

Topic: Japanese Immigrants in Manchuria and Their Chinese Language
Education - From the Promised Land to the Abyss of War

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Sheet of declaration

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Abstract

In this study, I focus on Japanese immigrant groups in Manchuria during the Second World War and analyze their identity and the education they received after arriving in Manchuria. In the colonial history of the world, the Manchurian immigrants were a very special group, even among other immigrants within Japan at the time (e.g. Korea, Southeast Asia). How did the structure of Japanese immigrants change between the Russo-Japanese War and Japan's defeat and surrender? What were the similarities and differences in their aims and numbers? Did they arrive as voluntary immigrants or were they forced to do so? Did they see themselves as invaders or did they migrate as part of the Manchukuo nation? What ideological and values-oriented education did they receive upon arrival in Manchuria? I believe that these are important historical questions and are useful for the study of the history of colonial education and educational change itself.

Introduction

On 30 July 2011, the local government erected a monument at the Japanese cemetery in Fangzheng County in south-central Heilongjiang, China, for the Japanese pioneer corps members killed there. The inscription on the memorial reads: After Japan's defeat in 1945, the Japanese pioneer corps members wanted to return home, but for various reasons, nearly 5,000 people died in the area and could not do so. The people of Fangzheng County buried these bodies for humanitarian reasons, and now this monument was built to show the humanitarianism of the Chinese people, but also in the hope that the Japanese would reflect on the consequences of the war and pray for world peace in the future.

However, after the story was reported in the media, it caused an uproar all over China. There was widespread condemnation of why the monument was erected in honor of the invaders, after which some people even went beyond protection and directly destroyed it. Amidst the many protests, the government had to remove the monument only about a week after its construction, on 6 August.¹

In explaining why the monument was erected, the local government of Fangzheng County said that the pioneering Japanese group was not exactly the "invading Japanese army." They were not soldiers but poor peasants, even "victims" of the war. After Japan's defeat, these "pioneer regiments" could not return home and were stranded in Fangzheng's County. More than 5,000 died of hunger, cold, and disease, and more than 4,000 women and children were left behind, most of whom were adopted by the local people in return for their

¹ 张中江.(2011).开拓团立碑事件中的方正县：立碑意欲何为?(Fangzheng County erects a monument to the Japanese pioneer regiment: what was the intention of the memorial?).China News.

<https://www.chinanews.com.cn/cul/2011/08-10/3246485.shtml>

kindness. The Japanese people who died on their way home after Japan's defeat were far more than the 5,000 or so who died in Fangzheng's County.

If they were not soldiers, what kind of status and occupation were they, and for what purpose did they leave their homeland and come to China?

The Identity of Japanese Immigrants in Manchukuo

Although the puppet state of Manchukuo was established on 9 March 1932, the Japanese government's migration to the Manchurian region had begun more than 30 years before the establishment of Manchukuo. After the Russo-Japanese War ended in 1905, Russia ceded the southern half of the East Qing Railway (This railway is centered on Harbin, extending west to Manzhouli, east to Suifenhe, and south to Dalian. The route is in the shape of a ding, with a total length of about 2,400 km.) between Changchun and Dalian and its dependencies to Japan. The South Manchuria Railway Co. was established in 1906 as a half-government, half-civilian company to manage and operate this area. The South Manchuria Railway then absorbed the railways laid down by the Qing Dynasty and warlords such as Zhang Zuolin, bringing the entire Manchuria route under its management.²

Although Russia was defeated, Japan was still worried about Russia. Manchuria was, therefore, important as a defensive dam. Thus the South Manchuria Railway, ostensibly a railway company, actually ran the whole of Manchuria, including the economy, culture, armaments, and, the central theme of this article, education. Before the establishment of Manchukuo, and even before the Kwantung Army took over full authority in 1937, the South

² 吴英华. (1930). 二十年來的南滿洲鐵道株式會社 (Ershinianlaide nanmanzhoutiedaozhushihuishe, Twenty years of South Manchuri Railway Co.). 商務印書館.

Manchuria Railway ran teaching in Manchuria.³



(South Manchuria Railway Route, quoted in Harada, Katsumasa [1981] "Mantetsu," Iwami Bookstore p.161)

At the same time, in addition to operating the South Manchuria Railway, Japan also offered to emigrate to the Manchurian region to strengthen Japan's power in Northeast China. The government planned to "immigrate 500,000 people to Manchuria" within ten years and launched a pilot immigration attempt.⁴

However, for various reasons, Japanese immigration before the September 18 Incident did not go too well. Before the September 18 Incident, there were still less than a thousand planned Japanese immigrants in north-eastern China. When the South Manchuria Railway was established, there were nearly 10,000 Japanese employees, probably the earliest number

³ 竹中憲一. (2000). 「満洲」における教育の基礎的研究(Manchuniokeru kyouikuno kisotekikenkyu, Basic research on education in 'Manchuria'). 日本人教育, 4, 51-52.

