repatriate them directly to Seoul with ~~the~~ Chinese government's consent. However, with-given dramatic changes in the military situation, this plan was not actualized.

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<sup>7</sup> Xie Songquan 謝松泉, 「東北韓僑遺送概況」 (General Condition Outlook on the Repatriation of Koreans in the Northeast), possession of the Research Institute of Ethnical Issue ~~Collection at the Research Institute of Ethnical History~~, Yanbian University.

<sup>8</sup> 「東北行轅韓僑事務處第二次遺送韓僑計劃」 (The Second Plans for the Repatriation of Koreans by the ~~Northeast Bureau~~ Korean Office under the Northeast Administration Office), possession of the Research Institute of Ethnical Issue ~~Collection at the Research Institute of Ethnical History~~, Yanbian University.

According to statistics recorded in 1947 [~~statistics recorded in 1947, or the number reached 25,630 in 1947?~~], the number of unemployed Koreans in the ~~Guomindang~~ ~~Guomindang~~-occupied area reached 25,630. In December of the same year, ~~the a~~ survey done by the ~~Official-official Document~~ ~~document~~ of the Northeast Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the number of ~~destitute~~ Korean farmers ~~in destitution~~ in ~~counties~~ Shenyang, Tieling, Fushun and ~~SipingXinmin counties~~; and ~~the~~ surrounding areas showed that ~~the~~ farmers ~~living~~ in extreme poverty reached 15,737 in 3,250 families, out of which 836 families were already ~~bankruptlandless~~ and 1,330 were soon to ~~go-become landlessbankrupt~~. Under such circumstances, the Guomindang had no choice but to ~~partially~~ modify their policy ~~on-regarding~~ Koreans in the ~~Guomindang~~ ~~Guomindang~~-occupied area. The Guomindang government changed the “temporary residence status” of Koreans who were to be repatriated to the “approved residence status,” and classified all Koreans ~~who were~~ involved in legal industry and rice farming as approved residents. From ~~1~~ August ~~1,~~ 1948, the “General Principle on the Management of Koreans” affirmed that a residence certificate would be issued to those with “proper behavior and legal occupation” after the government investigation. The age limit ~~for to receive~~ the certificate ~~was~~ also ~~went down-dropped~~ from 13 to seven, and the fee for the procedure was changed from ~~the circulating currency of 300 won in circulating currency~~ to 30,000 ~~won in~~ national currency. As a result, 34,713 Koreans living in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area at the time received residence certificates.<sup>9</sup>

The Guomindang's relief policy ~~on-for~~ Koreans was focused on ~~Koreans'~~ agricultural issues. In March 1947, the ~~Department of Social Justice at the~~ Northeast ~~Bureau~~ ~~Administrative Office~~ discussed ~~the~~ agricultural loans for Koreans ~~with the related organizations~~ and ~~requested a loan from submitted a request to~~ the Northeast Agricultural Committee ~~to loan for 300 million won in circulating currency of three hundred million won to be given to~~ Koreans ~~within proportion to their~~ rice paddies. In response, the ~~Agricultural~~ Committee decided to loan 30 million ~~won out of the nine hundred~~ 900 million won ~~available through the~~ First Agricultural Fund allotted for four provinces in the Northeast. The Northeast ~~Administrative Office~~ ~~Bureau~~ also decided to

<sup>9</sup> 『東北行轅政務委員會韓僑事務處工作報告』(The Report on the Operations Program of the Korean Office by the Northeast Bureau State Affairs Committee of the Northeast Administrative Office), (경무위원회가 동북행원에 속해있는 것인가요?) April 1948, possession of ~~Collection at~~ the Research Institute of Ethical ~~Issue~~ ~~History~~, Yanbian University.

