JAPANESE BORDERLAND COLONIALISM AND THE KOREANS IN JIANDAO, 1905–1932

Andrew James De Lisle, November 2020

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University

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I certify that this thesis is my own original work, and that any reference to or use of other scholarly works is fully acknowledged herein. I certify that the research for and writing of this thesis was conducted by myself alone, under the supervision of my academic panel. This thesis contains 72,107 words, not inclusive of references.

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Signature of Andrew James De Lisle, the author

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Thesis Abstract

Between the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and the foundation of the "puppet state" of Manzhouguo (1932), Japanese imperial actors sought to extend their influence in the Sino-Korean borderland of Jiandao (currently known as Yanbian). They did so through extraterritorial privileges, police activities, development of infrastructure and transport routes, and above all through the medium of the Korean residents who constituted Jiandao's demographic majority. Japan's Foreign Ministry and Government-General of Korea, together with capitalist organisations like the Oriental Development Company and the Chōsen Bank, exercised colonialist forms of control over Korean society in Jiandao through financial services, the building of schools, hospitals and other facilities, and especially through direct contacts between Japanese agents and Korean People's Associations. Japanese bureaucrats and army officers thus took advantage of the Korean presence in Jiandao in order to establish a forward position in the strategically important region, justified through a discourse of Koreans as "Japanese subjects" requiring "protection and control" in the midst of Chinese revolution and political upheaval.

Successive Chinese governments engaged in a colonization program of their own in Jiandao, encouraging the mass immigration of Han Chinese and passing discriminatory laws against Koreans. A situation of overlapping jurisdiction thus emerged, in which the lives of the Koreans in Jiandao were affected by the collision between two expanding states, China and Japan. Meanwhile, Koreans in Jiandao asserted their desire for autonomy in various ways, and Jiandao became a crucible for the Korean Communist Party, with profound implications for East Asia's future. Political and social unrest in Jiandao was also used by the Japanese military to justify the takeover of Manchuria in 1931–32.

Imperial Japanese policies and activities in Jiandao constituted a case of borderland colonialism, or the development by a nation-state/empire (and its "sub-imperialist" agents on the ground) of "power networks" within a disputed territory. This thesis places Jiandao within an international context of latter-day great power imperialism and the emergence of new political movements in the borderlands of declining empires such as the Qing. It aims to clarify the complex interactions between ethnic groups, colonialist agencies and various levels of government in Jiandao through

an exploration of this borderland's "power networks." It inquires of the nature and origins of Japanese colonialism in Jiandao, of how the history of this borderland shaped, and was shaped by, Japanese policy, and what the historical effects and legacies may have been.

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Notes on Usage and Conventions

Manchuria was often referred to historically in China as Dongsansheng (The Three Eastern Provinces), and today it is called Dongbei (The Northeast). Manchuria was the most common international name for the region in the early twentieth century, so I have opted to use this one throughout my thesis.

"Jiandao" is the Mandarin pronunciation of "Kando," the name given to this region by the early Korean seasonal farmers and hunters who visited it. The Chinese have generally preferred the name "Yanbian." As in the case of Manchuria, I will use the term "Jiandao" because this was its internationally-known name in the period under study. Neither of these choices is supposed to represent any political view, being made simply to avoid anachronism.

China and Korea underwent numerous changes of regime and of name in the period discussed in this thesis, creating problems for nomenclature. Specifically, the Qing Empire was superseded by the Republic of China in 1912, and Korea was known as Chosŏn until 1897, when it was renamed the Great Han Empire, although Chosŏn's Yi dynasty continued to rule. In 1910, the Great Han Empire was annexed by the Empire of Japan, and reverted to the name Chosŏn (in its Japanese version "Chōsen"). To avoid the confusion of constant name changes, I have generally referred to these countries throughout as "China" and "Korea" (and used the related adjectives "Chinese," "Sino-" and so forth) even when discussing times when these were not the official names. I generally use "China" instead of "Qing" even though the Qing Empire was ruled by a non-Chinese people, the Manchus. Terms like "Manchu," "Qing" and "Chosŏn" are occasionally used when the situation seems to demand it, for instance when I am specifically referring to a state, government, etc.

Chinese words and names are romanized using the Pinyin system, Korean with the McCune-Reischauer and Japanese with the Revised Hepburn. East Asian names are given with the surname first, except in the cases of authors of East Asian origin who published in the West.

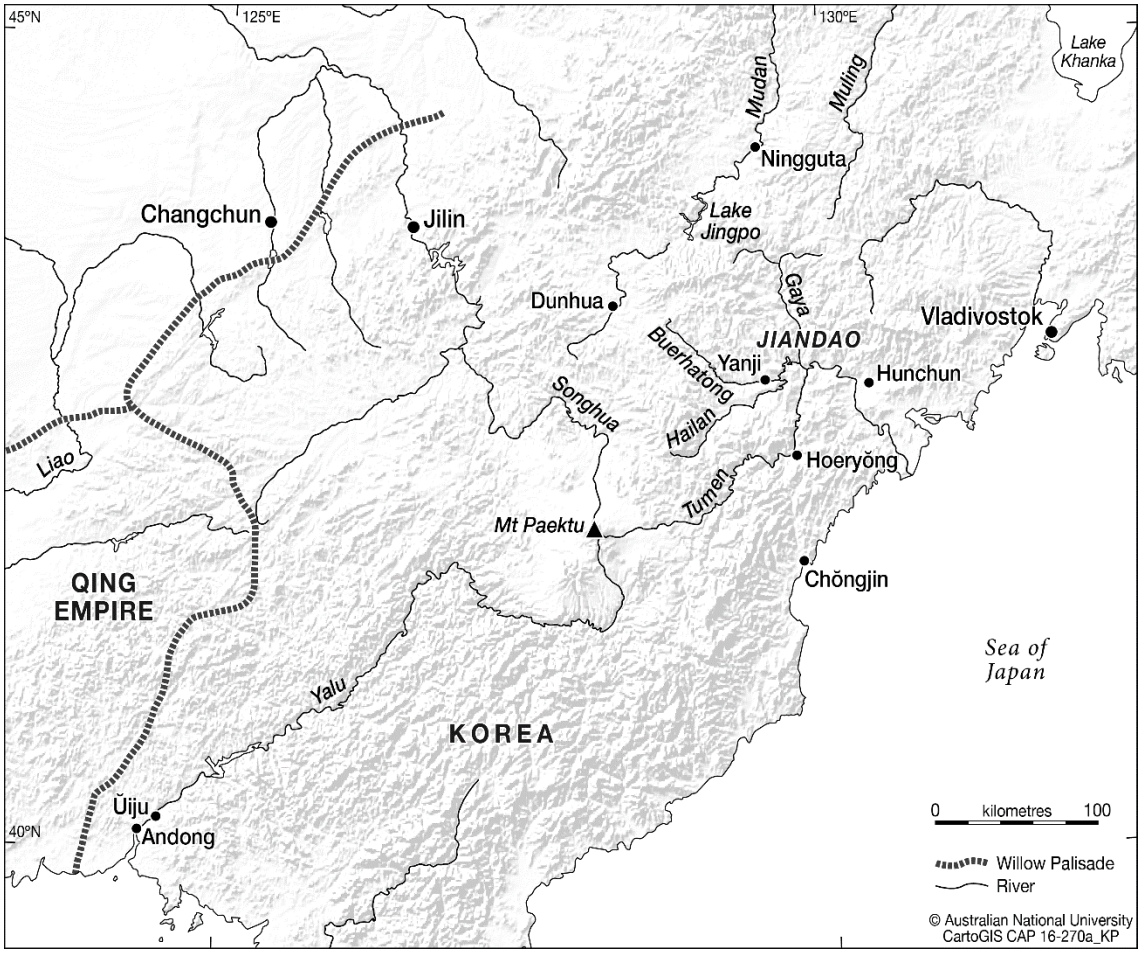
Some republished primary sources which I have consulted feature two sets of page numbers – the numbers on the original document, and those of the republication volume. In my footnotes I have given the page numbers of the original document, in case the reader does not consult the same published version that I have.

Australian English spelling conventions are used in this thesis. In direct quotations where different spelling standards are used, I have quietly altered them so they conform to the style used throughout my thesis.

MAP ONE

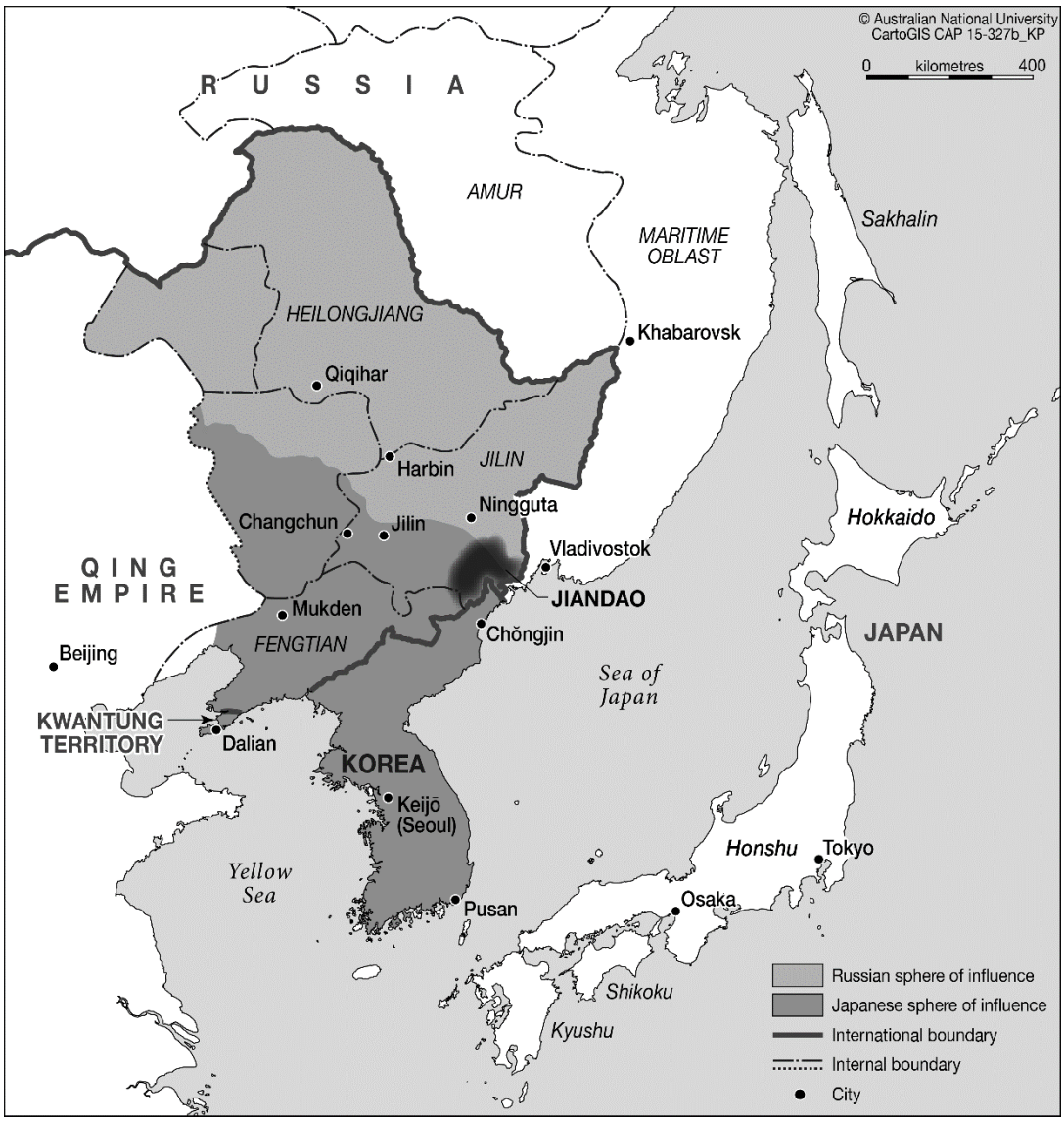
The location of Jiandao (modern name Yanbian) in Northeast Asia.

MAP TWO



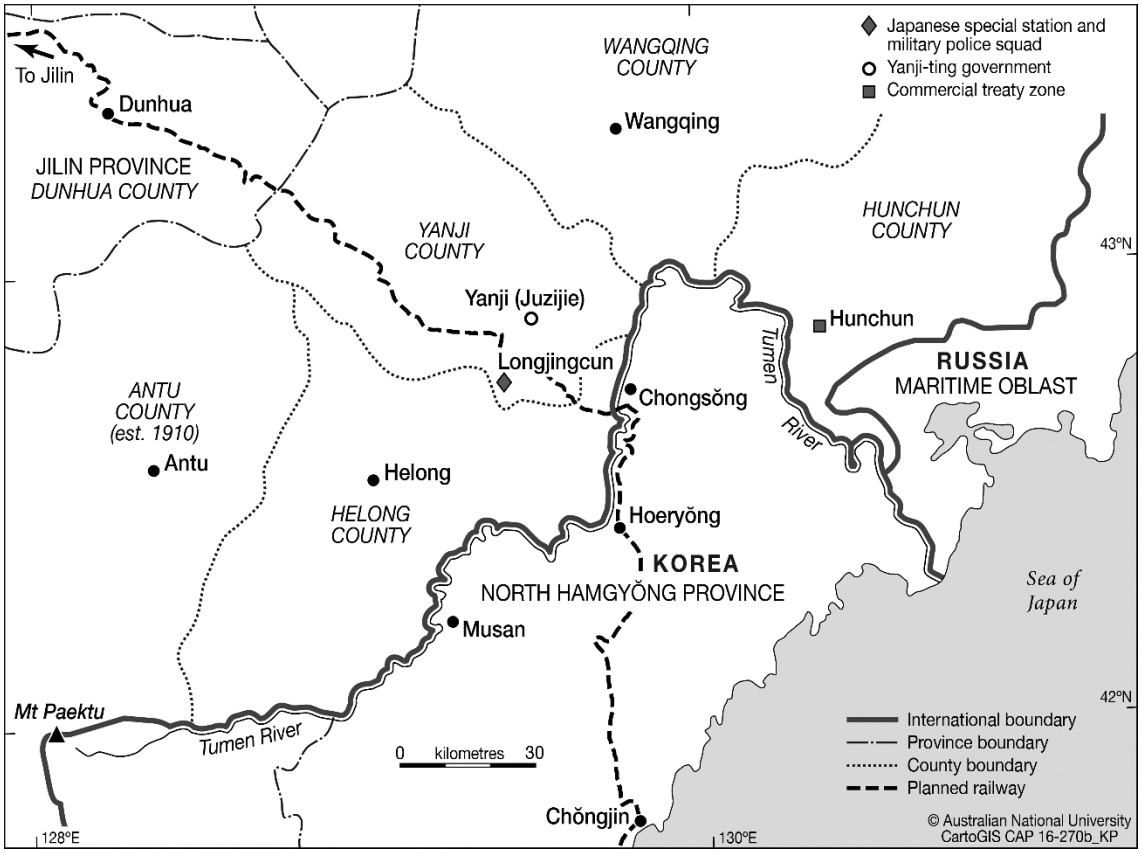
Geographical map of the Sino-Korean frontier region, showing the location of the Willow Palisade.

MAP THREE



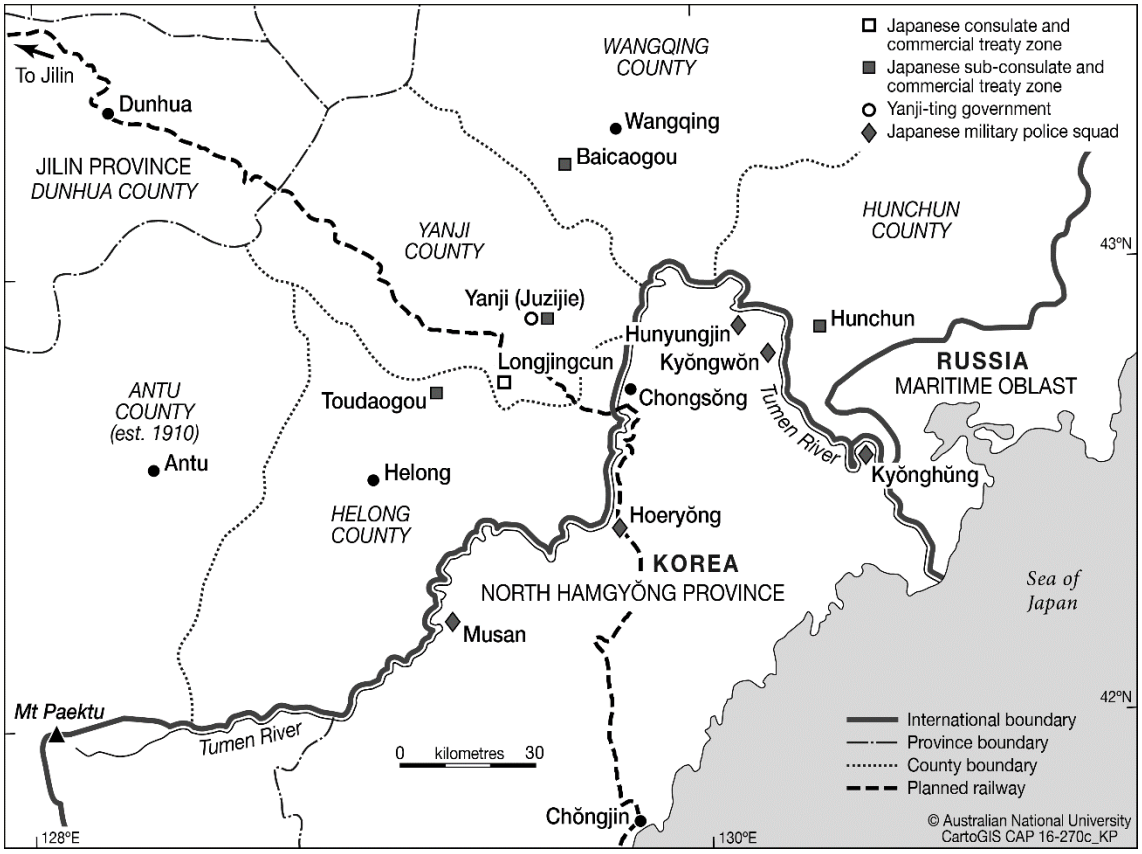
Political map showing the Russian and Japanese spheres of influence in Manchuria from 1907. Note Jiandao's location at a strategically crucial place in the Japanese sphere, abutting Korea to the south, Russia's Maritime Oblast to the east and the Russian sphere of influence to the north.

MAP FOUR



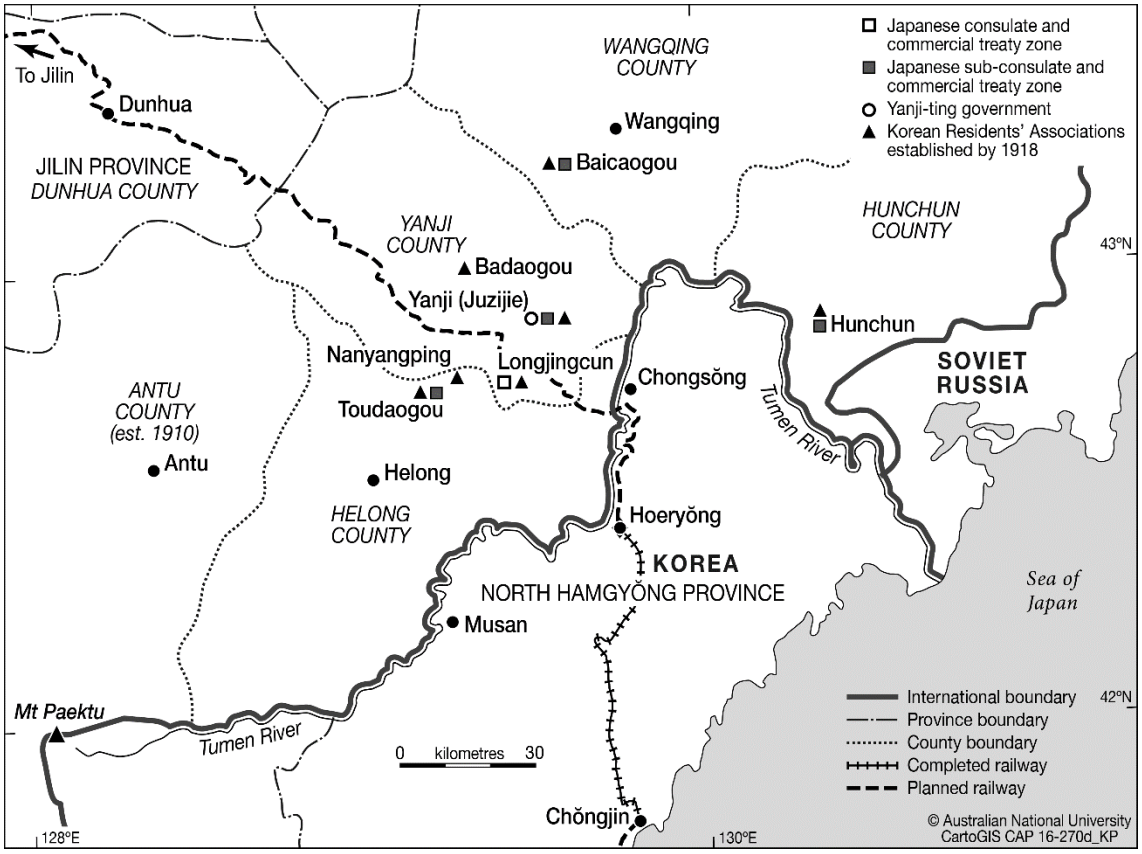
Political map of Jiandao circa 1907.

MAP FIVE



Political map of Jiandao circa 1909, after the Qing-Japan Agreement of that year recognizing Jiandao as a domain of the Qing Empire.

MAP SIX



Political map of Jiandao circa 1919. Note the progress made in the railway connecting Jilin City in Manchuria with the Korean port of Chŏngjin.

INTRODUCTION

"a belt of land adjoining Japan and China"

- Reference to the region of Jiandao in a 1920 Japanese government statement[1]

In the years between the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and the Japanese Kwantung Army's establishment of the state of Manzhouguo (1932), Japan conducted policies in the Sino-Korean borderland of Jiandao which may be characterized as colonialist. Japanese policy in Jiandao formed a localized part of the empire's broader continental policy during this period. After the conclusion of the war with Russia, Japan's leaders aimed to prepare their country for the possibility of further conflict, to secure the Korean Peninsula (made a protectorate of Japan in 1905), and to acquire resources for the imperial metropole advantageously within the framework of informal imperialism in China. Policy in Jiandao reflected these broader goals, while also displaying unique features of its own, due to such factors as Jiandao's geographical location, its strategic importance for Japan, and its complex political status as a disputed borderland. This thesis will place special emphasis on the last of these features, and will suggest that Japanese policy in Jiandao constituted a type of borderland colonialism that was symptomatic of the age of the nation-state/empire in East Asia and beyond.[2] How did Jiandao's condition as a disputed borderland affect Japanese policy? How, in turn, did Japanese policy impact upon the fate of Jiandao and its populace?

The borderland as a historical framework has typically been used for the study of political, cultural and other interactions between colonial settlers and native inhabitants of a territory, as in the nineteenth-century American West. Yet this framework may also be fruitfully applied to historical periods in which interaction between different human groups has "progressed" beyond

[1] "Statement on the Jiandao Expedition" 間島出兵声明, October 14, 1920, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho*, Jō Volume: 517–518.

[2] The notion of the nation-state/empire is from Tomoko Akami, "The Nation-State/Empire as a Unit of Analysis in the History of International Relations: A Case Study in Northeast Asia, 1868–1933," in Isabella Löhr and Roland Wenzlhuemer, eds., *The Nation State and Beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), 177–208. A phenomenon characteristic of the period from the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II, the nation-state/empire was an entity "based on popular or national principles of legitimacy" which competed for colonial acquisitions. Its boundaries "went beyond the metropolitan nation" – contemporaries used the term "Great Powers" (178).

colonial encounters with natives, into encounters between larger and more complex human units. A borderland may, for instance, be a site where two or more nation-states/empires expand and encounter each other. Jiandao in the early twentieth century presents just such a case, in which the expanding Japanese empire encountered the expanding Chinese state, in a region dominated demographically by Korean settler communities. While late Qing/Republican/Nationalist China was working (amid domestic war and upheaval) to consolidate its national territory and establish control in its borderlands, Japan was establishing an informal empire in China along numerous fronts, from the textile workshops of Shanghai to the South Manchurian Railway. Jiandao was a significant and unique front in this Japanese encroachment. There, Japanese influence was established not by leasehold or military occupation but by borderland colonialism – the piecemeal control of the Jiandao Koreans' social and economic lives, through legal jurisdiction, police suppression, issuance of character certificates, control of education, and other areas. Borderland colonialism tends to be employed by an aggressive power in order to wage a slow campaign of invasion or territorial usurpation, which appears to have been the case in Jiandao.[3] This historical model may thus shed light on some relatively obscure but important areas of Japan's continental policy in the years leading up to World War II. It may also demonstrate that borders do not always contain state power, but that state power may "bleed" beyond borders in subtle ways.

"Jiandao" was the name given to a mountainous region in the extreme east of Manchuria, north of the Tumen River, which had been the object of a territorial dispute between China's Qing Empire and the Korean Kingdom of Chosŏn since the 1880s.[4] After Korea was made a Japanese protectorate in 1905, Japan's government came to tentatively support the Korean claim to Jiandao, viewing it as an opportunity to expand Japanese influence in China. It reconsidered this policy in 1909, opting to recognize that Jiandao was, after all, Chinese and not Korean territory. Yet through the course of the 1910s and 1920s, Japanese government, military and civilian actors

[3] Comparable cases have emerged again and again in recent decades, by such phenomena as Israeli encroachment into Arab areas of administered Palestinian territories, or by Russia's eating away of Ukrainian sovereignty in the east of that country. S. Hasson and N. Gosenfeld, "Israeli Frontier Settlements: a Cross-Temporal Analysis," *Geoforum* 11 (1980), 315–334; Roy Allison, "Russian 'Deniable' Intervention in Ukraine: How and Why Russia Broke the Rules," *International Affairs* 90:6 (November 2014), 1255–1297.

[4] The region formerly called Jiandao today corresponds approximately to the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture (Korean: Yŏnbyŏn Chosŏnchok Chach'ichu), in China's Jilin Province. The Sino-Korean border dispute will be discussed in Chapter One.

developed a set of policies which aimed to extend Japanese influence in Jiandao, and especially to exercise "protection and control" (*hogo torishimari*) over the Korean settlers who formed the majority of its population. Japanese activities in Jiandao included but was not limited to: a) the exercise of extraterritorial law with regards to Koreans in certain areas; b) the funding, organization and control of so-called Korean People's Associations (*Chōsenjin minaki*); c) the maintenance of police units in Jiandao and along the Sino-Korean border to suppress Korean political and military activities; d) the establishment of medical facilities, schools, railway links, and other physical and institutional infrastructure that tied Jiandao to the Japanese Empire; e) the acquisition of land by Koreans, including the acquisition of land by Japanese through Korean "dummy" landowners.

Such policies supported Japan's broader aims on the Asian continent by extending the empire's political, military and economic influence while suppressing manifestations of Korean independence from Japan. They were alleged by the Chinese government as being unlawful and as infringing upon Chinese sovereignty, and would ultimately be investigated by the League of Nations in 1931. They therefore set part of the scene for the Sino-Japanese military conflict which erupted in the 1930s. Additionally, Japanese "protection and control" of Koreans in Jiandao from 1905 to 1932 was a harbinger of fuller Japanese colonial control through the proxy of the Manzhouguo "puppet state;" furthermore, the Korean independence movements which emerged in Jiandao were seeds for later Korean guerrilla forces, governments-in-exile and even for the future leadership of North Korea.

The history of Jiandao was symptomatic of the fate of the Qing Empire's borderlands, and perhaps of other imperial borderlands. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Qing Empire was in its final period of decline – among other things, its Manchu rulers had been losing the power to define and protect their vast national borders from foreign encroachment.[5] From Russia's annexations in Siberia to the British protectorate of Tibet, and from the French sphere of influence in the southwest to movements for autonomy in Outer Mongolia, the vast Qing periphery was breaking away from central control in a general centrifugal motion. Chinese

[5] One of many useful accounts of late Qing decline is John K. Fairbank, "The Creation of the Treaty System," in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 10: Late Ch'ing 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 213–263.

and other migrants were on the move everywhere, attracted to the Qing borderlands by the liberalization of human movement (formerly restricted frontier areas were being opened to settlement), by economic opportunities and by the new technology of the railway.[6]

In Jiandao, Manchu dominance was being undermined by heavy Korean immigration. Reformers in the Qing government sought to assert control in Jiandao through the introduction of civil government and the settlement of Han Chinese migrants. This Chinese "internal colonialism" was destined to come into conflict with Korean aspirations in Jiandao, and later, with Japan's expansionist continental policy. Jiandao became a borderland, one of those "contested boundaries between colonial domains" which sprang up in this age of the expansionist nation-state/empire.[7]

Japan's borderland colonialism in Jiandao developed within the context of its larger continental policy in the years between the Russo-Japanese War and the Manchurian Incident.[8] Japan's continental policy was based on a mix of economic, military and political values and aimed at "the expansion of [Japanese] power of influence… with respect to territory, privileges and politics in continental China."[9] Japanese infrastructural development in Manchuria aimed at the extraction of resources for Japan's benefit and at improving Japanese war-readiness. In this period, Japan conducted relations with the Chinese government on unequal terms, in keeping

[6] Such processes as they occurred in Qing's northern borderlands are described in Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).
[7] As characterized by Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104:3 (June 1999), 815–816.
[8] Kitaoka Shin'ichi, influenced by Akira Iriye, periodizes Japan's continental policy as determined by "classical imperialism" from 1906 to 1918, by Japanese party politics and economic values from 1918 to 1931, and by outright military aggression from 1931 until the end of World War II. Kitaoka Shin'ichi 北岡伸一, *Nihon Rikugun to tairiku seisaku, 1906–1918-nen* 日本陸軍と大陸政策, 1906−1918 年 [The Japanese Army and Continental Policy, 1906-1918] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1978), 1-2. Louise Young calls the 1905–31 phase of Japanese imperialism the "second, developmental" phase of empire, in distinction to the earlier "formative" phase. Meiji Japan's career as an imperial power in Asia had of course begun decades earlier, with the occupations of Taiwan and Okinawa in the 1870s. Japan had defeated China in the war of 1894–95, but as the "triple intervention" by Russia, Germany and France against Japan's war spoils had shown, Japan's status as an imperial power in China was still not fully accepted by the powers. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 24–25.
[9] Ibid, 1.

with the practices of Britain and the other powers. Treaty ports, one-sided tariffs, spheres of influence, and extraterritorial jurisdiction for foreigners in China were the norm.[10]

Rather than a monolithic Japanese continental policy, there was a variety of policies in the economic, diplomatic and military fields, which were planned and implemented by different institutions at different times and in different geographic areas. These institutions were centrally coordinated only to a certain extent, and "sub-imperialists" played a crucial role in Japan's continental expansion.[11] The South Manchurian Railway Company (SMRC), for instance, combined a number of functions relating to trade, research, development and other areas, becoming virtually a colonial government on the continent. Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter the Foreign Ministry) conducted relations with China in the numerous ports and towns that had been opened by treaty in southern Manchuria as elsewhere in China.[12] Additionally, "men on the spot" such as police officers and civilian settlers played no small part in encouraging a more aggressive Japanese continental policy.[13]

As one section of this broad and complex tapestry, Japan's Jiandao policy was distinct in several ways. It was designed and implemented primarily by people and organizations connected with Japan's colonial Government-General of Korea (Chōsen sōtokufu, hereafter the GGK) and the Japanese military force known as the Korea Garrison Army (Kankoku chūsatsu gun).[14] While tasked with the administration of colonial Korea, the GGK and the Korea Garrison Army also created and implemented policies towards Korean expatriates. The majority of Koreans who lived

[10] Peter Duus, "Japan's Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937: An Overview," in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), xi–xxix.
[11] Sub-imperialism consisted, in short, of the work in the service of empire performed by "men on the spot" rather than by "political and economic pressures at home." Ibid, 309.
[12] Barbara Brooks discusses the interplay of diplomacy and aggression in *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). She also shows how a younger generation of Foreign Ministry staff became inclined towards a more aggressive continental policy after the 1919 Paris Peace Conference (28–36). Gradually, military ideals and prerogatives displaced those of diplomacy and cooperation with China and the "open door" powers.
[13] Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011). Uchida states that "overseas settlers formed an important, and independent, vector of influence in all phases of colonial rule" (3). Although her main subject is Korea, she also considers the role of settlers in Manchuria (307–354).
[14] Note that the Korea Garrison Army (renamed simply the Korea Army in 1918) does not refer to the national army of the Koreans, but to the Japanese garrison force stationed in Korea from 1904 to 1945.

abroad were based in Jiandao, and so this region received particular attention. As Jiandao was a part of China, it properly came under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry, but in fact the GGK and Korea Garrison Army also played crucial roles, as did individual travelers, polemicists and other Japanese civilians. The Korean settlers in Jiandao were also instrumental in determining how Japanese policy took shape, whether through resistance, collaboration or indifference. Part of the task of this thesis will be to determine just who designed and implemented Japan's Jiandao policy, and what the level of coordination was among local actors (such as the GGK and the Korean People's Associations in Jiandao), and between these local actors and the government in Tokyo.

The borderland of Jiandao and its emergence in international affairs

Jiandao was a contentious item in the international relations of the early twentieth century, discussed and argued over in numerous diplomatic dispatches, pamphlets and news articles in East Asia and beyond. Only a few decades previously, however, this region had not even been marked on maps, let alone contested between national governments.[15] It was a quiet backwater of the Qing Empire, subsumed within the larger forested tracts of eastern Manchuria. The very name "Jiandao" belongs to late-modern history, only becoming widely used towards the end of the nineteenth century. How then did it become a disputed "belt of land adjoining Japan and China?" A brief historical survey of Jiandao is in order to understand the context in which Japan's borderland colonialism took shape.

Jiandao's relative isolation and invisibility was due to a combination of geographical, political, and economic realities. Geographically speaking, Jiandao is a forested and mountainous part of the Changbai mountain range which divides the Manchurian Plain from the Korean Peninsula. To the extent that Jiandao may be distinguished from surrounding areas, two features stand out. Firstly, it contains a number of highly fertile river valleys which are suitable for seasonal navigation and agriculture, and are rich in such resources as timber, furs, ginseng and gold dust.

[15] Earlier, in ancient and medieval times, this region did pass back and forth several times between Jurchen and Korean polities. Korea's Yi Dynasty renounced any claim to it so that for nearly all of the Chosŏn period (1392-1897) the northern limit of the Korean state was set at the Tumen River.

Secondly, the majority of the aforementioned river valleys connect with the Tumen River and are easily accessible from Korea. By contrast, Jiandao is remote from the major historical centers of Chinese population, which were concentrated in the river basins and plains of southern Manchuria. One could say that Jiandao's natural orientation is towards Korea, despite the fact that it lay within the territory of the Qing Empire. Yet the location of the international border on the Tumen River, a location agreed upon by Qing and Chosŏn in 1712, long impeded Koreans from settling north of the Tumen.[16]

The political history of Qing also contributed to cut Jiandao off from the world. For much of the Qing period (1644–1912), this area lay beyond the Willow Palisade (*liutiaobian*; see Map Two), a series of barriers erected in the late Ming and early Qing periods to demarcate the boundary between the imperial heartland of China and the outer frontier. During the Qing period, residence in the outer belt was mostly restricted to the ruling Manchu banner elite.[17] The Manchus had opted to preserve the lands east of the Willow Palisade as a sanctuary of Manchu cultural traditions.[18] Although Han Chinese and Korean poachers, ginseng-gatherers, bandits and others certainly entered the forbidden area from time to time, the ban on border-crossing was strictly enforced by the Qing and Chosŏn governments. Under the East Asian tribute system, border trade was allowed to take place on the Tumen River just once a year at Hoeryŏng and once every two years at Kyŏng'wŏn.[19] Therefore, the population was kept artificially low, with urbanisation, trade and transport infrastructure preserved at a basic level.

This status quo eventually came under attack from intrusive European empires, above all from Tsarist Russia. While empires like Britain and France were primarily concerned with conducting trade in treaty ports, Russia was a land-based empire which encroached upon Qing from central

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[16] In 1712, high officials from the Qing and Chosŏn courts visited Mount Paektu and erected a boundary stele naming the Yalu and Tumen rivers as the international border. Seonmin Kim, "Ginseng and Border Trespassing between Qing China and Chosŏn Korea," *Late Imperial China* 28:1 (June 2007): 48–49.

[17] This zone was off-limits to Han Chinese settlement with the exception of some convicts and political exiles in small military colonies. Robert H. G. Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), 79–87.

[18] On Qing traditions in the north-east frontier, see Mark C. Elliott, "The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59:3 (August 2000): 603–646. On the Willow Palisade, see Richard Louis Edmonds, *Northern Frontiers of Qing China and Tokugawa Japan: A Comparative Study of Frontier Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1985).

[19] Hae-jong Chun, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch'ing Period," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 108.

Asia and the north. Through the treaties of Aigun (1858) and Beijing (1860), Russia annexed the territories north of the Amur River and east of the Ussuri and Songacha rivers. Following the latter treaty, Russia created the Russian Maritime Province, which bordered upon Jiandao.[20] Having witnessed the loss of such huge territories, the Qing government became anxious over the security of its northern frontiers. The Qing aimed to secure them, and to boost the deteriorated state treasury, by lifting the settlement restrictions beyond the Willow Palisade and encouraging Han Chinese settlement and development of the frontier lands.[21] Jiandao was opened in phases – the region north of the Tumen River was opened in 1875,[22] and the Tumen River valley followed in 1881.[23]

Even before the settlement ban was lifted, Koreans had taken advantage of the new opportunities available in Jiandao. From the 1850s to the 1880s, Jiandao was a settlement frontier similar to the American West, characterised by the gradual opening of the wilderness to cultivation by groups of pioneers, with only limited government control. In the 1860s, famine conditions prompted many Koreans to venture across the Tumen River from Hamgyŏng Province, one of Korea's poorest and most politically marginalised regions.[24] Early cross-border migration was not permanent – Koreans arrived to plant crops in spring and then returned to Korea after the autumn harvest – and initially was restricted to one or some of the islands in the Tumen River. The migrants called these islands "Kando," meaning "the islands in-between" and pronounced "Jiandao" in Mandarin. As space on the islands became scarce, some farmers began cultivation on the left bank of the Tumen, in Manchu territory. As they penetrated further into the hinterland, up the various river valleys, the name "Kando" was extended to these newly explored and cultivated areas, and so a new region took shape in Korean linguistic usage and imagination as migration gradually became more permanent.[25] Kando/Jiandao as an imagined and soon-to-be

[20] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, 4.
[21] Ibid, 78–115.
[22] Cai Jian, referenced in Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia, 1590–2010: Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Eastern Siberia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 132.
[23] Andre Schmid, "Looking North toward Manchuria," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99:1 (Winter 2000), 226.
[24] Herbert Hantao Wu, *A Legal Study: Japan's Acts of Treaty Violation and Encroachment upon the Sovereign Rights of China in the North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria)* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1971), 167; Itō Kazuhiko 伊藤一彦, "Nihon no zai-Man Chōsenjin seisaku" 日本の在満朝鮮人政策 [Japan's Manchurian-Korean Policy], *Annals of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture* 53 (1992), 68.
[25] Nakai Kinjō 中井金城, *Chōsen kaikoroku* 朝鮮回顧録 [Korean Memoirs] (Tokyo: Tōgyō Kenkyūkai Shuppanbu, 1915), 193.

politicised entity was thus Korean in origin.[26] Gradually, Koreans began to settle in Jiandao on a permanent basis, and Chinese who migrated to the region found established communities of Korean settlers, who had succeeded at rice-cultivation. The Qing authorities made occasional attempts to restrict Korean settlement, but demand for labour rendered such efforts ineffective.[27]

Although Qing and Chosŏn had demarcated their common border in 1712, ambiguous wording on the boundary stele which marked the source of the Tumen River had left this settlement flawed. Uncertainty existed as to which river the stele inscription referred to, and therefore to where the boundary lay. Under the Qing hegemony, this latent border dispute remained on the back burner, but with Korean mass migration into Jiandao, and the stirrings of Korean nationalism, the border dispute ignited in the late nineteenth century.[28] Sino-Korean negotiations in the 1880s failed to resolve the border issue, and the two countries established rival government offices in Jiandao.[29] The settlement frontier of Jiandao thus mutated into a disputed borderland. Then, to make matters worse, Russia and Japan entered the scene. In order that Jiandao was not swallowed up by an expansionist Russia, it became a matter of urgency for China and Korea to agree upon the exact border location and to defend it in a manner acceptable to the powers. Unfortunately, Sino-Korean diplomacy had failed to resolve the border dispute by the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05). The Sino-Korean frontier became a power vacuum whose fate was to be determined by either Russia or Japan.

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[26] The Japanese would come to adopt the Korean name, referring to all the areas of Manchuria that were adjacent to Korea and inhabited and cultivated by Koreans as "Kantō," the Japanese pronunciation of "Kando." This "Kantō" should not be confused with the Japanese reading of "Kwantung" (i.e. the Kwantung Peninsula), which is also pronounced "Kantō."