⁴ 稻垣征夫. (1940). 关于满洲开拓政策(guanyumanzhoukaituozhengce, About Manchurian pioneering policy). 开拓文库刊行会.

of Japanese emigrants to the Manchurian region in batches. However, for the next 28 years, until the establishment of Manchukuo, the number of Japanese in Manchukuo did not change much, and the confirmed count is less than 40,000.⁵ It was only after the establishment of Manchukuo that Japan migrated to the Manchurian region in large numbers.

Because of their small numbers, Japanese immigration before the establishment of Manchukuo was often regarded as unimportant or unsuccessful. But this period did have some impact, for example, the first Japanese schools were established during this period, and many of them were carried over into the Manchukuo period. The identity of the Japanese immigrants during this period is relatively straightforward, as most were South Manchuria Railway employees and the employees' families.

Although Japan's massive migration to Manchuria followed the establishment of Manchukuo, the establishment of Manchukuo was not the only reason why the world was hit by an unprecedented economic crisis at the end of the 1920s, which Japan also did not escape a heavy blow. Businesses were closing down, and the number of unemployed rapidly increased, reaching 378,515 in May 1930, according to the Social Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of the Interior. The situation was even worse in the countryside. The colonialists in Japan believed that the best way to resolve social conflicts at home was to emigrate overseas. The September 18 Incident and the establishment of Manchukuo created a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for Japan.

In 1932, the Kwantung Army held a meeting on the issue of Manchurian immigration. At the meeting, it was felt that the second and third sons of poor rural farmers under the rural land shortage should be the focus for agricultural resettlement to solve the social and agrarian crisis of the time. Japanese farmers' second and third sons were often denied access to land

⁵ 六嘉川细.(1941).植民史(shikuminshi, Colonial History).东洋经济新报社,487.

due to the family inheritance system and the scarcity of land in the countryside. The project was beneficial for them as they would have access to a large amount of land in Manchuria.

However, the Japanese government was perplexed at the time, with disagreements between different departments and even an attack on the Prime Minister, who was directly killed. The proposals for emigration alone varied between the Kwantung Army, the South Manchuria Railway, and Japan itself. And in 1932, after months of political gamesmanship, the Japanese Empire decided the first experimental immigration of people with a budget of 200,000 yen.⁶ After that, Manchurian immigration was officially implemented as a Japanese national policy.

In early October 1932, the first armed migration of 493 people departed from Japan, consisting of heavily armed soldiers in the countryside from the six prefectures of Tohoku and the rural areas of Nagano, Niigata, Gunma, and Tochigi prefectures, mostly single young men under the age of 30. Before going to Manchuria, they had all undergone a short period of agricultural and military training in the countryside. Of course, preference was initially given to veterans who had the farm experience themselves. It is worth noting that at this time, the "five-ethnic republic" of Manchukuo was already being promoted in the recruitment process, and these slogans attracted much attention.

Although the initial group of immigrant regiments was equipped with weapons and equipment, they still faced significant problems of survival under the constant harassment and attacks of the Chinese anti-Japanese guerrillas. Not only was safety not guaranteed, but the conditions were also highly harsh due to the uncomfortable conditions, cold weather, and

⁶ 吕秀一, & 沈楠. (2020). 浅析日本“大陆花嫁”计划提出的原因(qianxiribendaluhuaajijihuatchudeyuanin, An analysis of the reasons for Japan's " Mainland Flower Marriage" program). Dalian da xue xue bao, 41(1), 2-4.

poor transportation. The difference in living conditions between those who had come to Manchuria intending to improve their living conditions and those who had come to Manchuria to improve their living conditions led to the intensification of conflicts within the group. By July '33, an internal conflict broke out within the group, and although the movement was suppressed, nearly 100 people left the group. ⁷In 1934, the year after the second armed immigration, a massive anti-Japanese guerrilla attack took place in the village of Cheonjin: the Tulong Mountain Incident, in which the Northeastern People's Army formed and attacked the immigrant group and the police station, resulting in the immigrant group having to abandon the "Seven Tiger Force" area in which they had first settled, during which 200 people left the group, and 29 died in battle.⁸

At this point, women were pushed out to ameliorate the situation and suppress immigrant sentiment to pacify them and allow them to settle in the area. The Japanese army captain Tetsunao Higashinomiya, known as the "father of the Manchurian exploration," proposed the so-called "大陸花嫁 (Tairiku hanayome) " scheme, in which native Japanese women were recruited to marry in Manchuria and served as spouses for the men in the immigrant corps.

⁷ 王青. (2011). 日本侵华期间“大陆新娘”政策的提出(ribenqinhuaqijian daluxinniangzhengcedetichu, The introduction of the "Mainland Flower Marriage" policy during the Japanese invasion of China). 首都师范大学学报：社会科学版, S1, 119.

⁸ 林志宏(Lin, C. (2022). 土龍山傳奇－滿洲國時期在地農民的抗日及其敘事(tulongshanchuanqi manzhouguoshiqizaidinongmindekangrijixushi, The Legend of Tulong Mountain - The Resistance of Local Farmers and Their Narratives during the Manchukuo Period). 臺大歷史學報, 69.