loan ~~6,00060 million~~ won from its ~~475,000,000 million~~ won emergency loan ~~that was to Andong to Korean farmersto be sent to Andong~~. However, this ~~fund could was not enough tonot satisfy cover~~ the ~~number demand~~ of Korean farmers. Therefore, in April 1947, ~~the Northeast Korean Office (NKO) at the Northeast Bureau~~ decided to pay ~~the an~~ agricultural loan of approximately ~~1,500 hundred~~ million won ~~toin~~ the Shenyang, Tieling, Fushun, and ~~Siping-Xinmin areas~~, and distributed ~~bills bills~~ asking Korean farmers to actively participate in spring plowing. In October 1947, the ~~NKOKorean Office~~ also announced ~~the~~ “Relief Scheme for Koreans in Poverty in the Northeast,” which consisted of five clauses. The Northeast ~~General Office of the Korean Provisional Government~~ emphasized that the relief ~~scheme policy~~ should focus on the ~~recoveryreconstruction~~ of factories and commerce, and on stable agriculture.

The interest the Northeast ~~Bureau-Administrative Office~~ and other Guomindang local ~~administration authorities~~ had ~~on in~~ Korean farmers was, on one hand, aimed at maintaining social order by promoting stable living standards ~~offor~~ poor Korean farmers. On the other hand, however, ~~what was more important was that~~ it was ~~more importantly intended a measure~~ to ~~respond to solve the issue of the~~ increasing demand ~~for in rice supplies of rice~~ to the military. ~~At that time, t~~There was a ~~separate committee for military provisions Military Provision Requisition and Purchase Committee at in every~~ Korean ~~societies societies in everyof the~~ region, and the chief of the ~~Military Rice Provisionc Committee~~ was present at Korean ~~societies societies’ yearly annual~~ meetings. Also, the amount of harvest ~~allotted~~ for the military provision was ~~determined allotted~~ in advance for each region. These measures ~~show demonstrate~~ that the loan ~~for given to the~~ Korean farmers ~~given~~ by the Guomindang government was ~~a method for supplying one of the ways to supply~~ rice to the military. Regarding this issue, Kim, Hong-il, who was ~~the director of the Northeast Korean Office under Guomindang’s Northeast “Bandit Suppression” Headquarters~~, confesses in his biography that the fact that the Central Bank could pay the loan was ~~not solely on one hand~~ due to his personal credibility but ~~on the other hand was also~~ due to the government policy that the military provision for the Central Army had to come from the Northeast.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Settlement and ~~Return Repatriation~~ of Koreans in ~~the Communist PartyCPC’s~~ Liberated Area**

<sup>10</sup> Kim, Hong-il (1972, 416). ~~Daeryugui bun no (The Rage of the Continent) (Seoul: Munjosa, 1972), p.416.~~

1) ~~The Ethnic Policy of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Issue of Dual~~  
~~ouble-Nationality of for Korean Immigrants~~

In July 1928, the ~~Communist Party~~ PC of China acknowledged the “Goryeo people of Manchuria” as a Chinese “ethnic minority” in its “Resolution on the Issues of Ethnicity” proclaimed at the ~~6<sup>th</sup>~~ 6th National Congress. Once again in June 1930, in ~~the~~ “The Proposal Concerning the Issues of Goryeo People in Manchuria by the Manchu Provincial Committee,” the Communist Party CPC stated, “the Chinese Soviet government ~~in China~~ will ensure the residence, freedom and economic livelihood of Goryeo people in Manchuria.” The “Fundamental General Principles of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of China (소유애공화국 확인)” also stipulated that “the Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Miao, ~~and~~ Li people as well as under Soviet authority and Taiwan, Goryeo and Annam people residing within China-Chinese Soviet territory are all equal under the Soviet Constitution and are all citizens of the Chinese Soviet Republic USSR.”<sup>11</sup> As such, the ~~CPC~~ Communist Party acknowledged the Koreans living in the Northeast region as China’s an ethnic minority from before ~~the~~ Liberation and declared that they could enjoy equal rights in politics, economy and culture just as like other minorities.