[27] Kwangmin Kim, "Korean Migration in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria: A Global Theme in Modern Asian History," in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Mobile Subjects: Boundaries and Identities in the Modern Korean Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California, 2013), 17–37. Kim's essay discusses the relationships between Chinese and Korean settlers in Jiandao, showing among other things how Korean labour was in high demand on new Chinese-run ginseng plantations.

[28] I discuss this border dispute further in the next chapter. A good summary of the dispute can be found in Sang Wook Daniel Han, "The Dispute over the Legal Status of Gando: A Reflection of Distorted Development of International Law in Northeast Asia," *Journal of the History of International Law*, 10 (2008): 211–228.

[29] Yi Sunhan 李盛煥, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō o meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 31.

Jiandao had attracted limited Japanese attention before the Russo-Japanese War.[30] During the war, inadequate maps of the region north of the Tumen River had frustrated the provision of supplies to Japanese troops, due to ignorance of local routes; as a Japanese traveller wrote, "Jiandao was truly unknown, it lay entirely obscured in the fog."[31] Korean partisans had used the mountains of Jiandao as a base from which to fight Japanese troops, bringing the borderland firmly to Japanese attention. In the fragile peace that existed from 1905, Jiandao came to have high strategic significance for Japan, for several reasons. One was its proximity to Korea. Many Koreans who opposed Japanese rule over their home peninsula, including ex-soldiers and a nascent government-in-exile, moved into Jiandao to reorganise and form a national resistance. Jiandao was an effective base not just because it lay just across the Sino-Korean border, but because of the access it provided to the Russian border (across which many Koreans moved in both directions) and its mountain environment, favourable for guerrilla warfare.[32] Japanese control of Jiandao was therefore considered necessary if the colony in Korea was to be fully secured. Another reason for Japanese interest in Jiandao was its potential as a buffer against Russia, which possessed a sphere of influence in the northern half of Manchuria and controlled the China Eastern Railway north of Changchun. In the event of a Russian "war of revenge," which was anticipated by some influential Japanese commentators including Yamagata Aritomo, Japanese troops based in Korea would need to pass through Jiandao.[33] Finally, Japanese advisors to the Korean king came to consider the Sino-Korean territorial dispute over Jiandao as a potential form of leverage in Japanese-Korean relations.

Korea became a Japanese protectorate in 1905, with a Japanese Residency-General of Korea (Tōkanfu, hereafter the RGK) assuming responsibility for Korea's internal and foreign affairs.

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[30] There had been some earlier popular and intellectual interest in the Sino-Korean borderland. In 1883, a young Japanese visitor made rubbings of the Kwanggaeto stele, erected by a king of Koguryŏ in the fifth century. Japanese scholars later read the inscription as a legitimizing precedent for a Japanese presence on the continent. Inoue Naoki 井上直樹, *Teikoku Nihon to "Man-Sen shi:" Tairiku seisaku to Chōsen/Manshū ninshiki* 帝国日本と＜満鮮史＞大陸政策と朝鮮・満州認識 [Imperial Japan and "Manchurian-Korean History:" Continental Policy and Knowledge of Korea and Manchuria] (Tokyo: Kōshobō, 2013), 58–64.

[31] Nakai, *Chōsen kaikoroku*, 179.

[32] Robert A. Scalapino and Chong Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) gives a thorough account of Korea's exiled national movement, which was really a number of movements with differing ideologies and aims. Jiandao was one of the main Korean political and military bases along with Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk and Shanghai. I discuss these matters in more detail in Chapters Two and Three.

[33] Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 104–114.

Korea's indigenous military was disbanded, and a resident Japanese military force, the Korea Garrison Army, occupied the peninsula. The RGK and the government in Tokyo viewed the "Jiandao question" (*Kantō mondai*) as their responsibility, and so the Sino-Korean dispute over Jiandao became a Sino-Japanese one. A number of individuals in Japanese academia, as well as some continental adventurer (*tairiku rōnin*) types, were at the forefront of a Japanese Jiandao policy. These "Jiandao advocates" (*Kantō rōnsha*) were usually connected with either the RGK or with the Korea Garrison Army. In 1907, officers of the Korea Garrison Army established the Residency General's Special Police Station in Jiandao (Tōkanfu rinji Kantō hashutsujo). This Special Station worked alongside the collaborationist Korean United Progress Association (Ilchinhoe) to establish Japanese political influence among the Korean settler communities. The Special Station was received with protest from local Qing authorities, and a 1909 Japan-Qing agreement saw its abolition and replacement by a standard Japanese consulate. Under this same agreement, Japan's government recognised Jiandao as Qing territory, but subsequent events showed that Japan's Jiandao advocates had no intention of retiring the Japanese presence there.[34]

In 1910, Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire, and the RGK was superseded by the Government-General of Korea (Chōsen Sōtokufu, hereafter the GGK). Despite Japan having dropped the territorial claim, the GGK did not relinquish its claim to be acting in the interest of the "protection and control" (*hogo torishimari*) of Koreans in Jiandao, whom it claimed as Japanese subjects (*shinmin*). Japanese policy shifted its main focus to the assertion of extraterritorial jurisdiction over the Koreans in Jiandao, who were allegedly vulnerable to abuses such as usury and arbitrary arrest by Chinese officials and capitalists. Since Koreans formed the majority of Jiandao's population, this entailed a very significant Japanese legal claim within China's territory. Japan sought to have this policy upheld in the Twenty-One Demands made upon China in 1915, and ratified in the subsequent treaty. This shift in focus from a territorial claim to a series of claims regarding the Koreans enabled Japan to maintain its consular and police presence in Jiandao much as before, and to occasionally increase it.[35] Japanese negotiators

[34] On Japan's early Jiandao policy, including a brief history of the RGK's Special Station, see Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 41–58.

[35] The lack of law and order in China was cited as a pretext for strengthening the Japanese presence in Jiandao to protect the Korean residents, who were imperial subjects. The work of "protection and control" was carried out by Japan's consular police forces. See Erik Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 50–53.

asserted the rights of Koreans to cross the Sino-Korean border, buy and sell land and receive Japanese legal assistance and police protection. The Japanese government also demanded the right to extradite wanted Koreans to face charges in Korea.[36] These issues pertaining to Japanese jurisdiction over Koreans, and to the status of Koreans in Manchuria generally, were referred to by writers at the time as "the question of Koreans in Manchuria" (*zai-Man Chōsenjin mondai*) or some variant of this. After 1909, this "Korean question" became the focus of Japan's Jiandao policy, supplanting to a degree the "Jiandao question" (*Kantō mondai*) which pertained to the boundary dispute.

Coordination between Japanese police and Korean collaborators to advance Japanese policy in Jiandao had been pioneered by the Special Station through its relations with the Ilchinhoe. After the dissolution of the Ilchinhoe, Japanese policy in Jiandao would be funnelled through Korean People's Associations (KPAs), of which dozens existed by the late 1920s. Most of the Koreans in Jiandao were farmers, and the provision of credit to Korean farmers became a cornerstone of Japanese policy in Jiandao.[37]

Japan also pursued a contract with China to build a railway from Jilin City to Hoeryŏng on the Korean border. Like the South Manchurian Railway and its associated feeder lines, the Jilin-Hoeryŏng line was built with both commerce and military readiness in mind.[38] Advocates for the railway project cited the rich resources available in Jiandao, not least the productive wet and dry rice fields that had been opened up by Korean pioneers. Japan's Jiandao policy aimed to link the economic resources of Jiandao to Japan, and to use Jiandao as a place to settle Koreans displaced from their lands on the peninsula. Korean migration into Jiandao and further afield in Manchuria was seen as complementary to Japanese migration into Korea.[39] Furthermore, the exploitation of Jiandao by Korean, not Japanese colonists, gave Japan's diplomats plausible deniability when

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[36] The employment of extraterritorial claims over Koreans and Taiwanese in pursuit of continental policy aims has been described with clarity by Barbara J. Brooks. A good starting point is her "Japanese Colonial Citizenship in Treaty Port China: The Location of Koreans and Taiwanese in the Imperial Order" in Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot, eds., *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000) 109–124.

[37] A thoughtful and detailed account of Korean collaboration with Japanese officials in Jiandao is Hirooka Kiyonobu 廣岡浄進, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu" 間島における朝鮮人民会と領事館警察 [The Korean People's Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police], *Jinbun gakuhō* 106 (April 2015): 169–204.

[38] Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria*, 73–86 (especially 74).

[39] Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 316–317.

charged by their Chinese counterparts with colonizing their country. This was a case of colonization by proxy.

The Chinese government maintained the basic position that Koreans should assimilate into Chinese society and take Chinese nationality. Meanwhile, Japanese agencies connected with the colonial government in Korea persuaded Koreans to shun Chinese nationality and join the Korean People's Associations instead. A number of Sino-Japanese legal disputes emerged over the rights of Koreans in Jiandao – should they be allowed to own property, for instance? Where should they be tried if they were accused of a crime – in a Chinese or a Japanese court? In the financial sphere, Japanese corporations tried to underbid Chinese moneylenders in providing loans to the Koreans. Japan periodically encouraged further Korean migration to Jiandao, while China tried to restrict it, and to instead settle large numbers of Han Chinese immigrants. Two administrative centres emerged in Jiandao, a Chinese one at Juzijie (modern Yanji) and a de facto Japanese one based around the consulate at Longjingcun, each pushing its respective policies concerning Koreans in Jiandao.[40]

By the late 1920s, China's Nationalist Party (Guomindang) was on its way to the military and political unification of the vast, troubled country. The unequal relations between China and the powers were gradually renegotiated and renounced, as the Chinese sought equity in their international relations. Koreans living in China soon became the targets of a campaign of nationalist discrimination. The Chinese government passed new laws aimed at preventing Koreans from immigrating and owning land. The increasingly insecure situation of Koreans in Jiandao was employed as a pretext for Japanese military and police intervention in Manchuria, especially from the 1920s on. Jun Uchida has shown the role of "colonial press and official propagandists" in portraying Koreans in Jiandao as "the biggest martyrs of all."[41] She quotes a Japanese settler journalist calling the Kwantung Army's 1931 invasion of Manchuria "the empire bravely [standing] up for the protection of life and property of one million Korean brethren in Manchuria."[42] The discourse of "protection and control" was employed in one form or another by

[40] On Sino-Japanese rivalry over the local administration of Jiandao's Koreans, see Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 95–170.
[41] Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 310.
[42] Ibid, 312.

Japanese spokesmen throughout the 1905–32 period, and ultimately it became a justification for military intervention in Manchuria.

Meanwhile, Korean exiles in Jiandao organised themselves politically and militarily to challenge Chinese and Japanese domination. Some Koreans took Chinese nationality, while others collaborated with Japan. The majority of Koreans, however, resisted government by either China or Japan, and created independent organisations and movements.[43] Even the Korean People's Associations, which were promoted in Japanese writings of the time as organisations "friendly to Japan" (*shin-Nichi*) were not mere tools of Japanese policy, but actively articulated and defended the interests of Koreans in Jiandao.[44] From the mid-1920s, Korean resistance in Jiandao had coalesced around the communist movement, and the Korean guerrillas were soon receiving Soviet aid.[45] All of these developments contributed to Jiandao's transition from an obscure Sino-Korean frontier to a political and social patchwork of criss-crossing claims, legal jurisdictions and national aspirations.

Jiandao in studies of Japanese imperialism

Anglosphere scholarship has virtually no monograph-length works focused on Jiandao in this historical period, although a number of works address related topics as we shall see. In East Asian languages, historical studies of Jiandao have been more plentiful.[46] Yi Sunhan, a Korean

[43] Yi Sunhan has shown that Korean membership in the Japanese-funded associations was as high as 90% in areas near Japanese consulates and sub-consulates, because Koreans were forced to join them. In Jiandao as a whole, membership rates remained very low even after the associations had become widespread across Jiandao's four counties. Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 147, 206.
[44] This was a conclusion of Hirooka, op. cit.
[45] See Chapter Four of this thesis on Jiandao as a cradle of Korean communism.
[46] Besides Yi Sunhan's monograph, there are some good Japanese-language articles on the subject of Jiandao including: Akizuki Nozomu 秋月望, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e: Chōsen to Shin no kyōkai chitai o meguru kenkyū" 華夷秩序の境界から国際法的な"国境"へ 朝鮮と清の境界地帯をめぐる研究 [From Sinocentric Boundary to International "Border:" A Study of the Chosŏn-Qing Boundary Area], *Annual Report of the Institute for International Studies* 13 (2010): 3–16; Hirooka Kiyonobu 廣岡浄進, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu" 間島における朝鮮人民会と領事館警察 [The Korean People's Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police], *Jinbun gakuhō* 106 (April 2015): 169–204; Itō Kazuhiko 伊藤一彦, "Nihon no zai-Man Chōsenjin seisaku" 日本の在満朝鮮人政策 [Japan's Manchurian-Korean Policy], *Annals of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture* 53 (1992): 65–83.

historian publishing in Japan, may be considered the trailblazer in such studies. He has analyzed the contradiction between the demographic preponderance of the Korean settlers, who had their own national aspirations, and the aims of Chinese and Japanese government institutions.[47] According to Yi, the Japanese and Chinese states were prevented from governing Jiandao effectively due to this contradiction. The failure of the Japanese and Chinese to appreciate the agency of the Koreans left their efforts impotent. China and Japan were attempting to incorporate the same territory and populace into their national folds at the same time, an anomalous situation with ramifications for both of these states and for the Koreans of Jiandao.

Since Yi, studies of Jiandao and the Koreans in Manchuria have fallen into several categories. Some studies mention them in passing during discussions of the wider Japanese continental policy. Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, for instance, shows how Japan paid lip service to the Open Door principle in the 1904–32 period:

> Unprepared to challenge the multilateral system overtly, the Japanese chose, in effect, to concede the question of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria in the arena of high diplomacy while creating colonial realities on the ground.[48]

Matsusaka also notes the presence of a "Korean clique" lead by Terauchi Masatake, the first governor-general of Korea, and the Bank of Chōsen, colonial Korea's central bank. This group envisioned a railway connecting Mukden with the Korean port of Pusan, making the Korean railway the artery connecting Manchuria's resources with Japan.[49] "[A]dvocates of Manchuria-Korea integration" also sought a railway through Jiandao, connecting Jilin City with Korea's north-eastern port of Chŏngjin.[50] The Chinese were reluctant to allow such a railway to be built, because "the region [Jiandao], with its large ethnic Korean population, remained vulnerable to schemes for annexation."[51] Furthermore, some Japanese associated with the South Manchuria Railway Company were wary of the competition that a Korean trade and transport route would

[47] Yi, op. cit.
[48] Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria*, 3.
[49] Ibid, 199.
[50] Ibid, 208–209.
[51] Ibid, 208.

give to their southern route out of Dalian.[52] Matsusaka identifies several important themes here: firstly, the Chinese government was suspicious of the Korean presence in Jiandao and the opportunities it presented for Japanese expansion; secondly, differing approaches to continental expansion existed among Japanese colonial actors; thirdly, Japanese continental expansion proceeded in a piecemeal fashion by "creating colonial realities," or what I will call "power networks," in a disputed region.

Some historians have focused upon the role of Korean settlers in Japan's continental expansion. Barbara Brooks, for instance, has argued that Koreans in Manchuria were manipulated into the role of sub-imperialists for Japan, gaining privileges like loans and cheap land which invited the hostility of their Chinese neighbours.[53] Brooks claims that "in Manchuria before 1931 most of [the local Koreans'] advantages derived from extraterritoriality."[54] The protections offered by extraterritorial law sometimes made Koreans complicit with Japanese expansion. In a similar vein, Hyun Ok Park has described the process of Japan using Korean migration and land reclamation in Manchuria to encroach upon Chinese sovereignty.[55] She uses the simile of "osmosis," in which the body (here the Japanese empire) transmits its molecules (the Korean migrants along with Japanese agents sent to protect and control them) across the boundary of the empire into the neighbouring "body" of Manchuria:

> Japan imagined migrants as if they were fluid agents that could pass through the membrane of Korea's borders into Manchuria, where the solvent concentration (or resistance to Japan's intervention) was higher. In this way, Japan hoped that the migration and settlement of Koreans in Manchuria would neutralize Chinese resistance, making possible a gradual diffusion of Japan's power.[56]

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[52] Ibid, 211–213.
[53] Barbara J. Brooks, "Peopling the Japanese Empire: The Koreans in Manchuria and the Rhetoric of Inclusion," in Sharon A. Minichiello, ed., *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 25–44.
[54] Ibid, 35.
[55] Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).
[56] Ibid, 43.

Park's study highlights an important aspect of the Sino-Japanese contest in Jiandao – colonial power could take forms besides the possession of territory, and in Jiandao the status of the Korean settlers was seen by Japanese and Chinese commentators alike as an expression of Japanese encroachment into Manchuria. The expansion of Korean settlers represented the expansion of the Japanese state, in the minds of colonial planners and officials at least.

There are other examples in modern history of colonial powers exploiting migration networks. Kerry Ward writes that the sovereignty of the Dutch East India Company "was exercised" through networks of empire. Prime examples of such networks were those of "free and forced migration," the latter type intersecting with "categorization of people as slaves, convicts and political prisoners."[57] Imperial networks interacted with indigenous cultural and religious networks, and furthermore, were "not identical or uniformly developed, nor… necessarily linked across time and space."[58] Japanese policy in Jiandao likewise consisted of networks of empire, which allowed Japanese actors and their Korean collaborators to assert dominance in parts of the borderland in lieu of actual territorial annexation. The most visible networks in Jiandao included Korean migration, legal claims and rights (such as extraterritoriality and rights of land ownership), flows of capital investment through Japanese companies, and the Japanese consular police.

The crucial role of the consular police at the vanguard of Japan's continental expansion has been explored by Erik Esselstrom. These police units were in the service of the Foreign Ministry which were posted in China to defend all kinds of Japanese interests. Esselstrom argues that the police laid part of the groundwork for the formal expansion of empire in the 1930s: "The Japanese consular police in China and Manchuria gradually assumed duties of political policing in the informal empire, especially after 1919."[59] Under the extraterritorial system which prevailed in China, Koreans living in China fell under the jurisdiction of the consular police – an interpretation which the Chinese government and public did not accept.[60] Esselstrom shows how

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[57] Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5.
[58] Ibid, pp. 5–6 for indigenous networks, p. 12 for quotation.
[59] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 35.
[60] The legal interpretation of Koreans as Japanese subjects, and the ramifications this held for Japanese jurisdiction over Koreans living in China, are discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

police stationed in Korea crossed the border into Jiandao and nearby areas with increasing frequency. The presence of Korean rebels in Jiandao, especially after the pro-independence March 1 Movement of 1919, provided a rationale and pretext for these illegal personnel movements. Nor was cooperation between Japanese consular police and colonial authorities in neighbouring territories unusual in the wider empire:

> Just as the policing of Koreans in Manchuria led to cooperation between the Jiandao consulate-general and the Korean Governor-General, so the control of Taiwanese in the south facilitated similar relationships between the Taiwan colonial-police bureau and their consular-police counterparts on the mainland.[61]

In addition to legal and police aspects, there was a strong ideological component to Japan's Jiandao policy, which was in part appropriated from Korean nationalist historiography. Andre Schmid has examined a new awareness of Jiandao within the Korean patriotic enlightenment movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[62] The Korean intellectual Sin Ch'aeho imagined Manchuria as the crucible of Korean history and of the Korean race (*minjok*). Schmid writes: "Sin Ch'aeho was an irredentist where Manchuria was concerned. He viewed the Korean settlement of [Jiandao] as a reclamation of lost territory, the vanguard of a future 'reunification.'"[63] Shin's views of a Greater Korea found sympathy not just with other Korean scholars, but in a school of Japanese scholarship known as Manchurian-Korean history (*Man-Senshi*).[64]

Jun Uchida has also argued for the importance of these greater Korea myths in promoting Korean migration into Manchuria.[65] She writes: "This image of pioneers, internalized by the Korean settlers themselves, implicitly reprised a diasporic vision of Korean racial expansion across the northern border..."[66] These notions of Jiandao or of Manchuria as historically Korean, and as natural places for Korean settlement, had a strong influence upon Japanese policy-makers. As we

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[61] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 43.
[62] Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
[63] Ibid, 235.
[64] On *Man-Senshi*, see Naoki, *Teikoku Nihon to "Man-Senshi."*
[65] Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*.
[66] Ibid, 313.

shall see, Korea's historical ties to Jiandao in the shape of old kingdoms and remaining monuments were cited by the Japanese advocates as justification for a Korean Jiandao, directed by the firm hand of Japanese policy.

These studies of Japanese imperialism in East Asia have dealt admirably with Japan's Jiandao policy, especially as it concerned the Korean settlers, but there are several areas which warrant further exploration. The first is the fact that Japan's government considered Jiandao to be a distinct region with unique problems, deserving specially designed policies. The majority of English language works in the field take as their subject "Manchuria," as though Japan's activities were uniform across this vast area. The true state of affairs is suggested by the Japanese government's organization of documents dealing with Manchuria and Jiandao separately in the major collections. The considerable number of publications relating specifically to the Jiandao which were created by historians, journalists, pamphleteers and other individuals also points to the importance with which the region's affairs were regarded in Japan, quite apart from issues pertaining to south Manchuria.

A second aspect of Japanese policy in Jiandao which has not been duly considered is the important role of the Government-General of Korea. Esselstrom and Brooks have shown how the Foreign Ministry worked to control Koreans living in China as a whole, but if we focus our attention on Jiandao then the GGK's role appears more prominent. The GGK had no legal authority in China. Yet it spread a web of influence wherever Koreans lived, particularly those adjacent to the Korean border, first in Jiandao, then north of the Yalu River and in the Russian Far East, through the dispatch of spies, police units, teachers for Korean schools and more. Together with the Foreign Ministry, the SMRC and the Kwantung Army, the GGK ought to be ranked as a major sub-imperialist player in Japanese continental policy.

Also somewhat lacking in the literature is a macro-historical context – Jiandao considered within the history of Qing borderlands during the age of the nation-state/empire. In this unsettled period, Jiandao was a space of political, national and social overlap and ambiguity. The possibility that Jiandao could be annexed to the Japanese empire, through the agency of Korean colonists, was very real to Chinese commentators. The clash of the Japanese and Chinese expansions in the flux

of the Qing frontiers resembles similar clashes in the age of empire-building and rapid expansion of states, and their acquisition of unclaimed lands (and peoples) in their interstices. Jiandao's condition as a disputed borderland was obviously important for the historical course of the region. It shaped the form that Japanese policy took, and presented challenges to this policy that proved insurmountable, particularly in the form of the Korean independence movements that was able to flourish in the uncontrolled space of the borderland. I would posit the historical model of the borderland as a helpful tool for understanding the encroachment of empires upon the Qing peripheries, and that Japan's encroachment upon Jiandao makes an instructive example. I propose to apply the historical model of the borderland to a consideration of Japan's Jiandao policy, and if necessary to adapt this model after a thorough assessment of the historical facts.

Jiandao as a borderland in the era of the modern nation-state/empire

The historical concept of the borderland was introduced in the early twentieth century by Herbert E. Bolton in his studies of the Anglo-Spanish borderlands in North America.[67] Bolton's borderland grew out of the frontier paradigm of American historiography, in which Frederick Jackson Turner articulated the Wild West as an "open frontier,"[68] and a formative element of American history and identity.[69] The frontier was the edge of the civilized world which was pushed out into wild and untamed lands. The concept of the borderland initially shared these dualistic assumptions about civilization and the wilderness.[70] Yet it has evolved to express multi-directional flows, and the blending, interaction and mutual influence of diverse human societies. The borderland was an area of clashing and overlapping movements of peoples and institutions –

[67] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Hardpress Publishing, 2013).
[68] Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding and Chad Bryant, "Introduction: Borderlands in a Global Perspective" in Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding and Chad Bryant, eds., *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2.
[69] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1948).
[70] "The conventional understanding of *frontiers* as the moveable and contested limits of European expansion framed the initial meaning of *borderlands*…" Readman, et al., "Borderlands in a Global Perspective," 5. For Bolton, the Spanish borderlands were "the northern outposts of New Spain, maintained chiefly to hold the country against foreign intruders and against the inroads of savage tribes." Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, vii.

a place "where states, empires, and other sources of governing institutional authority demarcate, expand and protect territories under their control."[71]

Bolton's concept of the borderland has endured, while undergoing useful modifications. For instance, Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron adopt the Boltonian view of borderlands formed out of imperial interactions but emphasize the experience of the indigenous peoples of the North American borderlands: "Indians exploited these differences and compelled these shifts [among imperial European rationales and styles], partly to resist submission but mainly to negotiate intercultural relations on terms more to their own liking."[72] A particularly useful contribution of Adelman and Aron was to make a distinction between the frontier and the borderland: "[b]y frontier, we understand a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined… we reserve the designation of borderlands for the contested boundaries between colonial domains."[73] There is thus a historical progression from frontier to borderland, with the latter developing at a stage of more intense human interaction and conflict. I have already described Jiandao from roughly 1860 to 1880 as an open settlement frontier where state power was largely absent. From the beginning of the Sino-Korean border dispute circa 1880, to the establishment of Manzhouguo in 1932, Jiandao became a borderland where the interactions between state agents were more decisive and not just the international boundary but various areas of state jurisdiction were contested.

East Asian historiography has furnished us with some fascinating variations on the themes of frontiers and borderlands which this study may draw upon. In East Asia, boundaries between polities were regulated for many centuries according to the norms of Chinese diplomacy, which were tributary in nature and which posited essential distinctions between Chinese and "barbarians."[74] There have been certain differences in the ways Chinese empires have negotiated

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[71] Readman, et al., "Borderlands in a Global Perspective," 2.
[72] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104:3 (June 1999), 816. Adelman and Aron's essay was vehemently attacked by John R. Wunder and Pekka Hämäläinen in their response essay, "Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays," *The American Historical Review* 104:4 (October 1999), 1229–1234. This attack was focused not so much on the historiographic concept of the borderland as on the relative privileging (as the authors saw it) of European experiences over Native American ones.
[73] Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders," 815–816.
[74] Chun, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations," 90–111.

their international borders, depending upon geography, settlement patterns and the type of diplomatic relations maintained with neighboring peoples and states. Owen Lattimore has famously described and analyzed the frontiers between China and the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples and states of Inner Asia, such as the Mongol and Jurchen federations to the north. He characterizes these as sites of cultural hostility and economic incompatibility, contrasting them with the frontiers of southern China, consisting of pockets of Chinese agricultural settlement in the river valleys and lowlands, and "unassimilated" native areas in the highlands.[75]

Studies of Qing borderlands have tended to claim that the "middle ground" was not as important in Chinese borderlands as in American ones. The idea of the middle ground was put forward by Richard White, who contended that the imperial "periphery" (that is, the borderland) may not be decisively influenced by the imperial "core," but that the borderland evolves its own distinct political and social forms – the middle ground.[76] Robert H. G. Lee has critiqued this notion in his study of Chinese government in the Manchuria frontier, arguing for continuity from the late Qing to the Republican era.[77] Foreign threats to the frontier had justified a strong hand there from the late Qing, and this autocratic tradition continued and fed into the warlord period. While many aspects of frontier government were modernized, and while the frontier became heavily Sinicized, "neither the political leadership nor the population was really ready for a complete break with the political traditions of the past."[78]

Similarly, for James Reardon-Anderson modern Manchuria would be made in the image of the Chinese villagers who colonized it:

> There was in Manchuria a Chinese frontier – a line of demarcation between areas that were more populated, cultivated and integrated on one side than on the other – and a middle ground – where Chinese and other ethnic groups interacted and worked out common solutions to common

[75] Owen Lattimore, "The Frontier in History," *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 474–477. Note that Lattimore did not distinguish frontiers from borderlands; he generally employed the former term in instances where international boundaries were ambiguous.
[76] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). The middle ground is succinctly defined in the "Introduction," ix–xvi, especially p. x.
[77] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, 182–186.
[78] Ibid, 186.

> problems. But these edges and places played only a marginal role in defining the emerging Manchuria, compared to the wholesale importation of an essentially Chinese society, economy, and culture.[79]

He concludes that the frontier experience of Manchuria had no significant influence on the core, and that the culture, economy and society of China proper were replicated in Manchuria, even when these were not optimal modes of dealing with the different conditions in Manchuria.

C. Patterson Giersch came to a different conclusion in his study of Qing's southwestern borderland of Yunnan. In this region, "newcomers and natives each adapted to the other even as they sought to use or manipulate each other. Such contacts produced new or modified institutions and customs that drew from the traditions of multiple cultures."[80] According to Giersch, Han Chinese settlers and Manchu officials who settled in the southwest borderland or encountered its societies were in fact deeply impacted, and this borderland did develop into a type of "middle ground."

The notion of the middle ground seems better suited to historical stages in which contact between nations and peoples in a borderland is less intense and a new social and political core is allowed to develop there over time, as seen in the gradual Chinese colonization of Yunnan. The case of Jiandao appears somewhat different – the period of time in which the borderland developed was much constricted within the tumultuous decades of the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Kim Kwangmin is one of the first scholars to have looked at the Sino-Korean borderland in the age of the nation-state/empire. The mass migration of Koreans into Jiandao and the emergence of a new borderland here in the nineteenth century has been linked by Kim to the profound global political and economic changes that were then taking place.[81] Kim depicts Korean migration as part of a global phenomenon – "essentially a relocation of agrarian labor, stimulated by the

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[79] James Reardon-Anderson, *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). Quote on p. 7.
[80] C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3.
[81] Kwangmin Kim, "Korean Migration in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria," 17–37.

growing integration of the borderland economy into global capitalism."[82] Influenced by Carl A. Trocki's studies of Southeast Asia, Kim contends that similar, related migrations occurred in the same period in other Chinese borderlands, from Xinjiang and Tibet to Manchuria and Korea, and that this "interregional or transnational migration… was arguably the most important socioeconomic development of the early modern and modern era."[83] Kim claims that "the most important commonality [between Jiandao and Southeast Asia] was the status of both regions as an economic frontier – the underdeveloped hinterland of a dominant China. Resources were abundant, while the labor for development was scarce." The key stimulus for this new type of Asian borderland came from "European commerce in the trade ports" which "changed the commercial landscape, economic structure, and ethnic relations of the Sino-Korean borderland."[84] Kim's findings help us to historicize the Jiandao borderland as a symptom of the age of gunboat diplomacy in East Asia, although Kim's study is restricted to the nineteenth century and does not examine Japan's role.

When we speak of a borderland we are concerned to a large degree with the project of the modern nation-state, which is expected to be capable of defining, demarcating and patrolling its borders in a manner that is respected by other states. States aim to establish well-controlled linear borders, and are intolerant of chaotic and uncontrolled interstices between borders. The normative aim of the modern state is the "reduction" or "filling in" of these spaces to create a linear border.[85]

The collapse of traditional, Sinocentric tribute-based relations among the East Asian states, and Japan's participation in the powers' formal and informal imperialism, altered international relations as they were conducted along East Asian borders. New power vacuums were created along the Qing's extensive boundaries, which received mass migration and which Qing and other states attempted to "reduce" and bring under control. Borderlands were created when the Chinese

[82] Ibid, 18–19.
[83] Ibid, 19.
[84] Ibid, 20.
[85] For the geographer Prescott, "[t]he general impression is that as states separated by frontiers extend their territory the unclaimed land diminishes. Eventually property disputes arise and an attempt is made to resolve these difficulties by delimiting a precise boundary." J. R. V Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* (London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 46.

state worked to recover control of its boundaries through administrative reform, railway construction and Han Chinese settlement, but found that other states were in the process of settling and taking control of these areas. Koreans were colonizing Jiandao with the eventual backing of Japan, while in other borderlands the Russian government was backing Mongol and Muslim irredentist activities.[86]

In the case of Jiandao, the vital importance of colonial policies – settlement by agriculturalists, military-ready infrastructure such as railways – in Japanese as well as Chinese policy has prompted me to conceive of Jiandao as a colonial borderland. The colonial borderland has several features. Firstly, it is disputed between two or more nations. Secondly, immigration of settlers is employed strategically by the disputants, who also forge trade and infrastructure links between the metropole and the borderland. Furthermore, a borderland society emerges, analogous if not identical to Richard White's "middle ground," in which local actors (such as indigenous inhabitants, settlers and sub-imperialist representatives of the metropole) are instrumental.[87] These local actors will have varying degrees of loyalty towards the interested nation-states/empires. The colonial borderland of Jiandao was a phenomenon of modern imperialism in which the older Asian continental empires, in this case the Qing, disintegrated and new political orders began forming along their borderlands. The concept of the colonial borderland describes a recognizable and discreet phenomenon of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the legacy of which continues to mark international relations today.[88]

Besides the impact on the colonial powers, borderland colonialism is profoundly connected to the fate of the people who inhabit the borderland, the native populace. D. K. Fieldhouse has described colonialism as a "state of subjection" in which the interests of the colonized are subordinated to those of the metropole.[89] The Koreans in Jiandao were then doubly colonized, by China and Japan. From the Chinese side, the Koreans in Jiandao were subject to a kind of internal

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[86] Owen Lattimore referred to Chinese "secondary imperialism" in Manchuria and Mongolia. Together with the mass migration of Han Chinese, Lattimore cited Chinese economic domination combined with the revolutionary arrival of railway transport as crucial to the reduction of the frontiers. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, 192-193. On Russian intrigues in Mongol and Manchu borderlands see Narangoa and Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia*. For instance pp. 138–139.
[87] White, *The Middle Ground*.
[88] Note for instance the devolution of the former Soviet periphery into new nations and disputed regions.
[89] D. K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism 1870–1945: An Introduction* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 6.

colonialism.[90] In such cases, the core-periphery contact (that is between the Chinese government and peripheral Korean population in the borderland) does not result in "social structural convergence," but rather "[t]he core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and exploit it materially."[91] The periphery is relegated by "cultural markers" to an inferior position in the national division of labor and wealth; it tends to respond by asserting its cultural difference, even its independence, from the core.[92] As we shall see, the Koreans came to occupy a low position in the Chinese rural hierarchy and their labor was exploited by Chinese landlords, while Chinese officialdom sought to force them to assimilate to Chinese society (through dress regulations and language education in schools for example). Such forms of internal colonialism led to resistance by Koreans and was used as propaganda by Japanese politicians and writers who were arguing for an interventionist Jiandao policy. And yet, we cannot really draw a clear distinction between Chinese internal colonialism and Japanese borderland colonialism. Chinese and Japanese authorities wrangled over these Koreans in their respective efforts to control the Jiandao borderland, while Koreans responded with innovative forms of resistance. Chinese and Japanese borderland policies were formed in response to each other. Both Japan and China sought to control the borderland by settling it with immigrants whose presence was seen as beneficial to national policy, and over whom legal jurisdiction could be effectively asserted.

The movement of people, especially industrious peasants, was seen as an essential aspect of Japan's continental policy: this is analogous to Hyun Ok Park's "osmotic expansion." Japan and China offered education, finance and health facilities to appeal to the Koreans and win them into their respective national folds. One is reminded of Foucault's concept of "biopolitics." This refers to a "technology of power" which, in contrast to the "individualizing" seizure of power termed as "disciplinary," represents a "massifying" approach concerned with the strength and vitality of the population as a whole.[93] As this notion suggests, success in colonizing the borderland was contingent not just on the numbers, but also on the overall health of the desired population.

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[90] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975). Hechter focuses on the colonization by the English "core" of the British Isles' "Celtic fringe," drawing comparisons between the Celtic experience in Britain and the African-American one in the USA. See pp. xiii–xviii.
[91] Ibid, 9.
[92] Ibid, 6–10.
[93] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2009), 242.

Japanese policy makers made this clear in their slogan "protection and nurturing" (*hogo jochō*) which, together with "protection and control" were the watchwords of Japan's Jiandao policy.[94]

The approach I am outlining has a number of potential advantages. By imagining Jiandao in the 1905–32 period as a borderland, it extends a tried-and-true historical model to an under-explored area and timeframe. This in turn will allow us to critique the "imperialist Japan" versus "nationalist China" dichotomy in Jiandao, as the borderland policies of the two nations mirrored and resembled one another. The study of Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao also helps to bring out the under-appreciated role of the GGK in Japan's continental policy. Jiandao is an inadequately understood site of Japan's continental expansion in this period, the study of which may complement the better-known cases of southern Manchuria, the SMRC and so on. The history of Japan's Jiandao policy may also provide crucial insight into the establishment of Manzhouguo, for which it laid part of the foundations, and into the emergence of a Korean revolutionary movement.

The approach of this thesis

This thesis is primarily an analysis of Japanese policy in Jiandao and of the interactions of various Japanese institutions with Chinese and Korean ones. I posit Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao as one of several important factors shaping the historical course of Northeast Asia in the early twentieth century. I propose to trace the origins and development of Japanese policy in Jiandao, from its origins in the Russo-Japanese War, through the period of Japanese "informal empire" in China's northeast, until the shift towards more outright military aggression by the Kwantung Army in 1931.

The first task of this thesis will be to identify the individuals and institutions through which Japanese policy towards Jiandao originated, to consider their aims and motivations and to outline the attitudes and activities that eventually came into practice. I will consider the role played by

[94] As we shall see in Chapter Three, "protection and nurturing" entailed the building of schools and hospitals, and the loaning of credit to the Korean farmers. "Protection and control" covered more the security and policing aspects, including the defense of Korean livelihoods against Chinese usurers, extortionists and bandits.

the Japanese government, especially by the colonial government in Korea; by the military, especially by the Korea Garrison Army and military police (*kenpeitai*); and finally, by the Japanese historians, writers, journalists, pamphleteers and others who shaped Japanese understandings of the Jiandao question – those known by their contemporaries as "Jiandao advocates" (*Kantō ronsha*). All of these threads must then be traced over time in order to show the nature and course of Japanese Jiandao policy, and to contemplate its historical legacy. This will not only shine a light on an underappreciated area of Japanese continental policy, but by exploring how Jiandao's status as a disputed borderland shaped Japanese policy, it will also deepen our understanding of borderland colonialism as a force in the emergence of the modern nation-state/empire.

This study employs a range of primary documents to construct a mostly chronological narrative of Japan's Jiandao policy from 1905 to 1932. These documents include government papers, pamphlets by public agencies and private individuals, reports by Japanese officials and experts who visited Jiandao, and articles from contemporary periodicals. Among the government sources, I have tried to balance documents from the upper echelons of government in Tokyo and colonial Korea with the records left by Japanese agents-on-the-spot. Important examples of the latter include individuals connected with the RGK's Special Station in Jiandao, the Japanese consular offices in Longjingcun and other locations, and the Japanese military (in particular the Korea Garrison Army). The papers of historians who took an interest in Jiandao, like Naitō Konan and Inaba Iwakichi, have also been crucial in understanding the mentality and developing ideology behind Japan's Jiandao policy.

Chinese policy and actions in and towards Jiandao are a major part of this history. The most important Chinese government sources are the provincial government of Jilin and, locally, the district governor (*daoyin*) of Yanji, which implemented and shaped Chinese policy in Jiandao. I have reconstructed these from the many translations available in Japanese and English-language sources, and from secondary sources. The same goes for documents left by Korean individuals and organizations. A particularly important Korean source is the Korean People's Associations, which acted as intermediaries between Japanese policy makers and Korean residents of Jiandao.

Finally, legal texts such as bilateral treaties and memoranda to international bodies such as the League of Nations have also been important in constructing my narrative.

As for the chapter divisions of this thesis, the main focus of Chapter One will be the early development of a Japanese Jiandao policy between the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905 and the Jiandao Agreement of 1909. This is the time when several influential Japanese visited Jiandao and built a Jiandao policy around the pre-existing Korean territorial claim. In Chapter One I will attempt to discern the origins of Japanese Jiandao policy, determine exactly who was responsible for it, and describe how this policy grew out of the borderland conditions and took shape in parallel with larger Japanese designs on the continent. I will also relate how Japan came to terms with the Chinese and Korean authorities, and with Korean settlers, over the so-called Jiandao question.

Chapter Two begins with a detailed discussion of the Sino-Japanese Jiandao Agreement of 1909, by which Japan acknowledged Jiandao as Chinese territory. Despite the terms of this agreement, Japanese interest in controlling Jiandao did not wane. Henceforth began a more surreptitious Japanese involvement in Jiandao, with agents posted by the GGK at consular facilities and collaborationist Korean associations established. The mode of dispute in the borderland changed from territorial claims to clashing legal machinations. Chinese and Japanese authorities competed for jurisdiction over Koreans in Jiandao, and for the power to define the legal and national identity of the Korean residents. These developments suggest the multiple ways that a national border can be constituted and defended, not just as a line on the map but as a set of institutions and definitions.

Chapter Three takes as its departure point the Korean independence movement which began in 1919 and reverberated through Jiandao in the early 1920s. In this period, Korean dissidents established a government-in-exile and military units, and the borderland became the harbour for a full-fledged Korean independence movement. After the Hunchun Incident, actually a series of incidents in 1920–21, the Japanese army launched military actions against Korean guerrillas, leading to village massacres and battles. This was the first Japanese military offensive in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War. The unresolved status of the borderland, and the

fragmentation of Chinese state power into warlordism, allowed Japan to carry out such interventions with impunity. The events of this period also illustrate how China's ability to defend its borders was compromised by the alignment of the Japanese army and the warlord Zhang Zuolin.