[https://doi.org/10.6253/ntuhistory.202206_\(69\).0001](https://doi.org/10.6253/ntuhistory.202206_(69).0001)

On 8 February 1933, Tetsunao Higashinomiya sent a letter to his friend, the potter Koekura Yuhei, who lived in Fengtian, commissioning him to paint a propaganda poster for "bride recruitment" with the theme "To reassure young girls and their parents in the mainland and persuade them to marry in Manchuria," and to write a poem himself "Oh Maiden of New Japan! Marry on the mainland" to persuade the women of rural Japan too long for the mainland.⁹



(1930s poster extolling the virtues of Manchukuo to poor Japanese peasants. The text in the upper left corner means "Departure for Manchuria," and the text in the lower left corner means Ministry of Takumo. Collected by Professor Robert Cribb of the Australian National University.)

In 1934, the cadres of the Emigrant Corps were ordered to return to their homeland to recruit brides. According to the diary of Artillery Lieutenant Shu Sato, he returned to Miyagi Prefecture and, with the assistance of the local Patriotic Women's Association, collected 30

⁹ 石原文雄. (1944). 東宮大佐と加藤完治 (Tomiyataisa to Kadoukanji, Toumiyakano with Kadoukanji). 潮文閣.

brides after two months of work.¹⁰ In February 1935, an organized bride recruitment campaign was held in Chizen Village, Japan, for lone members of the pioneer regiment. One hundred thirty women from all over Japan applied to become brides for members of the Chizhen Village Immigration Corps, and these brides arrived locally in Manchuria in June.¹¹ These bride recruitment activities were the beginning of later large-scale bride activities. This phase of bride recruitment was mainly organized by private individuals on their initiative (on a smaller scale and in smaller numbers.) It laid the foundation for the later recruitment and became the precursor to official government policy.

These brides from Japan formed the bulk of the early Manchurian Japanese female migrants, and their identity and motivations are well worth studying. Unlike the government's state policy after 1936, the vast majority of women who emigrated to Manchuria to become immigrant brides during this period did so voluntarily. At first glance, this seems a little inconceivable, for the men, as previously analyzed, mainly were the second and third sons of rural families, for whom access to arable land was a great attraction. For the women, on the other hand, the government made them go to Manchuria only to become the spouse of a migrant male, which by definition should have been unacceptable.

Apart from the economic crisis and unemployment, which were also common to men and have been analyzed before, the propaganda of the Japanese media and women's groups played a significant role here. We can see here how the members of the early migrant groups were induced and propagandized.

¹⁰ 小川津根子. (1995). 祖国よ——「中国残留婦人」の半世紀(sokokuyo chugokuzanryufujin nohanseki, Oh Motherland - Half a Century of Japanese Women Left Behind in China). 岩波書店, 71-72.

¹¹ 満州移民関係資料集成. (1992). 満洲開拓年鑑: 昭和十五年(manchukaitakunenkan, Manchu Development Yearbook). 不二出版.

Many of the women in rural Japan in the 1930s had urban experience, a few through reading and most through Women's Middle School. The Shufu No Tomo(Housewife's Friend) and Ie No Hikari(Light of Home) were the primary sources of information for women in rural Japan at the time.¹² Rural women began to have a new understanding of their living conditions. They were dissatisfied with the excessive work they had to do and the low social status of their families, and the new small family form in the city was something rural women aspired to. At the same time, in order to recruit more 'mainland women', magazines such as 'The Virgin's Friend,' founded by the Young Women's League of Greater Japan, and 'Open Manchuria,' founded by the Manchurian Settlement Association, frequently published stories about the good life of 'mainland women' in Manchuria. This gave hope to women in poverty that they could escape poverty, become rich, and live happily ever after. As the Japanese scholar Kazuhiko Aiba says, "Unlike the Japanese men's land-hungry motives for migration, mainland brides are full of expectations and aspirations for a new life."¹³ Little did they know, however, that this vision of a better life would pull them into a future of sickness, war, and the flames of death.

The formalization of the later mainland bride policy was also associated with the steaming Manchurian immigration. After five officially organized armed migrations of 2,785 families by September 1936, the Japanese government was convinced that mass rural

¹² 吕秀一, & 沈楠. (2020). 浅析日本“大陆花嫁”计划提出的原因

(qianxiribendaluhuaajijihuatichudeyuanyin, An analysis of the reasons for Japan's " Mainland Flower Marriage" program). Dalian da xue xue bao, 41(1), 2-4.

¹³ 相庭和彦,大森直樹,陳銛錦,中島純,宮田幸枝,渡辺洋子. (1996).満州「大陸の花嫁」はどうつくられたか(manchu tairikuno hanayomewadoutsukuraretaka, How the Manchu ' Mainland Flower Marriage ' were created). 明石書店,469.

migration was feasible. In July 1935, a plan was drawn up under the auspices of the new adviser to the Kwantung Army, formerly the head of the Rural Division of the Colonial Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Land Affairs, Shigeo Inagaki, to migrate one million families and five million people in ten years. However, due to the negative attitude of the Japanese Minister of Finance, Kiyoshi Takahashi, given the country's financial situation, the "One Million Households Migration" could not be implemented immediately.