With the fall of Japan in August 1945, the ~~CPC’s~~ Communist Party’s ethnic policy on Koreans faced a new difficult period. Previously, the ~~CPC’s~~ party’s policy on Koreans was to unite and mobilize Korean people under the principle of ethnic equality, lead them into the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and thus achieve people’s liberation. However, after effectively seizing the Yanbian area after ~~the~~ Liberation, the ~~CPC~~ Communist Party needed ~~the~~ support and cooperation from Koreans in the impending war against the Guomindang, and in order to ensure this support, it was imperative that they solved ~~d~~ the issue of Koreans’ nationality in the Northeast region (563,000 of the there were 1,068,889 Koreans in the Northeast region out of which 563,000 lived in the Yanbian area). Although the CPC Central Committee ordered local committees to acknowledge ~~Despite the acknowledgement of~~ “Koreans living in the Northeast region as China’s ethnic minority so that ~~and that~~ they could enjoy equal rights in politics, economy and culture just as ~~other minorities~~ the Han Chinese,” there was no specific “regulation” concerning Koreans’ nationality, which continuously caused various ethnic problems in the local areas. Thus, in December 1946 at the ~~Jilin Province Ethnic Services Meeting~~ meeting discussing ethnic issues of Jilin

<sup>11</sup> The CPC ~~Unified Military Command~~ United Front Work Department (1991, 87: 166). ~~Compiled Documents on Ethnic Issues (The CPC Central Committee Press, 1991), pp. 87, 166.~~

Province, Zhou Baozhong 周保中, then ~~president~~ president of Jilin Province, pointed out that the Communist Party's Central Committee and the Northeast ~~Department~~ Bureau regarded Koreans as China's ethnic minority, and emphasized that "although ~~the Party~~ your party had not yet declared clearly the ethnic minority status of Koreans in the new environment, in reality ~~they were implementing an~~ ethnic minority equality policy ~~was being implemented for~~ on Koreans, and this policy would continue to develop."

The person who played a determining role in resolving Koreans' nationality issue was ~~Yu, Jun-su~~ Liu Junxiu—who worked as a secretary ~~at for the~~ Yanbian Regional Committee. In his memoir, he mentions that while he was wrestling with the Korean nationality issue he had a chance to ask an old ~~Joseon-Korean~~ Joseon Korea man whether he preferred China or ~~Joseon~~ Korea. The man answered, "This is my homeland and that is also my homeland just like father and mother. How can I say I like one more than the other?" Touched by this answer, ~~Yu-Liu~~ Liu chose the method of giving ~~double-dual~~ nationality to Koreans, which would respect Korean sentiments by approving Korea as their motherland and at the same time recognizing them as Chinese citizens. This scheme was evaluated positively by both the provinces and the Central Committee. On ~~15~~ August 15, 1948, Yanbian Regional Committee submitted a resolution on "Yanbian Ethnic Issues" and ~~prepared a~~ enacted the "Policy on Korean ~~Ethnic-ethnic~~ People people in Yanbian." The resolution pointed out that ~~the~~ Koreans in the Northeast had to "confirm certain relationships with northern Korea with regards to their direct or indirect political, ideological, economic, religious and family relations," and stated that "Koreans residing in Yanbian ~~with out Korean~~ family registers will be regarded as citizens" while "those who are visiting but without family registers, those who have returned after having moved with government ~~confirmation~~ authorization, and those who have immigrated recently without government ~~authorization~~ confirmation will all be regarded as overseas Koreans." However, it also pointed out that "those whose families were in ~~Joseon-Korea~~ but whose head of the family and assets were in Yanbian could be approved as a citizen through government ~~authorization~~ ratification, and a citizen and an ~~overseas person~~ temporary resident should be distinguished in his rights and duties."<sup>12</sup> As such, after ~~the~~ Liberation, ~~the~~ Yanbian Regional Committee gave ~~double-dual~~ nationality to Koreans in the Northeast region and at the same time distinguished Chinese citizens from overseas Koreans based on the existence of family registers.

<sup>12</sup> Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Historical Archives Yanbian Regional Committee (1985-1986, 383-387). Yanbian Ethnic Issues at Yanbian Regional Committee, August 15, 1948; The First Collection of Important Documents of the CPC Yanbian, 吉東 and 吉敦 Regional Committees and Yanbian Contact Office, edited by the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Regions Historical Archives (1985), pp. 383-387.