I deal with the second half of the 1920s separately, in Chapter Four, because this period was distinguished by the emergence of an official Korean Communist Party, on the Korean peninsula and in Jiandao, and by the rise of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang) as a near-hegemon in China. The main developments addressed here are the heightened fear of communism being spread to the Japanese Empire by Korean Bolsheviks, the brief period of cooperation between Chinese and Japanese authorities to extinguish Korean communism in the borderland, and the anti-Korean legislation enforced by the Chinese authorities nationally and across various jurisdictions in Manchuria, especially in Jiandao. Meanwhile, Japanese authorities and polemicists argued for continued migration of Koreans into Manchuria to advance Japanese interests. Thus did a contradiction emerge between the threat of communist and nationalist movements among the Koreans, and the perception of Koreans as Japanese nationals (*hōjin*) whose presence in Jiandao was good for Japan's continental policy. For their part, many Chinese by now looked at the Korean settlers negatively as a "vanguard" of Japanese imperialism. Both in China and in Japan, views of Korean border crossers had become highly ambivalent, while the internationalist ideology of communism posed a further challenge to the integrity of the national border.

Chapter Five discusses the dramatic events of the early 1930s, with a major Korean uprising and some heavy-handed Chinese actions propelling the Japanese military towards intervention in Manchuria. In this period, the unresolved issues of Korean migration and residence in Jiandao were exploited by Japan's military as a casus belli, with Japanese press commentators acting as cheerleaders for a final resolution of the "question of Koreans in Manchuria." This chapter concludes with the creation of Manzhouguo in March 1932, and reflects on the influence that colonialist Japanese policies in the borderland had on some of the institutions which emerged in the Manzhouguo period (1932–45) and subsequently.

CHAPTER ONE

Into a Contested Borderland: The Beginnings of a Japanese Jiandao Policy, 1905–1909

Where Japanese foreign policy was concerned, Jiandao originally became significant during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and immediately after, from the outset of Japan's "post-war administration" (*sengo keiei*) of Manchuria. There were several reasons for the initial Japanese interest in Jiandao. Firstly, the lack of detailed maps of the region had hampered Japanese operations during the war.[1] After the end of hostilities, Russia remained Japan's primary hypothetical enemy, and in the event of another war Jiandao would provide the Japanese army with an essential stepping stone into Manchuria.[2] Secondly, Jiandao was the object of a Sino-Korea border dispute, and the Korean king (or at least his ministers) was open to Japanese assistance in resolving the territorial dispute in Korea's favour.[3] After Japan's Residency-General of Korea assumed control of Korea's foreign affairs, resolving the dispute over Jiandao became Japan's official business as Korea's "protector." A third reason for Japanese interest in Jiandao was the security needs of the Japanese protectorate in Korea: following the logic of Yamagata Aritomo's imperial defence doctrine of lines of sovereignty and advantage, Jiandao should be pacified to buffer the protectorate of Korea.[4] Finally, the post-war settlements between Japan and Russia gave Japan a sphere of interest in southern Manchuria, including full ownership of the China Eastern Railway (CER) as far north as Changchun (Map Three).[5] Jiandao fell within this

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[1] Nakai Kinjō 中井金城, *Chōsen kaikoroku* 朝鮮回顧録 [Korean Memoirs] (Tokyo: Tōgyō Kenkyūkai Shuppanbu, 1915), 179.

[2] As can be seen in the "1907 Operation Plan for the Japanese Imperial Army" (Meiji yonjū nendo teikoku rikugun sakusen keikaku), in which north-east Korea was envisaged as the launch pad for a Japanese advance into Jiandao and onwards to attack Russian positions in the Ussuri region. Hara Takeshi 原剛, "Nichi-Ro sensō go no teikoku rikugun sakusen keikaku to sono kunrei" 日露戦争後の帝国陸軍作戦計画とその訓令 [The Imperial Army's Post-Russo-Japanese War Operational Plan and its Directives], *Gunji shigaku* 18:3 (1982): 48–58.

[3] As witnessed in the notorious memorial of Korea's President Pak Chesun to the Japanese Resident-General, discussed in detail below.

[4] Yamagata's influential doctrine was laid out in an 1890 memorandum. W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 46.

[5] The southern section of the CER was ceded to Japan by the Portsmouth Treaty of September 1905, while China was compelled to accept this concession in the Treaty of Beijing of December that year. Then on July 17, 1907, a Russo-Japanese agreement divided Manchuria into northern (Russian) and southern (Japanese) spheres of influence.

Japanese zone, meaning that Japan would be free to extend its railway network there.[6] Jiandao's intermediate location between the Chinese rail hub of Jilin and the Korean port of Chŏngjin, on the Japan Sea coast, made it a key potential link between the resources of Manchuria and the Japanese metropole. For the above reasons, some Japanese came to view the future of Jiandao as vitally important to Japan's national interests.

The various issues connected with Jiandao, from the status of the Korean settlers to the location of the border, were referred to by Japanese diplomats and other officials as the "Jiandao question." Certain Japanese individuals became intensely interested in the resolution of this question in a way congenial to Japanese interests. They determined to explore and study the region, and to establish the exact location of the border, and did so after consultation with some of the highest echelons of Japanese government and military. These "Jiandao advocates" (*Kantō ronsha*) generally clustered around the high officials of the RGK and its successor, the Government-General of Korea (GGK). Their interests were often oriented towards the "inseparability of Manchuria and Korea" to use the term coined by historian Inaba Iwakichi.[7] The pioneers of Japan's Jiandao policy were historians, journalists and other professionals who from 1905 onwards created a massive set of documentation on Jiandao's geography, demography, economy, and history. In order to meet Japan's policy aims in Jiandao, mapping and describing the region was a priority. Furthermore, some Japanese historians, including Inaba Iwakichi, Suzuki Shintarō and (somewhat reluctantly) the eminent Sinologist Naitō Konan, would seek to uncover and establish historical evidence in support of the Korean territorial claim to Jiandao.[8]

Tokyo's initial, publically-avowed aim in Jiandao was to settle the Sino-Korean border question in favour of Korea. This territorial claim became the core of Japan's Jiandao policy for the period examined in this chapter, and set the precedent for Japan's Jiandao policy for decades to come. A second aim was to establish a diplomatic and police presence in Jiandao to protect the interests of

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See Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 42, 108–9.

[6] The line separating the Japanese and Russian spheres in fact cut through Jiandao, although most of the region, including important towns like Hunchun, Juzijie and Longjingcun fell into the Japanese sphere.

[7] Inoue Naoki 井上直樹, *Teikoku Nihon to "Man-Sen shi:" Tairiku seisaku to Chōsen/Manshū ninshiki* 帝国日本と＜満鮮史＞　大陸政策と朝鮮・満州認識 [Imperial Japan and "Manchurian-Korean History:" Continental Policy and Knowledge of Korea and Manchuria] (Tokyo: Kōshobō, 2013), 89–90.

[8] Ibid, 90–94.

Koreans, much as the Japanese consulates already protected Japanese living in China. A further objective for Japan in Jiandao was the establishment of a strong military-ready infrastructure, with priority given to the construction of a railway.

Jiandao was already a contested borderland when Japan arrived on the scene. By usurping Korea's part in the Sino-Korean boundary dispute, Japan made Jiandao into a Sino-Japanese issue, exploiting Jiandao's status as a disputed borderland in furtherance of policy on the Asian continent, especially vis-à-vis Russia and the Qing Empire. The unsettled status of Jiandao, and the vulnerability of its Korean inhabitants, gave opportunists in Japan's government and military the chance to project national policy into a strategic geographical area. The task of this chapter is to explore the colonialist foundations laid down by Japan in Jiandao, and to consider their implications. Which Japanese individuals and agencies laid these foundations, and why? What manner of interactions occurred between these Japanese individuals and agencies and the Korean settlers in Jiandao, and with the varying levels of Qing authority?

The origins of the territorial dispute over Jiandao

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the uncontrolled, mass migration of people from northern Korea across the Tumen River triggered a dormant Sino-Korean border dispute. The Korean government referred to the inscription on a boundary stele which had been erected on Mount Paektu in 1712 as evidence that Jiandao was really a part of Korea, not China. The disagreement came down to differing interpretations of which river was indicated by the stele as marking the international boundary.[9] The Qing government legalised the residence of Koreans in Jiandao in 1881, but an assimilation policy compelled them to adopt the Qing dress and queue hairstyle.[10] An inspector appointed by the Korean court to examine the boundary stele and local

[9] The river which today separates China and North Korea, and is known internationally by its Chinese name of the Tumen (圖們) River, is called the Tuman (豆滿) River in Korean. According to the Korean reading, the Mount Paektu stele designates the T'omun (土門) River as marking the international boundary. Basically the Korean claim was that [土門] and [豆滿] refer to different rivers, while the (more plausible) Chinese claim was that [豆滿], [土門] and [圖們] were alternative characters for the same river. For further details, see Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 201–216.
[10] Ibid, 226–227.

rivers reported to the king that it was "most clear" that "these lands are not the lands of China."[11] In a radical break from the Sinocentric patron-vassal international relations of the past, the Korean diplomats took a strong stance against their Qing counterparts in the inconclusive boundary negotiations of 1885 and 1887.[12]

Both the Qing and Chosŏn courts worked to establish arms of government in Jiandao. In 1880, the first professional soldiers from China proper (as opposed to traditional Manchu banner soldiers) were introduced into Jilin Province "to safeguard the border and supress the bandits."[13] The Qing Empire was gradually phasing out the military government of the banners (*qi*) and introducing civil administration across the frontier lands, including the Chinese system of counties (*xian*). Dunhua County was established in 1881, followed by Yanji and Helong counties in 1902, then Hunchun and Wangqing counties in 1909; this cluster of border counties came to constitute the region of Jiandao, and still today forms the historic heart of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture.[14] Meanwhile, the Chosŏn court appointed the inspector (*kwanch'alsa*) of North Hamgyŏng Province to survey Jiandao in 1895, and surveys by these inspectors became the norm over the next few years.[15] These parallel efforts by China and Korea to apply the fittings of modern government into Jiandao exemplify the transition of the region from settlement frontier to disputed borderland.

Korea's hand in the dispute against China was strengthened by the latter's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). In 1899, the Qing government was pressured by Japan and Russia into recognising Chosŏn's successor state, called the Great Han Empire and founded in 1897.[16]

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[11] Ibid, 227–228. The inspector is quoted on p. 228.
[12] Sang Wook Daniel Han, "The dispute over the legal status of Gando: a reflection of distorted development of international law in Northeast Asia," *Journal of the History of International Law* 10 (2008): 211-228.
[13] In the absence of strong government, banditry had become rife in the frontier. Robert H. G. Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), 79.
[14] Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 242–243 endnote 5. On Japanese maps produced after 1909, Jiandao was usually shown as consisting of these five counties, although Dunhua was sometimes excluded. Dunhua is the only one of the five that does not border directly on Korea.
[15] Yi Sunhan 李盛煥, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō o meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 31.
[16] Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia, 1590–2010: Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Eastern Siberia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 141.

The Qing and Great Han governments exchanged embassies and concluded a treaty, "each party prohibiting immigration into each other's territory."[17] In the final years of the nineteenth century the Korean monarch Kojong had drawn close to Russia, hoping to play Russian power off against overbearing Japanese government advisors.[18] In 1900, officials of Russia and Korea concluded a secret agreement to rule Jiandao together. Koreans and Russians could freely settle there under a governor elected from Korean residents and Russians who had lived there for more than two years. Both nations would guarantee against outside intervention.[19]

In pursuance of the 1900 agreement, the Korean court dispatched Yi Pŏmyun to oversee Jiandao as inspector (*sich'alwŏn*).[20] In a missive that ironically anticipated later Japanese policy, Yi "strongly urged the necessity of stationing troops in Jiandao, both to expel Qing power from the region and to protect the [Korean] migrants."[21] The Korean court declined the advice – from 1902, a new Yanji Office (Yanji-ting) in Juzijie served as the seat of Qing government in Jiandao,[22] and Seoul was wary of stationing troops in such close friction with Qing authority.[23] In 1904, Yi organised a self-defence militia which fought a guerrilla campaign against Japanese forces, and started taking control of Jiandao with Russian support. At the village level the balance of power turned in favour of the Koreans, some of whom began expelling Chinese from their homes.[24] When the Qing authorities requested his removal from Jiandao, the Korean government ordered Yi home in March 1904. He disobeyed the court and relocated to the Russian Maritime Province.[25] Over subsequent years Yi would cross freely between Russia and Jiandao, attacking the Chinese or Japanese before again withdrawing.[26]

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[17] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, 134.
[18] Japan had installed Japanese advisers in Korea in the 1870s. They became especially influential after Japan's victory in the war with China (1894–95).
[19] Cai Jian, ref. in Narangoa and Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia*, 152.
[20] Kobayashi Reiko, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō ni okeru torishimari to keibi taisei: 1907 nen – 1910 nen wo chūshin ni" [The Residency-General and Korean Government-General's System for the Control and Policing of Jiandao and the Tumen River: 1907–1910], *Hitotsubashi shakai kagaku* 3 (July 2007): 175.
[21] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 32.
[22] Kobayashi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 175.
[23] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 32. On Yi Pŏmyun see also Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, 215.
[24] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 33–35.
[25] Kobayashi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 176.
[26] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 34, 49.

By the 1880s at the latest, Jiandao was becoming a borderland, in that both the Qing and Chosŏn governments considered it a legitimate part of their national territory and established rival government agencies there. Furthermore, Jiandao had attracted a population of Korean settlers who were organized enough to govern their own affairs. This is one of the main characteristics of the borderland – the formation of a relatively autonomous society existing at the periphery of the nation-state/empire.[27] Yi Pŏmyun's activities exemplify the key role played here by local actors who were partially loyal to the national "core" (in this case the government in Seoul), but who were willing and able to go renegade under some circumstances. Qing attempts to assimilate or expel the Koreans were unsuccessful due to the vital role that Koreans had come to play in the local ginseng and rice plantation economy – Han Chinese settlers ran many of these new plantations and needed Korean labourers.[28] Qing authority was in any case circumscribed by the dominant position that Russia had established in eastern Manchuria after the Triple Intervention. By the turn of the century, a confused patchwork of national and local interests had come to characterise the borderland of Jiandao.

A Japanese Jiandao policy takes shape

The years immediately before the Russo-Japanese War were marked by tense imperial rivalry between Russia and Japan in continental Northeast Asia. Japan's most senior diplomat Itō Hirobumi attempted in 1901 to have Russia recognise Japanese predominance in Korea, in exchange for Japanese recognition of Russian predominance in Manchuria. He was rebuffed during a 1901 visit to the Russian capital St Petersburg. Russia remained intransigent in the lead-up to the war, reluctant to recognise Japanese interests in Korea, let alone in Manchuria.[29] It was

[27] This peripheral society corresponds to Richard White's "middle ground," although one hesitates to draw to close a parallel between the Great Lakes borderland in colonial North America and the borderlands of the late Qing Empire. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[28] Kwangmin Kim, "Korean Migration in Nineteenth-Century Manchuria: A Global Theme in Modern Asian History," Wen-hsin Yeh, ed. *Mobile Subjects: Boundaries and Identities in the Modern Korean Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California, 2013): 17–37.
[29] Ian Nish, *The History of Manchuria, 1840–1948: A Sino-Russian-Japanese Triangle, Volume 2* (Fokestone, Kent: Renaissance Books, 2016), 45, 48.

in this environment that Japanese advisors in Korea discovered the opportunity to increase their influence at court by taking the Korean side in the Jiandao boundary dispute.

In early 1904, the Japanese Deputy Ambassador to Korea Hayashi Gonsuke advised King Kojong that Japan may be able to mediate in the resolution of the boundary dispute after the conclusion of the war.[30] Kojong's willingness to cooperate was inspired by the superintendent of the border town of Kyŏnghŭng, who suggested that the border dispute be resolved according to international law, in light of the failure of the Sino-Korean negotiations.[31] It seems that Japan's government preferred to leave the border resolution until after the war: in July, the Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō instructed the Japanese resident ministers in China and Korea to defuse the border dispute and have it shelved as best they could. As a result, the Chinese resident minister in Korea met the Korean foreign minister and proposed that the dispatch of officials to the border should cease.[32] These events were the first clear intervention of Japan in the Jiandao dispute.

The war between Russia and Japan ended in Japanese victory, albeit with massive sacrifice of lives and national wealth which encouraged strong settlement demands among Japanese leaders and the public. The Portsmouth Treaty of September 1905 granted Japan the rights previously enjoyed by Russia in South Manchuria, including a leasehold on the Liaodong Peninsula (the Kwantung Leased Territory) and lease of the China Eastern Railway (CER) as far north as Changchun. Japan thus became the pre-eminent imperial power in Korea and in much of Manchuria (Map Three). However, the government and military agencies overseeing Japan's new continental interests belonged to various cliques and factions whose styles and aims were not always aligned. The Kwantung Leased Territory was governed by a shifting line-up of senior soldiers and diplomats, and was home to a military garrison.[33] Meanwhile, the Japanese government let the semi-public South Manchurian Railway Company (SMRC) manage the newly-acquired railway and its connected industries. With military protection along the railway

[30] Akizuki Nozomu 秋月望, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e: Chōsen to Shin no kyōkai chitai o meguru kenkyū" 華夷秩序の境界から国際法的な"国境"へ　朝鮮と清の境界地帯をめぐる研究 [From Sinocentric Boundary to International "Border:" A Study of the Chosŏn-Qing Boundary Area], *Annual report of the Institute for International Studies* 13 (2010): 3. http://hdl.handle.net/10723/965 (Accessed May 2016)
[31] Akizuki, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e," 3.
[32] Akizuki, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e," 3.
[33] The Kwantung Garrison became the Kwantung Army in 1919.

tracks, lavish financial support from the Japanese government and major banks, and major intellectual capital in its research bureaus and other facilities, the SMRC was a major colonial institution, the fundamental axis of Japan's continental economic and defence projects. Finally, in November 1905, the Japanese-imposed Protectorate Treaty transferred Korea's foreign affairs to the RGK. Itō Hirobumi served as the first resident-general, and the Korea Garrison Army (Kankoku chūsatsu-gun), maintained Japan's military presence on the peninsula.

The Beijing Treaty signed by China and Japan in December 1905 opened several towns and cities in Manchuria to the international community as "commercial territories" (*shōbuchi*).[34] Japan opened consular offices in these areas which, as elsewhere in China, included police officers among their staff, ostensibly for the security of consular staff and Japanese subjects residing in the area.[35] The purview of the consular police in Jiandao immediately came to include the "protection and control" of Koreans, in accordance with Article One of the Protectorate Treaty which stated that "Japanese diplomatic representatives and consuls will protect Korean subjects and interests in foreign countries."[36]

One of the treaty areas declared open in December 1905 was Hunchun, a town in Jiandao close to the Russian border. A Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs consular branch office (*shutchō-sho*) would be opened in Hunchun in June 1907, making this the first town in Jiandao to have a Japanese diplomatic presence.[37] Yet well before then, in mid-1906, Hayashi Gonsuke had written to Itō that Japan, as protector of Korea, had the responsibility to protect Korean nationals in Jiandao.[38] The ability to arrest Koreans who were hostile to Japan was also part of Hayashi's

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[34] Four commercial territories were opened in Heilongjiang, six in Shengjing [Fengtian] and six in Jilin (including Hunchun in Jiandao). Note that these were not all opened immediately, but gradually over the next year-and-a-half. English documents conventionally refer to these places as "treaty ports," although many were located inland. I will use the term "commercial territory," a more literal translation of the Japanese term *shōbuchi* (商埠地). See the "Nis-Shin Manshū ni kansuru jōyaku" 日清満州に関する条約 [Japan-Qing Treaty concerning Manchuria], usually called the "Beijing Treaty" in English, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho*, Jō vol., (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1955), 254.

[35] The pioneering history of the Japanese consular police is Erik Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009). See especially Chapter Two, pp. 39–64, for the early years of the consular police in Manchuria.

[36] "Nikkan kyōyaku" 日韓協約 [Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty], November 23, 1905, in Gaimushō, ed., *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1955) Vol. 1, 252.

[37] Kobayashi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 187. On the Qing-Japan Treaty, see Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 64–65.

[38] Ibid, 52.

thinking. As early as May 1906, Hayashi reported to Itō that Russian authorities at Harbin had agreed that Korean lawbreakers would be "handed to the nearest Japanese consulate."[39] The suppression of expatriate Koreans thus came under the rubric of "protection and control." This doctrine, together with the resolution of the Jiandao border dispute, was important for the legitimization of the Japanese protectorate in Korea. But information about the borderland was lacking. A demand for "Jiandao experts" had become evident.

The first Japanese to explore and write at length about Jiandao after the Russo-Japanese War was the journalist, Nakai Kinjō (1864–1924).[40] According to his memoirs, he decided to explore the region during a drinking party in Seoul in late 1905. He approached General Hasegawa Yoshimichi (1850–1924), commander of the Korea Garrison Army and future governor-general of Korea (from 1916 to 1919), to request funds for the trip. Hasegawa initially rebuffed him, remarking that "drifters (*rōnin*) create storms in tranquil lands." Hasegawa soon become another Jiandao policy advocate, however. He may have been finally persuaded by Ilchinhoe vice-president Yun Kap'pyŏng (1863–1943) that Jiandao should be "returned" to Korea.[41] Itō also supported a Japanese role in Jiandao – he cabled Resident Minister in China Hayashi, who in turn considered inserting a Jiandao-related provision into the 1905 Sino-Japanese Treaty Concerning Manchuria. This idea was dropped, but Nakai had nonetheless received high-level approval to enter and survey Jiandao.[42]

In late January 1906, Nakai visited Tokyo to consult with various officials regarding his clandestine trip. Visiting Jiandao was dangerous and required great secrecy, since the Russian military withdrawal was not yet complete. Nakai met Hayashi Gonsuke, a political affairs bureau chief named Yamaza (from whom he received Foreign Ministry approval), journalist Kunitomo

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[39] Hayashi Gonsuke to Itō Hirobumi, May 1906, in *Kando/Yŏnhaechu kwangye* 間島・沿海州關係 [Concerning Jiandao/The Russian Maritime Province] Vol. 1 (Gwacheon: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 2004), 2–3.
[40] Real name Nakai Kitarō.
[41] The Ilchinhoe 一進会 (United Progress Association), active 1904–10, was a Korean organization that opposed the government's traditional isolationism and favoured collaboration with the Japanese Empire. Originally called the Yushinhoe, this organisation had been established in August 1904, and its membership consisted largely of former Tonghak rebels. Uchida Ryōhei, head of the Japan's expansionist Kokuryūkai (Amur Association) acted as advisor. Yumi Moon has characterised the Ilchinhoe as a populist group in a recent history, *Populist Collaborators: The Ilchinhoe and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).
[42] Nakai, *Chōsen kaikoroku*, 180–181.

Shigeaki, and Nezu Hajime (whom Nakai described as "an extraordinary Jiandao advocate").[43] Through consultation with these figures, Nakai established three purposes for his trip – to gather general information about Jiandao, to research the question of sovereignty over Jiandao, and to locate a specific transport route whose location had eluded Japan during the war with Russia.[44]

Nakai arrived in Jiandao via Hoeryŏng around May 1906.[45] In his writings, he historicized his visit through references to the Imjin War (1592–98), marvelling that "three hundred years ago, when [the daimyō] Katō Kiyamasa campaigned against the Uriankhai, this is the road he took."[46] Nakai expressed surprise that Jiandao was not a vast wilderness, but was in fact intensively cultivated – "it was (like) a large village where rice paddies extended in all directions and the cries of chickens and dogs could be heard. Furthermore… the earth was more fertile than anything seen in the Korean heartland (*Chōsen naichi*)." Future Japanese writers on Jiandao would continue Nakai's practice of extolling the riches of Jiandao, and the fertility of its land. Nakai noted further that the area has been cultivated not by Chinese, but by Koreans, and that, "owing to the plentiful supply of food, the birth rate is thriving and the number of children is stupendously high."[47] He later visited the Chinese barracks at Juzijie, pretending to be a school teacher travelling for recreation. He confirmed that Yanji was linked by road to the interior of Manchuria, claiming that local officials tried to mislead him on this point.[48]

Nakai made an examination of the notorious boundary stele and its vicinity. Interestingly, he rejected the Korean territorial claim. "If this 'Domon' is [in fact] the Songhua River," he wrote, "then Jiandao would undeniably be Korean territory, but the Korean claim is unreasonable. Firstly, if the Songhua River were used as the border, then even Ningguta [Ning'an] in Jilin, and Vladivostok, would have to be in Korean territory. Secondly, Korea has no history of controlling Jiandao." Thirdly, wrote Nakai, the name Tumen was Jurchen in origin and means "myriad," in

[43] Nezu (1860–1927), like Nakai, was a member of the influential East Asia Common Culture Academy (Tō-A dōbunkai).
[44] Ibid, 192–193.
[45] This can be inferred from the fact that he was in Hoeryŏng in May. Nakai, *Chōsen kaikoroku*, 198.
[46] Ibid, 200. Uriankhai is a word of Mongol origin, used in varying forms in East Asian languages to refer to forest-dwelling peoples of northern Manchuria, Mongolia, Altai and Tuva.
[47] Nakai, *Chōsen kaikoroku*, 201–202.
[48] Ibid, 204–205.

reference to the various rivers which meet in the area. In his view, the differing Chinese characters used to write the name were simply variants which referred to one and the same river.[49]

After Nakai's return to Seoul, the resident-general questioned him on the territorial issue, and Nakai offered the view that Jiandao was not part of Korea. Itō told him that the Korean territorial claim was nonetheless "a sound diplomatic resource" – in negotiations with China, Japan could at first demand the acquisition of Jiandao for Korea, and then, when China inevitably refused, Japan could demand as a compromise the right to lay a railway line through Jiandao, "from Jilin to a port in North Hamgyŏng."[50] Based on this evidence, it is hard to deny that Japanese support for the Korean territorial claim was completely opportunistic. Itō did not believe that the dispute could be resolved in Korea's favor, but the Japanese government nonetheless pursued it as a way of advancing Japanese interests on the continent.

It was Nakai who first suggested that Chŏngjin was the most suitable port for connecting Japan with a future Jiandao railway. He selected it after traveling down the coastline of North Hamgyŏng Province in search of an ideal location – it featured a deep natural harbor and was protected by mountains from northerly winter winds, meaning it could be approached by ships throughout most of the year. Nakai recalled that thirty naval reserve boats had been able to line up in the harbor during the Russo-Japanese War, and called it "the truly essential port in northern Korea."[51] Ultimately, Chŏngjin was indeed selected as the terminus for the railway from Jiandao.

When asked by Hasegawa about the proper placement of the Korea Garrison Army, Nakai argued that the main power (*shuryoku*) of the Korea Garrison Army lay not in Seoul, P'yŏngyang or other cities but in Susŏng, an ancient town in the northeast near Chŏngjin. Using an argument drawn from classical history, as was his wont, he relates how five centuries ago Susŏng had been used as the base by a Chosŏn commander to recapture northern Korea from the Northern Di people. Nakai argued further that Susŏng controlled the region's northern and western routes. He therefore argued in almost geomantic terms for the Korea Garrison Army to be based there.[52] Of

[49] Ibid, 194.
[50] Ibid, 215.
[51] Ibid, 211–212, 215.
[52] Ibid, 215–216.

course if Chŏngjin was to become the main Japanese port linking with Jiandao, then it made good sense from a supply point of view for the army to be based there. In the end, barracks were built at a location just ten kilometres south of Susŏng.[53]

Nakai's exercise in espionage was quite successful. The subsequent Japanese mission in Jiandao took place at a more senior level. East Asia historian Naitō Konan (1866–1934) visited Jiandao in 1906, having been requested to do so by Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, and after consulting with army headquarters in Tokyo. He was accompanied a younger historian, Inaba Iwakichi (1876–1940).[54] Besides touring the border region, they collected historical documents in Mukden and Keijō (Seoul). Naitō submitted an initial report to the Japanese government in October. It recommended the defence of the rights of Koreans in Jiandao, and the detachment of officials and security personnel.[55] He later submitted a more detailed "Investigation of the Jiandao Question" (Kantō mondai chōsasho). While admitting that "documents which might serve as historical evidence are extremely few," Naitō suggested that the Buerhatong River, which originated near the boundary stele, was a credible candidate for the "boundary demarcation river" (*bunkai-kō*), that is, the river named as the "Domon" on the stele (see Map Two). He continued that the region south and west of the confluence of the Buerhatong and Tumen rivers could "naturally be made as Korean territory" (*Kankoku no ryōdo to suru koto wa tōzen no koto*) and "it is a matter of urgency that regional officials should be established and defence personnel dispatched without delay."[56] Naitō thus marshalled the historical evidence in support of a Korean Jiandao that he could, and his proposal lent support to Japan's military goals on the continent. He later changed his expert assessment of the Jiandao question, as we shall see.

In an article published in the periodical *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (Japan and the Japanese), Naitō's fellow historian Inaba suggested that neither China nor Korea had a strong claim to Jiandao, but that the development of the region by Korean settlers gave them a natural right to it. Inaba extolled the thrifty and industrious virtues of the Korean migrants in areas where they had recently settled. He argued that because of their success in opening up virgin lands, they should

[53] Ibid, 216.
[54] Also known as Inaba Kunzan.
[55] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 56.
[56] Quoted in Akizuki, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e," 3–4.

on that basis be entrusted with the much-needed development of Manchurian agriculture, and protected from injustice and interference.[57]

The tours and studies of Jiandao undertaken by Nakai, Naitō and Inaba anticipated the more thorough surveys of Jiandao's topography, resources, population and economy conducted later by the RGK. They influenced military strategy too: the 1906 Operation Plan for the Japanese Imperial Army recommended the defence of a region encompassing the south and east of China's Jilin Province (including Jiandao), Korea's Hamgyŏng Province and adjacent areas. It suggested an "advantageous" solution to the Jiandao question and the extension of the Changchun-Jilin railway through Jiandao to Korea.[58] Additionally, Korea Garrison Army headquarters submitted an outline survey of Jiandao to Foreign Minister Saionji Kinmochi. It emphasised the military value of Jiandao: "the question of whether the region belongs to Qing or to Korea is not negligible where the defence of Korea is concerned."[59] Another study ordered by Army Minister (and future Governor-General of Korea) Terauchi Masatake established "the military and economic importance" of a Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway: this eventually formed the basis for the railway concession demand in the 1909 Jiandao Agreement.[60] The Jiandao railway as proposed by Nakai, Terauchi and others wouldn't be built for more than two decades, but was frequently prioritized in negotiations with China,[61] beginning with the Sino-Japanese Convention of 15 April, 1907, which included an early mention of an extension of the Jilin-Changchun line.[62]

The work of the Jiandao advocates shows how agents on the ground prepared the way for more concrete military and government policies to come. Nakai and his colleagues were Japan's first tentative explorers of colonial possibilities in the borderland of Jiandao. Not only did they provide valuable geographic, demographic and other kinds of information for planning later policy, but they shaped the policies that were taken – Nakai's reconnaissance helped decide the

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[57] Inaba Iwakichi 稻葉岩吉, "Kankoku no imin to Manshū" 韓国の移民と満洲 [Korean Migration and Manchuria], *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* 472 (November 15, 1907): 26–28.
[58] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 43-44.
[59] Quoted in Akizuki, "Ka-I chitsujo no kyōkai kara kokusaihōteki na 'kokkyō' e," 4. The survey referred to in the title is probably Nakai Kinjō's.
[60] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 46.
[61] Matsusaka's *The Making of Japanese Manchuria* traces the history of Sino-Japanese railway negotiations in detail. On the Jilin-Hoeryŏng line, see for instance pp. 74, 106, 208–210.
[62] Koo, V.K. Wellington, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway* (Peiping: League of Nations, 1932), 6.

route of the future railway from Jilin to Hoeryŏng and on to the port of Chŏngjin, for instance. In some ways, however, the findings of the first Jiandao policy advocates seem pre-determined. From the expansionist point of view, it was in the Japanese interest to gain influence in Jiandao, and so the experts were inclined to find in favour of Korea in the boundary dispute, for example, or to exaggerate somewhat the fertility and abundance of Jiandao's farmland. The aims of Japan's continental policy shaped the views of the experts, and vice-versa.

Boots on the ground: the establishment of the RGK's Special Station in Jiandao

In order to establish a Japanese presence in Jiandao, an official pretext was necessary to fend off Qing resistance, and the vulnerability of Korean migrants to bandits and corrupt Qing officials served this purpose. On November 18, 1906, Korean Prime Minister Pak Chesun requested to Itō Hirobumi that officials be dispatched to Jiandao to protect the lives and livelihoods of Korean residents against "the depredations of bandits and ruffians."[63] Pak's request echoed that made a few years earlier by Yi Pŏmyun to the Korean government, but this time the request harmonised conveniently with expansionistic Japanese interests. In 1905, Pak had been one of five Korean officials (later known as the five Eulsa traitors) who had signed the protectorate treaty with Japan, so he had already aligned himself with Japanese interests by the time of the Jiandao request. Itō forwarded Pak's request to Foreign Minister Hayashi, recommending the "immediate dispatch of our officials to the said region, with Korean officials accompanying them, to effect the protection of Koreans there."[64] As a result, Japan's Cabinet approved a budget for dealing with Jiandao.[65] This marks the commencement of an official Jiandao policy by the government in Tokyo.

[63] Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* 日本外交文書 [Japanese Diplomatic Documents] Meiji Vol. 40:2 (Tokyo: Nihon kokusai rengō kyōkai, 1961), 79.
[64] Itō to Hayashi, December 11, 1906. Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 79.
[65] "Kantō shobun ni kansuru kankei daijin no mōshiawase jikō no ken," January 12, 1907, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 78.

On February 8, 1907, in response to earlier proposals by Itō, a Cabinet decision proclaimed the desirability of a Japanese advance into Jiandao to protect Japanese subjects, including Koreans.[66] The decision provides for "the discreet posting of appropriate officials to the said region," by which means "we will accomplish the profitable policy aim of establishing a foothold there. Accordingly, the establishment of an administrative apparatus in Jiandao will be refrained from for the time being."[67] The Cabinet did not take a position on the border dispute, although individual ministers had strong views on it. In reference to the Cabinet decision, Foreign Minister Hayashi wrote to Resident Minister in China Hayashi that "the root of the Jiandao question lies in the Sino-Korean border dispute" and that it was necessary to settle the border question in favour of the Korean claim. The Foreign Minister admitted that "firm historical materials" to support this claim have "not been discovered yet" by surveys made of the region. While the border issue remained unresolved, he continued, "appropriate measures" must meanwhile be taken "for the protection of Koreans residing in the said region."

A decision was made within the Foreign Ministry for the RGK to dispatch a team of officials to Jiandao in April or May to look after local Korean affairs, to be led by Lieutenant-Colonel Saitō Suejirō (1867–1921) with "a small staff of assistants, military police (*kenpei*) officers and Korean patrolmen."[68] This team became the Residency-General's Special Police Station in Jiandao (Tōkanfu rinji Kantō hashutsujo, hereafter the Special Station). The Foreign Minister asked Itō to approve the policy line that would be taken with the Qing government. As it turned out, the line that was adopted went somewhat beyond the Cabinet decision by arguing that Japan's responsibility lay not only in the protection of Jiandao's Koreans, but in settling the territorial issue.[69]

In April 1907, Saitō Suejirō and Shinoda Jisaku (1872–1946) (the future director of the Special Station's General Affairs Department), entered Jiandao for the purpose of "observing in a general way the basic conditions in Jiandao and scouting potential locations for the RGK's Special

[66] For the Cabinet decision see Ibid, 84. The misgivings of western diplomats are recorded, for example, in the telegram from Resident Minister in China Hayashi to Foreign Minister Hayashi on February 20, 1907. Ibid, 84.
[67] Cabinet decision, February 8, 1907. Ibid, 84.
[68] Hayashi to Hayashi, February 6, 1907. Ibid, 83.
[69] Hayashi to Itō, July 31, 1907. Ibid, 85.

Station."[70] Their survey report initially attempted to define the limits of Jiandao as a geographic area. Saitō and Shinoda rejected the more extensive Korean claim which had Jiandao bordered by the Songhua and Amur rivers. The surveyors used demographic criteria to select the region of the Buerhatong and Hailan rivers and, on the opposite side of the Laoye mountain range watershed, the region of the Gaya and Hunchun rivers. They also included the left bank of the Tumen River upstream from Onsŏng, as well as the Domon (土門) River valley. These areas, say the report, "are in reality mixed Chinese and Korean residence, with the number of Koreans overwhelmingly dominating the Chinese. This being considered, the so-called entity of 'Jiandao' needs [to be defined as] the above-stated areas." They thus selected those contiguous areas of Manchuria near the Korean border which had a predominantly Korean population.[71]

Like previous reports on conditions in Jiandao, the Saitō/Shinoda report praised the fertility of the land. It stated that "the rich earth of Chongsŏng-Jiandao and Hoeryŏng-Jiandao is a world apart from the barrenness of northern Korea," but that even it was inferior to the fertility of the Buerhatong and Hailan river valleys, where most Korean settlement was concentrated.[72] The hilly areas around these rivers and their tributaries contained "extremely rich" arable land whose wealth was attributed to its non-stony, black volcanic soil, "suitable for the cultivation of fruit trees and the five grains." The lowlands were reported to be suitable for wet rice, unusual at such a northerly latitude. Saitō and Shinoda observed wet rice agriculture at Longjingcun.[73] Lumber for the town of Juzijie was sourced at Mount Laoye and transported down river, and there was a wealth of virgin forest which was difficult to access.[74] The surveyors noted the largest settlements and gave rough estimates of their populations, also recording the ethnicity of the residents. The districts of Chongsŏng-Jiandao, Hoeryŏng-Jiandao and Musan-Jiandao were mostly Korean,

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[70] Saitō and Shinoda's survey findings are given in detail in Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō* 統監府臨時間島派出所紀要 [Annals of the Residency-General's Special Police Station in Jiandao] (Keijō: Iwada shashinkan seihanbu, 1909), 47–59.

[71] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 48. The Domon (土門) River is of course the controversial river mentioned on the Mt. Paektu boundary stele. Saitō and Shinoda offer no interpretation of the stele inscription at this stage, and I am not sure which river they are referring to as the "Domon."

[72] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 51. Japanese sources sometimes divided Jiandao into sections according to which Korea-based border garrison was responsible for sending police into it. The section covered by the Hoeryŏng garrison was called Hoeryŏng-Jiandao, that of the Chongsŏng garrison was Chongsŏng-Jiandao, and so on.

[73] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 51. Longjingcun, one of Jiandao's principle towns, was also known by the Chinese as Luodaogou.

[74] Ibid, 52.

while "Chinese people who aren't civil servants or soldiers [are] rare."[75] Roads leading from Juzijie to Korea, and from Juzijie to Manchuria proper, were individually described in terms of route, condition and capacity. The region completely lacked electric communications, those erected by the Russian army having been destroyed during the Russo-Japanese War.[76] Finally, the report made recommendations for the "development" (*kaihatsu*) of Jiandao:

1) Open the [Korean] port of Chŏngjin and connect it via a direct shipping lane to the [Japanese] port of Tsuruga or alternatively Maizuru.
2) Create easy opportunities for contact with metropolitan Japan; import [into Jiandao] Japanese commercial goods and export [to Japan] grains and minerals.
3) Lay narrow-gauge railroads in Jiandao and facilitate communications with Hoeryŏng.
4) Progressively upgrade railroads linking Chŏngjin and Hoeryŏng to the main trunk line.
5) Lay electric cables linking the RGK's Special Station with Hoeryŏng.
6) Construct urban facilities at the site selected for the RGK's Special Station.[77]

These recommendations clearly echo those made by Nakai Kinjō a year earlier.

As the Japanese surveyors saw and noted, Korean society in Jiandao was well-organised, tight-knit, and autonomous. While the Qing government had established one small middle school at Juzijie, in the hills to the south, Koreans had set up a study hall and Catholic elementary school. "It is noteworthy," reads the survey report, that there are "many Catholic study halls in Jiandao."[78] Pastors came in large numbers from cities like Jilin and Wŏnsan – "[the Catholics] say that they will be protected [by their pastors] from extortion by tax officials of the Qing military office."[79] The surveyors reported seeing "many Korean youths with bobbed hair" in the vicinity of Longjingcun and identified them as Catholics.[80] Evidently, religion and education were empowering institutions for Koreans in the borderland – it is striking that Catholics felt confident enough to not wear the queue hairstyle as ordered to by Qing authorities.

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[75] Ibid, 53.
[76] Ibid, 54–56.
[77] Ibid, 65–66.
[78] Ibid, 57.
[79] Ibid, 57.
[80] Ibid, 57.

On the subject of education, a Korean village school called the Sŏchŏn Sŏsuk had been opened at Longjingcun in October 1906 and aimed to foster national awareness among Koreans. The school was already educating over eighty people in this first month of operation. Branches were established just over the border in the Korean towns of Hoeryŏng, Chongsŏng and Onsŏng.[81] The fact that these schools straddled both banks of the Tumen River indicates that strong ties still existed between Korean communities in Jiandao and the adjacent North Hamgyŏng Province, from where many migrants had originated. It also shows that the border was as yet not a major obstacle to the movement of people and ideas.