The "February 26th" Incident of 1936, in which Takahashi was shot dead by right-wing soldiers, rapidly raised the political status of the Japanese military ministry, creating a good "opportunity" to realize the massive emigration plan. : Japan's "twenty-year immigration of one million households" to northeastern China, i.e., "sending agricultural immigrants from the interior to Manchuria, with the goal of moving in approximately one million households of five million people in roughly twenty years, calculated on the basis of a family size of five persons per agricultural immigrant, counting five million people, and setting this policy as Japan This policy was made a "national policy" of Japan. ¹⁴This was the beginning of the massive Japanese immigration to Manchuria.

In Japan, the "Million Family Migration" is divided into "Group Migration" and "Free Migration."¹⁵ Group migrants are well subsidized by the government, are directly accepted by the government, and are placed in generous resettlement areas to form the core of future migrant villages. The "free migrants" are those who are not well subsidized by the government and rely mainly on private practice. They move to the vicinity of the "group

¹⁴ 满洲移民史研究会. (1976). 日本帝国主义统治下的满洲移民(ribendiguozhuyitongzhixiademanzhouyimin, Manchurian immigrants under Japanese imperialism). 龙溪书舍.

¹⁵ 高乐才. (1999). 日本“百万户移民”国策评析(ribenbaiwanhuyiminguocepingxi, A Review of Japan's National Policy of "Millions of Migrant Households). Li shi yan jiu, 3, 116.

migrants," and together, they form a migrant village. They move to areas with special transport and market connections and engage in intensive operations such as cash crop or vegetable cultivation and dairy cattle rearing.

As Japan embarked on a full-scale war of aggression against China during this period, the stream of immigrants was affected by the impact of the release of military service. In order to promote the Manchurian immigration program, the Japanese government decided to encourage youth immigration, and the "Manchurian Youth Volunteer Army" was created. The aim was to settle 165,000 young people aged 16-19 in Manchuria between 1938 and 1941. However, this so-called national policy never met its targets, and by 1943, only 171,397 immigrants had been officially admitted, of whom only 59,903 were recognized, a far cry from the initial target. Even considering the total number of immigrants, the number of immigrants before Japan's defeat and surrender was probably just close to 300,000. However, in historical terms, this is a massive group of people.

During this time, Japan was engaged in a propaganda campaign against Manchukuo on a vast scale, involving various media, such as the film *The new earth* (1937), a collaboration between Japan and then Nazi Germany, directed by the famous Nazi German director Arnold Fanck, in which the Japanese hero's inner monologue argues for the promotion of Asian unity and the development of the New World. The film ends with the hero and heroine taking their child to Manchuria, and the film's final scene shows the protagonists driving a tractor and plowing the land while their baby smiles at the brilliant sunshine. Beneath the sunlight are Japanese soldiers defending this 'new earth.'



(The picture on the left is a film poster for the movie *The new earth*, and on the right is the final scene of the movie, where immigrants from Japan are happily farming and living in Manchuria.)

But this scene of the film is, without a doubt, false. The subsidies promised by the government are exploited in the process. These migrants who have crossed the ocean to settle in a foreign country find it difficult to pay for their expenses on this meager subsidy and live in extreme hardship. As a result of the harsh living conditions, the infant mortality rate is also high and far from the beautiful scenes portrayed in films and propaganda.

The presence of the Manchurian and Mongolian pioneering youth volunteers is particularly moving in this regard. Most of these were students from various schools, and although each school was secretly allocated a certain number of places, most youths voluntarily set out on the migration path. One of the most prestigious training facilities was the Manchurian Immigrant Training Centre, where students were taught martial arts, agriculture, and Manchukuo's national philosophy in order to better integrate into the building of Manchuria in the future. What is most striking about this is that the people who influenced the youngsters to join the Manchurian migration were their teachers. Keio Nakata, a former member of the Young Volunteers, writes in his own words: "The teachers at the school also actively mobilized and persuaded the students to join the Young Volunteers in Manchuria. We were 14 or 15 years old and had no sense of judgment, no idea of the nature of the war or of going to another country, and our innocent hearts were soon impressed. I told my family about it, and my mother, with tears in her eyes, opposed it, and the next day she went

to the school to try to get the head of the school to say no to it but was convinced by the teachers."¹⁶

Although I have not placed this paragraph in the second central part of the article, it is a reflection: can the agitation of these teachers be seen as a form of education as well? Indeed, it is an undeniable fact that in pre-war Japan, many teachers became the pinnacles of militaristic education. However, there is not sufficient material at this stage to conclude that all teachers at that time sent their pupils to Manchuria without question. Did any of them have doubts and bitterness about this? If so, was education by the teaching materials and the state's requirements something that could be carried out entirely unthinkingly or not? Indeed, some sources suggest that some Japanese colonial teachers did feel guilty about their government's actions, such as Yonetaro, a Japanese teacher who took up a job in Korea between 1920 and 1940. Still, it seems that those like him were in the minority and the vast majority submitted to the state in silence.¹⁷