2) ~~The Repatriation~~Return of Koreans from the Northeast Liberated Area

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After ~~the~~ Liberation, Yanbian was under ~~the CPC~~Communist Party control, and four counties from the area, namely Antu, Helong, ~~Yongji-Yanji~~ and Huichun, were neighboring ~~Joseon~~Korea. As mentioned earlier, ~~the~~ Yanbian Regional Committee approved ~~double-dual~~ nationality and ~~the~~ land ownership to Koreans after ~~the~~ Liberation, which provided an environment for Koreans to settle down in the area rather than return to Korea. However, after ~~the~~ Liberation, a large number of Koreans who had lived in Heilongjiang area ~~before the Liberation~~ were driven into Mudanjiang and Yanbian, the main Korean residential areas, away from ~~the~~ local rebels who conspired with the Guomindang ~~against Koreans~~. Between ~~1~~ October ~~4~~ and ~~3~~ November ~~3~~, 1946, there were 4,935 Koreans at the refugee camp in Mudanjiang ~~municipality~~city, and in the latter half of 1946, the number ~~went over~~exceeded 10,000. In order to aid these rapidly increasing Korean refugees, ~~the~~ Mudanjiang ~~Municipality-City Committee of the~~ Democratic Federation ~~Committee~~ organized a ~~project committee to encourage people to return to agriculture~~Return to the Farm Project Committee and, as well as providing funds for farming, actively helped Koreans to settle in Hailin and ~~An~~cheng counties, both Korean-concentrated residential areas. In Yanbian, ~~the~~ Jilin Local Charity Association was founded, which set up a ~~concentration-refugee(?)~~ camp ~~inside the Yanbian Street Beishan Red Srivatsalksana Association~~ and helped Korean refugees.

In 1948 when the People's Liberation Army assumed the military offensive and expanded their basis in the Northeast, a great number of Korean refugees and migrants who had previously been living in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area flooded into Yanbian via Mudanjiang with the intention of returning to Korea. At the same time, Koreans in ~~the~~ Yanbian region, when they saw that the situation was stabilizing, requested ~~that they return repatriation~~ to Korea, ~~and~~ the local government and the ~~Agricultural Group Association for to Support People Farmers in Poverty-Destitution~~ issued them ~~the~~ certificates to move residence regardless of reasons. However, North Korea assumed a firm position that they would not allow massive disorganized entry of Koreans from China. Therefore, concerned about social security and friendly relations between China and North Korea, ~~a provisional Yanbian Liaison-Yanbian Contact Ooffice/Yanbian Representative Office~~ -only allowed the return of Koreans whose head of the family had found a job in Korea or who had lost labor power and thus could not make a living in China. The ~~Contact-Liaison Office-Office~~ ordered ~~not that to issue~~

~~the certificates not be issued~~ to those whose reasons for return were not clear or those with needed labor capacity.<sup>13</sup>

As the number of Koreans' repatriation requests for return increased, the ~~CPC~~ Northeast Administration Committee of the Communist Party enacted-drafted and circulated the "Measures Concerning the Temporary Travels of Koreans Who Have Requested Return" on 5 August 5, 1948. Article 1 ~~of the Measures~~ stated that any Korean who requested return must receive government authorization from the county-level government office or higher of his region prior to departure~~ratification from the party, region or county. An.~~ And in Article 3, "for all Koreans who are ratified~~approved~~, the Northeast Administration Committee~~Justice Committee~~ must send papers to the North Korean Central People's Committee of North Korea and receive their consent."<sup>14</sup> As such, both ~~the Yanbian Contact Liaison Office~~Office and the Northeast Administration Committee emphasized certification from the North Korean government, making the return impossible for Koreans without certification from the North Korean government. Still, after the "Measures Concerning the Temporary Travels of Koreans Who Have Requested Return" was enacted, the process of return was much more simplified and specific measures were taken on some 10,000 Korean migrants gathered at Yongji-Yanji and Tumen. First~~ly of all~~, the Yanbian Contact Liaison Office only allowed Koreans with North Korean Central People's Committee's certification~~es~~ issued from ~~the the North Korean North Korean administration county or provincial office people's committee~~higher than a county to go directly to the Tumen Recognition~~Office~~, instead of passing rather than having to pass through the Contact Liaison Office. Secondly, the Northeast Administration Committee established a plan to disperse Korean migrants as follows:

- 1) The Northeast Administration Committee~~Justice Committee~~ will negotiate with the North Korean government and repatriate some Koreans who are planning to return to North Korea ~~back to China~~.
- 2) The government will provide certain expenses to disperse these people and cover their fees for settlement while the local government will allocate them to the countryside and engage them in farming.
- 3) The government will send these people to the mines or factories and pay them the same wages as other laborers. Should they refuse to work despite their labor

<sup>13</sup> ~~Order by Yanbian Contact Office (Yanbian Historical Archives (1948a), Collection 3, Contents 3-3, Book (案卷) No. 4.~~

<sup>14</sup> ~~Measures Concerning the Temporary Travels of Koreans Who Have Requested Return (Yanbian Historical Archives (1948b), Collection 3, Contents 3-3, Book (案卷) No. 13.~~

capacity, they can be forced into labor.

- 4) Those engaged in professional smuggling will be punished severely.
- 5) Those who are not citizens must carry ~~overseas person's certificate identification or they and those without the certificate~~ will be punished according to the law.<sup>15</sup>

Whether these detailed measures of the Northeast Administration Committee were implemented or not cannot be verified due to the lack of related materials. However, there was a case in 1946 where the Yanbian ~~Contact Liaison~~ Office and ~~Yongji~~ Security Command in the Eastern Jilin Province disseminated the Japanese prisoners they had taken over from the Soviet ~~Army~~ to the counties and sent them to mines and farms.<sup>16</sup> From this, one can infer that the Northeast Administration Committee and the Yanbian ~~Contact Liaison~~ Office executed their plans without acknowledging Korean migrants as ordinary refugees.

### 3) Land Reform and Korean Settlement

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Koreans made up 79 percent of the entire Yanbian population immediately after ~~the~~ Liberation, and over 90 percent of them were farmers. Therefore, it was natural that the provision of land for Koreans emerged as an important issue for the ~~CPC~~ Yanbian Regional Committee to solve. As the ~~CPC~~ Communist Party had acknowledged Koreans as a Chinese ethnic minority and had ~~been advocating~~ advocated for their land ownership from earlier on, land reform could progress swiftly with the establishment of a democratic government in Yanbian region after ~~the~~ Liberation. The ~~CPC~~ Northeast Administration Committee at the time paid particular attention to two points regarding Koreans.

First was that the Yanbian region was an ethnic minority district and that Koreans made up 30 percent of the entire population in the Jilin liberated area. At the time, the

<sup>15</sup> ~~Yanbian Regional Committee, Yanbian Ethnic Issues at Yanbian Regional Committee, August 15, 1948; Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Historical Archives (1985-1986, 388-389) The First Collection of Important Documents of the CPC Yanbian, 吉東 and 吉敦 Regional Committees and Yanbian Contact Office, edited by the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Regions Historical Archives (December, 1986), pp. 388-389.~~

<sup>16</sup> ~~Management of Migrant Japanese Enemy Soldiers, Contact Office, 吉東 Security Command, 吉東 Security Unit Politics Bureau (Yanbian Historical Archives (-1946) Collection 3, Contents 3-1, Book (案卷) 5. (Of these prisoners, 300 over eight years old and 49 under seven years old (349 in total) were repatriated via Wonsan in July 1948. See 「關於遣送日僑工作的報告」-(Report on the Program of Repatriation of Overseas Japanese), 9 July-9, 1948).~~

population of ~~the~~ Jilin liberated area reached some ~~two-2~~ million, and Koreans took up 30.5 percent with 616,000 people. Also, out of ~~a 690,000~~-Yanbian population ~~of 690,000~~, 79 percent, that is, 544,000, were Koreans, ~~and~~ 90 percent of ~~them-who~~ were from the countryside.