Jiandao was to receive a further influx of Koreans from mid-1907. The Second Hague Peace Conference was held between June and October of that year, marked by the unsuccessful attempt of the Korean delegation to have their nationhood recognized by the international community.[82] On July 24, most of the native Korean army was disbanded. Unemployed former soldiers joined the ranks of the "righteous armies" (*ŭibyŏng*) guerrilla movement, which flourished in Korea circa 1907–11, and also spread across the border where they used Jiandao as a base.[83] Also in July, wrote the Chinese lawyer Herbert Hantao Woo, "Hasegawa, Commander of the Korea [Garrison Army], and Itō, Japanese Governor of Korea, despatched troops to occupy [Jiandao] for the purpose of protecting Korean nationals." In response, China sent a frontier commissioner to "resist aggression and to fix the boundary."[84] 1907 thus witnessed a hardening of Japanese policy in Korea which stimulated anti-Japanese rule activities in Jiandao.

Woo's mention of "despatched troops" most likely refers to the establishment of the Special Station, which was finally opened on August 23, 1907. The two reasons given repeatedly to justify opening a police station in Qing territory were firstly, to protect the Korean residents, and secondly, to resolve the border dispute by compelling China to recognise Jiandao as Korean

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[81] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 49–50.
[82] Carter J. Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak/Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 245.
[83] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 223. For a good account of the righteous armies see ibid, 220–234.
[84] Herbert Hantao Wu, *A Legal Study: Japan's Acts of Treaty Violation and Encroachment upon the Sovereign Rights of China in the North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria)* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1971), 168.

territory. Foreign Minister Hayashi proceeded to justify the opening of the station in exactly these terms to the American, British, Russian, and other governments.[85] Station Chief Saitō announced meanwhile that "the land demarcated by the stele and wall on Mt. Paektu [i.e. Jiandao] must be made Korean territory." Even in the absence of a border resolution, however, the protection of Koreans was prioritised. Saitō explained:

> The [Japanese] Imperial Government at first attempted to negotiate with the government of Qing according to normal procedures in order to decide the border demarcation, but given the existing situation in China it has become clear that a resolution by such means is not possible. This fact being considered, our government has decided to immediately take in hand the protection of Korean subjects [residing in Jiandao], and to defer border negotiations to a later date.[86]

The Special Station thus gave Japan a strong presence in Jiandao in a fait accompli. Border agreement notwithstanding, the Japanese military would remain in the region until the end of World War II.

Having been successfully established, how would the station operate? Saitō had received the RGK's approval for a set of policy items which would guide the activities of the Special Station. Station officials could deal directly with Qing officials in Jiandao when the welfare of Korean nationals or the integrity of the international border was concerned. Their authorization to represent Japanese interests in China was thus similar to that of consular officials. In times of emergency, the station was empowered to seek the dispatch of troops from the Korea Garrison Army. As Hasegawa wrote to Itō, the Eastern Defence Corps (Tōbu shubitai) of the Korea Garrison Army would be ready to act in case of "obstruction by Qing officials" or "the threats of bandits," and to conduct quick armed responses with the potential danger of international conflict kept in mind.[87] A final policy item dealt with the development of Jiandao and stipulated that: first, electric cables would be installed between the Special Station and Hoeryŏng; second, a new urban centre would be established in the vicinity of the Special Station; third, Japanese

[85] Hayashi to Ambassador to the US Aoki, August 19, 1907. Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 89.
[86] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 44.
[87] Ibid, 90–91.

immigration would be encouraged and agriculture, industry and commerce would be promoted.[88] For security and policing, fifty-four military police officers would be dispatched by the Korea Garrison Army. The policemen would be joined by officials from the Korean government, whose purpose was "to make plans for the mutual understanding of the Korean people" (*Kanmin to no ishi sotsū wo hakaru*); these Korean officials were probably members of the Ilchinhoe.[89]

Saitō had full authority over the station's activities; officials reporting directly to him included a secretary and head interpreter. Saitō himself reported to the Itō and Hasegawa. The Special Station was divided into the four departments of general affairs (*sōmu*), military police (*keimu*), inspection (*kansatsu*) and investigation (*chōsa*). The General Affairs Department conducted relations with foreign nationals, determined education policy and religious policy for Jiandao, intermediated in disputes involving Japanese nationals, managed station staff and internal communications, among many other duties. The Military Police Department dealt with the wide-ranging police duties extending well beyond crime prevention into such areas as epidemic prevention and promotion of hygiene. The Inspection Department, meanwhile, dealt specifically with the Koreans of Jiandao. Its duties were given as:

1) Matters relating to the "protection and nurturing" (*hogo buiku*) of the Korean people.
2) Matters relating to the surveying of Korean households (*koseki chōsa*).
3) Matters relating to the investigation of the Korean people's rights [vis-à-vis the Qing authorities].

Finally, the duty of the Survey Department was to investigate the potential of the land itself. It would survey mineral resources, agriculture and forestry, industrial potential, the quality of timber and earth, and atmospheric conditions.[90]

In order to deal with the issue of the boundary location, the Special Station's employed historian Suzuki Shintarō. He set out for Mt. Paektu on September 5, 1907, with the object of studying the two key objects around which the border dispute was centred — the boundary stele and the

[88] Ibid, 38–39.
[89] Ibid, 39.
[90] Ibid, 40–42.

"Domon River" mentioned on it. Suzuki reported that his findings validated the Korean claim to Jiandao: "It has been confirmed that the Domon River in fact flows into the upper Songhua River."[91] His report cited Chinese sources containing references to ten more boundary markers along the upper reaches of the Tumen River. Suzuki set out to inspect this area in November. He not only determined that no genuine markers existed, but claimed that Qing boundary inspectors had planted unmarked stones upriver from Musan during a boundary survey of 1887. Suzuki was accusing the Qing officials of having fabricated evidence in favour of their boundary claim during the 1887 Sino-Korean boundary negotiation.[92] The "firm historical materials" needed for Japanese support of the Korean claim had now been identified. They relied, however, on Suzuki's seemingly arbitrary identification of a Domon River which was distinct from the Tumen River.

The establishment of the Special Station meant that Jiandao now had two administrative centres — the Chinese Yanji Office at Juzijie and the Japanese quasi-administration at Longjingcun, which competed to control the region's Korean residents (see Map Four). The Special Station instructed Koreans in Jiandao that they weren't to pay taxes to Chinese authorities.[93] It established tax collection and court systems,[94] and divided Jiandao administratively according to the Chinese system into four county capitals or towns (*du*), forty-one rural communes (*she*) and 390 villages (*cun*). These local units were supplied with Korean heads, recruited primarily from the Ilchinhoe.[95] This pro-Japanese, populist organisation had a presence in Jiandao, led by the section chief Yun Kap'pyŏng, who worked to rally local Koreans to the cause.[96] The Special Station's *kenpei* officers and their Korean allies spread out across Jiandao like a web, installing loyal Korean leaders in villages. Jiandao thus became further covered with overlapping and clashing networks of officialdom — Chinese, Japanese and Korean, military and civil.

A purpose of the Special Station was to link Jiandao's administration and infrastructure to colonial Korea. It attempted, for instance, to link the educational facilities created by Koreans in

[91] Ibid, 81–84, quotation on p. 82.
[92] Ibid, 82.
[93] Ibid, 64.
[94] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi* 施政三十年史 [Thirty-year Administrative History] (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1972), 100.
[95] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 65.
[96] Ibid, 50–51.

Jiandao to the reformed school system in Korea, where the traditional private village schools (*sŏdang*) were being put under the administration of normal schools (*futsū gakkō*) similar to those of Japan.[97] The independent Korean school in Jiandao, the Sŏchŏn Sŏsuk, was forcibly closed in September, 1907. In its place, the Special Station opened the Jiandao Normal School (Kantō futsū gakkō).[98] The Korean national government supplied funds to North Hamgyŏng Province for the education of Koreans in Jiandao, and put a North Hamgyŏng provincial official in charge of them. Funds, teachers and textbooks were sent to Jiandao from North Hamgyŏng, and supplied by the Special Station.[99] Some Koreans in Jiandao resisted these attacks on their independent system of education: the Sŏchŏn Sŏsuk of Longjingcun defied its forced closure and reopened in a new location as the Myŏngdong School.[100]

Around the same time that the Jiandao Normal School was established, the Special Station established the Jiandao Mercy Clinic (Kantō jikei iin), staffed by military police (*kenpei*) medics. It treated Japanese, Korean and Chinese patients.[101] In August 1909, the Korean Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry dispatched veterinarians to Jiandao.[102] This practice of Korean government departments dispatching functionaries to Jiandao, where they were directed by the Special Station in Japanese-approved institutions, became standard. In areas of health and education, and later in other areas like banking, Jiandao came to resemble an informal extension of colonial Korea.

The Special Station also carefully assessed Jiandao's economic capacities. Its agents carried out a land survey, begun in September 1907 and completed in November, recording the area, types of produce (wet rice is given special mention), harvesting practices, harvest volumes and value of produce. The surveyors estimated the cultivated land in Jiandao at 2500-2600 *chōbu* (slightly

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[97] Chōsen Sōtokufu, "Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō" 在満朝鮮同胞に対する本府施設の概要 [An Outline of the Government's Facilities for Our Korean Compatriots in Manchuria], October 1934, in *Shokuminchi shakai jigyō kankei shiryōshū* Chōsen-hen 24 (Tokyo: Kingendai shiryō kankōkai, 1999), 9. On Japanese changes to the Korean school system from the beginning of the protectorate, see E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan," in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 275–311, especially 294–308.
[98] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi* (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1972), 100.
[99] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 8.
[100] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 65.
[101] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 10.
[102] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 46.

over 6,000 acres). The average Chinese household cultivated four *chōbu*, the average Korean household three. The most important food crops included varieties of soybeans, millet and wheat. Corn and sorghum were used to produce liquor. Oats and barley were used primarily for horse-feed, although oats had also become a part of the local Korean diet. Ginseng, tobacco, hemp and other crops were cultivated in private yards. Common livestock included cattle, horses, mules and pigs. Cattle and horses were important for transport along Jiandao's rudimentary roads, and pigs were highly valued farm animals – it was reported that the average homestead owned fifteen or sixteen. The survey report contrasted the small, rough, thatched dwellings of the Koreans with the larger dwellings of the Chinese, but admitted both types of dwellings were furnished only with crude-quality items essential to everyday life.[103]

The surveyors were aware that the river valleys of the area were still rich in the gold deposits which had attracted hardy prospectors back in the days when entry was prohibited by the Qing government. Traces of historical mining operations remained. The largest mine, at Kanyaogou, was reported as being approximately two *ri* in length (nearly eight kilometres). Another notable local industry was timber, which relied on rivers for transport. The logging season ran from October to January, so that the lumber was ready for export when the ice melted. The study found that 4,000-5,000 raft-loads were exported to Jilin annually, carrying an average of 600 logs each. Other common export items included pelts, ginseng and wood ear mushrooms.[104]

To summarise, the Special Station was not just a police unit but an informal, colonial institution which exercised a broad range of functions within Jiandao. In its combination of military, administrative and intelligence-gathering prerogatives it resembled the research bureau of the SMRC. The meticulous surveys conducted by the Special Station during its two years of existence suggest strongly that the RGK intended to maintain its reach into Jiandao for the foreseeable future. The time spent in quantifying the region's resources, the establishment of the apparatuses of government, health and education with the help of the Ilchinhoe, and the meticulous studies of the border give the lie to the statement of the February 1907 Cabinet decision that Japan would "refrain" from setting up an "administrative apparatus" in Jiandao. The

[103] Ibid, 374–377.
[104] Ibid, 378.

evidence suggests that control of the borderland was considered a high priority by many Japanese politicians, scholars and military figures, and that a sophisticated administrative apparatus did emerge. The initiative for this came primarily from individuals stationed in Korea, and only partly from the government in Tokyo. Furthermore, whilst the resolution of the border dispute and protection of local Koreans were the official aims of Japan's Jiandao policy, these aims barely concealed more colonialist methods and goals related to the post-war management of Manchuria and the tightening of control over the Korean people. The fact that Jiandao possessed the middle ground of relatively autonomous Korean communities provided imperialist Japanese actors, such as the Special Station officials, with an opportunity to establish their influence in the borderland. The drifting away of Jiandao from the central control of Qing made it an easy target for Japanese borderland colonialism.

The escalation of Sino-Japanese tensions in Jiandao, 1907–09

From 1907 to 1909, the Japanese government's Jiandao policy was spearheaded by the colonialist approach of the Special Station. This state of affairs became untenable due to the strong opposition of the Qing government and the increasing levels of force that Qing was able to concentrate in the region. At the time that preparations for establishing the Special Station were underway in 1907, officials within the Qing government were carrying out significant administrative reforms, and their foreign policy was aimed at "rights recovery."[105] One trend of the reforms was a transition from the traditional Manchu banner government to civilian government in the frontier provinces. To this effect, on April 20, China announced the abolition of military governor posts in the "three eastern provinces" of Fengtian, Heilongjiang and Jilin, and appointed civilian governments in their place. Xu Shichang (1855–1939) was given the new post of Governor-General of the Three Northeastern Provinces in June 1907. The holder of this post had greater autonomy than provincial governments elsewhere in China.[106] There was also a

[105] Xu later became President of the Republic of China from 1918 to 1922. On Sino-Japanese relations in the last years of the Qing Dynasty, see Akira Iriye, *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Longman, 1997), 30–32.
[106] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, 152–155.

type of provincial governor (*xunfu*) in Manchuria. It was with these new authorities that the Japanese would clash over the Jiandao question.

Saitō Suejirō continued to make the case for the Special Station's role in resolving the border dispute and protecting Korean residents. He frequently relayed to his superiors reports of the lawlessness and corruption of Qing officials. On September 10, 1907 for instance, Foreign Minister Hayashi received a report from Saitō that Qing soldiers have been "requisitioning money and grain from Koreans without compensation" and "dishonouring Korean women." Along with the unjust and arbitrary aspects of Qing rule, reports of "lawless Koreans" (*futei Senjin*) or "lawless hoodlums" (*futei no to*) proliferated: on October 12, for example, Saitō reported on Korean anti-Japanese groups, operating against the Ilchinhoe with Chinese assistance, and in league with rebels in Hamgyŏng.[107] Implicit in Saitō's argument for protecting Koreans was the awareness of increasingly organised anti-Japanese movements in Jiandao which threatened Japanese rule in Korea. The borderland was in danger of destabilization, which would be detrimental to Japanese in Korea.

In September 1907, Xu protested that Saitō had assembled 300 soldiers in Jiandao, and that shipments of weapons were crossing the border from Hoeryŏng.[108] In response to Japanese moves in Jiandao, and in keeping with the administrative reforms then underway, the Qing established on September 23 an office called the Jilin Border Affairs Commissioner (Jilin bianwu dubian), headquartered at Juzijie. In addition, some 2,000 Qing troops were garrisoned there.[109] As Robert H. G. Lee writes, "[w]ith the reorganization of the regional government in 1907 there was an influx of higher echelon Chinese administrators, army officers, and technical personnel into the frontier region [of Manchuria]."[110] This trend was clearly borne out in Jiandao.

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[107] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 75. The term *futei Senjin* (不逞鮮人) was a slur against Koreans frequently used in the Japanese media and even official documents. *Futei* means "recalcitrant," "insubordinate" or "not cooperative." As for *futei Senjin*, "lawless Korean" seems a reasonable translation for this common set phrase, which painted all Koreans who were not submissive to Japan with a broad and negative brush.
[108] Abe to Hayashi, September 13, 190, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 105–106.
[109] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 65–66.
[110] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History*, 79.

Foreign Minister Hayashi objected to the Chinese military build-up in Jiandao in a series of telegrams.[111] A response from Chen Zhaochang, then serving as Jilin Border Affairs Commissioner, stated that "the Tumen River belt is a region of fundamental importance to our state… [and] the protection of the Korean people is an established custom of the Qing."[112] Chen also lodged a complaint with the Japanese Consul-General in Mukden about Ilchinhoe activities, including humiliations and dispossessions of Chinese settlers in Andong as well as Jiandao.[113] On October 3, a Japanese consular representative in Shanghai sent Hayashi a translated article from a popular Chinese newspaper. The article explained the background of the Jiandao question to its Chinese readership, placing the Korean migration and Japanese policy towards Jiandao into the context of the loss of Sakhalin, the lower Amur, and other regions to foreign powers.[114] The Chinese authorities and public had become highly sensitive to the loss of further territory in the vulnerable north-east, and Japanese diplomats were well aware of this.

On November 27, Chinese soldiers forced operations to stop at a mine in Tianbaoshan, near Longjingcun, which was being operated jointly by a Japanese and a Chinese. The incident received wide publicity and created a minor diplomatic crisis. Resident Minister in China Hayashi attacked China for the "arbitrary act," citing it to the Japanese Foreign Minister as an example of why a Japanese force capable of quick retaliation in Jiandao was needed.[115]

In 1908, Korean resistance against Japanese colonial rule began to intensify in Jiandao. On April 21, 1908, Korea Garrison Army commander Hasegawa Yoshimichi wrote to Army Minister Terauchi that Korean "righteous army" partisans in Jiandao were being "utilised" and "egged on" by the Qing officials in Juzijie.[116] On another front Yi Pŏmyun, Chŏson's former inspector in Jiandao, crossed into northern Korea armed with weapons acquired in Vladivostok. Then in August, a detachment of about eighty partisans entered Jiandao from Korea, and begin organizing

[111] For example, "Kantō hōmen e no hahei chūshi wo Shinkoku seifu ni yōseihō kunrei no ken," September 28, 1907, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 111.
[112] Quote is in Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 66. Chen's title is given here as "Protector of the Jilin-Jiandao Border" (Jilin Jiandao bianfang dubian), but it seems that this referred to the same post.
[113] Hagiwara to Hayashi, September 29, 1907. Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 112.
[114] Published October 2 in Shanghai's *Zhongwai Ribao*. Japanese translation in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 116–119.
[115] This incident resulted in a prodigious quantity of diplomatic correspondence. A concise account can be found in Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 70–71.
[116] Kobayshi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 178.

an anti-Japanese resistance there. By July 18 that year the Jiandao military poice staff had been increased by fifty-six men, and the number of detachment posts by three (making a total of 106 men and eleven posts).[117]

China in turn responded with yet another boost of soldiers in Jiandao. The number surged from about 1,400 men in September 1907 to about 4,300 by December 1908.[118] China also began enforcing the hair and costume assimilation ordinance (*tifa yifu*) on Koreans with greater severity, furthermore banning Koreans and Japanese from crossing the border into China in the July 1908 Cereals Prohibition Edict.[119] In October, Japan deployed a Jiandao squad of the Korea-based military police (Kankoku chūsatsu kenpeitai Kantō buntai).[120] So far, the Japanese government had had no more luck than its Chinese or Korean counterparts in resolving the Jiandao question, and now a major escalation of armed forces was underway. The borderland was heading in the direction of crisis, perhaps conflict.

These circumstances led to increasingly divergent opinions among Japanese officials regarding the course of Japan's Jiandao policy. While the Special Station continued administering the day-to-day lives of the Jiandao Koreans and suppressing Korean nationalism, some Jiandao advocates were becoming wary of the damage this policy was doing to Sino-Japanese relations. Naitō Konan, who had previously argued in favor of a Korean Jiandao, had become open to the idea of compromise with China. In a February 1909 report to the Foreign Ministry, Naitō suggested that Japan recognise the Chinese border claim under a number of conditions. He insisted on Korean property-ownership rights and various working rights (*kyakushu eigyōken*) within twenty Japanese *ri* (almost eighty kilometres) of the border. Koreans' tax burdens should not be more onerous than those of Chinese. He added the following suggestions: the RGK should have the right to station administrators (*rijikan*) in leased locations in Jiandao, to deal with legal cases involving Japanese and Koreans; tax-free trade should be allowed within the eighty-kilometre zone. This latter idea took as its model a Sino-Russian border agreement allowing tax-free trade within 400 kilometres of the border; the same eighty-kilometre policy would apply on the Korean

[117] Ibid, 178–179.
[118] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 77–78.
[119] Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 41:1, 464, 475, 479.
[120] Kobayshi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 177.

side of the border also. Trade across the Sino-Korean border, whether conducted by Chinese, Koreans or Japanese, would be completely uninhibited and Qing officials could not interfere with it; cases involving Chinese subjects as well as Japanese or Koreans would be dealt with according to existing agreements operative in the locale. Further, a railway from Jilin to the Korean coast would be built, with capital arrangements agreed upon by China, Korea and Japan; the Chinese and Koreans would not plan any other railway which would present an obstacle to this project.[121] Naitō was thus in favour of respecting Chinese borders while pursuing formal agreements that were beneficial for Japan and Korea, and allowing a general liberalisation of movement and trade. These proposals of Naitō's were to be clearly reflected in parts of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement.

Like Naitō, Itō Hirobumi was wary of violating Chinese sovereignty given the tense international atmosphere. He found the Special Station and the Ilchinhoe difficult to reign in. The waves of violence unleashed by the Ilchinhoe upon Jiandao's Chinese population were seen by Itō as embarrassing and counter-productive. In October 1907 he advised Saitō to follow a prudent approach towards the protection of Koreans in Jiandao, advising that Saitō's current activities in Jiandao should not hinder the resolution of the border issue.[122] Saitō attempted to impress upon Itō the harsh realities on the ground in Jiandao: it was currently harvest season, which brought with it tax collection, a vital time to stand up to the Qing authorities. The Special Station and their Ilchinhoe allies were spreading the word that Koreans shouldn't pay taxes to China because the question of national sovereignty over Jiandao was unresolved, but Chinese officials still forcefully appropriated tax. According to Saitō, the Special Station received complaints from Koreans and raised their concerns with the Qing government, thus providing Koreans in Jiandao with vital representation.[123] Itō reminded Saitō that the Special Station was initially established in Jiandao so that "Koreans in the region could petition the Korean government in the event of maltreatment by Qing officials" but "not to open a conflict before the border could be settled." Itō evidently believed that the Jiandao question had to be resolved diplomatically and the Special

[121] Naitō Konan, "Kantō mondai kyōteian shigi" 間島問題協定案私議 [A Personal Opinion on an Agreement for the Jiandao Question] *Naitō Konan zenshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972), Volume 6: 570–571.
[122] Itō to Hayashi, October 7, 1907, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Meiji Vol. 40:2, 120–121.
[123] Saitō's telegram included in Itō to Hayashi, October 11, 1907, in ibid, 123–124.

Station's role was a diplomatic one. Saitō clearly wanted the station to have more power and independence to act in the disputed borderland.[124]

In a December 15 telegram, Itō tried to persuade Hasegawa of the Korea Garrison Army that the Special Station should not be employed in military actions in China. Itō's position was that the station was only in Jiandao for the security of Japanese subjects (including Koreans), and that its withdrawal from Jiandao would be preferable to armed conflict with China.[125] But the Special Station under the leadership of Saitō (who was promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel in April 1908) continued to resist pressure to moderate its activities.[126] Saitō reiterated the station's mission in a statement of August 17, 1908. He emphasized the duty to protect Korean residents, the pursuance of the border question and the increased threat from expanding Chinese power in Jiandao.[127] Previously on May 28, the Korean government had decreed that all Koreans would retain Korean nationality, even if they had naturalized abroad.[128] The Special Station's Memorandum on Korean Subjects in Jiandao (*Kantō Kankoku shinmin kokoroe*) of September 19 made clear Saitō's commitment to this decree, asserting that "no matter where Korean subjects (*shinmin*) should happen to be, they will not forfeit their nationality (*kokuseki*)."[129]

Saitō's stance reflected an expansionist approach to resolving the Jiandao question, an approach shared by others like Hasegawa. According to this approach, so long as the borderland remained insecure, and the border location remained undecided, Japan had the right to intervene. The settlement of the border, when it eventually occurred, should give Jiandao to Korea if possible because this could benefit Japan. However, a Korean Jiandao was not considered an essential policy aim by figures such as Itō, but more as a possible outcome that Japan should be poised to take advantage of, or at least to employ as a stick to wield against China's government. A division had occurred in the thinking of Japan's Jiandao advocates. While Japanese influence in Jiandao was generally agreed upon, the question of how this policy should be pursued vis-à-vis China was not.

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[124] Ibid, 124.
[125] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 71.
[126] Kobayshi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 177.
[127] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 149–151.
[128] Kobayashi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō," 181.
[129] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 80.

Compromise: the path to the Jiandao Treaty of 1909

Eventually, the Japanese government determined not to pursue the claim of Korean sovereignty over Jiandao. This resolution was made partly due to criticism from the Army and the Privy Council that the Saionji Cabinet had failed to solve pending Manchuria issues, primarily the Jiandao question. However, the approach preferred by army hawks – remaining in force in Jiandao and eventually taking it for Korea – would not be favoured. The new Prime Minister Katsura Tarō and Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō were determined to strengthen relations with the Western powers and reopen diplomacy with Qing, stalled since the recent boost of Japanese force in Jiandao.[130] A new Cabinet decision proclaimed:

> For many years, the Jiandao question has been a source of tension between China and Korea. Korea's claim in this matter has extremely weak foundations: observing the history of Sino-Korean negotiations since the border settlement of Kangxi [in 1712], and the reality that China has implemented administration in the area earlier than Korea, there is no room to doubt that the border between the two nations is the Tumen River (豆満江).[131]

Thus did the Katsura cabinet come down against the Korean territorial claim, although this be no means signified a Japanese exit from Jiandao. The cabinet approved a "Plan for the solution of the Jiandao question" which was transmitted to the Resident Minister in China Hayashi on April 7, 1908.[132] This plan suggested that a Japanese consulate would be established at Juzijie, with sub-consulates in other locations, to join the consular office already established at Hunchun. The plan also sought concrete extra-territorial rights and the extension of the Jilin-Changchun rail to Hoeryŏng. It renounced the territorial claim to Jiandao, while retaining the basic thrust of the earlier 1907 Cabinet decision concerning the protection of Korean (and Japanese) residents.

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[130] Ibid, 77–78.
[131] "Manshū ni kansuru tai-Shin shomondai kaiketsu hoshin kettei no ken" 満州に関する対清諸問題解決方針決定の件 [Policy decision for the resolution with the Qing of various questions concerning Manchuria]. Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* 日本外交年表竝主要文書 (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1955), Jō Volume: 309.
[132] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 76.

In October, Mukden Provincial Governor Tang Shaoyi (1860–1938) visited Komura in Tokyo to seek a solution to the Jiandao question. Tang emphasized the urgent settlement of the border question, while Komura emphasized the protection of Koreans. This meeting marked the recommencement of diplomacy after the chill of the previous few months. The Japanese government made a gesture of cooperation by replacing Resident Minister in China Hayashi with the more moderate Ijūin Hikokichi (1864–1924). Ijūin conducted further negotiations in Beijing in November, during which the Chinese government indicated that it would be willing to cooperate on the Jiandao question, in return for Japan recognizing Chinese sovereignty there.[133]

Japan's Consul-General in Mukden Koike wrote to Komura in May 1909 that "the problem of protecting Korean pioneers in Manchuria is intimately related to the problem of the Korean residents in Jiandao, on the left bank of the Tumen…" He recommended pressing the Qing in negotiations currently underway to allow extraterritorial rights for the Jiandao Koreans.[134] Koike recognized that Jiandao was a launching pad for Korean migration around Manchuria and the Russian Far East, as well as a way-station for Koreans returning to the Korean Peninsula from abroad. If anti-Japanese elements were allowed to develop in Jiandao, they would fan out to these other territories, in addition to threatening the Korean protectorate itself. This added to the pressure for Tokyo to reach a compromise with Qing, to bring the Koreans in Jiandao under closer control by settling the borderland dispute.

In July 1909, relations between Chinese and Japanese police worsened in Jiandao. Clashes occurred when Chinese police obstructed the rebuilding of Japanese police boxes, and again when Chinese police arrested some Koreans. The RGK dispatched a further ninety-six military police officers.[135] Officers in Jiandao, under the command of Saitō, now totalled 208 men.[136] On August 3, the Special Station requested a battalion of soldiers from the RGK; this further military build-up wouldn't eventuate because of the signing of the Jiandao Agreement, although another

[133] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 80–81.
[134] Koike to Komura, May 13, 1909. *Kando/Yŏnhaechu kwangye* 2, 413.
[135] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 85–86.
[136] Kobayshi, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō ni okeru torishimari to keibi taisei," 179.

twenty Korean policemen were dispatched that month. Qing sent another regiment from Mukden to Jiandao in response.[137]

Back in Tokyo, a new decision concerning the rights of the Jiandao Koreans was arrived at on August 13. The Japanese government decided to compromise on judicial rights over Koreans except in "mixed residence lands."[138] This removed a major obstacle to negotiation with the Qing authorities. The Japan-Qing Agreement Concerning Jiandao (Kantō ni kansuru Nis-Shin kyōyaku) was signed on September 4, 1909. As a condition of this agreement, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter, the Special Station was closed on November 1.

Conclusion

Like other empires which were active in China around the turn of the twentieth century, Japan's expansion-minded leaders took advantage of Qing vulnerability to establish a favourable position in one of the Qing Empire's peripheral areas. Japan took advantage of the Sino-Korean territorial dispute, an issue close to the hearts of Korean patriots and the Korean king himself, at a time when Korea was being made into a protectorate of Japan. This gave Japan a point of entry onto the continent, which the Japanese army viewed as highly desirable in the years after the Russo-Japanese War.

A dual process of colonisation was underway in Jiandao. From the Qing side, it was a species of internal colonisation, marked by the exploitation of Korean farmers by Qing landlords and plantation owners. The loose rule by Manchu military garrisons gave way to civilian administration, with the establishment of the Yanji Office (Yanji-ting) and the position of Jilin Border Affairs Commissioner. In addition, soldiers of China's modern army were positioned near the border. These measures served to improve Qing control in the borderland.

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[137] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 85–86.
[138] Ibid, 86. "Mixed residence lands" (*zakkyochi*) were areas that Koreans had reclaimed prior to the introduction of settlement restrictions in 1880, and where certain rights were recognized by the Qing government – see Chapter Two for a fuller discussion.

From the Japanese side, the principle of "protection and control" was extended beyond the border of the Korean protectorate itself to the Koreans living in Jiandao and elsewhere in China. This was complemented by the kind of informal empire-building that Japan and other powers were practising in China – a consulate empowered with extraterritorial rights (at Hunchun) and a railway concession (Japanese capital and supervision for the planned Jilin-Hoeryŏng line). The most significant Japanese action was the establishment of the RGK's Special Police Station in Jiandao. This was a full-fledged colonial institution which investigated the Jiandao question systematically through field surveys and research of historical documents pertaining to the border. It also worked to control the Korean settlers through the mediation of collaborators: the populist pro-Japanese United Progress Association (Ilchinhoe) performed this service. Soon the priorities of the Special Station command grew distant from those of resident-general Itō Hirobumi. The Special Station started acting more and more upon its own initiative, threatening Japan's relationship with Qing. The part played by the Jiandao advocates (*Kantō ronsha*) and the Special Station demonstrates the importance of "men on the spot" in the directions taken in colonialist borderland policy, far away from the metropolitan capital.

Meanwhile, some Koreans in Jiandao resisted Japanese and Chinese officialdom and ran their own affairs where possible, while Korean militia led by such individuals as Yi Pŏmyun provided continuous military resistance. Repressive Japanese actions in Korea – notably the disbanding of the national army in 1907 – contributed to a large and well-armed Korean opposition to Japanese rule, which used Jiandao as a base. Chinese authorities also strongly opposed the Japanese presence in Jiandao. To a degree then, Japan's decision to get involved in the borderland dispute backfired.

Where Japanese policy in the borderland is concerned, the 1905–09 period may be characterised as a time of transition and adjustment in which the Jiandao advocates within Japan's government, military and intellectual spheres designed and implemented policy to resolve the so-called Jiandao question. Japan's Jiandao policy was initiated within the fluid context of Japan's post-war administration in southern Manchuria and the consolidation of Japanese rule in Korea. Prior to the 1909 Sino-Japanese Jiandao Agreement, this policy included the support of Korea's claim to the territory of Jiandao. The more enduring features of Japanese policy, however, targeted the

autonomous Korean communities of Jiandao in an attempt to coopt them into the expansion of Japanese influence on the continent. The agents of the RGK's Special Station, with the backing of the Tokyo government and the Army, acted upon the information gathered by Nakai Kinjō and the other "Jiandao advocates" by establishing nodes of contact and influence across Jiandao with the aid of Korean collaborators. These nodes, part of a growing network of power, were the foundations of Japan's borderland colonialism and an indication as to the direction of future Japanese policy in Jiandao.

CHAPTER TWO

The Growth of Japanese Colonialist Networks in Jiandao, 1909–1918

In exchange for recognizing Jiandao as Qing territory, Japan won from the Qing government other legal rights and privileges in accordance with the Sino-Japanese Jiandao Agreement of 1909. These included the opening of several new commercial territories (*shōbuchi*), the opening of a Japanese consulate in Longjingcun, the exercise of extra-territorial jurisdiction over Koreans in certain areas, and an agreement to construct the first railway through Jiandao. While the 1909 agreement entailed the withdrawal of the Japanese military from Jiandao, the presence of Japanese military police (*kenpei*) would in fact be augmented, with the Government-General of Korea (GGK) playing an important if surreptitious role. So while the actual border location was settled (albeit by Qing and Japan – the Koreans were given no say), the spread of Japanese interests in Jiandao within the context of informal imperialism, together with the paradoxical position of the Korean settlers, guaranteed continuing clashes. The international dispute in Jiandao thus changed from being primarily a boundary dispute to being a more complex dispute over legal jurisdiction, especially as applied to Korean residents and immigrants.

The problems and contradictions of Jiandao's politics and society were further exacerbated after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910. Prior to this, Japan's government had extended the principle of "protection and control" to Koreans in Jiandao on the justification that Korea was a protectorate of Japan. From 1910, however, Japan's policy and law-makers would redefine the status of Koreans living in Jiandao as imperial subjects whose welfare justified military intervention where necessary. The first Governor-General of Korea Terauchi Masatake (1852–1919) enthusiastically advocated Japanese involvement in Jiandao on this basis. The treatment of Jiandao's Koreans as Japanese subjects had significant implications because Japan still enjoyed extraterritorial rights in China through the "unequal treaties" which Japan and other empires had compelled the Qing government to accept. Koreans living in China could be theoretically entitled to the same extraterritorial privileges as other Japanese subjects, and the Chinese government became concerned that the Jiandao Koreans were being employed by Japan as a colonising

vanguard. This concern was particularly focused on Jiandao because it abutted the Korean border, and China's biggest population of Koreans lived there.[1] Japan's assertion that all of these Koreans were Japanese subjects obviously threatened China's national integrity. Following Japan's annexation of Korea, the borderland of Jiandao must have appeared to the Qing government as particularly vulnerable.

The Chinese authorities in Jiandao would establish new national institutions in the borderland in this period, such as compulsory schooling in the national curriculum for Korean pupils. Chinese efforts to incorporate the borderland more fully into national structures, which had begun their current phase in the nineteenth century, continued in force after the 1911 Xinhai Revolution which toppled the Qing dynasty from power. As I have suggested in my thesis introduction, Chinese state-building in Jiandao and other borderlands constituted internal colonialism, which sought to bring ethnic minorities such as the Koreans into the fold as Chinese nationals. Leaving aside the question of which nation rightly held claim to Jiandao, it is evident, as this chapter will show, that both China and Japan established legal and administrative "power networks" aimed at controlling the local (Korean immigrant and settler) population, in processes which amounted to the colonial acquisition of a borderland by expanding states.

The main task of this chapter will be to trace how Japanese institutions in Jiandao continued to expand and entrench Japanese influence there, in spite of Tokyo's recognition that Jiandao was indeed Qing territory. It will also examine how Japanese political actors in the borderland interacted with Qing authorities and Korean settlers and how local Koreans responded to the changing political circumstances.

The 1909 Jiandao Agreement and the reorganised Japanese presence in Jiandao

[1] In 1910, 202,070 Koreans lived in Manchuria. More than half of these (109,500) lived in Jiandao (see Appendix One). The same year, the Chinese population of Jiandao was recorded as 33,500. Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu hen, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū* 満州共産匪の研究 [A Study of Communist Insurgents in Manchuria], (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kyokutō Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1969), Vol. 1, 508–509, 543.

As seen in Chapter One, the RGK's intrigues in Jiandao caused tensions with the local Chinese government in the Yanji Office and led to the dangerous militarisation of the Sino-Korean border. In early 1909, the government of Japan set aside its support for the Korean territorial claim, and some successful Sino-Japanese diplomacy led to a rapprochement, and ultimately to the Japan-Qing Agreement concerning Jiandao (hereafter the "Jiandao Agreement"). Following months of preliminary discussions between Chinese and Japanese diplomats, the Jiandao Agreement was signed on 4 September, 1909.[2] Its seven articles follow in condensed form:

1) Japan and China recognise the Tumen (圖們) River as the Sino-Korean border.
2) China will open Longjingcun, Juzijie, Toudaogou and Baicaogou to the residence and trading activities of foreigners [i.e. as commercial territories], and Japanese consulates or sub-consulates may be established there.
3) China confirms the right of Koreans to reside on reclaimed farmland (*konchi*) north of the Tumen River, as historically practiced (*jūrai no dōri*)…
4) Koreans living on reclaimed farmland within mixed residence (*zakkyo*) areas north of the Tumen River will be subject to the law of China, and fall under the administrative authority of China's local government. These Koreans will be treated as subjects of China for purposes of tax collection and criminal trials. Japanese consular authorities may be present at trials, should be notified in cases of capital offence, and have the right of appeal.
5) Land owned by Koreans within mixed residence areas north of the Tumen River will be protected by the Chinese government in accordance with protections afforded to the assets of any Chinese national. The crossing of the river by ferry in either direction will be freely permitted. Individuals carrying firearms will also be permitted to cross the border without official documents or passports…

[2] The agreement's full name was Kantō ni kansuru Nis-Shin kyōyaku 間島に関する日清協約 [The Japan-Qing Agreement concerning Jiandao]. It is reproduced in full in Rikugunshō, *Kantō no gaikyō* 間島の概況 [Conditions in Jiandao] (Rikugunshō chōsahan 1932), 19–21.

6) The Chinese government will allow the extension of the Jilin-Changchun Railway as far as Hoeryŏng.
7) This agreement is effective immediately. All staff members of the RGK's Special Station in Jiandao will be withdrawn as soon as possible.

The articles of the final agreement had been anticipated by Naitō Konan's "Personal opinion on an agreement for the Jiandao question" (see Chapter One). The agreement took a harder line than Naitō would have preferred. He had favoured including the Korean government in talks over the agreement's contents – as things turned out, however, the Koreans were given no say. Naitō had also favoured Korean property-ownership rights and various working rights, as well as tariff-free trade, within twenty Japanese *ri* (about eighty kilometres) of the Tumen River. The agreement instead asserted Korean and Japanese rights within the four majority-Korean counties of Helong, Yanji, Wangqing and Hunchun. There was also the question of the commercial territories (*shōbuchi*) and mixed-residence lands (*zakkyochi*) which needed to be addressed. The commercial territories were those districts which had been opened to international commerce. The mixed-residence lands were areas of Jiandao where Koreans had reclaimed land before 1880, that is before their immigration and settlement were restricted by the Qing.[3] The Qing government remained open to granting Koreans greater freedom in mixed-residence lands, recognizing their historical presence there. Through Article Four, however, they insisted that Koreans be subject to Qing laws even in the mixed-residence lands.

The agreement illustrates how the government of Katsura Tarō shifted Japan's Jiandao policy away from the territorial claim to a group of economic and legal concessions. Under this new diplomatic approach, Jiandao would be integrated into Japan's informal empire in China through the familiar means of commercial territories (or treaty ports), extraterritorial rights and railway concessions which the great powers had been establishing in China since the Opium Wars.[4] The withdrawal of the Special Station and its replacement by Japanese consular offices would bring

[3] On the *zakkyochi*, see Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 98.
[4] The first such foreign concession was Xiamen, opened by the British in 1852. Barbara Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 100.

the region into line with the diplomatic standards of the time. Longjingcun and the other towns mentioned in Article Two would become rather like treaty ports elsewhere in China, with concession areas open to foreign residence and trade. A proposed railway linking the Korean border town of Hoeryŏng with the Japanese-controlled section of the Manchurian rail network also illustrates the shift from the territorial claim towards concession-hunting in Jiandao.

The brief preamble to the Jiandao Agreement described the residents of Jiandao as "borderland people" (*henmin*), indicating the recognition of their marginal status between two states. By outlining certain concrete rights, the agreement gave this marginal population an officially defined identity. Certain pre-existing if insecure privileges such as the ownership of land and freedom of movement were recognized. Importantly, the official identity granted to the Jiandao Koreans was one that could be controlled and managed by the Chinese and Japanese government authorities. Areas of Chinese and Japanese jurisdiction over Koreans were respectively demarcated, as seen in Article Four. Geo-political space was also demarcated, with attention paid to terminology – "North of the Tumen River" is occasionally substituted for the controversial and ill-defined entity of "Jiandao." Another important spatial demarcation was that between the open commercial territories, where a degree of extraterritorial law existed, and the mixed-residence areas, where Koreans were subject to Chinese laws but where Japanese consular officials were allowed to assist them. The border location was also formally agreed upon, in China's favour, yet the free crossing of the border by Koreans was also demanded. It is surprising to observe that even Koreans armed with weapons were allowed to cross the border unhindered, given that anti-Japanese resistance was common. This clause confirms that the Japanese government wanted to encourage Korean migration to Jiandao. The Jiandao Agreement was a step towards the organization of what had been, and to a degree still was, a fairly anarchic borderland, the control of which was seen as important by Japan and Qing alike.