In the eight years between 1938 and 1945, when Japan was defeated, the Manchurian Young Volunteers program sent 86,000 young migrants to Manchuria. This represents 30% of the number of Manchurian pioneer immigrants and is arguably an integral part of the

¹⁶ 中田庆雄. (1982). 冰花-一个满蒙开拓青少年义勇军队员的自述(binghua yigemanmengkaituoqingshaonianiyongjunduiyuandezishu, Ice Flower - Confessions of a Manchurian pioneer youth vigilante). 三联书店.

¹⁷ Lee, Y. (2022). Hybrid spaces: Japanese teachers in Korean rural schools during the wartime mobilisation (1931-1945). *Paedagogica Historica*, 58(3), 395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2021.1941145>

Manchurian pioneer immigrants.¹⁸ However, in practice, these pioneer groups were made up of young people only, and the condition of the pioneer groups was more dependent on the strength of the group's officers. In addition, the pioneering environment of the Young Volunteer Corps was often harsher than that of other pioneering corps. In such circumstances, while some pioneer regiments were organized as a united group, others, due to the relatively poor conditions and the lack of capable regimental officers, led to the decadence of some members who were overwhelmed by mental stress, injuries, and suicides, as well as frequent incidents of hazing of the Chinese people.

At this point, we can roughly sketch the image and identity of the group of Japanese who immigrated to Manchukuo. The vast majority of them entered voluntarily to Manchukuo. Still, this voluntariness has more than a hint of deception, given the widespread disinformation campaign by the government, schools, and civil society organizations. They ranged from unemployed peasants who wanted land to women who had married from Japan to Manchuria as spouses of immigrant groups in search of a better life to teenagers who had been persuaded, encouraged, and even brainwashed by schools and society. Yet they all had one thing in common: they all came to Manchuria because they wanted to change their living conditions and did not see themselves as invaders. They thought life in Manchuria would be a bright future, but we all know how it ends: they eventually despairingly realized that their initial perceptions were utterly wrong.

Education of the Japanese in Manchukuo

¹⁸ 孙继武 潘佩孟. (1995). 日本 “满蒙开拓青少年义勇军” 计划的实施与崩溃

(ribenmanmengkaituoqingshaonianyiyongjunjihudeshishihepengkui, The implementation and collapse of Japan's "Manchurian Young Volunteers" programme). She hui ke xue zhan xian, 4, 164.

Andrew Hall, Associate Professor at Kyushu University in Japan, describes education in Manchukuo in this way: “For a decade(1933-1943), the relatively liberal education leadership was able to keep extreme Japanese nationalistic material to a minimum, as well as try out a variety of reforms. Their form of colonial education was certainly imperialistic, trying to force a language and a worldview on an unwilling population. It was, however, an imperialism based on the power of language, rather than the power of a mythic and militaristic ideology.”¹⁹

This education is relatively different compared to other Japanese colonies, such as Korea. This has something to do with the initial education development for the Japanese who first immigrated to Manchuria. As previously mentioned, the schools belonging to the Japanese who emigrated to Manchukuo were established before the establishment of Manchukuo.

In 1906, when the South Manchuria Railway was not yet entirely in operation, due to the sparse population and the inadequate facilities and means of transportation, education was provided by the Resident Citizens' Association, which set up elementary schools in various areas and educated the children of Japanese immigrants by the Resident Citizens' Association in the annexes. When the South Manchuria Railway started to operate in 1907, employees and their families began to live in the railway annexes around the main stations of the Manchurian Railway, and formal education for the children of Japanese immigrants began. As Japan made use of the main stations and dormitories left behind by the Russian army, the first South Manchuri Railway primary schools were created in 1906 in Liaoyang, the central Russian station and main garrison. Primary schools were established in Fushun, Wafangdian, Dashiqiao, and Gongzhuling in 1907 and Fengtian in 1908. In other places with smaller

¹⁹ Hall, A. (2009). The world is mightier than the throne: buckling colonial education trends in Manchukuo. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 68(3), 921.

populations, the first schools were set up as independent schools of the Japanese Resident Association, mainly for South Manchuria Railway employees, but gradually became "South Manchuria Railway" primary schools as facilities and transport improved, and the population in Manchuria increased. At the beginning (1906), when the population was small, and the facilities and transportation were not yet well developed, the Resident Citizens' Association set up elementary schools in each area, and the Resident Citizens' Association in the affiliated sites provided education for their children. Later, due to the increase in the Japanese population, the Japanese expatriate schools became schools run by the South Manchuria Railway.



(Harbin Taoshan Primary School, founded in 1921. Initially, a school for Japanese residents, and later, the South Manchuria Railway charge. Manchurian Historical Society (1971), p.109, quoted in Kenkosha.)