Secondly, there was a ~~lot-great deal~~ of public land. One third of the entire agricultural area in Jilin was public land, and the management of public land became a major issue in land reform.

~~周保中~~, Zhou Baozhong, ~~the president-president~~ of Jilin Province, pointed out, ~~that~~ “The essence of ~~the~~ ethnic issue is ~~an~~ agricultural land issue. Only after the land issue is solved can we expect ~~a~~ fundamental settlement of ethnic issues.” A ~~public official~~ Kong Yuan also explained in his “Report on the Land Issue” that “the reason Koreans are cultivating most of the public land in the Yanbian area is not because Koreans make up 80 percent of farmers. Rather, it is because ~~the~~-Japanese systematically gave ~~agricultural-cultivating~~ rights to Korean farmers in order to use Koreans for their social basis in governing Yanbian,” and that “in general, ~~the~~ farmers cultivating the land ~~in the east~~ have no political relations with the enemy, and were ~~burdened with heavy exploited by the landlordland tax~~ and ~~were burdened had to yield with harvesta certain amount of crop produce~~ just as the other farmers.” Such analysis contributed ~~in-to~~ solving the dissatisfaction Chinese had ~~on-with~~ Koreans using most of the public land during ~~the~~-Japanese rule.

On ~~18~~ April ~~18~~, 1946, ~~the Jilin Province Yanbian Administration Inspection ContactLiaison Office in Jilin Province~~ (연변전원공서와 길림성연변행정독찰전원공서가 서로 다른 기관입니까?) circulated the “Third ~~Government NoticeOrder~~ on the Distribution of Public Land,” which laid down a basic principle that the confiscated land will be distributed for free to farmers.<sup>17</sup> On ~~4~~ May ~~4~~, 1946, the ~~CPC-Communist Party's~~ Central Committee announced “Orders on the Clearing of Debt, Tax Cut and Land Issues” (5.4 Order~~s~~) asserting that “the tax cut and reduction in interest rates during the anti-Japanese war period will be turned into a policy to confiscate land from landlords and distribute them to farmers.” Based on this, a fierce land reform movement progressed in the Northeast area. The land reform movement in the Yanbian area began in July 1946 and ended in April 1948. There were 154,243 families in Yanbian with 718,886 people (81.9 percent of them were Koreans). 116,681 families participated in land distribution and 549,961 people received land. The families that participated in

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<sup>17</sup> 「吉林省延邊行政督察專員公署指示第八號」(Jilin Province Yanbian Administration Inspection ~~ContactLiaison~~ Office Order No. 8), in 「關於公地分配第三次指示」(Third ~~OrderGovernment Notice~~ on the Distribution of Public Land), ~~18~~ April ~~18~~, 1946.

land distribution were 76.29-39 percent of the total number of families in Yanbian, and the number of people who received land made up 76.39-29 percent of the total Yanbian population. If we only consider the farming population, over 90 percent of the population participated in land distribution. ~~While the total agricultural area in Yanbian was 222,767,656 *kyeong* (one hundred ridges), 182,064,511 *kyeong* were distributed, which was 81.2 percent of the total agricultural area. This means that each farmer received 4.5 to 7.05 *mu* (one ridge of the field).~~

There was a distinct change in class relations after ~~the~~ land reform. ~~33~~ Thirty-one landlords out of 1,965 families in Chunxing district of 춘흥구, Wangqing county became middle-class farmers, ~~and five~~ became rich farmers, whereas out of 1,074 poor farmers, 242 rose as middle-class farmers and 81 ~~employed farmers~~ migrant farmers became poor-tenant farmers. In Chunfang district 춘방구 of Wangqing county with 2,105 families, 47 out of 61 landlords became middle-class farmers, and 14 became poor-tenant farmers. ~~While seven out of 612 middle-class farmers became rich farmers, 783 out of 1,138 poor-tenant farmers became middle-class farmers, and out of 90 employed-migrant farmers, 40 became poor-tenant farmers and 49 became middle-class farmers.~~ As shown through ~~the~~ land reform, the CPC-Communist Party strictly implemented ~~strictly~~ their principle of “land to those who plow.”