The agreement momentarily settled the Sino-Japanese dispute over Jiandao. It was a compromise which, in the words of Wellington Koo, "was found satisfactory by the Koreans as well as by China."[5] But the cooperative picture offered by the agreement proved superficial. The potential

[5] Wellington Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces* (Beiping: League of Nations, 1932), 6.

for a new stability and harmony was quickly undermined by subsequent events, starting with Itō Hirobumi's assassination in October 1909 by a Korean patriot. At a conference on Korean administrative reform the following month, Korea's Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry Cho Chung'ŭng (1860–1919) stated in reference to Itō's assassination:

> [The Koreans in the borderland] cross the international border at will. When in Russia they call themselves Russians, when they return to their home villages they call themselves Koreans, so that in truth they have no discernible nationality. This situation also holds true for the Qing borderlands, and the policing of the northern frontier is moreover insufficiently thorough. The national border must be clarified, and its policing perfected.[6]

These comments express eloquently the contemporary anxiety about the unresolved national identity of the "borderland people," and about the need for clear-cut ethnic and national borders. The assassination of Itō was held as example of what could happen if the national status of the borderland Koreans was not tidied up, and the border not carefully policed. The new Resident-General Sone Arasuke (1849-1910) added that "by means of increased executive power (*gyōseiken*), matters must be dealt with in a pre-emptive manner" since "when an event [like Itō's death] occurs, applying jurisdictional powers (*shihōken*) is too little, too late."[7] The prevailing mood was that the moderate jurisdictional privileges conferred by the Jiandao Agreement two months previously would not be enough to solve the manifold security problems. Accordingly, the post-1909 order in Jiandao would be characterised by heavy Japanese police involvement and the maintenance of border forces along the right bank of the Tumen, ready to spring into Chinese territory at a moment's notice.

Although the architects of Japan's continental policy quickly became disenchanted with the Jiandao Agreement, they honoured its requirements in the short-term. The RGK's Special Station was closed on November 1, 1909, and replaced by a consulate in Longjingcun (known as the *Kantō ryōjikan*) and sub-consulates (*ryōjikan bunkan*) in Toudaogou, Juzijie and Baicaogou;

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[6] "Kankoku shisei kaizen ni kansuru kyōgikai dai kyūjū-kai," 韓国施政改善二関スル協議会第九十回 [90th Conference on Korean Administrative Reform], November 1909, in Kim Chŏngmyŏng, ed., *Nikkan gaikō shiryō shūsei* Vol. 6, (Tokyo: Gannandō, 1965), 1337–38.
[7] Ibid, 1341–1342.

these opened on November 3, with the exception of the Baicaogou sub-consulate which opened in March 1910.[8] They joined the consular branch office already established at Hunchun in December 1905 (see Map Four). These towns were either county capitals (like Juzijie, Hunchun and Baicaogou) or had significant established Korean populations (like Longjingcun). On the surface, this changeover displayed the withdrawal of Japanese military police from Jiandao in line with the general post-war troop withdrawal which Japan had been bound by the Beijing Treaty to carry out, and the beginning of internationally respectable, diplomatic relations via consular offices. In fact, the consulate in Jiandao would go beyond its diplomatic prerogatives to continue the colonialist activities of the Special Station. Additionally, the RGK and its successor the GGK would continue to exercise a strong influence in Jiandao.

One peculiar feature of Japanese consulates in China and Korea was the presence of police units, and the Jiandao consular offices were no exception. The ostensible purpose of the consular police was to protect Japanese residents in China. The Chinese government considered Japanese police presence as a violation of sovereignty, leading to numerous disputes and acts of violence between Chinese and Japanese police.[9] In Jiandao, the consular police swiftly assumed the security role previously held by the RGK's Special Station. The RGK even requested that its own military police officers should be employed as consular police staff – the Foreign Ministry agreed that the RGK's military police officers would make up half of the consular police in Jiandao.[10] We can infer that the consulates and sub-consulates which Japan had established in Jiandao from late 1909 continued some functions of the supposedly retired Special Station. The RGK thus maintained a link to Jiandao post-1909.

Besides security, Japan's consular officials in Jiandao provided intelligence-gathering. They studied the demography and economics of the commercial territories and surrounding areas, and

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[8] Tōkanfu, *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō* 統監府臨時間島派出所紀要 [Annals of the Resident-General's Special Police Station in Jiandao] (Keijō: Iwada shashinkan seihanbu, 1909), 411.

[9] Erik Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009). Particularly bloody was an August 1916 incident at the town of Zhengjiatun in Jilin Province, where a dispute between Chinese and Japanese police led to the deaths of twelve Japanese police (53–55).

[10] Yi Sunhan, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō wo meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 101.

relayed this information to Tokyo. In December 1909, for instance, the first Japanese consul-general of Jiandao, Nagataki Hisakichi (1866–1942), forwarded to the foreign minister a detailed report on the area around Baicaogou, drawn up by Vice-Consul Yoshioka.[11] Along with several maps, it included descriptions of the landscape, the exact location and size of the commercial territory, living conditions of the residents, transportation facilities, agricultural produce, political conditions (including an account of the Chinese military presence) and market conditions. The following excerpt allows us to picture an average commercial territory a few months after the Jiandao Agreement:

> The commercial territory here, established in accordance with our agreement with Qing, lies on a thin strip of land, forming a flat plain along the bank of the Gaya River… Its dimensions by the Qing measurement are 126 *zhang* from east to west and 244 *zhang* from north to south, totalling approximately 100,000 *tsubo* [about thirty-three hectares] by the Japanese measurement. The majority of this area, however, consists of farmland, some of which is low-lying and wet. Along with the chamber of commerce (*shōbukyoku*), local court and patrolman's barracks, forty-five farming households dot the area.[12]

Yoshioka noted in his conclusion that the local economy was hampered by transportation difficulties, such as roads that become impassable due to snow or flooding. He noted the lack of paved roads, the need for building repairs even in the chamber of commerce building, and the lack of telegraph connections with nearby towns, all of which hampered the area's commerce.[13] Reports such as Yoshioka's indicate yet another continuity with the Special Station era – the consular officials were gathering information on Jiandao's demography and economy in order to make suggestions for the future development of the region. The Japanese attitude towards Jiandao remained colonialist.

Returning to the issue of security, the Japanese consular officials in Jiandao set about supressing Korean dissidents who had crossed the border. They cooperated closely with the RGK here. On

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[11]"Hyakusōkō chihō shisatsu fukumeisho" 百草溝地方視察復命書 [Report on an Inspection of the Baicaogou Area, December 1909. *Kando/Yŏnhaechu kwangye* Vol. 1 (Gwacheon: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 2004), 4–14. On Nagataki's appointment see Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 95.
[12] Ibid, 5.
[13] Ibid, 14.

April 29, 1910, Resident-General Sone Arasuke wrote to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō that to deal with the resistance movement north of the border, military police officers attached to the Korea Garrison Army needed to be posted to consular offices in Vladivostok and Jiandao to observe resident Koreans. He identified the former Chosŏn official and current rebel leader Yi Pŏmyun as a particular threat.[14] In response, Komura agreed to Sone's proposal but stipulated that agents posted must "appear on the surface to be consular officials," not military men.[15] On May 30, Terauchi Masatake replaced Sone to become the third and last Resident-General of Korea. Terauchi worked to implement Sone's proposal. Komura again stipulated that military police should arrive in Vladivostok and Jiandao plain-clothed, in the guise of consular officials. Terauchi approved of this idea in his letter of reply.[16] To replace the Jiandao military police squad, retired after the recognition of Jiandao as Chinese territory, a squad was set up just south of the Tumen River at Kyŏngsŏng. Its object was "the observation and suppression of the [Korean] national independence movement by boosting the strength of the general military police deployment in North Hamgyŏng Province, and along the Tumen River in particular."[17]

Why were all these security measures against the Jiandao Koreans seen as necessary by the RGK? During the first year after the signing of the Jiandao Agreement, a number of new Korean political organisations had appeared in the region. Some of these sought to gain recognition from the Chinese government for programs of local autonomy. In October 1909, Pak Murim and about thirty other Jiandao Koreans had begun organizing the Korean People's Self-Rule Association (Hanmin Chach'ihoe) with the aims of fulfilling "our duty to our ancestral nation" and "restoring the collective freedom" of the Jiando Koreans. The proclaimed raison d'être of the association was that "the language, customs and natural disposition" of the Koreans were "not the same" as those of the Chinese.[18] The Japanese government requested that the Chinese authorities dissolve the association, and so it was not established. Pak's group made another request to set up the association in January 1910 to Yanji Prefectural Governor Tao Bin, who also refused. In March

[14] Kobayashi Reiko 小林玲子, "Tōkanfu/Chōsen sōtokufu ni yoru Kantō oyobi Tōmankō ni okeru torishimari to keibi taisei: 1907 nen – 1910 nen wo chūshin ni" [The Residency-General and Korean Government-General's System for the Control and Policing of Jiandao and the Tumen River: 1907-1910], *Hitotsubashi shakai kagaku* 3 (July 2007): 188–89.
[15] Ibid, 189.
[16] Ibid, 188–189.
[17] Ibid, 182–183.
[18] Quoted in Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 115–116.

1910, another group of Jiandao Koreans had more luck in their dealings with Tao, and successfully established the Korean People's Educational Society (Hanmin kyoyukhoe).[19] Vice-Consul of Jiandao Ōga Kamekichi reported on the society in detail to Komura on 29 September 1910:

> In March of this year [1910] in Jiandao, more than forty Korean Catholics, Protestants, Great Korea Church (*Dai Kan kyōkai*) members and other Christians belonging to Jiandao's anti-Japanese faction requested permission from Yanji District Governor Tao Bin to establish the Korean People's Educational Society for the education of young Koreans in Jiandao. The Governor accepted on condition of guidance by the Qing state (*Shinkoku no shidō*), for instance through teaching methodology and school books taking as their main aim (*shugan*) education in the Qing language [Chinese].[20]

The head of the Korean People's Education Society was Yi Dongch'un, who had migrated to Jiandao twenty years earlier and had worked as an interpreter for the Chinese government. The society also had a research branch headed by Pak Ch'an'ik, who was closely associated with the prefectural governor. Both Yi and Pak were described by Nagataki as culturally Chinese "assimilated Koreans" (*kika Chōsenjin*).[21] The fact that the society was dominated by assimilated Koreans was cited by Nagataki as evidence of dangerous pro-China leanings.

When it came to Japan's exercise of authority over such organizations, uncertainty existed between the Foreign Ministry and the RGK over their respective roles and responsibilities. The government in Tokyo made an effort to reduce this confusion in March 1910, at the Twenty-sixth session of the lower house of the Diet. A "Bill Concerning the Jurisdiction of the Jiandao Consulate" was passed, which gave the RGK (and later the GGK) "legal jurisdiction" (*saiban kankatsu*) over the Jiandao Koreans.[22] Diet member and committee chairman Miyako Keijirō stated that "although Jiandao became the territory of China as a result of the Japan-Qing Agreement [of 1909]… our Imperial Government still does not recognise it as being a part of Manchuria…" Because "Jiandao and Korea are closest together," it was logical that legal

[19] Ibid, 116.
[20] Ibid, 116–17.
[21] Ibid, 117.
[22] Ibid, 103.

jurisdiction over Jiandao should rest with the RGK.[23] The bill therefore granted Jiandao a distinct status within the informal empire in Manchuria, meriting separate oversight.

The Japanese government treated Jiandao as a discrete entity in matters of law as well as in administration – almost as a natural extension of the Korean Peninsula. Barbara Brooks has provided an example of how this distinction worked. In southern Manchuria, including the railway zone, "cases originating in the consular courts were subject to appeal first to the District Court at Dalian (Dairen) and then the Supreme Court at Port Arthur (Ryōjun or Lüshun) in the [Kwantung Leased Territory]. Consular cases originating in the 'Jiandao' area… were subject to appeal in higher courts in Korea."[24] At this stage it suited the Japanese government to argue that Jiandao was distinct from the rest of Manchuria. A few years later, as we shall see, circumstances would dictate that this stance be totally reversed.

Along with the posting of RGK police in Jiandao and along the border, and the placing of Koreans in Jiandao under RGK legal jurisdiction, the RGK continued to run Japan-built public facilities north of the Tumen. The most important of these were located in Longjingcun, the site of the Japanese consulate. After the retirement of the Special Station, some of the facilities which it had established and managed came under the control of the consulate (notably the police stations), while others would be controlled from across the Tumen River by the RGK. For instance, the RGK took over the operation of Jiandao Normal School (Kantō futsū gakkō). The Special Station had established this school in Longjingcun, although until the annexation of Korea it was officially under the management of the Korean government. After the annexation, it was funded by the Japanese government, and administered from the Korean town of Hoeryŏng.[25]

The Jiandao Mercy Clinic (Kantō jikei iin) underwent a similar transformation. It had also been established by the Special Station in Longjingcun. With the retirement of the Special Station, the Japanese consulate took over its operation. After the annexation in 1910, the RGK's successor,

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[23] Quoted in ibid, 103.
[24] Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy,* 86.
[25] In 1915, an Agricultural College was attached to the Jiandao Normal School. Sub-branches of the school were opened in Juzijie and Baicaogou. The school's name was later changed to Jiandao Central School (Kantō chūō gakkō). Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi* 施政三十年史 [A Thirty-Year Administrative History], (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1972), 100–101. For the school's establishment by the Special Station, see Chapter One.

the GGK, took over the hospital's operation. The GGK operated it as a branch of the Hoeryŏng Mercy Hospital, located just a short distance away on the opposite side of the border. It was renamed the Mercy Medical Centre (Jikei iin shinryōsho). Officials from the GGK would cross into Jiandao to undertake their rounds, with the cooperation of the consulate.[26]

As these cases show, the 1909–10 period encompassing the Jiandao Agreement and the annexation brought with it a number of changes to Japanese policy in Jiandao, but these changes were mostly cosmetic, constituting a changing of the guard to give Japan's presence in Jiandao the appearance of diplomatic legitimacy. Together with the new Japanese consular presence, the colonial regime of the RGK successfully maintained a strong presence north of the Tumen, embedding itself firmly there, albeit in a clandestine manner. The Foreign Ministry for its part observed matters in the borderland closely, and its agents joined those of the RGK in leading the direction of Japan's Jiandao policy. This policy was aimed at the maintenance of Japanese legal and administrative networks which had been established by 1909, and in the extension of Japanese jurisdiction and manpower to the new consular facilities.

The status of Koreans in Jiandao after Japan's annexation of Korea

In late August, 1910, the people of Korea became subjects of the Japanese Empire. But what was to become of Koreans living abroad? This question was pertinent and complex with regards to Jiandao because of the region's large Korean population, the particular security concerns attached to it by the Japanese authorities, and the special status conferred upon it by the 1909 agreement. Precedents for treating the Jiandao Koreans as subjects of Japan had begun to develop at the time of the 1905 Protectorate Agreement, the first article of which stated that "Japanese diplomatic representatives and consuls will protect Korean subjects and interests in foreign countries."[27] Then in 1908, the Memorandum on Korean Subjects in Jiandao (*Kantō Kankoku shinmin kokoroe*) promulgated by the RGK's Special Station had asserted that "no matter where Korean

[26] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 101; Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 104–105.
[27] Nik-Kan kyōyaku 日韓協約 [Japan-Korea Protectorate Agreement] in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō*, Jō Volume: 252.

subjects should happen to be, they will not forfeit their nationality."[28] In July 1909, Resident-General of Korea Terauchi Masatake submitted to the Japanese government the Annexation Implementation Bill (*Heigō shori hōan*), which echoed the premise of the aforementioned memorandum in tackling the question of Korean nationality.[29] The bill recommended that all Koreans would be considered Japanese subjects. They would retain their Japanese subjecthood if they went overseas, and would not be allowed to change their nationality. Terauchi's bill was passed by the Katsura Tarō government. The policy that Koreans living outside the peninsula should retain their Korean nationality and be prevented from changing it was thus well-developed by 1910.

International private law expert Yamada Saburō (1869–1965) examined the Korean nationality question further in a July 1910 opinion piece.[30] Yamada argued that Koreans with dual Chinese and Korean nationality should be required to choose one nationality according to a formalised procedure, and that Koreans living abroad with no intention of returning should be permitted to take foreign nationality. Like Terauchi he favoured sole, not dual, nationality, but unlike Terauchi he favoured letting the Koreans choose which nationality to retain. Yamada also argued that Koreans would only be considered full Japanese subjects in relations with third powers, but not domestically, essentially refining the Terauchi policy line. He wrote:

> …Although those who have been Korean subjects until now will automatically receive Japanese nationality (*kokuseki*) after the annexation, this will not make Koreans identical in status to Japanese. It is advisable that they will possess Japanese nationality only in relation to foreign countries.[31]

This meant that the national membership and rights of Koreans were malleable according to Japanese foreign policy requirements. Koreans in Jiandao could be "protected" as Japanese subjects from the law of China, but this did not entail the full rights afforded to Japanese domestically. This harshness on the question of Korean nationality contrasted with the modicum

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[28] *Tōkanfu Rinji Kantō Hashutsujo kiyō*, 159–161. See discussion in Chapter One of this paper.
[29] Yamabe Kentarō, *Nihon tōchika no Chōsen* 日本統治下の朝鮮 [Korea under Japanese Rule] (Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 1971), 3–4.
[30] Reprinted in its entirety in ibid, 4–6.
[31] Ibid, 6.

of choice allowed to the Taiwanese. Taiwan had been annexed by Japan in 1895. Whereas Koreans were given little or no option about their nationality, Taiwanese were given a choice of sorts, having a May 1897 deadline to leave Taiwan if they didn't want to be Taiwanese nationals. Furthermore, mainland Chinese were allowed to apply to apply for Taiwanese nationality (*Taiwan sekimin*) by the same deadline.[32]

The annexation of Korea was announced publicly on August 29, 1910. The Qing government was concerned that the 1909 Sino-Japanese Jiandao Agreement should continue to be honoured after the annexation. Japanese documents record the response of Viceroy of the Three Eastern Provinces Xi Liang (1853–1917), the highest-ranking Qing official in Manchuria. Xi instructed the heads of the prefectures and counties that "regarding the disposal of such matters as the support (*hogo taigū*) and legal administration (*shihō gyōsei*) of the Koreans in Manchuria, the special agreement recently clarified between Qing and Japan must be honored."[33] Xi's words indicate that the Qing authorities in Manchuria preferred the status quo as set out by the 1909 agreement to the notion that Koreans in Manchuria would occupy the same legal position as Japanese. Under the status quo, the extraterritorial rights of the Koreans in Jiandao were limited to the commercial territories. As future developments would show, Xi had good reason to worry that the annexation of Korea would undo the 1909 agreement.

China was rocked by the Xinhai Revolution from October 1911, which led to the deposition of the Qing Emperor and the establishment of a provisional republic. The Korean People's Educational Society, which had been established in Jiandao in 1910 in co-operation with the Yanji district government, quickly sought the recognition of China's new government. In autumn 1912, the society was formally recognised by the new Beijing government as the organisation representing the Jiandao Koreans. It changed its name to the Jiandao (or Cultivators') Educational Society (Kanmin kyoyukhoe), although Japanese documents continued for a while referring to it by its old name.[34] The freshly legitimized society established its main office in

[32] Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy*, 105–109.
[33] Quoted in Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 111.
[34] The character [墾], pronounced "kan" in Korean, means "cultivate, reclaim land" but was also used occasionally instead of [間] as the first character in "Kando/Jiandao" [間島]. So the name "Jiandao Educational Society" could also be interpreted as "Cultivators' Educational Society" – both names were appropriate.

Juzijie, which remained the seat of the Chinese local government. The Jiandao Educational Society was subdivided into seven departments for law, education, diplomacy and so forth. It established branch offices "in every region" and extracted "duty fees" of 30 *qian* per household.[35]

Since Japan's annexation of Korea, a number of pro-independence organisations had arisen in the Korean communities around the world. As we saw in Chapter One, Jiandao had already harboured several anti-Japanese guerrilla movements in the years before 1910, and these were now joined by post-annexation Korean exiles. One was the nationalist Na Ch'ŏl (1864–1916), founder of the religion Taejonggyo (originally Tan'gun'gyo), who fled to Manchuria after the annexation. He and his successor as patriarch, Kim Kyohŏn (1868–1923), successfully mobilised local Koreans through the religion, even more so through social work and education. The religion "became one of the principal organizational networks for the national independence movement north of the border."[36] The famous scholar and independence activist Yi Siyŏng (1868–1953) also fled to Manchuria and founded a military training school for young Koreans. He became Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government in Shanghai from 1919.[37]

An alleged assassination attempt against Governor-General Terauchi in northern Korea in December 1910, known as the 105-Man Incident, led to mass arrests and convictions of leading Christians and members of the pro-independence New People's Association (Sinminhoe).[38] The suppression in Korea was accompanied by new security measures aimed at stemming pro-independence activities abroad. In June 1911, Japan and Russia enacted a Treaty for the Extradition of Fugitive Criminals (Nichi-Ro tōbō hanzainin hikiwatashi jōyaku). The two governments agreed to mutually crack down on political criminals operating on their territory.[39] Koreans who were wanted by the Japanese authorities, notably Yi Pŏmyun, had been freely crossing the border between Manchuria and the Russian Far East, and the latter region was becoming, like Jiandao, a haven for Korean radicals. In December 1911, the GGK requested

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[35] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 117–118.
[36] Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 193. The religion is discussed on pp. 191–198.
[37] Andrew C. Nahm and James Hoare, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Korea* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 233.
[38] Alexis Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 120–129.
[39] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 131–132.

cooperation from the Jiandao consular police in security operations. In 1912, the consular police arrested and deported from Jiandao Koreans suspected of plotting the assassination of Terauchi. This was an early instance of cooperation between the GGK and the Jiandao consular police in the suppression of Korean activists.[40]

In November 1912, the Korea Military Police Headquarters, the senior police bureau under the GGK, released a report titled "The Condition of Korean Associations Abroad." It reported that the Korean People's Educational Society was encouraging anti-Japanese sentiment and scheming for national independence. It also reported on the growing links among pro-independence organisations abroad: Koreans in Jiandao had established connections with the Vladivostok-based Industrial Promotion Society (Kwŏn'ŏp hoe), and with the largest Korean association abroad, the San-Francisco based National Association (Kukminhoe).[41]

The GGK continued pushing for an active role in the "protection and control" of Koreans in Jiandao. It had already infiltrated plainclothes police officers into Jiandao and the Russian Maritime Province as we have seen. On November 26, 1912, an Imperial Edict on Special Administrative Appointments to the Government-General was promulgated.[42] The edict stated: "Consuls-general and consuls serving in Jiandao and Andong will serve concurrently as secretaries (*shokikan*) for the GGK; deputy-consuls will serve concurrently as administrators (*jimukan*) for the GGK." According to an official GGK history, this edict served "to smooth out the coordination between [the Jiandao consulate] and us and our field officers."[43]

This co-ordination between the Japanese consulates and the GGK also extended to the field of education. In 1914, GGK-attached education officials were dispatched to Andong; Andong Common Elementary School (Antō jinjō shogakkō) was founded in February.[44] Jiandao and the Korean Peninsula were being subtly tied together by a network of officers whose function

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[40] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 52–53.
[41] Chōsen chūsatsu kenpeitai shireibu, *"*Zaigai Chōsenjin kessha dantai jōkyō" 在外朝鮮人結社団体状況 [The Condition of Korean Organisations Abroad], November 1912, in P'yŏnch'anja Han'guk Kojŏn Yŏn'guhoe, *Minjok munhwa nonch'ong* (Seoul: Minjok Munhwasa, 1981), Volume 5: 119.
[42] "Imperial Edict on Special Administrative Appointments to the Government-General," 26 January 1912, in *Kanpō* 官報 (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 1992).
[43] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 100.
[44] Ibid, 101.

doubled as diplomatic and colonial-administrative. As the situation in Andong showed, the GGK had begun spreading its networks of power beyond Jiandao and into other regions with large Korean populations.

Extraterritoriality and the Jiandao Koreans: the treaty of 1915

The Qing policy of encouraging, and sometimes forcing, Korean settlers to naturalize as subjects of China continued after the founding of the Chinese Republic. This policy met with interference by the Japanese consular authorities, who upheld the legally-derived view of all Koreans as subjects of Japan.[45] There were some in the Japanese government who dissented from this hardline approach. In 1912, for instance, Foreign Ministry Political Affairs Bureau Chief Abe Moritarō had argued that Koreans should be allowed to naturalize as Chinese.[46] But in practice, Japanese consular and GGK officials were increasingly applying what we might call the Terauchi doctrine – that in international relations Koreans should be treated as Japanese subjects and that they should not be allowed to change their nationality. Ironically, the Chinese Nationality Law of 1914 prohibited the naturalization of those who were not allowed to naturalize abroad under the laws of their own country. This meant that Koreans, as subjects of Japan, were not permitted to naturalize in China according to the laws of both China and Japan.[47] In practice, however, naturalization of Koreans in China was common. Both nations' laws were open to multiple interpretations on the matter of naturalization, not least because many Koreans had been born in Jiandao or had lived there since well before the 1910 annexation of Korea.

By 1915, considerable tension had thus arisen between Beijing and Tokyo regarding the nationality of Koreans in Jiandao. The Ōkuma Shigenobu government attempted to settle this and a number of other questions in Japan's favour by presenting the Twenty-One Demands to China's

[45] Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces*, 16–18.
[46] Abe Moritarō, "Manshū ni okeru Chōsenjin mondai" 満州における朝鮮人問題 [The Korean question in Manchuria], 1912. Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* (Tokyo: Nihon kokusai rengō kyōkai, 1955), Jō Volume: 374–375.
[47] This law was revised on February 5, 1929, allowing aliens to naturalise in China without losing their original nationality. On Chinese and Japanese nationality laws of the period, see Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces*, 13–17.

Yuan Shikai government on January 18, 1915. These Demands were divided into five groups. Group Two pertained to Manchuria, and included demands that Japanese subjects (a category which now included Koreans as a matter of course) may lease and own land in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia (also known under the Japanese abbreviation "Man-Mō"), and freely travel, reside and work across this vast area. Also included was the demand for Japanese extraterritorial authority over all Japanese subjects. China ratified the Group Two demands on June 8, 1915, by signing the Treaty respecting Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia (hereafter the 1915 Treaty).[48] The response of the Chinese public to the Demands was highly negative, and included anti-Japanese boycotts across China.[49]

Where the future of the Jiandao Koreans was concerned, the 1915 Treaty posed two related problems. Firstly, there was the problem of how to define the limits of Man-Mō and whether or not Jiandao was included within it. If Jiandao was not a part of Man-Mō, as the Chinese government maintained, then the terms of the treaty would not be applicable within Jiandao. Secondly, there was the interpretive problem regarding the validity of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement with respect to the new treaty.

The 1915 Treaty contained a clause specifying that "all existing treaties between China and Japan relating to Manchuria shall, except as otherwise provided for by this Treaty, remain in force."[50] This was the basis for China's insistence on upholding the 1909 Jiandao Agreement: "The Chinese Government further contends that the Treaty and Notes of 1915 do not apply to the Jiandao District, since the latter is not geographically a part of 'Southern Manchuria…'"[51] The Japanese government disagreed, contending that Jiandao was a part of Southern Manchuria and that the 1915 Treaty superseded the Jiandao Agreement:

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[48] This treaty was often referred to in official Japanese correspondence as the *shin jōyaku* or "New Treaty." Reprinted in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* Jō Volume: 406–407.
[49] According to Wu, the Twenty-One Demands were signed by the Chinese government under duress and never ratified. Herbert Hantao Wu, *A Legal Study: Japan's Acts of Treaty Violation and Encroachment Upon the Sovereign Rights of China in the North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria)* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1971), 175. The fifth group of demands was dropped by Japan.
[50] 1915 Treaty, quoted in League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government: Report of the Commission of Enquiry* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1932), 57.
[51] Ibid, 57.

> …The Chinese contention that the Jiandao Agreement is a self-contained instrument is untenable, since the right secured by the Koreans in Jiandao was actually in consequence of Japan's agreement to recognise that region as a part of Chinese territory.[52]

The question of how the 1915 Treaty should be applied to the Jiandao Koreans themselves was thus tangled into the question of whether the new treaty superseded the 1909 Jiandao Agreement.

On June 16, 1915, Jiandao Consul-General Suzuki Yōtarō requested a concrete statement of the Japanese government's policy regarding the relation between the 1915 Treaty and the 1909 Jiandao Agreement in a telegram to Foreign Minister Katō Takaaki. Katō's response, also sent to the GGK, indicated that the Foreign Ministry did not yet have a settled policy.[53] Terauchi submitted an opinion paper to Katō on July 7, criticising the Foreign Ministry's stance and further reiterating that Koreans in China be considered Japanese subjects, able to receive all the privileges included in the new treaty. In Terauchi's view, the new treaty superseded the 1909 agreement in all matters except for that of the border resolution, which the 1915 Treaty did not cover.[54] In late July, the GGK sent its foreign affairs bureau chief Komatsu Midori (1865–1942) to Tokyo to try to influence policy matters as they were underway.[55] The GGK was concerned that the Jiandao Koreans would lose the landowning rights granted them in 1909.

A Cabinet decision was made on August 13, 1915, on the application of the new treaty to Jiandao.[56] On the following day the government communicated its decision to the GGK, the Jiandao consul-general and the sub-consulates. On the matters of land sales tax and extraterritorial rights the 1915 Treaty would be observed, while on the matter of land ownership the Jiandao Agreement would be observed and the status quo maintained. The settlement of the border in 1909 at the Tumen River was not questioned. The cabinet resolved "to discard Articles Three and Four, and most of Article Five of the Jiandao Agreement."[57] These were deemed null

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[52] Ibid, 57.
[53] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 127.
[54] Ibid, 128.
[55] Komatsu Midori 小松緑, "Zai Kantō Chōsenjin no torishimari ni kansuru ken," 在間島朝鮮人の取締に関する件 [On the management of Koreans in Jiandao], 4 August, 1915, in Yamamoto Shirō, ed., *Terauchi Masatake kankei bunsho* (Kyoto: Kyoto Joshi Daigaku, 1984), 168–170.
[56] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 130.
[57] Ibid.

and void because they concerned Korean rights of residence, free movement and consular representation which were limited to Jiandao. Following the new treaty, the Cabinet now asserted these privileges all across Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia (Man-Mō). As applied to Jiandao, this effectively dissolved the distinctions between commercial territories and mixed-residence areas which the 1909 Agreement had so carefully distinguished. It applied blanket extraterritoriality over Japanese subjects in Jiandao, Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, considerably extending Japan's power networks on the continent.[58] Japan would henceforth apply the 1915 Treaty articles while also maintaining those articles of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement which were not provided for by the new treaty.

The GGK immediately began to explore how extraterritorial law should be applied to Koreans in Jiandao in light of the new treaty. What would be the roles of the GGK and the Japanese consulates going forth? To address such thorny questions, the GGK attorney-general (*shihō chōkan*) Kokubu Sangai (1864–1962) submitted a report to Terauchi on the judicial administration of Koreans residing in Jiandao.[59] Kokubu agreed with the interpretation that those parts of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement which clashed with the 1915 Treaty would be inapplicable. Previously, Koreans accused in criminal cases in Jiandao had been allowed Japanese consular assistance and right of appeal within the Chinese courts. This fell short of full extraterritoriality. Henceforth, Jiandao Koreans would receive consular assistance in all criminal and civil cases. Furthermore, civil cases involving land which involved Japanese (including Korean) and Chinese litigants would be jointly judged by a Japanese and a Chinese official (*ryōkoku kanshi*).[60] Kokubu reaffirmed that Japanese subjects in Jiandao were under extraterritorial jurisdiction, and so naturally fell under the general law (*ippan hō*) of Japan.[61] He proceeded to describe law in the Korean colony, which was upheld by the GGK and which retained some of the laws of Chosŏn, such as the flogging of criminals. He emphasised that Koreans in Jiandao were not subject to the

[58] Japanese extraterritoriality in China was based on the "unequal" Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. The scope of Japanese extraterritoriality was expanded through subsequent accords such as the Boxer Protocol of 1901 and the Beijing Treaty of 1905. As Japanese subjects from 1910, the Koreans were to be granted the same extraterritorial status that the Japanese enjoyed in China.
[59] Kokubu Sangai 国分三亥, "Kantō zaijū Chōsenjin ni taisuru shihō kankei" 間島在住朝鮮人に対する司法関係 [On the judicial administration of Koreans residing in Jiandao], August 23, 1915, in *Terauchi Masatake kankei bunsho*, 407–410.
[60] Ibid, 407.
[61] Ibid, 407–408.

laws of Korea, but to those of the Japanese Empire as practised in such extraterritorial jurisdictions as could be found in China or Siam.[62] Since Korean law was inapplicable in Jiandao, and since Jiandao lay outside the jurisdiction of the National Constitution of Japan, Kokubu proposed that the imperial edict (*chokurei*) be used as a legal device in Jiandao. He considered this the best way to guarantee Korean legal claims in areas like kinship and inheritance.[63] In his conclusion, he quoted a Japanese government statute from 1911 to affirm the principle that, while GGK courts may try offences committed in Jiandao, they must apply the law of Japan rather than the law of Korea.[64] Kokubu finally asserted the validity of the consular judgements within Jiandao – in instances where extraterritorial and Korean law may conflict, consular decisions could not be undone by appeal to Korean courts.[65] Kokubu's ideas were important in that they retained a role for the GGK within Jiandao (the power to extradite and prosecute "recalcitrant Koreans") while clarifying the appropriate laws to apply in such cases.

The same August as the Cabinet decision and the Kokubu paper, the Jiandao consulates began hearing lawsuits from Koreans, and in September Japan began applying extraterritorial law to Koreans in Jiandao outside of the designated commercial territories. Chinese authorities resisted – they not only interfered with Japanese police and legal procedures but began ignoring Japanese rights in the commercial territories, in violation of the 1909 Agreement. On September 6, 1915, for instance, Japanese authorities served an arrest warrant to a Korean in Yanji County. Between August 25 and October 25, Japanese served summons to fourteen individuals and heard 213 lawsuits outside of the commercial territories.[66] More cases followed. In the town of Dalazi on September 17, a Japanese consular summons issued to a Korean was confiscated by Chinese police. On September 23 in the Longjingcun commercial territory, Chinese authorities arrested four Korean robbers and transported them the Juzijie court.[67] Then on October 13, the Japanese consulate served an arrest warrant to an assimilated Korean school teacher at a Chinese-run

[62] Ibid, 408.
[63] Ibid, 409.
[64] Meiji 44 (1911) Statute 51, on "Legal Judgements by Consular Officials in Jiandao" (Kantō ni okeru ryōjikan no saiban ni kansuru ken 間島ニ於ケル領事官ノ裁判ニ関スル件), quoted in ibid, 409.
[65] Ibid, 409–410.
[66] "Shin jōyaku jisshi no jōkyō," 新条約実施の状況 [The status of the implementation of the new treaty], November 1915, in *Terauchi Masatake kankei bunsho*, 371–372.
[67] "Ōryokukō taigan oyobi Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin no chii" 鴨緑江対岸及間島における朝鮮人の地位 [The status of Koreans across the Yalu River and in Jiandao], in *Terauchi Masatake kankei bunsho*, 396–397.

school in Longjingcun. The Chinese authorities sheltered him inside the chamber of commerce and refused to recognize the warrant on the grounds that he was "a Chinese."[68]

Events such as these showed that the national and legal status of Koreans in Jiandao had become a kind of battlefield. The 1915 Treaty failed to stabilize the jurisdictional arrangements between China and Japan, instead opening up numerous avenues of interpretation and dispute. Some Koreans took advantage of this state of affairs, and were willing to accept the legal protection of either the Chinese or Japanese side as suited their immediate interests. The collapse of the 1909 Agreement and the unreconciled Chinese and Japanese interpretations of the 1915 Treaty contributed to this chaos, and Japan's unwillingness to treat China as a diplomatic equal exacerbated it.

China's assimilation policy and the Korean People's Associations

Koreans in Jiandao had their nationality differently defined by the two national governments of China and Japan. Japan defined them as Japanese subjects living abroad, subject to extraterritorial law and requiring invigilation which GGK and Foreign Ministry officials each sought to perform. China defined them as candidates for assimilation, and increasingly viewed them as dangerous in as much as they furnished Japan with a pretext to further encroach on Chinese sovereignty. Herbert Hantao Wu captured the Chinese sentiment well: "…In carrying on aggression in the North-east, the Japanese policy is to make the Koreans as vanguard and the Japanese as reserves."[69] The efforts by both Japan and China to make the Jiandao Koreans amenable to national policy had parallel manifestations at the local community level. Both the Chinese and Japanese governments helped to create and fund allied Korean organisations, and to influence Korean education. We have seen some examples of these phenomena already, such as the United Progress Association, sympathetic to Japan, and the Chinese-supported Korean People's Educational Society.[70] The cultivation of collaborative groups among Koreans in Jiandao would be pursued further after the Twenty-One Demands.

[68] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 138.
[69] Wu, *A Legal Study*, 177.
[70] For the United Progress Association see Chapter One.

The Chinese policy of assimilation and naturalisation of Koreans as Chinese nationals proceeded in pace with continuing administrative reforms in China's north-east, as Chinese officials worked to make the borderland Chinese. This involved giving the region a Chinese name and integrating it further into the nation's administrative structure – in 1914 the Jilin provincial government named the borderland region "Yanji District" (*Yanji dao*), placing a district governor (*daoyin*) as its highest official.[71] It was also seen as vital to bring Korean communities into the Chinese administrative fold. District Governor Zhang Yi would make this a priority. In June 1915, a policy of uniform education (consisting of Chinese education for Koreans) was implemented across Yanji District.[72] In August, Zhang promulgated a policy of "universal benevolence" (*yishi tongren*). He aimed with this policy for Chinese and Koreans to be treated equally by his administration, with Korean interpreters present in government offices. Over the next couple of years, Koreans were appointed as heads of villages (*xiang*) and rural communes (*she*).[73]

Analogous moves towards Korean integration were made by Japanese officials. On March 16, 1917, acting Jiandao consul-general Suzuki Yōtarō sent a telegram to Foreign Minister Motono Ichirō (1862–1918) to suggest the uniform establishment and funding of loyal Korean associations. Suzuki recognized that "as a supporting framework for government of the Koreans" such organizations would be "the most effective," and that "organizing them in every commercial territory was appropriate." On April 14, Motono replied that while cultivating Korean organizations to help manage Korean affairs was an appropriate policy course, more thorough research was desirable first. On May 14, Suzuki argued again for the establishment of public Korean associations under the umbrella of the consulate. On May 31, Motono instructed Suzuki to allow the Koreans to set up "residents' associations," which should not have the appearance of being run by Japan. Motono also expressed the wish for the GGK to collaborate in their

[71] Jilin Province had previously called Jiandao the "Southeast District" (Dongnanlu dao). Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 242, endnote 5.
[72] "Shin jōyaku jisshi go ni okeru Kantō no jōsei" 新条約実施後に於ける間島の状勢 [Conditions in Jiandao after the implementation of the new treaty], November 1915, in *Terauchi Masatake kankei bunsho*, 374–376.
[73] Ibid.

management.[74] The Foreign Ministry provided the funds to set them up, but from then on operating costs would be shared by the Foreign Ministry and the GGK.[75]

On August 31, 1917, the first Korean People's Association (KPA) was opened in the Longjingcun commercial territory. It was formed from the core of an already-existing association of Koreans "friendly to Japan" (*shin-Nichi Chōsenjin*), which had been formed under the aegis of the Japanese consulate.[76] Yi Hŭitŏk (1869–1934) was nominated as the president of the new Longjingcun People's Association. Yi had previously served as head of the Jiandao branch of the collaborationist United Progress Association. After its 1910 dissolution, he had assumed the role of president of the Jiandao branch of Sich'ŏngyo, a religious sect founded in the mid-nineteenth century by the Tonghak rebel leader Ch'oi Cheu. The sect had numerous branches in Jiandao, concentrated around the sub-stations of the RGK's Special Station. With a recorded 5,184 adherents as of the year 1917, it was the largest Korean group in Jiandao with pro-Japanese inclinations.[77] It was therefore the logical network through which to build the new system of Korean residents' associations. The staffing and activities of the Longjingcun People's Association would be directed by the Japanese consulate. When it was inaugurated, the Longjingcun People's Association included 530 households from within the commercial territory and forty from outside it. Of Korean households in the commercial territory, only sixty were not members of the association, making the membership rate within the zone 90%.[78]

The Chinese government tried to counter the influence of the KPAs by setting up commercial associations (*shangwuhui*) within the commercial zones. Membership of these was reserved as half Chinese and half Korean. In Dalazi, for instance, the Helong County Commercial Association was established. It was joined by the Wanqing County Commercial Association in

[74] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 143–144.
[75] Ibid, 145.
[76] It was originally called the *kyoryū minkai* or "Residents' Association" in Japanese; but it and similar groups were later referred to as *Chōsenjin minkai* or "Korean People's Associations.
[77] For Korean religion in Jiandao and the connection between the United Progress Association and Sich'ŏngyo, see the section titled "Chōsen no shūkyō" 朝鮮の宗教 [Korean Religions] in Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha, *Kantō Jijō* (Keijō: Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha, 1918), 852–856.
[78] "Chōsenjin kyoryūminkai" 朝鮮人居留民会 [The Korean Residents' Association], *Kantō Jijō*, 952.