(Mukden Middle School of the South Manchuria Railway, founded in 1919. Fujikawa, Yuzi (1974)

"Farewell Mukden," p. 131, quoted in Kenkosha.)

It is worth noting that the Chinese language was a necessary condition for Japanese immigrants to live in Northeast China at that time for the conceivable reason that Northeast China was not entirely under Japanese jurisdiction at that time and that most of the Japanese immigrants at that time were employees of the South Manchuria Railway, which was the most significant difference between the Western European colonies and Northeast China (Manchuria), where Japan entered at that time. The Japanese had to work with the locals. And for the children of the Japanese employees, among them elementary school students, Chinese was quite an urgent subject. The voices calling for elementary schools to add Chinese to their issues were growing louder and louder.

Next, I will study the Chinese language education of Japanese elementary school students during this period, using "Princess Ridge Elementary School" as an example. "Princess Ridge Elementary School was established in 1907 as a Manchu Railway elementary school. The Manchu Railway changed the schools of the resident people's association to Manchu Railway direct schools in turn. According to the school's magazine,

"(at the school) from April 1908, classes for students in the general 5th grade and above were taught Chinese as an optional subject."²⁰

In February 1908, as a note on the implementation of the rules of the affiliated elementary school, Manchu Railway proposed that 'especially the Chinese language, not only to facilitate the children's learning in their daily lives but also to take the initiative to engage in the business of China itself in the future. Because of this, the policy of adding Chinese language courses to elementary school subjects in the near future should be adopted. The policy of adding Chinese language courses was made clear.²¹

One of the significant contributors to the educational administration of South Manchuria Railway in this period was Taggashi Hobo, the head of the school affairs division, who, after graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, took the path of an internal affairs bureaucrat and was invited by the then president of South Manchuria Railway to become the head of the school affairs division in 1920. Although Hobo was a layman in education, he had the unique belief of not being bureaucrat. He broke the rules to promote the development of South Manchuria Railway education and breathe life into it. With a passion for establishing an ideal school in Manchuria, he was committed to educational reform. Hobo often emphasized, "Children growing up in Manchuria must have the awareness to bury their bones in

²⁰ 朝日新聞.(1908).満洲公主嶺小学校ー過ぎし40年の記録(manchugongzhulingshiyogako sugishiyonjunennokiryoku, Manchurian Gongshuling Primary School - A Record of 40 Years of Passage).朝日新聞東京本社出版サービス.

²¹ 公主嶺小学校同窓会.(1987).公主嶺小学校史(gongzhulingshiyogakoshi, History of Princess Margaret Primary School).

Manchuria and carry out education that fosters a love of the native land (Manchuria), and to this end, vigorously pursue Chinese language education." ²²

It must be admitted that education during the South Manchuria Railway period incorporated the coexistence concept between China and Japan. When Fengtian High School was built, the junior high school students of Fengtian High School borrowed the South Manchu Middle School and studied in the same building as the Chinese students because of the late completion of the school building. When the Fengtian Japanese High School was built, Chinese was made a regular subject, and the principal of Fengtian High School, Uchibori Korebumi, elaborated on its significance as follows. "Japanese people working in Manchuria must be in touch with the people and things of Manchuria, and to be in touch with the people and things of Manchuria, the knowledge on paper cannot have any authority after all. It is necessary to have direct contact with the people of Manchuria and to live together in the same school building from childhood to increase the sense of closeness." ²³

In this way, educators full of enthusiasm launched Chinese language education. The purpose was to integrate with the local area and seek coexistence and co-prosperity, also taking into account the use of South Manchuria Railway facilities and education. Even primary education schools for Chinese students were established. The first public school (Chinese elementary school) was set up in Gepyong in April 1909, and with this as a start, new primary education schools called public schools were built in various places along the route. This was the reality of national integration and coexistence, but this fact is unknown now.

²² 在滿閩東局教務部官房学務課.(1940).教育目標(kyouiku mokuhyo, Educational Objectives).

²³ 内堀維文遺稿並伝刊行会.(1934).内堀維文遺稿並伝(Uchibori Korebumi ikounamitsuta, Uchibori Korebumi's Last Manuscript).

Regarding the details of Chinese language learning, the first issue is the pronunciation and standard of Chinese. The South Manchuria Railway School Affairs Division conducted a survey on the current situation of Chinese language education in "Manchuria," which resulted in the "Report on the Survey of Chinese Language Learning in Primary Schools along the Route in 1924". In this "report," there was a debate about the "policy of teaching Chinese," whether the Manchurian dialect pronunciation or the Beijing standard pronunciation should be taught but in "However, in the report, it is believed that the Beijing dialect should be taught using the phonetic symbols (letters). In addition, Japanese elementary school students are burdened with memorizing katakana, hiragana, and phonetic symbols, so they do not use the phonetic symbols developed by the Republic of China, but use the "Japanese Miyakoshi method," which is unique to Japan. However, middle school students still use the same phonetic symbols used in China."²⁴