With successful land reform in 1948, in order to ensure Koreans of ~~their land~~ ownership ~~on of~~ the land they had received, the CPC-Yanbian Regional Committee and the Contact Liaison Office issued cadastre to Koreans ~~in 1948~~, and did not intervene with any transactions on land, such as employing a farm hand, letting and hiring, purchase and sale, and tenant farming. In addition, the government actively encouraged Koreans to cultivate wastelands and rice fields, ~~and~~ if anyone cultivated wastelands, the government issued him the cadastre, which gave him ~~the~~ rights to the cultivated land. If a rice field was cultivated, they did not have to pay public provisions for two years, ~~and~~ ~~if~~ they cultivated dry lands, they were free of payment for a year and a half. Also, if they had cultivated dry lands into rice fields, they only paid the standard public provisions of dry lands in the first two years. In particular, the government aided Koreans with all the necessary funds and equipments for rice cultivation. In short, ~~the~~ land reform in ~~the~~ Yanbian and other CPC-Communist Party liberated areas played a determining role for Koreans to settle down in China rather than returning home. Through land reform, Korean farmers received land for free from the democratic government, and ~~poor and employed farmer~~ tenant and migrant farmers also received houses, farming equipments and livestock for free. In such circumstances, in order to

protect their ~~basis-means~~ of living, Koreans actively collaborated with the ~~CPC Communist Party~~ and devoted themselves ~~in-to~~ supporting the front line and building the Communist regime.

Along with land reform, the ~~Communist Party~~ actively ~~fostered-included~~ Koreans ~~officials~~ in establishing the Communist government. During the land reform movement, ~~in the Yanbian area alone~~, 79.7 percent of 4,631 village ~~party officials~~~~members~~, 83.9 percent of 783 district ~~officials-members~~ and 59.3 percent of 221 county ~~officials members~~ were Koreans ~~in the Yanbian area alone~~. According to statistics taken in January 1949, five county party committees, 52 district ~~party-party~~ committees, 440 party branches and 808 party groups were established in Yanbian, and out of 5,244 party members, 3,834 were Koreans. ~~Among these party members, 3,175 joined the party in 1948 alone and Koreans took up 80 percent of them with 2,579 members.~~ To summarize, the ~~CPC-Communist Party of China~~ prepared the framework of national autonomy by ~~fostering-cultivating~~ Korean ~~party officials-members~~ and ~~encouraging their~~ participation ~~g them~~ in building ~~up~~ the regime. At the same time, while enjoying all the rights as an ethnic minority in China, most Koreans developed their new ~~basis-means~~ of living in ~~the~~ Yanbian and other areas in the Northeast.

## Conclusion

After ~~the~~ Liberation, the Northeast region was divided into the Guomindang's "reclaimed area" and the ~~CPC's-Community Party's~~ "liberated area." At first ~~the~~ Guomindang treated Koreans as "overseas Koreans" and confiscated or seized their assets. This policy ~~created-created~~ a great number of ~~poor~~-Korean ~~poor~~ farmers and refugees. Afterwards, in collaboration with the Korean Provisional Government's Delegation to China and ~~the~~ Korean Independence Party, the Guomindang Northeast Bureau established ~~the Northeast~~ Korean Office as a management organization and launched Korean Societies in each region to help stabilize Koreans' living conditions within the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang-~~occupied area. The Guomindang also repatriated 2,000 Koreans back to Korea. ~~In particular, the~~ Northeast ~~BureauAdministrative Office in-particular~~ gave out special loans to aid Korean farmers and tried to provide job opportunities to the unemployed with industrial works. However, it seems that such efforts by the Guomindang government did not have much success. This is because ~~the~~ Koreans in the ~~Guomindang-Guomindang-~~occupied area were never anything more than ~~the~~ objects of expulsion and repatriation. As a result, some 100,000 Koreans in the

~~Guomindang-Guomindang~~-occupied area ~~either~~ had ~~either~~ to return to Korea or ~~to~~ move to the liberated area under ~~CPC-Communist Party~~ control.