Baicaogou, and the Yanji County Commercial Association in Juzijie. The Longjingcun Korean Commercial Association was established in October 1916 with 120 members.[79]
Meanwhile, the Japanese-controlled organisations continued to multiply in the commercial territories. Just as the Longjingcun People's Association had formed out of the pre-existing Koreans' Association, so did other KPAs also grow out of Korean organisations within the commercial territories, and with the hierarchy of the Sich'ŏngyo sect providing them their social fabric.[80] The influence of KPAs soon began to spread beyond the commercial territories, a development regarded favourably by Suzuki. He wrote to the foreign minister: "As the popularity among ordinary Koreans is strong, [the Longjingcun People's Association] will not only be able to bring in people of social standing (*kaikyūsha*) living within this commercial zone, but it is anticipated that those from outside will continue to join."[81]

The history of the Hunchun KPA provides a good example of how these institutions expanded and multiplied. On July 26, 1918, Hunchun Vice-Consul Akisu Ikusaburō wrote to Foreign Minister Gotō Shinpei and the GGK Internal Affairs Department to request funds to expand the Hunchun People's Association by establishing supporting branches in the nearby towns of Heidingzi and Yantongla. This, wrote Akisu, was in order to facilitate the assimilation (*dōka*) of the region's Koreans. Gotō expressed his approval, writing to acting consul Suzuki on August 27 to suggest that "in future, all of the KPAs' expenses be paid by the Foreign Ministry, while the GGK's disbursements be used in the areas of education and sanitation." The GGK was unwilling to disburse extra funds for the new branches in Hunchun County, and Akisu repeated his request. Ultimately, Japanese policemen dispatched by Akisu opened a KPA branch in Heidingzi on November 19.[82] This episode demonstrates how the KPAs and the consular police in combination spread Japanese influence through Jiandao, and how officials on the ground (in this case Akisu) initiated the expansion of Japan's colonial network in Jiandao. Furthermore, Gotō's insistence that the Foreign Ministry and the GGK would divide the costs of supporting the KPAs suggests the mixture of cooperation and rivalry through which these institutions worked in Jiandao.

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[79] "Senjin no shōmukai" 鮮人ノ商務会 [Korean Commercial Associations], *Kantō Jijō*, 1003.
[80] The Juzijie Residents' Association, for example, replaced the Juzijie Villagers' Association, and that of Baicaogou superseded the local Korean's Association, founded by Koreans of Wangqing County. "Kyokushigai kyōtokai" 局子街郷徒会 [The Juzijie Villagers' Association], *Kantō Jijō*, 953–954.
[81] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 148.
[82] Ibid, 152.

Conclusion

While Japan had to formally recognize Jiandao as Qing territory in 1909, it nonetheless continued to establish interlinked mechanisms of control, some formal and others informal. They ranged from legal rights to police boxes and sub-consulates, from cooperation with Korean associations to the provision of teachers and medical staff to Korean villages. Such measures were colonialist insomuch as they asserted degrees of Japanese control over Korean lives, and pushed forward Japanese political and economic interests in China within the structure of the unequal Sino-Japanese relationship. From the relatively clear-cut issue of the border dispute, the Sino-Japanese contest over Jiandao now assumed a more protean form, based upon administrative and legal networks of local officials, collaborators and extraterritorial jurisdictions. Of course, such networks had characterized the colonial borderland all along – we saw in Chapter One how the Special Station worked with the Korean United Progress Association, for instance – but now they replaced the border dispute as the main objects of Sino-Japanese contestation.

The 1909 Jiandao Agreement compelled Japan to retire the RGK's Special Station in Jiandao. In place of this institution, stationed north of the Tumen in circumstances of dubious legality, the Foreign Ministry established regular consular officials. This change of personnel gave the Japanese presence in Jiandao a veneer of diplomatic legitimacy. However, many of the Special Station's functions in Jiandao would remain, simply being taken over by the Foreign Ministry's consular officials. Furthermore, while the consulates maintained by the Foreign Ministry asserted the right to protect Korean interests in Jiandao, in practice the RGK and its successor the GGK continued to play a strong, often secret role. The consulates and sub-consulates had their own police detachments which were partly staffed by military police from the colonial forces in Korea. So the changes to the Japanese presence in Jiandao after 1909 were rather cosmetic, and did not entail a military withdrawal so much as a changing of the guard.

The 1915 Treaty, a result of the Twenty-One Demands, saw the Japanese government force its regional agenda onto China while the latter was in a position of weakness and disunity. Under the

Japanese interpretation of this treaty, the Jiandao Koreans were fully fledged Japanese subjects as far as relations with China were concerned, and entitled to the same extraterritorial rights. Prior to the 1909 agreement, the Japanese government had insisted on the unique political status of Jiandao as a Korean region demanding special treatment, a claim rejected by the Chinese government. From 1915, the roles were somewhat reversed – it was now the Chinese arguing for the special status of Jiandao, while the Japanese argued that it should be included within the larger entity called "Southern Manchuria." Whether Jiandao was included as a part of Manchuria or Southern Manchuria, or constructed in the legal discourse as a separate self-contained region, depended on the relative balance of power between the Chinese and Japanese governments, and their respective aims at a given time. The history of Jiandao in this period demonstrates how political regions can be moulded into or out of existence as political expediencies demanded, and with little regard to the people who live in them.

As was the case also before 1909, Japanese and Chinese "men on the spot" played a significant role in interpreting and carrying out their nations' respective policies, as in the cases of the Japanese consul at Longjingcun and the Chinese governor at Yanji. The local Chinese government based at Juzijie vigorously implemented an assimilation policy, while the GGK cooperated with the Foreign Ministry in sending Japanese agents out to schools and other institutions, in conducting policing activities, and in supporting collaborationist Korean People's Associations.

Meanwhile, the Koreans organised themselves into an array of autonomous groups. Trapped like a shrimp between the Chinese and Japanese whales, the Koreans of Jiandao became increasingly assertive and organized through the 1910s, establishing a plethora of local government and educational networks engaged in varying degrees of cooperation with or resistance to Japanese and Chinese power networks. Some Korean groups used religion as an organising principle, while others used education or violent resistance, or a combination of such means, against Japan. Korean resistance to colonialist interference in their lives would culminate in the 1919 independence movement, in which many of the Koreans of Jiandao proved ready and willing to take part.

Even after the Jiandao Agreement of 1909, which aimed to settle the boundary dispute, Jiandao remained a borderland, a contested space of overlapping political, social and ideological projects. The geographical position of Jiandao created anxieties for both Chinese and Japanese authorities. From the Chinese vantage point, Jiandao might become a stepping-stone for the Japanese from Korea into their country's north-east, and the Jiandao Koreans might become a colonising vanguard. For the Japanese government, the proximity of Jiandao to its Korean colony represented a different danger – Jiandao could, and indeed did, become a base for pro-independence movements, threatening the stability of Japan's Korean colony. The settlement of the border at the Tumen River in 1909 did not change any of these basic geopolitical facts. The borderland of Jiandao was viewed by Chinese and Japanese governments alike as a potential source of chaos. The colonialist networks established in this period, in their legal, discursive, military and other aspects, were attempts to bring an elusive order to the borderland in service of national policies.

CHAPTER THREE

Korean Independence Movements and Japanese Military Intervention in Jiandao, 1919–1924

On March 1, 1919 there began a pro-independence uprising of Koreans, not just in Korea itself but in Jiandao and in communities across the diaspora. Jiandao, which had served as a base for Korean nationalists and militants since the turn of the century, absorbed political refugees from the March 1 Movement and became the temporary home of a Korean National Liberation Army. Unfortunately, just as the new Korean political movements flourished, so did bandit-style violence, and the Japanese authorities in Jiandao would conflate banditry and political protest, seeking to suppress both alike. The burning of the Japanese consulate in Hunchun in 1920 triggered a major Japanese military intervention – the first by the Japanese army in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War – which caused immense suffering in the Korean villages of Jiandao.

Besides the March 1 Movement, several historical developments contributed to the radicalization and militarization of the borderland. The first was the Russian Revolution and the emergence of a Korean communist movement, which attracted many Koreans through a powerful anti-imperialist rallying call and fundamentally changed the Korean nationalist movement. Communism also succeeded due to the advantage of a strong political alliance with the Soviet Union, which could supply the Korean communists with arms, training, and other forms of support. A region encompassing Jiandao, the Changbai Mountains, the area north of the Yalu River, and parts of the Russian Maritime Province came to form an extended borderland across which Korean partisans, communist, nationalist or otherwise, could move about and challenge Japanese imperialism.

Another key development of the period was the rise to power of the Chinese warlord Zhang Zuolin (1875–1928), and the development of a working relationship between his Fengtian regime

and the Japanese government. Zhang had been recognized as generalissimo (*dujun*) and governor (*shengzhang*) of Fengtian Province by China's central government in 1916, and had taken control of Jilin Province in 1919.[1] In the early-mid 1920s, Zhang enjoyed a measure of control over much of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and northern China as leader of the Fengtian clique. His power was never entirely secure, and he fought a series of ruinous wars with the Anhui clique (1920) and Zhili clique (1922 and 1924). Nonetheless, Japan's leaders found it expedient to approach Zhang for assistance in confronting the Korean insurgencies in Jiandao, especially after the Hunchun Incident of 1920. Zhang would later concede to Japan the right to complete the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway through Jiandao.[2] Zhang's alliance with Japan contributed to his decreasing popularity with the Chinese public, and fanned the flames of anti-Japanese sentiment in Jilin Province (where Jiandao was located). Nonetheless, Sino-Japanese relations vis-à-vis the "Jiandao problem" briefly improved, as the Japanese government found a powerful leader in Fengtian with whom it could arrange mutually beneficial policy. This relationship would be cemented in the 1925 Yü-Mitsuya Agreement concerning the joint Sino-Japanese policing of Koreans.

In addition to their turbulent relations with Chinese governors and the Chinese public, the various Japanese institutions involved in China had the challenge of determining their roles in Japan's continental policy with respect to each other. After the March 1 Movement, the Japanese Foreign Ministry gradually increased the number of consular police officers stationed in Jiandao and other areas of Manchuria in response to increasing activity by Korean nationalists.[3] Meanwhile, the Government-General of Korea (GGK) under Saitō Makoto (1858–1936) continued trying to influence the ideological persuasion of Jiandao's Koreans in favour of Japan, through the funding of Korean People's Associations (KPAs), schools, relief agencies and so on, but it also sought to retain a surreptitious police presence in Jiandao. From the beginning of the 1920s, the Kwantung Army became another influential Japanese force in Jiandao, contributing military and financial

[1] Gavan McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China, 1911–1928: China, Japan and the Manchurian Idea* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 27.
[2] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government: Report of the Commission of Enquiry* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1931), 47.
[3] Erik Esselstrom highlights 1919 as a turning point in the concentration of consular police activities in Jiandao and elsewhere in China. *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009). See for instance pp. 72–73.

support to the suppression of Korean independence. Such is the complex political tapestry presented by the borderland from 1919 to 1925.

Korean nationalist and communist partisans in the borderland and the Japanese response

Before the development of a Soviet-sponsored Korean communist movement, Korean nationalism-in-exile had been highly fragmented and mostly Confucian-traditionalist or religiously-inspired. After the "righteous armies" were pushed out of Korea in the early 1910s (see Chapter Two), some of these forces had relocated to Jiandao and continued their struggle from within the natural defenses of the mountains. Alongside Yi Pŏmyun, whose exploits were discussed in Chapters One and Two, the most notable Korean nationalist in Jiandao in the 1910s was perhaps the Confucian scholar Yu Insŏk (1842–1915), intellectual leader of the "Defend Correct Learning, Expel Evil Learning" (Uichŏng Chŏksa) school. Yu led a righteous army force in the region around Mt Paektu in the Changbai Mountains, and was active also in Jiandao, northern Korea and the Russian Maritime Province.[4] Also prominent among exiled Koreans was the republican New People's Association (Sinminhoe), which lent support to the righteous armies and later to the Korean national army which was evolving in exile. There were also various religious movements (such as Taejonggyo and Korean Catholicism) which helped mobilise national sentiments. These various movements had little in common besides being anti-Japanese rule and pro-independence.

From early 1919, the Korean independence movement gained a new cohesiveness. In February 1919, a group of Korean students met in Tokyo to draft the first Korean independence declaration. Then on March 1, a massive pro-independence movement swept Korea. Approximately 2,000 Koreans died and 20,000 were arrested in the GGK's ensuing campaign of suppression. Korean communities around the world participated in the activism. Overall, Jiandao

[4] Yi Sunhan, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō wo meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 171–172.

experienced the most pro-independence unrest in Manchuria.[5] On March 13, some Koreans gathered outside the Japanese consulate in Longjingcun for an "independence celebration." Other gatherings took place in such towns as Hunchun and Toudaogou. A pro-independence gathering organized that same day by the Jiandao Educational Society drew more than 6,000 participants, the largest anti-Japanese rule demonstration in Jiandao since annexation. Chinese authorities, wishing to maintain control and avoid a Japanese punitive mission in Manchuria, themselves cracked down on the demonstrators, killing fourteen and wounding thirty.[6]

In the middle of that same night, the Jiandao Educational Society's leaders met and agreed to change their group's name to the Association for the Realization of Korean Independence (Chosŏn Tongnip Kisŏnhoe). The Christian Ku Ch'unsŏn (d. 1932) was elected chairman. The reorganized group decided to shift focus from education and self-rule to more direct struggle against Japanese rule. After the establishment the following month of the Provisional Government in Shanghai, the Jiandao group forged ties with it, renaming itself again as the Greater Korean National Association (Tae-Han Gukminhoe, hereafter the National Association) and going about the organization of Jiandao Korean society in preparation for the independence struggle. A number of "regional associations" and "support associations" were founded across the counties of Yanji, Wangqing and Helong. A Hunchun National Association was founded around the same time, giving the National Association a presence in Jiandao's four core counties.[7]

The National Association helped foster military resistance to Japanese rule, using Jiandao as a base. The Greater Korean Independence Army (Tae-Han Tongnipgun) was established and led by Hong Pŏmdo (1868–1943). Hong was a commander with a long and prestigious record in the pro-independence movement, fighting as part of the righteous armies in northern Korea from 1907, then leading guerrilla attacks against the Japanese in Jiandao and the Russian Maritime Province from the time of annexation. After the March 1 Movement began, Hong refashioned his

[5] Itō Kazuhiko, "Nihon no zai Man Chōsenjin seisaku" 日本の在満朝鮮人政策 [Japan's Policy for the Koreans in Manchuria], *Annals of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture* 53 (1992): 70.
[6] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 176.
[7] Ibid, 177–178.

guerrilla units as the aforementioned Independence Army, and continued military operations in the name of the National Association from August 1919.[8]

A Japanese report claimed that between March and May 1919, as many as thirty anti-Japanese armed groups were formed in Manchuria, the great majority in Jiandao and "West Jiandao" (Dongbiandao).[9] No matter what their backgrounds, motivations and aims, Koreans who opposed Japanese rule were pejoratively labelled by Japanese government, army and media sources as "outlaw Koreans" (*futei Senjin*). A 1924 report by Japan's Korea Army (Chōsengun, as the Korea Garrison Army had been renamed in 1918) divided these "outlaws" into five categories: nationalists, communists, professionals (thieves and bandits), fellow travelers and "coerced" outlaws.[10] Korea Army intelligence thus recognized that the "outlaw Koreans" were neither homogeneous in background nor necessarily anti-Japanese. But in effect, the term "outlaw" could be used for any Koreans who were not pro-Japanese, and it served to blur the boundaries between political activists and soldiers and common criminals.

The Korean communist movement made its original appearance around this time. Its roots have been traced by Scalapino and Lee to Khabarovsk, where a Soviet-sponsored conference of Korean revolutionaries was held in February 1918.[11] The reverberations of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution had reached the hundreds of thousands of Koreans residing in Eastern Siberia and Manchuria.[12] The Japanese joined in the allied intervention against the Bolshevik state from 1918, unilaterally retaining troops in Siberia until October 1922, more than two years after Japan's allies had withdrawn. The antagonism between Japan and the Bolsheviks made the latter seem a natural ally for Korea's nationalist movement. Another factor driving many Koreans towards an allegiance to Bolshevism was the disappointment of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. In spite of the powerful impact of US President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points Speech of January 1918,

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[8] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 178.
[9] "San-ichi dokuritsu undō igo no kokugai kaihō undō" 三一独立運動以後の国外解放運動 [Overseas Liberation Movements after the March 1 Movement], in Kyō Tokusō, ed., *Gendaishi shiryō* Vol. 27 (Chōsen 3) (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1970), ix. See the section from p. 124 below for further discussion of Dongbiandao/West Jiandao.
[10] Cited in Barbara Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 30.
[11] Robert A. Scalapino and Chong Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 6–7.
[12] In 1919 there were approximately 200,000 Koreans in Siberia and 430,000 in Manchuria, ranging from lifelong residents to newcomers. Ibid, 4–5.

with its references to national self-determination, Korean national aspirations would be snubbed at Versailles as they had been twelve years earlier at The Hague.

The Korean People's Socialist Party (Han'in Sahoedang) was formed at the same time or shortly after, led by Yi Tonghwi (1873–1935). The party was structured according to the Soviet model, with propaganda, political organization and military activities as its three main functions. In January 1919, the Korean Section of the Irkutsk Communist Party was established in Siberia.[13] On April 25, pro-Bolshevik Koreans led by the group of Yi Tonghwi met on the outskirts of Vladivostok and made plans to co-ordinate Korean socialist organisations from that city and to establish contacts with partisans in Manchuria and Korea. A Korea Army report of June 14, 1919, listed Yi and several others as prominent military leaders in Siberia and Manchuria. They commanded perhaps four thousand men in an independence army, issued draft orders and collected taxes from Korean households.[14]

In addition to the communists, Koreans who were involved in the March 1 Uprising began to operate out of China at this time. The GGK tried to apprehend these exiled Korean patriots. In July 1919, it requested deportations of certain Koreans from Shanghai.[15] The Chinese central government was keen to demonstrate that it could deal with foreign political refugees and criminals. It met Korean agitation in Jiandao with military suppression, but refused to hand over offenders to Japan.[16]

By late 1919 to early 1920, armed attacks by Jiandao-based Korean rebels across the border into Korea were increasing. In response, from September 1919 the GGK strengthened its northern border defenses,[17] and Korea Army border guard units and GGK police crossed into Manchuria to conduct punitive missions.[18] Thousands of cross-border Korean rebel attacks were launched from Manchuria in 1920–21, with North P'yŏng'an the worst affected province, followed by North

[13] Ibid, 9.
[14] Ibid, 9–13.
[15] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 67.
[16] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 177.
[17] Ibid, 184–185.
[18] As also pointed out by Esselstrom in *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 73.

Hamgyŏng then South Hamgyŏng.[19] In January, three Koreans associated with the National Association's Youth Branch robbed 150,000 yen that was en route from Hoeryŏng to the Jiandao branch of the Chōsen Bank, and used it to buy arms.[20] In February 1920, a terrible incident occurred far to the north – the massacre of the entire population of the Siberian town of Nikolaevsk by the forces of the Russian Red Army partisan Yakov Triapitsyn, including thousands of Russians and around one thousand Japanese. Some of the partisans responsible for the outrage were Koreans, and Japanese media seized upon this fact.[21]

Meanwhile, a Korean provisional government had formed in Shanghai, with Yi Tonghwi elected as premier (having relocated from Vladivostok) and Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) serving as president. In April 1920, this provisional government ordered a military register to be created for the enlistment of Koreans in Jiandao and the beginning of military training.[22] A professional Korean independence army was in the making. The provisional government chose to deal with the National Association as the representative body for Jiandao. A letter signed by Yi Tonghwi and other representatives, addressed to the National Association president Ku Ch'unsŏn, was intercepted by Japanese agents on May 11, 1920. Besides carrying news of negotiations between Shanghai and Lenin's government, and the training of officers in Irkutsk, the letter also made arrangements for financial aid and military training for the Koreans in Jiandao.[23] In June, more than a hundred representatives of the National Association and various Korean armed groups met at the Gaya River in Jiandao to formulate a unified military strategy against Japan.[24] An Irkutsk-Shanghai rivalry also developed throughout 1920 and 1921, and the Shanghai provisional government was destined to suffer a split in January 1921. Yi's group survived, creating its 1921 program at Chita in Siberia, and "played a major role in propaganda and recruitment throughout the China-Manchuria-Eastern Siberia area, with forays into Japan and Korea proper."[25]

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[19] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 183.
[20] Ibid, 180.
[21] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 34, footnote 69; Esselstrom has noted that the Hunchun Incident was called a "second Nikolaevsk" in the Japanese press. *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 75.
[22] Ku Ch'unsŏn 具春先, "Kokuminkai kokuyubun daisangō" 国民会告諭文第三号 [Third Official Announcement of the Korean National Association], April 1920, in *Gendaishi shiryō*, Vol. 27 (Chōsen 3), 18.
[23] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 15.
[24] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 178. "Gaya River" (Gaya-he) may refer to a town of the same name, located beside the river.
[25] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 20–27. Quotation on p. 27.

In the early 1920s, the Japanese authorities began to seek a working relationship with the Fengtian government of Zhang Zuolin to deal with the question of Koreans in Manchuria. Complicating matters was the fact the Jiandao, along with the core of the National Association and the Korean Independence Army, was in Jilin Province. In spite of Zhang having taken over Jilin Province in 1919, the local elites often found reason to resist his decisions, especially when his negotiations with Japan affected the future of their province. So Japanese authorities often found themselves approaching local governments in Jilin separately from the main northeastern government in Fengtian.[26] In May 1920, GGK Police Department Chief Akaike Atsushi (1879–1945) and Fengtian Consul-General Akatsuka Shōsuke (1872–1942) requested the governors of Fengtian and Jilin provinces separately to suppress the "outlaw Koreans" and engage in joint police operations with Japan. In Jilin, the civilian governor Xu Nailin (1865–1940) refused the request, replying that the Koreans' activities were merely political (as opposed to criminal) and China had no reason to suppress them.[27] It appears that relations between Japanese authorities and the Chinese provincial government of Jilin, where the Korean independence movement was concentrated, were worse than relations with Zhang's government in Fengtian. The anti-Japanese rule movement among Koreans in Jiandao was evidently a vital reason for Japanese patronage of Zhang, thus strengthening the warlord's hand against his opponents among Manchuria's civil elites.

By the second half of 1920, Japanese military authorities had gauged Zhang Zuolin's possible reaction to a Japanese military expedition (*shuppei*) across the Korean border into Manchuria for the purpose of suppressing Korean activists. On August 3, having returned from a tour of Siberia and Manchuria, Major General Satō Yasunosuke (1871–1944) presented a report to the Diet in Tokyo that Zhang "held favorable sentiments" towards Japan, and that "although he would have to protest publicly, he would in fact not object to our troops entering [Jiandao] and crushing [the outlaw Koreans] at will."[28] Accordingly, that same August, the Korea Army main headquarters drafted a "Plan for the Mopping Up of Outlaw Koreans in Jiandao," which laid out detailed plans for an assault across the Tumen River, including enumerations of weapons and ammunition, horses, and communications. The plan assigned specific locations, such as Hunchun,

[26] These dynamics are described in McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China.*
[27] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 185.
[28] Quoted in ibid, 178.

Longjingcun and Baicaogou to "mopping up units" (*sōtō butai*).[29] Note that this plan was laid out *before* the Hunchun Incident (discussed in the next section) and therefore bears witness to pre-meditation among the Korea Army officers regarding military action in Jiandao.

On September 2, 1920, in response to Japanese pressure to address the Korean radicalism in Manchuria, Zhang Zuolin removed certain key Chinese officials who had resisted Japan's borderland colonialism. Xu Nailin, the independent-minded Jilin provincial governor, and the district governor of Yanji Tao Bin were recalled from their posts. Jilin's military governor (*dujun*) Bao Guiqing (1867–1934) was given the additional post of civil governor. In this dual role he was to take a progressively strong stance against the Korean exiles in Jilin Province.[30] Thus did Sino-Japanese relations in the borderland shift from the antagonism of the 1910s to a degree of pragmatic cooperation in the 1920s, due to the coincidence of motives shared by Zhang and Japanese army planners. This trend was reinforced by the growing political and military organization of the borderland Koreans, which alarmed Zhang as much as it did the Japanese officers of the Korea Army.

The Hunchun Incident and the Korea Army's Jiandao expedition

Two violent incidents in Jiandao in the second half of 1920, which helped to trigger the first major Japanese military intervention in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War, have come to be known collectively as the Hunchun Incident. The first was an attack on Hunchun City in Jiandao by approximately three hundred guerrillas (described in reports as "mounted bandits") on September 12, 1920. The second incident occurred on October 2, when the "Korean Independents" and "three hundred Russian bandits" crossed the Soviet border into Hunchun County and burned the Japanese consulate and market. There were eleven Japanese dead and another eleven wounded.[31] The pressure already being exerted by the GGK for Japanese

[29] Chōsengun shireibu, "Kantō chihō futei Senjin sōtō keikaku" 間島地方不逞鮮人掃討計画 [Plan for the Mopping up of Outlaw Koreans in Jiandao], August 1920, in Kim Chŏngchu, ed., *Chōsen tōchi shiryō* (Tokyo: Kankoku shiryō kenkyūjo, 1970), Volume 2: 161–172.
[30] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 188.
[31] The Hunchun incidents are described in Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 74–76.

intervention across the border now peaked. Japanese army forces were at the time engaged in the Siberian expedition (*Shiberia shuppei*, 1918–22) against Russia's anti-monarchist Red forces; the fact that Koreans were becoming attracted to the Reds' communist ideology, and moving between Manchuria and Siberia, must have increased the likelihood of Japanese military intervention in Jiandao.[32] A large-scale, and as we have seen pre-planned military expedition was accordingly launched by the Korea Army into Jiandao, with the assistance of the Kwantung Army. This "Jiandao expedition" (*Kantō shuppei*) took place with the cooperation of Zhang Zuolin, who in fact had little choice but acquiescence. The Japanese reprisal would demonstrate that the Chinese government – whether national, provincial, or local – was powerless to stop Japanese military incursions in the borderland, and that elements within Japan's army were prepared to cross the border in violation of China's borders and existing treaties in order to tackle Korean movements in Jiandao.

In the wake of the Hunchun Incident, on October 6, Governor-General Saitō formally requested permission from Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya (1865–1936) to respond militarily to the crisis in Jiandao. A Japanese Cabinet decision followed the next day, after negotiations with Chinese authorities in Beijing, Fengtian and Jilin, who according to a Japanese government source, "offered various excuses."[33] The Korea Army would dispatch two companies and one mounted division of troops to secure the regional centers of Longjingcun, Toudaogou, Juzijie and Hunchun. The Japanese government offered an ultimatum to Zhang Zuolin, blaming the Chinese side for the insufficiently thorough suppression of "outlaw Koreans."[34] The Chinese and Japanese sides could solve the problem together, or Japan would do it alone. The Cabinet decision referred to the plight of Japanese subjects and the threat to their livelihoods. Once the outlaws were thoroughly dealt with, the Japanese forces would withdraw. An official announcement by the Japanese government was made on October 14, repeating a lot of the language of the Cabinet decision. It stated that the military and consular police would participate in the campaign. The announcement referred to Jiandao as "a belt of land adjoining Japan and China" whose tranquility

[32] The early Korean communist movement and its connections with Siberia are discussed in Chapyter Four.
[33] "Konshun jiken ni kansuru ken" 琿春事件ニ関スル件 [The Matter of the Hunchun Incident], October 7, 1920, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho* (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1955), Jō Volume: 516.
[34] Ibid.

needed to be maintained.[35] The Chinese side responded quickly: a dispatch of 110 Chinese troops was made to Hunchun. Zhang Zuolin then dispatched his son Zhang Xueliang (1901–2001) at the head of five divisions totaling 3,200 men.[36] Regardless of these measures, however, the Japanese expedition into Jiandao ultimately went ahead as planned.

On the Japanese side the Korea Army was not alone in viewing the military action as necessary. Studies of the situation in Jiandao at the time of the Hunchun Incident described a crisis situation in which powerful new ideologies were taking hold of local Korean minds. There were added concerns voiced by Japanese leaders that the new Korean political radicalism would seep across the border into Korea itself, threatening the security of the Japanese Empire. An October, 1920 GGK police report identified Jiandao as a major site for Korean insurgency.[37] The report distinguished earlier migrants, who (it claimed) were not anti-Japanese, from newcomers who were corrupting them, turning Jiandao from a "paradise" to a "nest of outlaw Koreans."[38] The same month, a Japanese military police commander named Maeda who toured the border region stated in a Japanese newspaper that "the rebel Koreans and bandits have 'gone red' to a considerable degree."[39] Maeda claimed that past acts of banditry had been simple robberies, but that now they took on a brazen political character. They "threw fire and explosives" into the Japanese consular building which Maeda was inside, and "all our compatriots who set foot outside were murdered." Maeda further stated that "border defence preparations are now of the greatest urgency."

Furthermore, on October 9 Army Minister Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929) expressed concern to Korea Army Commander Ōniwa that "the reverberations of the disturbances in the Jiandao region must necessarily reach the Yalu River area and the inside (*naichi*) of Korea."[40] Foreign Minister

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[35] "Kantō shuppei seimei" 間島出兵声明 [Statement on the Jiandao Expedition], October 14, 1920, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho*, Jō Volume: 517–518.
[36] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 190–191.
[37] Government-General of Korea Police Bureau 朝鮮総督府警務局, "Kantō ni okeru futei Senjindan no jōkyō" 間島二於ケル不逞鮮人團ノ状況 [The State of Outlaw Korean Bands in Jiandao] in Kim Chŏngchu, ed., *Chōsen tōchi shiryō*, Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Kankoku shiryō kenkyūjo, 1970), 203–223.
[38] Ibid, 206.
[39] "Futei Senjin ya bazoku wa ichijirushiku sekkasu" 不逞鮮人や馬賊は著しく赤化す [Outlaw Koreans and Bandits Go Red to a Considerable Degree], *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, October 11, 1920.
[40] Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Taishō 10:2 (Tokyo: Nihon kokusai rengō kyōkai), 530–531, quote p. 531.

Uchida proceeded to instruct Fengtian Consul-General Akatsuka to seek approval for the expedition from Zhang.[41] On October 16, without the approval of the central government in Beijing, Zhang agreed to allow limited Japanese military action in Manchuria – a "Japan-China joint agreement on military suppression" was formalized.[42] Yet even as Zhang gave his private consent to the Japanese consul general in Fengtian, he cabled Beijing advising them to deny the Japanese request for approval of the expedition.[43] Zhang thus continued to hedge his bets.

Japanese reprisals for the Hunchun incidents of September and October were long, brutal and thorough, lasting until May 1921. Following the agreement with Zhang, some 10,000 troops were sent from Korea into Jiandao to suppress the rebels. A ferocious battle was fought at Qingshanli in Helong County from October 21–26, claimed as a great victory by the Korean side.[44] On October 30, the Zhangyandong Massacre occurred to the south of Longjingcun. It was witnessed and described in graphic detail by S. H. Martin, a Canadian hospital director attached to Longjingcun's Presbyterian mission.[45] According to Martin's account, as night fell, a squad of uniformed Japanese foot-soldiers completely surrounded the Christian village of Zhangyandong. They set fire to the grain harvest, and ordered the villagers to step outside. After indiscriminately gunning down "father and son alike," they covered the "half-dead" bodies with dry grass and burned them. The soldiers then burned every house in the village, as witnessed by the surviving women and children. According to Martin, the modus operandi in the Longjingcun area was to target Christian villages for destruction and young Christian Korean males for killing.

The Chinese public responded indignantly to this foreign aggression on their national soil, fanning the flames of anti-Japanese feeling which had already been dangerously stoked by the Twenty-One Demands of 1915 and the recognition of Japanese claims in Shandong at the Treaty of Versailles. On November 4, 1920, a number of political, commercial and educational associations in Jilin Province held a special meeting at which they decided to demand the withdrawal of the Japanese Army. A demonstration of some 1,000 Jilin students was carried out

[41] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 192–193.
[42] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 193.
[43] McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China*, 42.
[44] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 195.
[45] S. H. Martin, "Shōgandō gyakusatsu jiken" 獐巖洞虐殺事件 [The Zhangyandong Massacre], in *Gendaishi shiryō* Vol. 28 (Chōsen 4), 676–678.

on the November 14. More student demonstrations followed in Beijing and elsewhere.[46] Thus did the Jiandao question continue to poison Sino-Japanese relations.

Although the Japanese withdrawal from Jiandao would not be effected until May 1921, the government of Hara Kei was evidently keen to undertake it as soon as possible. A November 2 Cabinet decision on withdrawing troops from Jiandao maintained that the unrest in the region must not be allowed to enter imperial territory (i.e. the Korean peninsula). In the interests of future security in Jiandao, the following measures would be taken: firstly, a request to China (meaning probably Zhang) to increase the military presence there, and secondly, to arrange for the completion of the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway.[47]

A Foreign Ministry draft policy concerning the protection and control of the Jiandao Koreans after the military withdrawal was confirmed by the Cabinet on November 30, 1920. It recommended strengthening the mechanisms of control over the Koreans through an increased and better armed consular police, as well as "the establishment of groups of good Koreans, schools, hospitals and other charitable measures."[48] The words "groups of good Koreans" must have been referring to Korean People's Associations. The Cabinet decision on the "matter of the positive settlement of the Hunchun Incident" agreed upon a boost for the consular police, as requested by the Foreign Ministry, along with compensation and the punishment of guilty parties. The Cabinet also resolved upon a "fundamental solution to the Jiandao question," involving cooperation (between the GGK and Foreign Ministry and between China and Japan) in the suppression of outlaw Koreans, a resolution of the question of the invalidity of sections of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement, the employment of Japanese advisors in Jiandao, and the defense of Japan's right to maintain communication facilities there. The first two of the above points essentially consist of the full implementation of the 1915 Treaty in Jiandao, as Japan had long sought, and the tightening of control over the Jiandao Koreans.[49]

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[46] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 194–195.
[47] "Konshun jiken zengo sochi ni kansuru ken" 琿春事件善後措置に関する件 [Concerning Measures in Response to the Hunchun Incident], November 13, 1920, *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Taishō 10:2, 538–540.
[48] Quoted in Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 202.
[49] "Konshun jiken zengo sochi ni kansuru ken," *Nihon gaikō bunsho* Taishō 10:2, 538–540.

Japan's Resident Minister in China Obata Yūkichi (1873–1947) sent his opinion on the Cabinet decision to Foreign Minister Uchida.[50] Obata raised the point that, despite the successful negotiation over the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Jiandao, relations between the governments were mired in old disputes regarding jurisdiction and the validity of the 1909 Jiandao Treaty. The minister held little faith in Japan reaching a common interpretation of the treaty with the central government in Beijing, so he instead proposed a realist's approach to the Jiandao problem:

> …As soon as possible, [we should] enhance policing power in Jiandao and spread actual jurisdictional authority over the Koreans there. If by some chance the Chinese should try to intervene, we should resist by asserting our interpretation of the treaty on a practical case-by-case basis (*ichiichi jissai mondai toshite*).[51]

It is surprising to read the Resident Minister in China himself suggesting that Beijing should be left out of Sino-Japanese negotiations. Yet his suggestions concerning policing and jurisdictional networks are typical of the surreptitious expansion of Japanese power in the borderland since the creation of the RGK's Special Station. Uchida replied:

> The root of the Jiandao question is the so-called control and protection of [Korean] cultivators. If we were to raise anew the treaty discussion, using the [extraterritorial] interpretation of the treaty we have insisted upon until now, not only is there no possible outlook of the Chinese agreeing with our interpretation, but the state of affairs is such that we would only invite unfavorable results for ourselves… Even if we do no more than take steps to establish our jurisdiction by decisively asserting our standpoint on a practical case by case basis, in the current negotiations… [our standpoint] would be rejected.[52]

Given that Japan's Jiandao policy had little chance of success through diplomacy with Beijing, engagement with Zhang Zuolin continued. The Korea Army and the Japanese Foreign Ministry increased the Japanese police presence in Manchuria even while withdrawing army troops in the wake of the Hunchun Incident and the Japanese retaliation. On December 29, work commenced

[50] Obata to Uchida, December 8, 1920, in ibid, 546.
[51] Ibid, 546.
[52] Uchida to Obata, December 18, 1920, in ibid, 549–553.

on the establishment of ten new police sub-stations in Erdaogou, Toudaogou, Fudong and other locations in Jiandao. This brought the number of sub-stations in the region to eighteen and the number of consular police to 350. The expeditionary army's main forces were withdrawn in the spring of 1921, but three companies of troops remained in Longjingcun, two in Hunchun, and one each in Juzijie, Toudaogou and Baicaogou for a total of eight companies and 800 troops.[53] Even in the midst of the withdrawal, a new Japanese consular police station opened at Longjingcun in April. Its functions included police work, police training and the region's first "special higher police" (*tokkō keisatsu*) section. The timing of this new station's opening showed amazing insensitivity towards the national sentiments of local Chinese, who greeted it with protest.[54]

In early 1921, other proposals were made by Japanese officials with experience in Jiandao affairs for improving security and avoiding future troubles. In January 1921, Zhang's Japanese advisor Colonel Saitō Hisashi (1877–1953) submitted a report on Jiandao policy to the Japanese Army General Staff.[55] He argued that the basis of the Korean problem lay in the differences between the 1909 Agreement and the 1915 Treaty and that China's and Japan's respective jurisdiction over Koreans had to be clarified. In March, a GGK official stationed in Jiandao named Hidaka Heishirō submitted to Governor-General Saitō a report titled "A Humble Opinion on Japan's Jiandao Policy" (Kantō taisaku hiken). He argued that the military response of Japan had stoked extremism and argued for less aggressive tactics.[56]

In the events thus far related in this thesis, we have seen many indications that the officials of the GGK regarded Jiandao as their special sphere of influence within the informal Japanese empire in China. The GGK and its military wing, the Korea Army, took the lead in Jiandao policy, and in such direct actions as the 1920–21 Jiandao expedition. As a part of China's territory, however, should not Jiandao have properly come under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry, with its Resident Minister in Beijing and its various consuls posted in Manchuria? After the Hunchun Incident, which gave Jiandao policy a new and greater importance, calls were made to clarify the

[53] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 205.
[54] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 76.
[55] Saitō Hisashi 斎藤恒, "Tai-Kanto saku" 対間島策 [Jiandao Policy], January 1921, in *Gendaishi shiryō* Vol. 28 (Chōsen 4), 763–775. See 763–764 on treaties.
[56] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 200–201.

respective roles of the GGK, the Foreign Ministry, the Colonial Office and increasingly the Kwantung Army. In April 1921, for instance, Vice-Home Minister Kobashi Ichita (1870–1939) pleaded for intelligence integration among the various Japanese institutions to fight Korean communism.[57] The diplomat Hayashi Kyūjirō (1882–1964) wrote a paper proposing the unification of the management of Manchurian Korean affairs under the Foreign Ministry. The GGK would only act on the basis of consultant. Hayashi was unable to get support from SMRC and Kwantung military officials.[58]

At the May 1921 Eastern Conference in Tokyo, representatives of the various Japanese government and colonial bodies gathered to discuss Manchuria and China policy. One result of the Eastern Conference was a formal division of duties by the Foreign Ministry and the GGK regarding Koreans in Jiandao. This would see the Foreign Ministry continuing its role in "controlling" (*torishimari*) Korean society, while the GGK assumed responsibility for "protection and nurturing" (*hogo buiku* or *hogo jochō*).[59] According to a GGK source, *torishimari* entailed policing, leadership of the Korean People's Associations, management and research. *Hogo buiku* meant education, hygiene, prevention of cattle plague, finance, industry and relief measures.[60] An officer responsible for the care of Koreans abroad, together with seven assistant officials, was established by the GGK.[61]

Another product of the Eastern Conference was the cabinet deciding on an official stance towards Zhang Zuolin.[62] It emphasized "the maintenance of security and political authority over Korea" as a reason for allying with Zhang, which meant essentially the management of the post-Hunchun Incident borderland and the defence of the Sino-Korean border. Yet despite all the fine talk of

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[57] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 71–72.
[58] There's a detailed discussion in Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy*, 130–135.
[59] Hirooka Kiyonobu 廣岡浄進, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu" 間島における朝鮮人民会と領事館警察 [The Korean People's Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police], *Jinbun gakuhō* 106 (April 2015), 174–175.
[60] Chōsen Sōtokufu, "Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō" 在満朝鮮同胞に対する本府施設の概要 [An outline of the Government's facilities for our Korean compatriots in Manchuria], in *Shokuminchi shakai jigyō kankei shiryōshū* Chōsen-hen 24 (Tokyo: Kingendai shiryō kankōkai, 1999), 6.
[61] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi* 施政三十年史 [A Thirty-Year Administrative History], (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1972), 228.
[62] "Chō Sakurin ni taisuru taido ni kansuru ken" 張作霖に對する態度に關する件 [The matter concerning [Japan's] stance towards Zhang Zuolin], May 17, 1921, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabini shuyō bunsho*, Jō Volume: 524–525. Quotations on p. 525.

Sino-Japanese cooperation at the government level, distrust still prevailed among Chinese and Japanese police in Jiandao. In August 1921, the Chinese reorganized and relocated their main regional police station in Yanji City, placing it in close vicinity to the Japanese station where it could observe Japanese activities and make a clearly visible demonstration of Chinese jurisdictional authority.[63] Yanji was the local seat of Chinese government, represented by Tao Bin, who had returned to the role of District Governor.[64] Whatever deals might have been stuck by the Japanese with the Fengtian regime, relations at the local level between Tao Bin's administration and the Japanese authorities remained prickly. Zhang's influence in Jiandao itself was nearly as limited as Tokyo's. Ultimately, relations among the Japanese consular police and GGK agents, the KPAs and the Yanji local government were what mattered most in the pursuit of a Japanese Jiandao policy.