In 1915, the South Manchuria Railway established the South Manchuria Railway Educational Research Institute. To solve the problem of insufficient teachers, it sent invitations to prefectures in the "mainland" (Japan's mainland) to send teachers. In response, teachers were sent from the mainland. In response, teachers were dispatched from the mainland. These teachers were trained in special courses required for Manchurian-Mongolian education, such as the Chinese language, Chinese situation, Chinese geography, and history. The requirements for Chinese language teachers in secondary schools were even higher: "Teachers or assistant teachers who teach Chinese or Russian in designated schools outside the country who teach in high schools, taller girls' schools, or industrial schools, graduates of

²⁴ 満鉄学務課.(1924).満鉄沿線小学校に於ける支那語学習状況調査報告(mantetsu

ensennoshiyogakoniokeru shinago gakushujiokyo chosahogoku, Report on a survey of the situation of learning the Shina language in primary schools along the Manchurian railway line).満鉄出版.

the Chinese or Russian language departments of government foreign language schools, graduates of the East Asia College of Liberal Arts, graduates of Harbin College, or graduates of high schools, higher girls' schools, industrial schools, or government schools with equivalent academic ability. The applicant shall be appointed as a teacher of Chinese or Russian in a governmental or public school or a designated school outside the country for at least three years with outstanding achievements.

As for the curriculum arrangement, in January 1925, a meeting of Manchurian elementary school principals was held, and the proposal of "Chinese as the main subject" was adopted. The South Manchuria Railway accepted the recommendation of this meeting and issued the "Ultimatum on the Addition of Chinese Language to Elementary Schools" in March of the same year, which made Chinese "a regular subject," he said. This was the first time the official Japanese primary education institutions assigned Chinese (a foreign language) as a regular subject.²⁵ From then on, Japanese elementary schools in Manchuria began to teach Chinese as a common subject and continued to do so until the end of the war in 1945. Chinese language classes could be assigned 4 hours per week (the lower limit was 2 hours), which was second only to Japanese language classes in terms of the time allocated to elementary schools. The weight of Chinese language education reached the ultimate.

So what kind of Chinese textbooks did students use? Take the Chinese textbooks used in 1928 for the 4th and 5th grades of primary school as an example; they were textbooks with only "pictures" and no text. The teacher explains the "pictures" using the correct pronunciation and intonation of Chinese. The topics and contents of the primary Chinese textbooks are mainly about things around family, school, daily life, and friends. There is no 'grammar' or 'grammatical terms,' and most of the content is memorized through the text.

²⁵ 南満洲教育会.(1925).南満教育(nanman kyōiku, Education in Southern Manchuria).南満洲教育会出版.

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(Chinese textbook for sixth grade, first published in 1929.From the Manchurian Japanese Education Association in 1940.)

In order to remedy these shortcomings, the "Miyatake method," devised by Kentaro Miyatake, a professor at the Tokyo Foreign Language School, was adopted in 1936. In this book, however, all the Japanese kana symbols are used, taking into account the ability of children and the burden of learning, and are used appropriately.²⁶



(Chinese pronunciation markings of the Miyakoshi way, from Kentaro Miyakoshi (1937)"Manchu 50 Lectures", Arigatou)

²⁶ 宮越健太郎.(1937).満洲語 50 講(manchugo gojukou, 50 Lectures in Manchurian).有朋堂.

With the establishment of Manchukuo in 1937, the education of Japanese elementary and secondary school students was transferred from the South Manchuria Railway to the Embassy. After that, education was unified and managed by the Education Division of the Embassy (later called the Education Division of the Embassy's Kanto Bureau). However, in practice, the management and conditions of schools for the Japanese remained the same as before, and if any aspect of education changed, education for the Chinese did change.

This can be seen from the account of Shoutaka Sugano, who emigrated to Manchuria with his father in 1941: "The following year, in Showa 16, I was eight years old. In the second semester of the third year of junior high school, my family went to Manchuria. When I went to Manchuria, I was surprised to find that the South Manchuria Railway Company had a very high standard of living. The buildings were all made of brick, and the windows were double-glazed. Underground were big tunnels where kids could stand and walk, and pipes were everywhere, all with steam, living a centrally heated life. Even in cold Manchuria, flush toilets are already in use There are two Japanese elementary schools in Jilin, Asahi, and Yangming, plus a middle school and a girls' school each, making a total of four. Chinese is a compulsory subject. The teacher is a Chinese woman wearing a beautiful Chinese cheongsam with a torn hemline. Life was so different that you would think you had gone to a fairy tale kingdom. I can still look back on it with nostalgia."²⁷

Of course, as the immigration program continued, the population of Japan increased rapidly after 1935. In response to the increased demand for education, secondary schools for the Japanese were established in large numbers. If we divide the number of secondary schools founded into 1906 to 1935 and 1935 to 1944, in the 30 years from 1906, there were

²⁷ 菅野祥孝.(2007). 満州からの逃避行(manchukaranotouhikou, Escape from Manchuria). 上富良野町郷土をさぐる会.

five junior high schools and six high schools for girls, making a total of 11 schools. In the ten years from 1935 to 1944, there were 15 middle schools and 26 girls' high schools, making a total of 41 schools (compared to 52 schools before 1935). After 1935, when the Japanese population in Manchukuo increased and developed. Industrial activities were active; many secondary schools were established in various parts of the country to provide secondary education for the Japanese.²⁸

But the rapidly expanding number of Japanese schools has been closely followed by a lack of resources and attention to teachers, something that is not up to the teachers in the schools or the education authorities. This was the unstoppable momentum - a war that Japan was already heading for defeat, a war whose abyss was about to open its maw and devour all.