On the other hand, the ~~CPC-Communist Party's~~ policy on Koreans was very successful. From the beginning, ~~their-CPC~~ policy on Koreans was focused on uniting and mobilizing Korean people under the principle of ethnic equality, leading them into the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and thus achieving people's liberation. When the issue of Korean nationality in China emerged with ~~the-L~~liberation, the ~~Communist PartyPC~~ issued ~~double-dual~~ nationality to Koreans so ~~that~~ they could benefit from ~~all-the-rights-in~~ politicals, economicy and cultural~~le rights~~ just as other minorities.

The ~~CPCCommunist Party's~~ ~~double-dual~~ nationality policy and ~~the~~-land policy, which was based on the nationality policy, received major support and collaboration from most Koreans, which in turn helped the ~~Communist Party of China~~ to build a strong basis for liberation during the Third Revolutionary Civil War. It also ~~encouraged~~ ~~played a main role for~~ Koreans to settle in China rather than returning to Korea.

## Abstract

~~After the Liberation, the Northeast region was divided into the Guomindang's "reclaimed area" and the CPC's "liberated area." At first Guomindang treated Koreans as "overseas Koreans" and confiscated or seized their assets. They also repatriated Koreans living below 38 degrees north latitude. As a result, some 100,000 Koreans in the Guomindang-occupied area either returned to Korea or moved to the liberated area under CPC control. On the other hand, the Communist Party of China's double nationality policy and the land policy, which was based on the nationality policy, received major support and collaboration from most Koreans. Subsequently, the Koreans actively participated in building the CPC basis in the Northeast during the Third Revolutionary Civil War, and hundreds of thousands of Koreans decided to stay in China instead of returning to Korea.~~

Key words: ~~Guomindang, Communist Party of China (CPC), return, repatriation, settlement, reclaimed area, liberated area, Northeast Korean Office~~

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### Glossary

Acheng (Ch.) 阿城

Andong (Ch.) 安東

Annam (Ch.) 安南

Anshan (Ch.) 鞍山

Antu (Ch.) 安圖

Changchun (Ch.) 長春

Chiang Ching-kuo (Ch.) 蔣經國

Chongqin (Ch.) 重慶

Chunfang (Ch.) 春芳

Chunxing (Ch.) 春興

Dalian (Ch.) 大連

Dongman (Ch.) 東滿

Du Yuming (Ch.) 杜聿明

Fushun (Ch.) 撫順

Hailin (Ch.) 海林

Han (Ch.) 韓

Heilongjiang (Ch.) 黑龍江

Huabei (Ch.) 華北

Hui (Ch.) 回

Huichun (Ch.) 琿春

Huludao (Ch.) 葫蘆島

Jidong (Ch.) 吉東

Jilin (Ch.) 吉林

Jinzhou (Ch.) 錦州

서식 있음

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[Kaiyuan \(Ch.\) 開原](#)

[Li \(Ch.\) 黎](#)

[Liaoning \(Ch.\) 遼寧](#)

[Lin Biao \(Ch.\) 林彪](#)

[Liu Junxiu \(Ch.\) 劉俊秀](#)

[Lushun \(Ch.\) 旅順](#)

[Manzhougu \(Ch.\) 滿洲國](#)

[Miao \(Ch.\) 苗](#)

[Mudanjiang \(Ch.\) 牡丹江](#)

[Song Ziwen \(Ch.\) 宋子文](#)

[Songhua River \(Ch.\) 松花江](#)

[Songjiang \(Ch.\) 松江](#)

[Tieling \(Ch.\) 鐵嶺](#)

[Wangqing \(Ch.\) 汪清](#)

[Xingan \(Ch.\) 興安](#)

[Xinmin \(Ch.\) 新民](#)

[Yanbian \(Ch.\) 延邊](#)

[Yenan \(Ch.\) 延安](#)

[Yongji \(Ch.\) 永吉](#)

[Zhou Baozhong \(Ch.\) 周保中](#)

[Zhu De 朱德](#)