Despite the boosted police presence (both Japanese and Chinese), Jiandao continued to be restive. In June 1922, there was a coordinated set of attacks on Japanese police and consular facilities and jails at Toudaogou by mounted and armed guerrillas. In response, consular police in Jiandao were increased again before stabilizing by the middle of 1924; there were 482 consular police in Jiandao as of May 1924.[65]

After the Nikolaevsk and Hunchun incidents there was a shift in Japanese Jiandao policy away from diplomacy towards military intervention. Hitherto, Japan's policy in China and Korea had been largely directed by the diplomats and consular officials of the Foreign Ministry, to which the GGK and the Kwantung Administration (in the Liaodong Peninsula) were answerable.[66] After 1920, the Kwantung Army would increasingly work with the GGK and its military wing, the Korea Army, to determine Japan's policy towards the Koreans in Jiandao and surrounding regions.[67]

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[63] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 212.
[64] It should also be recalled that Yanji was the new name given to Juzijie by the Chinese. Japanese sources continued referring to the town as Kyokushigai (the Japanese reading of Juzijie).
[65] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 76-77.
[66] On the history of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in China and its rivalry with the Kwantung Army, along with the internal dissent within the Foreign Ministry, see Barbara Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).
[67] In 1919 the Kwantung Garrison, the Japanese military administration which controlled the Kwantung Leased Territory and the South Manchurian Railway belt, had been reorganised and renamed the Kwantung Army. Its line of

Nonetheless, non-military methods of control and influence remained important. The early 1920s saw a streamlining of Japanese policy in Jiandao, with the Foreign Ministry and the GGK assuming separate duties in the "protection and control" of Korean settlements. Japan's borderland colonialism was becoming more sophisticated, adopting multiple "prongs" ranging from epidemic prevention to policing to occasional military intervention. At the same time, Korean movements for autonomy were growing more militant and well-connected, with political and material support from Shanghai and the Russian Far East.

The Korean national movement in "West Jiandao"

During the time of the Japanese protectorate in Korea (1905–10), the agents of the RGK's Special Station had explored Jiandao and defined it as a region (*chihō*) consisting of four counties (*ken*) extending along the northern (left) bank of the Tumen River – Helong, Yanji, Wangqing and Hunchun. However, the name Jiandao was sometimes used in a broader sense to designate all areas to the north of the Sino-Korean border in which the Korean presence was dominant or notable. From the mid-nineteenth century, the area north of the Yalu River had received a significant number of Korean migrants, though not nearly as many as that to the north of the Tumen (see Appendix Three). Previously, the area between the Willow Palisade and the Yalu had been largely closed off to settlement, with Qing-Chosŏn tributary relations being performed there according to strict rules. This area was known as the *dongbian waidi*, the "land outside the eastern palisade," or by a number of variant names.[68] Between 1913 and 1929, the Chinese republican government placed the Yalu border region within the large unit known as Dongbiandao ("eastern border district"), known initially as Dongludao ("eastern road district").[69]

command through the Kwantung Army Headquarters (Kantōgun shireibu) was separate from the Japanese government, and began to act unilaterally in dealing with Chinese authorities and other Japanese agencies.

[68] Richard L. Edmonds, "The Willow Palisade," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69:4 (December 1979), 612.

[69] In 1934, Fengtian Province was split into three parts by the Manzhouguo government, with the border region corresponding to West Jiandao becoming Andong Province; this province was itself subdivided in 1939 into the provinces of Andong and Tonghua, before being reconstituted by the Guomindang after World War II. Andong Province was ultimately abolished in 1954, and the border region became Dandong City, within Liaoning Province in the People's Republic of China.

The "district" (*dao*) was at that time an official subdivision used in China's three north-eastern provinces; Dongbiandao was itself a subdivision of Fengtian Province, and like Yanjidao to the east, it was overseen by a *daoyin* or "district governor."[70]

From the time of an RGK survey of 1907 (at the latest), Japanese sources began referring to the *dongbian waidi* as "West Jiandao." In order to distinguish "West Jiandao" from Jiandao proper, the latter was sometimes called "East Jiandao." West Jiandao lay within Fengtian Province, which is important because when the Japanese authorities came to deal with Korean freedom fighters in West Jiandao, they were able to negotiate directly with the Fengtian government of Zhang Zuolin. In contrast, Sino-Japanese negotiations over Jiandao proper also involved the governing authorities of Jilin Province and the district governor of Yanji. So while east and west Jiandao both formed part of a conceivable Sino-Korean borderland, they were characterised by different political conditions. Both east and west Jiandao, of course, were constructs of Korean and Japanese political imagination, yet these place names reflected the important reality that large numbers of Koreans had made their homes north of the Tumen and the Yalu in recent times.

The boundary between east and west Jiandao was occasionally described as lying in the vicinity of Mount Paektu. The fact that intermediate counties like Dunhua were sometimes included in West Jiandao and sometimes in East Jiandao doesn't help to dispel the confusion. Both "Jiandao" and "West Jiandao" were ultimately vague and flexible terms used predominantly by Koreans and Japanese to indicate those areas of Manchuria adjacent to the Korean border, which had large Korean populations.[71] Neither one was accepted as an administrative unit by the Chinese government, as an examination of three official Chinese atlases shows. A 1917 atlas has an area corresponding roughly to (East) Jiandao marked as "Yanji District." Neither "Jiandao" nor "West Jiandao" are anywhere to be seen in the 1917 atlas. By 1930, "Jiandao" had appeared in a Chinese atlas, although it is not drawn as an administrative unit, appearing on the map more as a nondescript geographical feature. Interestingly, an atlas of 1931 featured Jiandao (minus

[70] *Dao*, as in Yanjidao etc., may be more literally translated as "way" or "circuit."
[71] In this thesis I will generally refer to the region north of the Yalu as "West Jiandao," as this is contextually appropriate.

Hunchun County) enclosed within a border of crosses indicating that the area was under Japanese control.[72]

The GGK became interested in West Jiandao simply because Koreans lived there. We saw in Chapter Two how the GGK posted its officials to Andong County in the early 1910s. In July 1918, the Chief of the Colonial Bureau in Tokyo suggested that the GGK's authority be extended over West Jiandao. The idea was resisted by the Foreign Ministry and eventually vetoed.[73] As West Jiandao was not covered by the 1909 Jiandao Agreement, extending "protection and control" over the Koreans in this region posed quite different challenges.

The Japanese Army's Jiandao expedition of late 1920 to early 1921 temporarily destroyed and dispersed the Korean patriotic movement in Jiandao proper. Many of the survivors reorganized in Siberia. In April 1921, the Greater Korea Independence Corps (Tae-Han Tongnipdan) was established from reorganized Korean military units which had been pushed out of Jiandao by the Jiandao expedition – one unit was based at Iman, Siberia, and another at Ning'an, Jilin Province.[74] On June 27, 1921, the Free City Incident (or Alekseyevsk Incident) occurred: troops of the Irkutsk faction of Korean communists clashed with the Greater Korea Independence Corps at Alekseyevsk, leaving hundreds dead and injured. The incident led to the departure of some Korean groups from Russian territory and contributed to the establishment of a powerful Korean base in West Jiandao.[75]

In October 1921, a number of Korean pro-independence groups joined together to establish the Greater Korean National Union (TaeHan Kungmindan, hereafter Mindan), centered in Changbai County and Fusong County, in West Jiandao. In August 1922, in nearby Huanren County, further integration of the Mindan and other West Jiandao Korean nationalist groups took place, and the Unified Military Headquarters was established. A "conference of the unified Korean race in

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[72] Tong Shiheng 童世亨, *Zhonghua minguo xin qu yu tu* 中華民國新區域圖 (Shanghai: Zhongwai yu tu ju, 1917); Ding Cha'an 丁嗟盦, *Xin Zhonghua zhong deng ben guo di tu* 新中華中等本國地圖 (Shanghai?: Xin guomin tushu she, 1930); *Da Zhonghua Minguo fen sheng tu* 大中華民國分省圖 (Wuchang: Ya xin di xue she, 1931).
[73] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 103.
[74] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea*, *Vol. 1*, 32.
[75] Ibid, 32–35.

South Manchuria" was held in Huanren County in October.[76] The pro-independence Koreans had created unified military and executive structures in West Jiandao, which were destined to operate under the umbrella of the Shanghai provisional government, after further reorganization. In contrast, the structure of the Greater Korean National Association in "East Jiandao," or Jiandao proper, was to be appropriated by communists by 1925. Thus, a portentous east/west split took place among Korean groups in the Sino-Korean borderland.

In response to the developing Korean nationalist movement in West Jiandao, the GGK increased its border police presence along the Yalu, while the Foreign Ministry organized the creation in June 1920 of the Manchurian People's Protection Society (Manshū hominkai, hereafter MHK) to arrest "outlaw Koreans."[77] The establishment of the MHK was in fact proposed to the Fengtian consular police and Kwantung Government-General by a group of Koreans with the backing of Saitō Makoto. It was a collaborationist organization whose members had roots in the Ilchinhoe (United Progress Association) and the Chŏngdogyo faith, funded primarily by the GGK but also partly by the Foreign Ministry. It would work closely with the consular police in Southern Manchuria in the suppression of Korean nationalists and communists, taking part in the Jiandao expedition of 1920–21, although its activities were generally restricted to West Jiandao and Southern Manchuria. The Chinese objected that these measures infringed upon their sovereignty, and the MHK members also suffered violent attacks by West Jiandao's Korean nationalists.[78]

The MHK was dissolved in early 1924 due to criticisms of its tactics from the Kwantung Government-General and a lack of high-level support from the Japanese Foreign Ministry.[79] Japan's measure to suppress the West Jiandao Korean nationalists through the MHK had failed. Nationalist guerilla units struck repeatedly in North P'yong'an Province. There were 350

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[76] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 215.

[77] In connection with Japanese institutional jurisdiction in the borderland, an Army report was made to the GGK on October 13, 1919, entitled "Memorandum Concerning Strategy towards Outlaw Koreans in China" (Zai-Shina futei Senjin taisaku ni kansuru oboegaki). Its two main proposals were to formally request China to suppress the Koreans and to establish a line dividing Jiandao into two discrete zones for military strategic purposes. The Korea Army would handle Jiandao proper, while the Kwantung Army would handle West Jiandao. Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 184–185.

[78] Chōsen Sōtokufu keimukyoku, "Chōsen chian jōkyō (kokugai)" 朝鮮治安状況（国外) [Korean Security Conditions {Foreign}], 1922, in *Chōsen tōchi shiryō* Vol. 7, 67.

[79] See Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 78–85 for a discussion of the Manchuria People's Protection Society. Esselstrom partially attributes its fall to the "institutional jealousy" of the Kwantung Government-General (p. 85).

incidents in 1922, 435 incidents in 1923 and 528 incidents in 1924.[80] We can see from these turbulent events that the borderland strife involving Japanese and Chinese officials, and various Korean political organizations, was not limited to the Tumen River area but by the early 1920s had spread to the Yalu as well. It is also noteworthy that the same imperial actors involved in Japan's Jiandao policy – the GGK, the Kwantung Army and the Foreign Ministry – were active among Koreans in West Jiandao too. West Jiandao was in many ways a distinct region from the four counties of "Jiandao proper." It did not fall under the articles of the 1909 Jiandao Agreement, for instance, nor had it been included within the Korean government's territorial claim against Qing. It was, however, a part of the same troubled borderland in which various national projects and legal jurisdictions clashed and overlapped.

The GGK and the revival of the Korean People's Associations

A key aspect of Japanese policy in the borderland since 1905 had been collaboration with "pro-Japanese" Koreans such as the Ilchinhoe and the *Chōsenjin minkai*, or Korean People's Associations (hereafter KPAs), and the use of such groups as conduits for the extension of Japanese influence. When the March 1 Uprising reverberated through Jiandao, members of the KPAs, as well as any Koreans perceived as friendly with the Japanese, were violently assaulted and sometimes killed by Korean nationalists. Following the Jiandao expedition of 1920–21, the KPAs would have to be rebuilt from the ruins, a task which fell to the direction of the GGK. A plan for "protecting and promoting pro-Japanese organizations" was laid out in an April 1921 paper entitled "Various problems concerning Koreans abroad."[81]

In July 1921, in line with the discussions of the Eastern Conference two months prior, an imperial edict (*chokurei*) allowed the GGK to establish an officer responsible for the "care" (*buiku*) of Koreans abroad, together with seven assistant officials.[82] "Care and nurturing," of Koreans in

[80] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 218.
[81] From seven KPAs in January 1919, the number grew to nineteen by the year 1921. They were now present in most areas of Jiandao. Membership was reported at 58, 618 households in 1921 or about 300,000 people in 1924, about 70% of Jiandao's Korean population. Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 206.
[82] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 230.

Jiandao was now a policy motto for the GGK. It consisted of aid, sanitation and education for "Koreans friendly to Japan" (*shin-Nichi Chōsenjin*), in contrast with the military police's ruthless pursuit and suppression of those who were contemptuously labelled "outlaw Koreans" (*futei Senjin*). In Jiandao from the late 1910s to the early 1930s, the KPAs were cast as Japan's colonial institutions par excellence, although as we shall see, this was not a role they were always willing to play.

For "Koreans friendly to Japan," the receipt of "care and nurturing" came with a price. They had to prove their loyalty as good subjects of the empire. Furthermore, Koreans who had participated in the March 1 Movement were given a chance of rehabilitation. From late 1920 there was a Japanese propaganda campaign in Jiandao to encourage Koreans to "return their allegiance" (*kijun suru*) to the empire. Governor-General Saitō sent a protocol for recognising ideological "returnees" (*kijunsha*) to the Japanese Foreign Minister on November 13.[83] Its four points are condensed below:

1) Returnees must submit a declaration of surrender which concretely records their past conduct.
2) Those whose crimes are grave and for whom there are grounds to fear re-offense will not be recognised as returnees. They should instead receive immediate judgement for their crimes, with the exception of those who could be used to mop up outlaw Koreans or perform some other meritorious service.
3) Written guarantees (*hoshōsho*) will be issued to trustworthy individuals.
4) Applicants for returnee status will be issued returnee certifications (*kijunhyō*) designating them as "provisional good subjects" (*kari ryōmin*). Should they wish to change their residence and so on, they should present themselves to the local police station. Those who show evidence of exceptional contrition or meritorious deeds will be recognised as good subjects and made exempt from police surveillance.

[83] Saitō Makoto to Uchida Yasuya, "Kijunsha no torishimari ni kansuru ken" 帰順者ノ取扱二関スル件 [On the Matter Regarding the Handling of Returnees], November 13, 1920, in *Gendaishi shiryō* Volume 28 (Chōsen 4), 645.

This protocol, put into place in November 1920, made clear the conditions and incentives to becoming a "returnee." Koreans would have to enter the new bureaucratic structures of Japanese administration in Jiandao. They could have compromising past deeds expunged from their record by becoming collaborators. The Longjingcun consulate, the various sub-consulates and the police boxes monitored Korean returnees in their respective vicinities. Members of the KPAs assisted in this campaign of repression – they were dispatched to remote Korean communities to conduct occasional surveys of returnees.[84] The Japanese sub-consulate at Juzijie reported that between November 1920 and January 1921, approximately one thousand Koreans had their allegiance "returned" to Japan. These individuals were listed by name and profession in the report; they included members of the National Association, the Independence Army and various military units.[85]

The system had its flaws. Some Korean rebels were able to acquire fraudulent written guarantees (*hoshōsho*) and used them to pass as pro-Japanese. They targeted some Korean returnees, as well as individuals who had spied for the Japanese, with threats of assassination. One Korea Army report mentioned an important member of the National Association who became a returnee, and was forced to resign from his job and stay at home due to threats against his life.[86]

Other means employed by Japanese authorities to encourage Korean cooperation in Jiandao were less coercive than the returnee policy. In 1921, on the recommendation of the GGK, consular offices began employing Koreans as vice-consuls and clerks. The program was not a huge success, however, with the Andong and Fengtian consulates hiring one Korean vice-consul each. By 1933, the Fengtian consulate was still employing the same solitary Korean.[87]

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[84] Korea Army Staff HQ 朝鮮軍参謀部, "Kantō chihō kijun Senjin no jōkyō" 間島地方帰順鮮人ノ状況 [The Situation of Korean Returnees in the Jiandao Region], November 13, 1920, in *Gendaishi shiryō* Volume 28 (Chōsen 4), 666–669.

[85] Zai-Kantō Nihon sōryōjikan Kyokushigai bunkan 在間島日本総領事館局子街分館 [The Juzijie Sub-consulate of the Japanese Consulate in Jiandao], "Kijun shinkokusha meibo" 帰順申告者名簿 [Register of Names of Declared Returnees], *Gendaishi shiryō* 28, 651–660.

[86] "Kantō chihō kijun Senjin no jōkyō," *Gendaishi shiryō* 28, 667.

[87] Itō Kazuhiko 伊藤一彦, "Nihon no zai-Man Chōsenjin seisaku" 日本の在満朝鮮人政策 [Japan's Manchurian-Korean Policy], *Annals of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture* 53 (1992): 70–71.

Japanese authorities also offered financial incentives to Koreans as part of the "caring and nurturing" policy. The GGK's official history reported that in 1921, "aiming to expand the institutions of protection," the GGK established a facilities expenses budget for Koreans abroad (*tai zaigai Senjin shisetsu hi*).[88] In the wake of the Hunchun Incident, the Army Ministry set aside 100,000 yen in relief money (*kyūjutsukin*) to Koreans. Finance bureaus (*kinyūbu*) were set up in three of the KPAs by the GGK in cooperation with the Army and Foreign ministries. The 100,000 yen was turned into capital for poor Korean farmers – 12,500 yen was distributed as working capital (*unten shikin*).[89] These financial aid facilities served to aid Korean communities while also tying them closer to the Japanese government through the KPAs. They are discussed further in Chapter Four.

Aside from the KPA financial bureaus, the GGK also made annual contributions to the East Asia Development Firm (Tō-A kangyō kōshi), founded by Japanese in Fengtian in December 1921 and capitalised at 20,000,000 yen. Its purpose was "to support and protect Korean agriculture in Manchuria."[90] Slightly north of Jiandao on the China Eastern Railway belt, the GGK contributed 1,700 yen to the founding of the Hailin Industrial Promotion Society (Kairin Kangyōkai), which was established in 1923 and served as the only financial institution supporting Korean farmers in this part of Manchuria. A large amount of money was reportedly stolen from the company by "Korean outlaws" in 1926, causing it to cease functioning. The GGK again contributed money, this time 5,000 yen, which got the society up and running again. It was considered a successful experiment by the GGK, who henceforth contributed to a number of cooperatives and financial institutions aimed at assisting Korean farmers in Manchuria.[91]

An official GGK history of the Saitō years listed some of the administration's achievements in Jiandao as the establishment of new normal schools, the support of traditional Korean village schools (*sŏdang*), and the dispatch of smallpox vaccination officials and other medical

[88] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 228.
[89] Ibid, 230.
[90] Ibid, 230.
[91] Ibid, 230.

personnel.[92] The history also noted with pride the dispatch of GGK officials to Vladivostok to "protect and guide" Koreans residing there.

Schools are a good example of the nature of GGK activity in Jiandao, in that native Korean institutions were abolished and reorganized on the Japanese metropolitan model, and then held up in official reports as examples of progress. A process of reforming and upgrading schools for Koreans was undertaken by the Saitō administration. The school at Juzijie, established earlier as a sub-branch of Jiandao Normal School of Longjingcun by the Resident-General of Korea's Special Station in 1908, was upgraded to normal school status in 1919. The Hunchun Academy became the Hunchun Normal School in 1918. Jiandao Normal School was renamed Jiandao Central School in 1921 and began teaching advanced courses. Thirty traditional village schools came under its management in Yanji, Helong and Wangqing Counties, three in Hunchun County and seven in Andong County.[93]

As we have seen in areas like security, the GGK tried to take charge of the administration of Korean affairs not only in Jiandao, but in other regions where Koreans resided. Education was no exception – the GGK under Saitō contributed funds and teaching materials, and dispatched educational staff, to Korean schools and academies in wider Manchuria-Mongolia and in Russian territory. From August 1924, the Bolshevisation of Eastern Siberia made GGK support of Korean schools no longer possible, and the funding was discontinued.[94]

Health was another area focused on by the GGK in the early 1920s. Jiandao's main hospital, the Hoeryŏng Mercy Medical Branch Clinic, underwent major enlargement in November 1921. From 1925, the clinic came under the budget of North Hamgyŏng Province, staying under the direction of the GGK until at least as late as 1940.[95] From 1921, medical doctors attached to the KPAs were sent out to remote regions, to supply Korean households with medicines. This practice was expanded gradually and continued into the 1930s.[96]

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[92] Ibid, 228–229.
[93] Ibid, 229.
[94] Ibid, 229.
[95] 1940 was the date of publication of the official GGK history. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 229.
[96] Ibid, 401.

In 1921, an outbreak of cattle plague swept Jiandao, "dealing a massive blow to industry and trade." The region had long been cursed with animal-borne plagues, cattle plague in particular. More than a decade previous to the current outbreak, the RGK's Special Station had made efforts to combat cattle plague. This time, the GGK looked to the Chinese authorities for cooperation. In 1922, the GGK delivered relief funds to the KPAs in Jiandao to fight the epidemic, also providing veterinarians, medication and equipment. From 1926, the GGK established animal immunisation zones along the Korean border, on the banks of the Yalu and Tumen rivers.[97]

These various measures taken by the GGK indicate a vital aspect of Japan's borderland colonialism. The GGK boasted of its support of schools and medical facilities in Jiandao, and of its efforts to prevent epidemics. Its official histories implied that it was providing modern services which the Chinese authorities couldn't provide, although this was demonstrably untrue.[98] Activities in Jiandao had an important propaganda value for the GGK, regardless of how successful they were. An institution claiming to govern the borderland (or at least to "protect and nurture" its population) had to be seen to be providing prosperity and security. To maintain its claim of jurisdiction in the borderland, it was vital for the GGK to provide healthcare, education, finance and other services. The impressiveness or otherwise of the GGK's performance would impact not just its standing vis-à-vis the Chinese governing authorities, but also with relation to rival Japanese institutions like the Foreign Ministry, or the SMRC. The GGKs tight control of Korean society through the KPAs was considered essential for its administration of the borderland. Yet the persistent nationalist uprisings in Jiandao indicate its limited success, despite the hyperbole of its official histories.

Sino-Japanese cooperation and the policing of Koreans: the The Yü-Mitsuya Agreement

[97] Ibid, 230–231. Quotation on 230.
[98] For instance, Carl F. Nathan shows that the outbreak of pneumonic plague in Manchuria created an opening for the Japanese and Russian empires to usurp Chinese sovereignty to deal with the emergency, but that China headed off these challenges by modernizing its epidemic response facilities. *Plague Prevention and Politics in Manchuria, 1910–1931* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967).

To address "the question of Koreans in Manchuria," a conference was held in Seoul from November 20–23, 1923. Representatives of the GGK, the Foreign Ministry, the Jiandao consul-general, the Fengtian consul-general, the Kwantung Army, the Korea Army, the Colonial Office, and other interested parties took part. The agenda included finance, land use, education and maintenance of a registry (*koseki seibi*) but the "pacification of Korean farmers' movements," "the control of incursions into Korea by 'rebellious hoodlums'" and "measures against 'the devil's claw of Russian Bolshevisation'" were also discussed. A unified approach was not reached, mainly due to the Foreign Ministry's disinclination to offend China by acting unilaterally in West Jiandao.[99]

Meanwhile, a degree of cooperation between Japan and Zhang Zuolin's government over issues in the borderland continued. In March 1924, GGK Police Department Chief Kunitomo Shōken (1876–1951) visited Fengtian to negotiate with Chinese authorities regarding the restriction of Korean-owned firearms. The Chinese side responded that "outlaw Koreans" were "harming security" and "giving rise to international incidents between China and Japan." On April 21, orders were given across Fengtian Province for weapons controls (*buki torishimari*) and for control over Korean society to be tightened.[100]

On May 19 that year, shots were fired at Saitō Makoto while he was touring the Yalu River. The following month, GGK Foreign Affairs Bureau Chief Sonoda travelled to Tokyo for a consultation with the Foreign Ministry concerning the incident. He advocated requesting the Chinese to punish those responsible on their side, and to investigate, arrest and hand over to the GGK the "bandits." He expressed the view that the GGK should be able to carry on an independent relationship with the Fengtian provincial government "to agree upon methods for the concrete execution of control" and "measures necessary for self-defence." The Foreign Ministry dissented from Sonoda's views, insisting on maintaining Chinese sovereignty, that is, the integrity of government from Beijing. The Foreign Ministry preferred to deal with the security situation in the borderland through the traditional procedures, including the use of consular police.[101] The attack on Saitō thus opened further the wedge between the GGK and the diplomatic

[99] Itō, "Nihon no zai-Man Chōsenjin seisaku," 71.
[100] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 219–220.
[101] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 220–221.

establishment on how to confront Korean militants. By this stage, the GGK appeared to get the upper hand by negotiating directly with Zhang's government in Fengtian and taking the lead in Japan's Jiandao policy.

On May 25, 1925, a meeting was held in Shenyang between police officials of Fengtian Province and of the GGK. The GGK Government Affairs Inspector (*seimu sōkan*) Shimooka Chūji (1870–1925), who was on an inspection tour of Manchuria, was also present. The two sides discussed the issues of border policing and Koreans in Manchuria. GGK Police Bureau Director (*keimu kyokuchō*) Mitsuya Miyamatsu (1880–1959) insisted that the Japanese police be able to cross the border to combat Korean rebels, as they had done after the Hunchun Incident.[102] An agreement on policing Koreans was concluded by Mitsuya and the Fengtian Province Police Commissioner Yü Chen (1888–1959) on June 11, 1925.[103] On July 8, this agreement was followed up by the "Detailed Regulations for the Management of Korean Outlaws."[104]

The stated purpose of the Yü-Mitsuya Agreement was to "regulate the residence of Koreans in Chinese territory."[105] According to Article 1, this purpose would be carried out:

> …in accordance with the Regulations for Bandit Suppression by which a census of the Koreans shall be taken; Koreans shall, after a register has been kept for each family, give mutual guarantee for good conduct; and they shall be held responsible for each other's misconduct.

The text of the agreement went on to establish measures for the control and suppression of Korean associations and armed activities, through Sino-Japanese police cooperation. It provided (in Article Five) for the extradition of Koreans to the GGK authorities upon request, and for the sharing of information about the suppression of Korean societies (in Article Six).

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[102] Ibid, 221–222.
[103] The agreement was finalized by Mitsuya, Yü, and GGK Police Bureau Chief (*keimu kachō*) Kunitomo. Its full title was the Agreement between the Government-General of Korea and Fengtian Province concerning Methods of Managing Outlaw Koreans (Futei Senjin no torishimarikata ni kansuru Chōsen Sōtokufu Hōtenshō kan no kyōtei).
[104] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 87–89 and Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 222–223. For Yü Chen, Esselstrom erroneously gives the name "Cheng," as does the English translation of the Yü-Mitsuya Agreement attached to Koo's *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans…*, below cit.
[105] An English translation of the Yü-Mitsuya Agreement and Regulations can be found in the Appendix to Wellington Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces* (Beiping: League of Nations, 1932) 23–28. All quotes are from this translation.

The supplementary regulations acknowledged Chinese jurisdiction over Koreans in Dongbiandao, the large unit of eastern and border counties within Fengtian Province. Article One of the regulations extended the system of character certificates for Koreans which Japan had introduced in Jiandao after the Hunchun Incident, mandating that Chinese authorities in Dongbiandao must issue them. Article Six of the regulations stipulated that armed Koreans found "along the river on the eastern border of the Province of Fengtian" be handed to Japanese authorities in Korea, while "a Korean of bad character" found in the interior of Fengtian was to be handed to a Japanese consulate in China. Previously, as we have seen, Koreans charged with offences in Jiandao could be tried by GGK courts, while Koreans in other parts of China would fall under the jurisdiction of the consular court in Dalian. The Yü-Mitsuya Agreement therefore extended the jurisdictional reach of the GGK beyond Jiandao and into the counties of Fengtian "along the [Yalu] river."

The Yü-Mitsuya Agreement was not applied to Jiandao directly, yet it expressed some of the trends of Japanese borderland colonialism which had emerged there. Firstly, it highlighted the important and growing tendency of the GGK to intervene in Chinese affairs, and indeed in any place where Koreans were present. Secondly, it evidenced the gradual extension of emergency police powers into Chinese territory, at the expense of regular diplomacy, for dealing with the Korean independence movment. Thirdly, it saw Japanese authorities again concerned to officially designate "Koreans of good character," creating a barrier between them and "rebellious Koreans." These changes affected the eastern border areas of Fengtian Province where Korean population was high, the region which Japanese writers had come to call "West Jiandao." The The Yü-Mitsuya Agreement thus saw an extension of the Japanese network of power in China's northeastern borderland, embodied in the legal jurisdiction established in Korean communities by Japanese actors.

Conclusion

From 1919, Jiandao grew progressively unstable and politically complex. For one thing, the political situation in northern China had fragmented into warlordism. In addition, the Korean exiles, having been ignored for years by the international community, began forming their own political parties and armed forces. The March 1 Uprising and subsequent Korean independence movement set the tone for the early 1920s. There was a qualitative shift from the days of the righteous armies into full-blown government-in-exile.

In the late 1910s and early 1920s, the sphere of the Korean struggle expanded outwards, with various actors competing with Japanese authorities and amongst themselves in West Jiandao, Jiandao, and Siberia. Attempts by Chinese and Japanese state actors to pacify Jiandao society – to settle the international boundary, to demarcate their respective jurisdictions, to assign tidy identities and legal categories to the Korean settlers, had not brought peace to the region. Thus the area which may be called a borderland – that contested place of competing claims and overlapping authorities – expanded both in scope and in complexity.

Negotiations between the Japanese and Chinese governments on the question of Koreans in Jiandao were dogged by legal disputes. Differing interpretations of two Sino-Japanese pacts – the 1909 Jiandao Agreement and the 1915 Treaty – were not resolved in this period. Beijing and Tokyo failed to agree about who held national jurisdiction over Korean migrants and about treaty applicability to them. Matters were equally complicated at the level of local authority. Tao Bin, the long-serving district governor of Yanji, saw Korean settlement in Jiandao as a threat to Chinese sovereignty. He put up stiff resistance to Japanese policy. Relations between local Chinese police and Japanese consular police were extremely tense and apt to descend into violence.

Japan's Foreign Ministry and the Government-General of Korea attempted to sidestep the Beijing government by forming a client-patron relationship with Zhang Zuolin, the increasingly powerful warlord of China's north-east. Although the Foreign Ministry favored traditional diplomacy conducted through its Resident Minister in China, who was stationed in Beijing, the political conditions of the warlord period led Japanese diplomats towards dealing directly with provincial authorities in the northeast. We saw how the Resident Minister himself, Obata Yūkichi, came to

despair of reaching agreement with Beijing over how to resolve the Jiandao question. Instead, the Foreign Ministry inclined towards placing police officers in Jiandao with the consent of the Fengtian regime.

The relationship between Japan's foreign policy actors and Zhang's government would be fraught with distrust and clashing aims, but Zhang nonetheless assisted Japan to some extent in combatting Korean nationalism in the borderland, most notably by giving his support to the Korea Army's intervention in Jiandao after the 1920 Hunchun Incident. The political divisions and anti-Japanese sentiment in China meant that Zhang's support of Japanese actions were limited in their scope and effects. The Korea Army's response to the Hunchun Incident also gave the lie to Japan's commitment in the 1909 Jiandao Agreement to respect China's territorial sovereignty. It marked an ominous precedent, demonstrating the military character of Japan's interest in Jiandao, Japan's willingness to use military force, and the helplessness of Chinese authorities to prevent it from doing so.

The course of events in Jiandao was influenced partly by rivalry among the various Japanese imperial actors – in the 1920s, the GGK and the Foreign Ministry were central. At the ideological level, there was rivalry between diplomatic and military approaches to the Jiandao question. The increasing militancy of some Korean groups provided ammunition to latter approach, and the Korea Army's Jiandao expedition of 1920–21 served to normalize military retaliation in the borderland. Events in Jiandao thus had a fragmenting effect on Japanese foreign policy, as well as Chinese domestic politics, empowering ambitious actors like Zhang Zuolin. The borderland was a place where state and non-state actors alike could go renegade, and multiple layers of ambitious state and non-state actors may be seen as characteristic of borderlands.

The Korean People's Associations were the middlemen through which the GGK extended the "protection and nurturing" policy into Jiandao. The numbers of Koreans who were truly politically loyal to Japan is impossible to say, but it is surely lower than the numbers who joined the KPAs. Koreans were offered incentives to demonstrate their loyalty to Japan – some of those with suspect pasts were offered the chance to become "returnees." Being recognized and documented by Japanese officialdom as a "provisional good subject" could mean the end of

police harassment. These “pro-Japanese” Koreans were most prevalent in the commercial territories close to the Japanese consulates and sub-consulates. The KPAs were probably stacked with such coerced “pro-Japanese” Koreans. In contrast to the so-called “good Koreans,” communists were referred to in Japanese official and media documents as “bandits” or “outlaw Koreans” – these functioned as de facto legal categories marking their object as fit for extermination, arrest or re-education. The category of “outlaw Korean” was equally adaptable as the “pro-Japanese Korean.” Such discursive categories drew a border through the Korean population of Jiandao, forcing the Koreans to choose a side. Ideological loyalty, or at least documentary proof thereof, was yet another object of contestation in the borderland.

CHAPTER FOUR

New Challenges to Japan's Borderland Policy: The Korean Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Surge, 1925–1929

Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao was founded upon a number of interconnecting policies, trends and ideologies. It aimed broadly to contain the Japanese colony of Korea by combatting the various parties and factions of the Korean independence movement which had developed in China and the Russian Far East. It also aimed to ensure Japanese access to the heart of Manchuria, to take advantage of economic opportunities and also to defend the empire against possible Russian aggression. For these aims, the completion of a railway line from Jilin to Hoeryŏng, long-envisioned by Japanese planners but still incomplete in the 1920s, was essential. In addition, Japanese borderland colonialism had the aim of asserting extraterritorial power over the Korean residents of Jiandao. The motivations of this were to exercise rule over people who were viewed in Tokyo as Japanese subjects, and to perpetuate the advantageous position of extraterritoriality held by Japan in China within the context of informal imperialism. Policy in Jiandao was enthusiastically carried out, above all, by the Government-General of Korea and the officers of the Korea Army, who took the opportunity offered by the Jiandao question to take the lead in an important arena of imperial policy, strengthening their position while sidelining the diplomats of Japan's Foreign Ministry.

As the decade of the 1920s progressed, Japanese policy in Jiandao came under increasing strain. To begin with, it had become outmoded. The Anglo-American powers by now looked unfavorably upon exclusive spheres of influence in China. And Russia was not the main threat to Japan any more – Russia was emerging from years of civil war, and the Soviet Union, founded in 1922, was in its infancy. Instead, events in the heart of China had come to the forefront.

The mid-to-late 1920s witnessed huge numbers of Han Chinese migrants moving north across the Great Wall into Manchuria, numbering more than a million annually. While Koreans remained

the majority in Jiandao for the time being, Chinese workers were beginning to replace Koreans in urban areas and on Chinese-owned farms. This demographic change was a cause of concern for the Japanese officials who had promoted the Korean colonization of Manchuria as a means of cementing Japanese geopolitical influence.

Simultaneously, Japan's patron-client relationship with Zhang Zuolin's Fengtian clique government was in decline, culminating with the assassination of Zhang by junior officers of Japan's Kwantung Army in 1928. Zhang's successor, his son Zhang Xueliang moved away from the Japanese connection and cultivated an alliance with the Nationalist Party. This budding Chinese national unification was symbolized by the flag replacement ceremony of December 1928, through which Zhang Xueliang accepted the Nationalist Party government as the legitimate government of China's north-east. Japan could no longer count on a Chinese ally to help enforce its Korean policies in the borderland. The growing trend in China was the rejection of imperialist foreign influence, including the practice of extraterritoriality which was a foundation of Japan's Jiandao policy.

In the late 1920s, the Chinese rights recovery movement, which had begun in earnest after the May 30, 1925 Shanghai Incident and included boycotts of Japanese products, treated Korean land ownership in China with increasing hostility. Koreans came to be viewed in China as a "vanguard" of Japanese imperialist aggression, and laws restricting Korean land ownership and transactions, as well as further Korean immigration, were passed at various levels of Chinese government. Land rights for Koreans in China increasingly became a point of Sino-Japanese dispute. The conditions were ripe for the strongest challenge yet to Japan's borderland colonialism, and there was now a national Chinese government with the willpower and means to carry its policies out.

Koreans in the borderland were increasingly squeezed between nationalist Chinese policies which resembled internal colonialism, and pressure to act the part of Japanese imperial subjects. This may be why so many gravitated towards communism in the mid-late 1920s. A significant development in this regard was the establishment of an official Korean Communist Party (KCP). First founded in Seoul in 1925, various regional branches of the KCP were subsequently

established in Manchuria, including the KCP East Manchurian branch in Jiandao. In May 1925, one month after the formation of the Korean Communist Party, the Katō Takaaki government in Japan issued the Peace Preservation Law (*chian ijihō*), which was passed by the Diet. It was aimed against socialism, communism and anarchism, specifically at those who threatened the national polity (*kokutai*) or denied the system of private property.[1] The Peace Preservation Law would be used to arrest leftists who were merely suspected of committing a crime. It became a tool of repression not just in Japan but in Korea, and suspected Korean communists in Jiandao were liable to be deported to Korea to face the courts of the GGK.

In my thesis introduction I termed the Japanese policy of colonizing the borderland with Koreans "biopolitical." This characterization is especially apt with regards to the period from 1925 onwards. In Jiandao, the colonialist policies of both China's and Japan's governments depended upon populating the borderland with subjects whose presence would benefit national policy. Japan's borderland policy had long been concerned with the livelihood and welfare of the Koreans living there, insomuch as this gave Japanese imperialist actors the means of extending their reach and influence. This approach had been refined and articulated in the intra-institutional Japanese conferences of the early 1920s, in which the Foreign Ministry assumed responsibility for the "protection and control" (*hogo torishimari*) of Koreans living abroad, and the GGK for their "protection and nurturing" (*hogo jochō* or *hogo buiku*) (see Chapter Three). "Protection and nurturing" denoted the GGK's provision of health care, disease prevention, finance and education for the betterment of Koreans, and was thus manifestly biopolitical. In the mid-to-late 1920s we can see an intensification of these policies. Numerous Japanese articles and pamphlets explored the notion of expanding Korean emigration and settlement of Manchuria with Japanese support, in pursuit of the empire's geo-strategic interests.

Beyond articles and pamphlets, and the GGKs "protection and nurturing" of Koreans in Jiandao, Japan's biopolitical borderland policy had been pursued through various legal arrangements and claims, using the 1909 Jiandao Agreement and the 1915 Treaty as their bases. The Japanese government claimed for the Korean migrants the rights to own, buy and sell land in southern

[1] Erik Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 89.

Manchuria, which included Jiandao. The GGK established new Korean People's Associations (KPAs) to help implement Japanese policy – by the end of the 1920s, eighteen of them existed in the four counties of Jiandao. The KPAs, created as puppet organizations, would gradually become the vehicles for Korean political, economic and social aspirations in the borderland. As much as the Korean Communist Party, they helped Koreans to politically organize across the borderland. Japan's borderland colonialism thus remained a double-edged sword – the more it encouraged Korean colonization in Jiandao, the more impetus and means were given to Korean autonomy and resistance to imperialism.

Demographic change in Jiandao and Japanese biopolitical thought

A biopolitical view of the borderland Koreans as a mass whose health was vital to the furtherance of imperial policy was apparent in the minds of some Japanese. This view, or ideological tendency, could be witnessed in policies, in studies of Jiandao and of Korean migration, and in a number of propagandistic pamphlets.

Activities related to education, health and the economy were expanded by the GGK in the late 1920s, under the motto of "protection and nurturing." As Korean migrant communities spread further and further afield in Manchuria, the geographic scope of GGK activities also expanded. In 1926, the GGK began a budget for the education of Koreans abroad,[2] and in May of the following year, the GGK and the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMRC) established a new cooperative relationship regarding the education of Koreans in Manchuria. Korean schools adjacent to the SMRC line, and in Harbin, came under the management of the SMRC with some funds provided by the GGK.[3] Additionally, immunisation zones for zoological epidemics were established by the Japanese government along the Yalu and Tumen rivers.[4]

[2] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi* 施政三十年史 [Thirty-year Administrative History] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1940), 400.
[3] Ibid, 229.
[4] Ibid, 401.

Meanwhile, one of the largest mass migrations in modern history was occurring across northern China. Between 1927 and 1929, roughly a million migrants crossed the Great Wall annually, pushed out of northern China by "a cruel combination of drought, banditry, warlordism, and famine."[5] The migrants originated predominately in Shandong and Zhili provinces. There were economic opportunities in fast-growing Manchuria, including demand for Chinese labour in the Japanese-run mines and on railway projects such as the Jilin-Hoeryŏng line, not to mention in Chinese businesses and farms.[6] The mass migration of Han Chinese, coupled with the increasing strength and anti-Korean sentiment of Chinese authorities, meant that the position of Koreans living in Manchuria was threatened. This meant that a cornerstone of Japan's continental policy – the colonization of the Sino-Korean borderland with Korean emigrants – was also threatened.