The tragic end of Japanese Manchurian Immigration

In her autobiography, Shoutaka Sugano recalls the aftermath of Japan's defeat as follows: "It was one night in December 1945, shortly after the end of the war, when it suddenly happened. A man outside the window shouted to turn off the lights and go out for shelter. In the darkness, my mother nimbly picked up my three-year-old brother, wrapped him in a blanket, and rushed out. I followed my mother with my overcoat and the shoes I had managed to find. The Chinese peasants in the neighborhood started a riot. The next morning, beneath the clear winter sky, was a street of staff quarters that looked like the aftermath of a tornado, with floorboards and ceilings stripped away and only brick walls left. The gruesome dead bodies of Japanese who had not had time to escape were scattered everywhere like mannequins."

²⁸ 竹中憲一.(2004).満州における中国語教育(manchuniokeru chugokugokyouiku, Chinese language education in Manchuria).柏書房.

These fleeing Japanese immigrants had to face Chinese reprisals and the threat of Soviet soldiers." The next day we went to the Hakusan Kaikan dance hall, diagonally in front of the shrine. There we spent each day clinging to each other. There too, Soviet soldiers came every day with guns under their armpits and took the women with them. If they refused, they would be shot with mandolin pistols. There was no means of resistance. At the White Mountain meeting house, we saw many mothers carrying their dead children on their backs. The sacks were like clothes. Covered in blood. People who look like floaters. "Once the country has failed, there is nothing that can be done about it. Again the nation will not protect us. The only way to survive is to protect ourselves. Everyone interprets it according to their own position. That's war. That's human society. "Shoutaka Sugano, who is now old enough to remember the past, made this sentiment.

It is indisputable that history places Japanese immigrants in the position of being part of the Japanese imperialist invasion of China, as oppressors and exploiters. Yet they were also unemployed peasants who simply wanted their land, young women who wanted to change their lives and have a better future, undiscerning adolescents encouraged by their teachers and society, and even children who were taught the concept of Sino-Japanese integration in Manchuria, including an actual Chinese language course. This may seem contradictory, but it is one aspect of the embodiment of the nature of war. After losing the war, they were abandoned by their country; they were starving, crying in the wilderness, and in extreme hardship. Some committed suicide as a result of desperation, while others died of illness on the way.

To this day, the search for Japanese orphans left behind in China continues on the Japanese side. Still, with the aging of those involved and the weathering of memories, the rate of identification of relatives is declining. Here, we can look back again and see the 2011 monument erection in Fangzheng County, Heilongjiang, China, in a different light. These

Japanese migrants had reached Fangzheng County, Heilongjiang Province, on their escape journey, numbering 15,000. More than 5,000 people later died from injuries and illnesses, and their bones were collected by local residents for what became the Fangzheng's Area Japanese Cemetery. Eventually, more than 4,500 Japanese women and children were stranded in Fangzheng County, which evolved into the county with the most significant number of pioneering regiments.

In addition to the inscription on the list of the deceased Japanese pioneers, there was also another inscription on the cemetery, entitled the list of the dead Chinese adoptive parents, which reads: "In the autumn and winter of 1945, the Japanese pioneers were defeated and evacuated from Fangzheng's County, and many of the young children were abandoned here and became orphans, whose frail bodies could not withstand the hunger and cold. The Fangzheng's fathers were not indifferent to the fact that they were the descendants of an enemy country and saved them from the fire, For years and years, they were treated as if there were their own sons, nurtured to the best of their ability, and sent some back to their homeland in Fusang. The orphaned son, Isamu Endo, built a cemetery for his adoptive parents in China to show his love for them. "

The inscription was not widely known, however, but the existence of another tablet angered the Chinese and forced its eradication. This is similar to other things that have been buried in history, except that the orphan Isamu Endo personally funded the construction of the "Chinese Adoptive Parents Cemetery" in gratitude to those Chinese "adoptive parents," and after the 1980s, Japanese immigrants returned to Fangzheng's County one after another. Some of them even came to Fangzheng County six times at their own expense to teach new rice technology. But none of this is the focus of attention. Looking back again, it is amazing how much social conditions have influenced education. While applying these experiences to the study of colonial education and educational change and recalling the invasions and

disasters suffered by the Chinese people, and the suffering of the Japanese people, the only thing that comes to mind is: may there be peace in the world.

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