Korean migration to Manchuria and especially to Jiandao in fact remained strong throughout the 1920s. The overall rate of Han and Korean migration remained roughly the same; in Manchuria as a whole the number of Han dwarfed the number of Koreans, but in Jiandao the Korean population hovered at roughly four times the Han population. Between 1907 and 1931, over half of the Koreans in Manchuria were living in Jiandao (Appendix One).

While Jiandao had more Korean migration than other regions of Manchuria, there were varying patterns of migration and population among the four counties of Jiandao (Appendix Two). The areas of densest population were the fertile plains of the Buerhatong River and Hailan River watersheds. Yanji County, which straddled both of these rivers, was the most populous of the four counties. One Japanese argument went that Yanji County would support further immigration, because even the cultivated land had potential for improvement, but that the development of the county could never reach its full potential without the completion of the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway.[7] The planned railway would cut straight through the centre of Yanji County, with just a small section in neighbouring Helong County. Helong had less potential for colonial development than Yanji County due to its more rugged terrain, although the upper Hailan River

[5] James Reardon-Anderson, *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 148.
[6] Naitō Juntarō 内藤順太郎, *Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin* 満蒙の特殊性と邦人 [Japanese Nationals and the Special Status of Manchuria and Mongolia] (Tokyo: Tō-Asha shuppanbu, 1928), 7–8.
[7] Ushimaru Junryō 牛丸潤亮 and Murata Shigemaro 村田懋麿, eds., *Saikin Kantō jijō* 最近間島事情 [Current Conditions in Jiandao] (Keijō: Chōsen oyobi Chōsenjinsha, 1927), 130.

passed through the county and supported two important towns, Toudaogou and Sandaogou. The upper Tumen also ran along the border of Helong County, and residents of the Tumen region could benefit from the two-*ri* (approximately eight kilometres) tariff-exempt trading zone established in 1920. Hunchun County was unique for its location on the border of the Soviet Union. It was not densely populated, probably due to its remote location away from the main trading routes. But it had many resources, including dense forests and an abundance of water, with huge potential for wet rice cultivation. The least populated county was Wangqing, a remote area with only a short stretch of roughly twenty kilometres lying along the Tumen. Little-exploited due to its lack of transport infrastructure, Wangqing was the source of the Gaya River, a tributary of the Tumen. Its abundance of timber was beginning to bring in new settlers; by the mid-1920s, Wangqing and Hunchun counties had the highest population growth rates, with most of the uncultivated land in Yanji and Helong counties already occupied.[8] By 1930, Hunchun County had the highest proportion of Chinese residents (43%), followed by Wangqing County (36.1%), then Yanji County (20.5%) and finally Helong County (5.5%).[9]

Such demographic and economic indicators were of great concern to the officials responsible for Japan's Jiandao policy. Although rates of Korean migration remained strong, the mass migration of Han Chinese into Manchuria had an undoubted psychological impact on Japanese proponents of Korean migration, who worried that Japan's influence in Manchuria would be compromised, and that the emigration of "Japanese nationals" to Manchuria needed to be increased. For pamphleteer Naitō Juntarō, the primary benefit of colonising Manchuria and Mongolia with Japanese subjects was to compensate for the lack of Japanese demographic projection overseas. He emphasised institutional cooperation between the GGK, the Foreign Ministry, the Kwantung Administration, the SMRC and the Oriental Development Company in the settlement of Manchuria and Mongolia with Koreans. He quoted GGK Internal Affairs Bureau Chief Uchida on this topic:

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[8] Ibid, 131–132, 147.

[9] Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu 満洲国軍政部軍事調査部, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū* 満州共産匪の研究 [A Study of Communist Insurgents in Manchuria]. Vol. 1. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kyokutō Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1969), 545–546.

> The north of Manchuria, of which Jiandao is the heart, has an area of more than 1000 square *ri* [about 20,000 kilometres squared]. Since the ratio of cultivated to uncultivated arable land is three to seven, there is space even for natural [i.e. unplanned] Korean migration movement. If the GGK were to encourage Korean migration abroad, the Koreans would misunderstand this as being forced out of their country, and raise a fuss. So it hasn't been done.[10]

Uchida was arguing that Korean migration into Manchuria needed to be more vigorously promoted, and that the Koreans' understandable reluctance to uproot themselves in furtherance of an expansionist colonial policy needed to be overcome.

Historically, the proximity of Jiandao to Korea, together with the lack of modern transport from populous regions of China, had ensured Korean demographic dominance. But in the mid-late 1920s, the mass migration from northern China into all regions of Manchuria was changing the situation rapidly. Naitō pointed out that the completion of the Jilin-Hoeryŏng rail, a key policy item for Japan, would greatly accelerate the Chinese migration into Jiandao. Although in favour of the railway project, Naitō insisted that the demographic implications be thought through in advance.[11] He cited with concern the Korean birth and death rates in Manchuria, and emphasised the need for modern hygiene and the protection (*hogo*) of Korean communities.[12]

Similar sentiments regarding Korean migration and population health were found in Japanese publications of the time, of which I shall highlight two. In 1927, a monograph entitled *Current Conditions in Jiandao* (Saikin Kantō jijō) was published by a private Japanese company, gathering together the work of several Jiandao experts. This was perhaps the longest monograph of the colonial era that focused entirely on Jiandao. It featured several interesting prefaces by figures connected with Jiandao and the GGK, including GGK Industry Bureau Director Ikeda Hideo, the Jiandao consular official Suzuki Yōtarō, and Jiandao Trade Association Director Mokushige Ichirō. Ikeda sought to justify the Japanese presence in Jiandao by citing the historical linkages with Korea that existed in the Tumen River region, and by complicating the notion of the Tumen as the Sino-Korean border. He linked Jiandao to Korea's Hamgyŏng

[10] Naitō, *Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin*, 61–63.
[11] Ibid, 64.
[12] Ibid, 64–65.

Province, stating with some exaggeration that these were administered as a single unit for upwards of a millennium, and that the notion of the Tumen River as an international border did not emerge until the rule of the Yi Dynasty (1392–1910). He also highlighted the flourishing trade between Heian Japan (794–1185) and the Kingdom of Parhae (698–926), as well as the Jurchen activities in towns and ports south of the border. Like a number of Japanese writers on Jiandao before him, he also mentioned the historical traces left by Japanese generals during the Imjin War.[13] Suzuki regretted that many were focused on the SMR line area whilst "neglecting eastern Manchuria, of which Jiandao is the core."[14] Eastern Manchuria, he argued, merited research not just for the development of its resources, but to resolve the urgent matter of food supply within the Japanese Empire. Mokushige made mention of the financial support available from the ODC and the Chōsen Bank branch offices "to protect and nurture" the Japanese nationals working hard for the development (*kaihatsu*) of Jiandao. He called for urgent action to economically support the migrants.[15]

Current Conditions in Jiandao contained a detailed historical overview of the Jiandao question. Like earlier Japanese Jiandao advocates, the authors acknowledged the weakness of the Korean territorial claim to Jiandao. In reference to the statement on the boundary stele that "[the boundary] to the east is the Tumen," they pointed out that "apart from the Tumen River there are no eastward flowing rivers adjacent to the boundary stele," meaning that the Tumen River must in fact be the boundary.[16] The variance of Chinese characters used to write "Tumen" was explained as an instance of varying *ateji*, or the phonetic use of characters, to write a toponym of Jurchen origin.[17] *Current Conditions in Jiandao* went on to argue, however, that the fact that the Korean claim was flawed did not mean that Korea was not entitled to claim the territory – the Koreans had more history in Jiandao than the Han Chinese did. Korea's failure to successfully purse its claim to Jiandao was due not to the weakness of the claim itself but to national weakness; international law had changed the way that sovereignty was recognised, and regardless

[13] *Saikin Kantō jijō*, Ikeda preface 2–3.
[14] Ibid, Suzuki preface 1.
[15] Ibid, Mokushige preface 2–4.
[16] Ibid, 49.
[17] Ibid, 2–3.

of the merit of any particular claim, Jiandao would fall to the stronger nation by natural right after enough time had passed.[18]

The authors of *Current Conditions in Jiandao* then engaged in subtle historical revisionism by suggesting that Korean Prime Minister Pak Chesun's appeal to Itō Hirobumi in 1906 to "protect the lives and livelihoods of Koreans in Jiandao" was the beginning of Japanese involvement in Jiandao.[19] In fact, as we saw in Chapter One, initial Japanese interest in Jiandao came from the Army's frustration at limited knowledge of the region during the Russo-Japanese War, and major Japanese surveys of Jiandao (by Nakai Kinjō and Naitō Konan) predate the Pak memorial. According to the account in *Current Conditions in Jiandao*, the question of protection (*hogo*) was separate from that of territorial possession (*Kantō no shozoku*), and the protection of Korean lives and livelihoods was the main reason for Japanese involvement in Jiandao. Yet, elsewhere in the text, we can see the notion of Jiandao as part of Korea, or of a historical Jiandao-Hamgyŏng region, vigorously defended (as in Ikeda's preface).

There were two contrasting yet intertwining narratives in Japanese biopolitical thought towards the borderland, exemplified in the arguments of *Current Conditions in Jiandao.* The first narrative held that Jiandao was a part of China containing Japanese subjects whose rights needed to be protected. The second narrative held that Jiandao was part of a region historically distinct from China, with closer links to the Jurchens and Koreans, and of which Japan was now the natural master. The former narrative may have won in the 1909 Jiandao Agreement due to the priorities of the time; as the authors of *Current Conditions in Jiandao* state, "the Jiandao question was sacrificed to various pending issues" between Japan and China, in particular the Mukden-Andong railway negotiations.[20] However, the notion that Jiandao belonged more naturally to the Korean sphere (under the protection of Japan) was clearly viewed with sympathy by the authors.

In 1928, another long monograph entitled *Japanese Nationals and the Special Status of Manchuria and Mongolia* (Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin) was published in Tokyo by the

[18] Ibid, 44, 52–53.
[19] Ibid, 44–45.
[20] Ibid, 47.

politically active nationalist writer Naitō Juntarō (1877–?), also known as Naitō Wainan.[21] This text drew out in detail a hard-line policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia, justifying its argument through reference to historical events, ancient and modern. The Korean and Tungusic peoples were constructed in the text as ancient relations of the Japanese, and the Korean migrants in modern Manchuria described as Japanese "nationals" (*hōjin*).[22] The thrust of Naitō's argument is to dismantle any Han Chinese claim to sovereignty over Manchuria and Mongolia. Naitō expressed the hope that the book would "constitute a reference material for an entirely remodelled Manchuria-Mongolia policy."[23]

Naitō asks at the outset how the Chinese could call "the migration of our nationals, in particular the Korean farmers, an imperialist invasion" when Manchuria and Mongolia were "not originally the homeland of the Chinese people." He justifies Japan's Manchuria-Mongolia policy through the ethnic history of the region, citing the existence of Korean burial mounds in Manchuria, even to the west of the Liao River. Ancient Korea was settled by people of Tungusic stock, and Japan was itself settled via the Korean Peninsula. So Japan was linked to both Korea and Manchuria-Mongolia by ancient blood ties. The Han Chinese were mere invaders of Tungusic land, argued Naitō. So for Japan to annex Korea was "extremely reasonable," and for Japanese and Koreans to return to the Tungusic homeland on the continent was likewise reasonable. Koreans were referred to in this instance as "new Japanese" (*shinpu Nihonjin taru Chōsenjin*).[24] Even using recent history alone as the criterion for claims of sovereignty, Naitō claimed, Korean migrants had been in Manchuria for longer than the Han Chinese settlers from Shandong, who were arriving in huge numbers at the time Naito was writing the pamphlet.[25] If the Korean migrants were to be considered invaders, then the Chinese migrants surely were also. Naitō acknowledged that Manchuria-Mongolia was for China a "special region" (*tokushu chiiki*), as it was for Japan. But he insisted that China's interest in the region was no more than colonialist (*Shinajin no atarashiki*

[21] Naitō Juntarō, *Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin*.
[22] Ibid, 1–2.
[23] Ibid, preface 2.
[24] Ibid, 1–2, 5–6.
[25] This may have been for Jiandao but it certainly wasn't for Manchuria as a whole. The Han Chinese had an ancient history of settlement in southern Manchuria.

shokuminchi ni suginu). He referred as proof to the late Qing policy of "building the border with migrants" (*yimin zhibian*).[26]

Naitō viewed the Chinese "oppression" (*appaku*) of Koreans as anti-Japanese in nature. He made the claim that China was persecuting Korean migrants not because they were hiding under the umbrella of Japan, but because they were Japanese subjects, and China was envious of Japan's national strength. Unsurprisingly, Naitō was against the abolition of extraterritoriality in China, arguing that the removal of this legal umbrella from Koreans would lead to it being removed from ethnic Japanese (*naichijin*) also.[27] In Naitō's pamphlet, and in many other publications of the late 1920s, Korean colonization of the borderland is presented as historically justified, racially coherent and legally sound. The vitality of the Korean migrant population as a whole was viewed as both right and as beneficial for Japan's continental policy. This was the ideological background of "biopolitics" which had come to inform Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao.

Korean migrants as imperialist 'Japanese vanguard' – anti-Korean legislation in China's north-east

The colonization of Jiandao and Manchuria by Korean settlers, which Japanese imperialist ideology supported, had been tolerated by Chinese authorities ever since the Qing dynasty first opened its frontiers to mass settlement. As we have seen, Chinese policy towards the Korean settlers was historically assimilationist. But from the late 1920s, China's governing authorities passed a number of laws and edicts which restricted land transactions involving Koreans, as well as further Korean immigration. This new approach was made possible by the continuing administrative reforms in China's borderlands and nationwide, by the growing power and assertiveness of the national government and by intensifying patriotic and anti-foreign sentiment in China. The economic underpinning of the new laws was clear: the land owners in Jiandao were still predominantly Han Chinese (Appendix Three), and the Han dominance of land would be

[26] Naitō, *Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin*, 3–4.
[27] Ibid, 42–44, 49.

confirmed by the land laws. The Han mass migration of the period was also a significant factor in the anti-Korean laws, as it meant a reduced demand for Korean labour.

An early harbinger of the heavy restrictions on Korean movement and property ownership appeared in July 1927. A Chinese official in Yanji County, seeking directions from the Jilin provincial government office regarding treatment of Korean immigrants, wrote that "Koreans migrate at will, everywhere monopolise land and practise agriculture. This has significant relevance to China's national direction and to the lives of its people. Therefore some kinds of restrictions must be put in place, and some kinds of controls must furthermore be created."[28]

A flurry of discriminatory legislation followed. In late September 1927 the Beijing Cabinet under Zhang Zuolin enacted and promulgated a "six-article law on controlling rebellious Koreans" in the three north-eastern provinces. In its timing, the Cabinet took advantage of the anti-Japanese sentiment then raging in demonstrations taking place in Fengtian.[29] In October, the government of Jilin Province issued a severe instruction to the county governors:

> With regards to the management of the Koreans who are penetrating into our country… you are ordered to drive out existing residents in accordance with the law and strictly prohibit newcomers. With consideration to the circumstances of existing Koreans, laws of expulsion and prevention [of entry] should be drafted and severely enforced.[30]

Then in late November, the Jilin provincial government promulgated a three-article Management of Koreans Law. It banned Koreans from wearing their national white costume, restricting them to Chinese or Western dress.[31] In line with the provincial ban, the Yanji District Governor (the highest Chinese official in Jiandao) ordered Koreans not to wear their traditional white costume, permitting only Chinese or Western clothing.[32] Around the same time, the provincial government

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[28] Mantetsu chōsaka 満鉄調査課, *Man-Mō jijō* 満蒙事情 [Conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia] (Dairen: Mantetsu chōsaka, 1930-1931), June 1930, 4.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, 5.
[31] Ibid, 5.
[32] Yi Sunhan 李盛煥, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō o meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 257.

of Fengtian ordered the closure of Korean schools, on the grounds that the schools were "strongholds for associations of rebellious Koreans and also strategic bases for secret plotting."[33]

In December 1927, a twelve-article Regulation on Land Cultivation by Koreans was issued to the three north-eastern provinces by the Beijing government. Four days later, the Jilin government ordered the counties to "investigate the Koreans under [your] administration regarding their status as Chinese nationals and the legality or otherwise of their employment. If there are any points of suspicion in their conduct, order their immediate deportation." A clear reason for this suspicion towards Koreans was their employment as a colonizing vanguard by Japan:

> If we are not vigilant regarding Korean migration in the three eastern provinces, Japanese power will gradually extend into them, until eventually nothing can be done… The key to a solution lies in whether Japan will permit Koreans to naturalize, or will at least repeal extra-territorial rights.[34]

Jilin Province, which had the largest population of Koreans out of any Chinese province, was the most active in pursuing the discriminatory laws. In February 1928, a Jilin district governors' general meeting convened to discuss Korean policy. They decided that all Koreans in the province should be naturalised within six months and that land and buildings could not be loaned to them. In June, the Jilin governor Zhang Zuoxiang announced that Koreans would have until the end of December to naturalise, and the Nanjing government supported this measure by exempting Koreans in Jiandao from the standard naturalisation procedures, in order to expedite the process.[35] In July 1928, in response to illegal land sales by Chinese to unnaturalised Koreans, the Fengtian provincial government ordered its counties to forbid transfer of land by private individuals to aliens. Jilin and Heilongjiang issue similar directives. Naturalised Koreans were still able to buy or lease land, however.[36] The restrictions were not applied indiscriminately to all Koreans, but to relative newcomers who were not well established.

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[33] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 5.
[34] Ibid, 5–6.
[35] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 258.
[36] Herbert Hantao Wu, *A Legal Study: Japan's Acts of Treaty Violation and Encroachment upon the Sovereign Rights of China in the North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria)* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1971), 184.

Chinese authorities were working to prevent the loss not just of productive land, but also land adjacent to the Sino-Korean border. In 1929, China's national government promulgated the Regulation Strictly Prohibiting the Appropriation and Sale of Land (*tudi daomai yanjin tiaoli*). Merchants in the eastern provinces of Manchuria were forbidden from selling land to foreigners without the permission of local authorities. Illegal sales were punishable by death. This was followed in 1930 by the Land Law (*tudifa*) which established the imposition of duties for transfers to foreigners in the areas of farmland, forestry, pastures, fisheries, salt, mines, and fortified, military or border lands and banned them from making lease agreements, effectively denying them commercial leasing rights. In 1931 came the Law Punishing the Appropriation and Sale of Land (*tudi daomai chengzuifa*) which forbade all sale of land to Japanese (which would have included non-naturalized Koreans).[37] The dummy purchase of land by Japanese subjects in the name of naturalized Koreans had become a problem, hence these harsh counter-measures.[38]

A common Japanese response to the new Chinese legislation was to decry it as a form of oppression. When China appealed to the League of Nations (LON) against Japanese aggression after the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese side responded with a counter accusation about the oppression of its subjects. The LON report reads:

> The Japanese assert that, about the end of 1927, a movement for persecuting Korean immigrants in Manchuria broke out, under Chinese official instigation, as an aftermath of the general anti-Japanese agitation, and state that this oppression was intensified after the Manchurian provinces declared their allegiance to the National Government at Nanjing… It is stated that this campaign of cruelty was particularly directed against the "pro-Japanese" Koreans, that Korean Residents' Associations, which are subsidised by the Japanese Government, were the objects of persecution, that non-Chinese schools maintained by or for Koreans were closed, that "undesirable Koreans" were permitted to levy blackmail and perpetrate atrocities upon Korean farmers, and that Koreans were compelled to wear Chinese clothing and renounce any claim of reliance upon Japanese protection or assistance in their miserable plight.[39]

[37] *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 150.
[38] Koo, V.K. Wellington, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway* (Peiping: League of Nations, 1932), 19–20.
[39] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 60.

The Lytton Commission confirmed "this general description." The attached Special Study No. 9, however, found that "the laws, regulations and instructions issued by the Chinese authorities in Manchuria between 1927 and 1931" were not aimed so much at "excluding Koreans entirely from Manchuria" but "rather to encourage more care on the part of the local authorities in granting Koreans naturalisation certificates, and to restrict their activities in conformity with… the Sino-Japanese treaties and agreements."[40] This highlights the important distinction to be made between local Chinese authorities and higher-level ones at the provincial and state levels. The twenty-yuan fee gave local officials a motive for forcing naturalization, while soldiers also extracted fees from the Koreans, who in addition had to pay taxes.[41]

The legality of Korean naturalisation as Chinese subjects was much debated in reference to both Chinese and Japanese nationality laws. In February 1929, China's nationality law was revised, allowing aliens to naturalise in China without losing their original nationality. It offered a number of ways for Koreans to naturalise, such as being born in China, having a Chinese national as a parent or spouse, or uninterrupted residence in China of over ten years.[42] Japan's nationality law did not recognise dual nationality. Therefore, the Chinese reform meant that the naturalisation of Koreans in China would be recognised by Chinese but not Japanese law. A Japanese journal article pointed out that under China's nationality law, individuals could not receive Chinese nationality unless their home country (in this case Japan) permitted them to leave their current nationality.[43] Therefore, the author argued, the naturalisation of Koreans violated China's own nationality law.

Despite the revision of China's nationality law, in March 1929 the campaign to naturalise Koreans in Jilin Province stopped. The provincial government had become wary of Japanese capitalists using naturalised Koreans as proxy land owners. In August, the provincial government ordered an end to fast-track naturalization and land sales to Koreans. Then in May 1930, it ordered county authorities to revoke Chinese nationality of Koreans with communist or pro-

[40] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, Special Study No. 9, 273.
[41] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 48.
[42] Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans*, 13–14.
[43] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 7.

Japanese sympathies.[44] In early 1930, only about 11% of Koreans in Jiandao were naturalized, according to one estimate (Appendix Four).

In the nationalist China of the late 1920s, the presence of a contested and ambiguous borderland on in the north-east was no longer tolerable, and the new laws were designed to "make the borderland Chinese." This would be achieved through naturalization of the Koreans, resistance to Japanese influence and complete control of land ownership. The historical and continuing fact of Korean migration was exploited by China's new nation-builders as an issue needing urgent reform, not least to contain the expansion of imperial Japan in the north-east. Meanwhile, Japan's government opportunistically decried Chinese treatment of Koreans as "oppression" (*appaku*), adding it to the ledger of complaints which would constitute a casus belli a few years in the future.

The Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway and the end of Sino-Japanese cooperation in Jiandao

Together with the "question of Koreans in Manchuria" (*zai-Man Chōsenjin mondai*), the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway was a priority and a cornerstone of Japanese policy in Jiandao which contributed further to tensions between Chinese and Japanese authorities. The construction of this railway had been identified immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, by Japanese military planners and "Jiandao advocates," as an absolute priority. It would be the highway for Japanese soldiers to penetrate the heart of Manchuria in the event of another war with the USSR (see Chapter One). The GGK, notably under the rule of Terauchi Masatake in the 1910s, had also envisioned this railway as linking the wealth of Manchuria via Korea to Japan. The Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway was thus intimately connected with Japan's colonization policy in the borderland. It was one of the key power networks in Japan's area of informal imperialism in Jiandao.

In Chapter Two, we touched upon the collapse of negotiations for laying the first segment of the railway, from Jilin to Dunhua, in 1917. On October 24, 1925 a new Jilin-Dunhua Railway

[44] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 259.

contract was signed and letters exchanged between China's Ministry of Communications and Matsuoka Yōsuke (1880–1946) of the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMRC), who had stepped into the place of the Japanese banking group of the failed 1917 arrangement. The SMRC was supposed to advance 18 million yen (later increased to 24 million yen), refundable upon completion of the line, with the amount not refunded transformed into a loan bearing 9% interest. The contract was considered provisional, until a formal contract for the entire Jilin-Hoeryŏng line was agreed upon.[45] According to the agreement, a Japanese chief engineer would do the construction, then the Chinese director was to examine the line, and once approved the line would be turned over to China's Ministry of Communications and the loan would be refunded.[46]

The deal was made in spite of the fact that the rail was still unpopular in China, above all in the Jilin Provincial Assembly.[47] There were Japanese misgivings as well; the route would connect to Japan via the Korean port of Chŏngjin, effectively competing with the central SMRC route via the port of Dalian.[48] Furthermore, railway construction through the difficult terrain of Jiandao would be hugely expensive and difficult.

The railway was still seen as vital to Japan's geo-strategic interests, however. In July 1926, a new Japanese Navy report of July 1926 envisioned the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway supplying Japan with grain in the event of war with the USA. Meanwhile, the Japanese Army wanted to see it extended as far as Inner Mongolia, for possible use in a military thrust against the Soviet Union.[49] The line from Jilin to Dunhua was completed in 1928. Only the Dunhua-Hoeryŏng stretch, which ran through Jiandao, remained incomplete.

The railway was one factor which poisoned relations between the Japanese army and Zhang Zuolin. According to an LON report, "[f]ormal, definitive contracts" concerning the Dunhua-Laotougou and Laotougou-Tumen River portions of the railway "were doubtless signed, under

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[45] Koo, V.K. Wellington, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway* (Peiping: League of Nations, 1932), 7–8.
[46] Koo, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway*, 11.
[47] Gavan McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China, 1911–1928: China, Japan and the Manchurian Idea* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 226. Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 296.
[48] Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria*, 300.
[49] McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China*, 225.

very irregular circumstances, on May 13th-15th [1928] by a representative of the Ministry of Communications of the Government at Beijing, then under Marshal Zhang Zuolin... Whether [Zhang] himself also signed the contracts has been a matter of dispute."[50] Zhang was forced out of Beijing in June 1928 by the Guomindang coupled with Japanese diplomatic pressure. He was assassinated by renegade Japanese military officers near Shenyang a few days later. The national government of China had never been party to the railway contracts and was never informed of their existence. Only Zhang and the Japanese were party to them, and Zhang's copy of the contract was destroyed in the explosion that took his life.[51] His successor Marshal Zhang Xueliang and the Fengtian government both refused to honour the contracts "on the ground that they were faulty in form and negotiated under duress and had never been ratified by the Beijing Cabinet or the North-Eastern Political Council."[52]

Nonetheless, the Jilin-Dunhua line was opened to traffic in October 1928.[53] In line with contractual obligations, a Chinese director inspected the railway. Several more inspections followed, and the Chinese government found that the work was shoddy and the expenses of the construction were grossly inflated (to 13,477,000 yen rather than the actual 6,300,000 yen). The Chinese government demanded an explanation from SMRC, who in turn asked for their loan to be repaid. The Chinese government refused. The handover to the Chinese did not take place – Wellington Koo accused the Japanese of not appointing an accountant as promised so as to not settle the question of dubious expenses.[54] The Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway negotiations had stalled again, and the final stretch from Dunhua to Hoeryŏng would not ultimately be completed until after the Kwantung Army's occupation of Manchuria in 1932.

The Korean Communist Party's Manchurian branch

[50] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 47.
[51] Koo, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway*, 9–10.
[52] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 47.
[53] Koo, *Memorandum on the Kirin-Hueining Railway*, 8.
[54] Ibid, 11–14.

The Korean communist movement, like the troubles besetting the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway, provided further evidence to Japanese foreign policy hawks that Japan had failed to pacify the borderland of Jiandao according to the perceived interests of the empire. By the mid-1920s, Korean communists had made Jiandao their base for military assaults upon the Japanese empire. A Japanese study of Korean communist insurgency summarised its history in Jiandao:

> Together with Shanghai, the Jiandao region has long been a strategic base for Korean political movements. Accordingly, the transition of these movements towards the communist ideology, of which the March 1, 1919 movement in Korea was the turning point, was directly felt [in Jiandao]. After the 1920 Jiandao expedition which crushed the Korean nationalists there, the communist insurgencies of the M.L. faction, the Seoul faction, the Tuesday meeting faction, the Shanghai faction, the Irkutsk faction and other groups continued to emerge and by 1926 had completely replaced the nationalists.[55]

The KCP formed a Manchurian General Bureau (MGB) in May 1926. The bureau headquarters were established in Ningguta, just to the north of Jiandao.[56] The MGB set up branches to cover east, south and north Manchuria – the eastern branch was established in October 1926 in Longjingcun.[57] The MGB quickly absorbed the Farmers' Cooperative (Nongmin dongmaeng) through successful activism, the latter splitting from the Righteous Government (Jŏng'ŭibu), hitherto the largest and most influential Korean nationalist organisation in Manchuria.[58] The more traditionally nationalist Korean movements continued to exist elsewhere in Manchuria, notably in West Jiandao.[59] These developments marked the continuation of the trend whereby Korean communist groups developed Jiandao as their base, while other Korean nationalists were pushed into West Jiandao.

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[55] *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, Volume 1: 483.
[56] Scalapino, Robert A. and Chong Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 74–75.
[57] The full name of the eastern branch was the East Manchuria Regional Bureau, KCP General Bureau (朝鮮共産党満州総局東満区域局). At the same time, the East Manchurian regional bureau of the Koryo Youth Association was created as the youth wing of the KCP in East Manchuria (Jiandao). At the time of the second Jiandao Communist Party Incident in September 1928, the latter had fifty-nine cells and 230 members in Jiandao. Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 242–243.
[58] *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 484.
[59] In 1929, a number of nationalist elements coalesced and organised the so-called National Government (国民府). *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 484.

The Tuesday Society (Hwayohae), one of the several KCP factions, largely controlled communist organisational activities in Manchuria until late 1927. It concentrated on disseminating communist literature and political training, notably via schools and youth movements.[60] In late 1927, Shanghai faction members established the Korean Communist Group at Longjingcun. The Shanghai faction "reportedly recruited about 130 members, and 146 members in its Youth League. The Japanese accorded it top position in 1930 in terms of membership and influence."[61]

In June 1929, the MGB was revived under the leadership of the Tuesday Society.[62] Meanwhile, the Dunhua group of the KCP representing eastern Manchuria was mainly composed of Shanghai and Seoul faction members. It sent members on assignment to Korea and established a cadre training center in Yanji County. While its literature cleaved closely to the orthodoxy of the Sixth Comintern Congress, the group failed, like all its rivals and predecessors, to resolve the factional divisions of the KCP.[63]

The KCP in Seoul was raided and closed down by Japanese authorities several times,[64] but the MGB was able to continue its activities until its absorption into the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1930. Soon after the MGB's formation, communist literature such as billets became more common in Jiandao than nationalist literature. Some Korean schools in Jiandao began teaching Marxist-Leninist theory.[65] On 21 June 1926, the Japanese consular police chief in Jiandao, Suematsu Kichiji (1879–1951), wrote to the GGK police bureau that Korean leftist organisations were developing in Jiandao (he named about six), notably in Longjingcun. He named two teachers at Longjingcun's Tonghŭng Middle School as leftist leaders.[66] He recommended closer ties to the Korean community through schools and media outlets; he also called for an expanded budget for intelligence gathering.[67]

[60] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea*, *Vol. 1*, 143–144.
[61] Ibid, 145–146: quotations 146, footnote 16.
[62] Ibid, 145–146.
[63] Ibid, 146–149.
[64] Ibid, 60–61, 81–88.
[65] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 244–245.
[66] Ibid, 243–244.
[67] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 93–94.

In the face of mounting pressure from the Chinese and Japanese states, Koreans in Manchuria made efforts towards mass solidarity. A coalition of Korean communists and nationalists, the Unified National Party (Minjok Yuiltang) was formed in 1928, and an All-Manchuria Koreans' Convention was held in Fengtian Province in January of that year.[68] It adopted a resolution favouring Japan's adopting of legislation which would enable Koreans to naturalize as Chinese subjects.[69]

Opinion in favour of naturalization rights was by no means unanimous. According to an undoubtedly biased Japanese article, those in favour of naturalization (*kika ronsha*) were mainly the allies or associates of rebels (*futeimi*) from Manchuria's northern interior, who argued along these lines: "Relying upon the Japanese authorities is not sufficient. Through naturalisation, [we can] resolve the problem of oppression by Chinese officials and gain rights of residence and the right to buy and sell land." Those on the other side (*fukika ronsha*) were said to be mostly in southern Manchuria where they had been "showered with the blessings of Japanese culture." Their Japanese article thus summarised their argument:

> We are subjects of Japan, and the Japanese government has a duty to protect us Koreans. Therefore, we demand a positive protection policy from the Japanese authorities, the prompt removal of insecurity from our land and homes… the tyrannous laws (*bōrei*) oppressing Koreans must be repealed.[70]

Despite the obvious political slant of the article, there was evidently a division among Koreans in Manchuria between those who were willing to accede to assimilation into Chinese social and legal frameworks and those who asserted their rights as overseas subjects of Japan.

In addition to the communist factions and the Korean People's Associations (KPAs), there was a short-lived Community Association for Naturalised Koreans (Kwihwa Hanjok donghyanghoe), which worked for the betterment of naturalised Koreans within the framework of Chinese law. In

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[68] See Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 217–221 for a description of the numerous Korean parties, factions and their evolution.
[69] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, Special Study No. 9, 271.
[70] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 8.

March 1929, the organisation's chief secretary Choi Tong'o visited the Nationalist Party capital of Nanjing to negotiate for a reduction in naturalisation costs. Choi was acknowledged by the Nanjing government as a representative for Korean interests in Jilin, but unfortunately the Community Association was already falling apart. It had named a new chief secretary and was short of funds. Its county representatives began peeling away – at the September 1929 general meeting in Jilin City just eight or nine turned up, down from twenty-one the previous year. The Community Association for Naturalised Koreans announced its dissolution in April 1930.[71]

By the late 1920s, a mind-boggling number of autonomous Korean organizations had emerged in Jiandao and beyond. The Koreans organized politically to survive the pressure exerted upon them on all sides by the policies of China and Japan. Unity was hard to achieve, however. The borderland of Jiandao had become a spectrum of competing and fragmented goals and ideologies. Accordingly, the Korean patriotic movement was characterized by division and fragmentation.

The Korean People's Associations and Korean society in Jiandao

In Chapters Two and Three we examined the important connections between the Japanese Empire and the Korean People's Associations (KPAs), which were set up in communities across the four counties of Jiandao as a means for the Government-General of Korea to influence Korean society. The KPAs offered yet another choice of affiliation for Koreans who did not favour Chinese naturalization or communist revolution. They existed in all the major urban centres as well as some more remote villages, and were funded primarily by the Oriental Development Company (ODC). In 1929 a new KPA branch opened at Baicaogou, and smaller branches at Tianbaoshan and the Gaya River, bringing the total number to eighteen.[72] The KPAs were established in areas of strong Japanese influence such as the commercial territories (*shōbuchi*), or in the vicinity of a consular police station. The Chinese authorities were hostile to the KPAs and tried to prevent their operation on numerous occasions.[73]

[71] Ibid, 78.
[72] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 230.
[73] In 1928, for instance, the Yanji District Governor called for more funds from the Chinese government for Korean schools, and many KPA-run Korean schools were forced to close. Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 115–116.

Each KPA was made responsible for Korean residents and newly arrived immigrants in a designated KPA area (*kuiki* in Japanese). Once a KPA area had been established, the standard procedure was to join the Koreans in the area as members and collect membership fees. Further revenue was raised by paperwork processing fees and assistance funds from the Japanese Foreign Ministry. The KPAs also benefited from the two-*ri* tariff-exempt border zone, which had existed since 1920 and brought hundreds of thousands of yuan in benefits to residents over the decade, according to the *Man-Mō jijō*, a contemporary Japanese journal. Koreans had to apply to the KPAs for tax-free privileges within the two-*ri* zone. The collection of KPA revenues was said to be difficult because of "the agitation of the Chinese and bands of [probably Korean] ideologues."[74]

The financial role of the KPAs was extremely important as a means of distributing funds to Korean colonists. It could be said that the KPAs acted as proxies for Japanese investment in Jiandao. The Juzijie Trading Company (Kyokushigai bōeki kabushiki kaisha) was a notable instance of a KPA acting as front for Japanese investment. On June 30, 1925, the company's general meeting was opened, announcing an initial capitalisation at 80,000 yen, of which 20,000 yen was provided by the Oriental Development Company (ODC). A large sum of perhaps 38,000 yen may have been provided by the Foreign Ministry. According to Hirooka, the Japanese subconsulate in Juzijie controlled the trading company through the KPA; "the Juzijie Korean People's Association can be considered the true substance (*jittai*) of said company."[75]

As noted in Chapter Three, the KPAs contained financial bureaus which distributed funds in their designated KPA areas in order to assist agriculture. In 1921, the first year of KPA operations after the Hunchun Incident, 12,500 yen had been distributed as working capital (*unten shikin*).[76] In the year 1929, the eighteen KPAs distributed a total of 1,633,982 yen. The largest amount of 698,373 yen went towards loans, following in descending order by "special loan capital,"

[74] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 120–121.
[75] Hirooka Kiyonobu 廣岡浄進, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu" 間島における朝鮮人民会と領事館警察 [The Korean People's Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police], *Jinbun gakuhō* 106 (April 2015), 183–184, quotation 184.
[76] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 230.

deposits, capital and reserves (Appendix Five). The category of loans appears to have been earmarked for Korean farmers, although as we shall see, wealthier farmers were the primary beneficiaries while poorer tenant farmers faced many obstacles in acquiring KPA loans. The purposes of the loans were recorded in detail, and ranged across numerous agricultural activities, including money for seeds, equipment, irrigation and repairs. The largest loan category by yen amount was for the purchase of property for private use, while the largest by number of recipients was for the purchase of working animals (Appendix Five).

Meticulous data on the Korean population were kept by the SMRC research department and other Japanese authorities, using the KPA areas as units. From these it is evident that between 1921 and 1928, roughly 70% of the Korean households in Jiandao were members of the KPAs (Appendix Four).[77] Membership was lowest in Wangqing County, the most remote and least populous of the four counties, at 54% in 1928. In the other counties it ranged between 71% and 84%. While these figures are impressive, it is certain that many Korean households who joined the KPAs played no role in their operation beyond payment of membership fees. The SMRC research department recorded the KPA-member households with "official duties;" in 1928 they constituted 51% of total households, still an impressive figure.[78]

In May 1929, the Japanese consolidated the KPAs into a United People's Association (*minkai rengōkai*, hereafter the United KPAs). A prominent motivation for this reform was to prevent them from shedding their Japanese nationality and naturalising as Chinese.[79] However, some Koreans became naturalised Chinese subjects *and* joined a KPA, thereby enjoying the benefits offered by both the Chinese and Japanese in Jiandao. In Longjingcun, for instance, 455 out of the 5,224 KPA-member households were also naturalized under Chinese law. Rates of naturalization varied widely from place to place, but the case of Longjingcun was about average. Across the

[77] For 1921–24 figures Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 206; for 1928 figures *Man-Mō jijō*, February 1930, 41–42. It is unlikely that the population figures collected by the Japanese and the KPAs covered all Koreans living in Jiandao, and I am uncertain whether the eighteen KPA areas covered the entirety of the four counties. More work needs to be done in this area.
[78] *Man-Mō jijō*, February 1930, 41–42.
[79] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 263. The full name was the United Association of the Eighteen Jiandao and Hunchun Korean People's Associations (間島琿春朝鮮人十八民会連合会).

four counties, 10.8% of KPA-member households were recorded as naturalized in 1928 (Appendix Four).

The United KPAs held general meetings twice annually, at which they discussed and sought solutions to numerous issues affecting Koreans in Jiandao. While they frequently petitioned private and public Japanese sources for funds and other forms of assistance, the KPAs were not merely tools of Japanese policy but worked through available means to improve the lives of Koreans in Jiandao, from established residents to newly arrived immigrants.[80] According to a summary of the meeting discussions in a Japanese source, the main questions under discussion were as follows:

a) Research into fundamental policies for the stability of Korean residents' livelihood.
b) Union of the various people's associations.
c) Financial institutions.
d) Educational facilities.
e) Hygiene facilities.
f) Agricultural development.
g) Expansion of tax-free zones.
h) Streamlining of KPA business.
i) Improvement of KPA staff wages.
j) Protection of migrants.
k) Miscellaneous matters.

The first of these, concerning stability of livelihood, took up considerable time and energy during the conference discussions. The conference notes summarised the international context well: "Recently in the Jiandao-Hunchun region, the two powers of Japan and China have been gradually confronting one another, and the Koreans, squeezed between them, have been put in an increasingly painful position."[81] The KPAs identified a number of serious security threats: squeezing by Chinese landlords, theft of harvests and even taking of lives by bandits and rebels,

[80] This is part of the thesis of Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 169–204.
[81] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 113–114.

and infiltration by rabble rousers due to the proximity of communist Russia. The KPA members were attuned to the negative perception of Koreans as a vanguard of Japanese imperialism; the Korean presence was seen by the Chinese as being "derived from Japanese force." With regards to security, the KPAs made two main appeals to the Japanese government. Firstly, to defend the special rights of Koreans in Manchuria and to provide infrastructure for education, industry, transport and medical care. Secondly, to allow Koreans the option of renouncing their Japanese subjecthood and naturalising as Chinese subjects. This second appeal expressed "strong dissatisfaction" with the support provided by Japanese institutions and expressed little hope for the future of Japanese stewardship, while noting the "historically deep connections" of the Koreans and Chinese, with their "same script and race."[82]

On the matter of finance, the KPA leaders identified numerous problems, such as inadequacy of credit available for farmers and numerous exploitative lending practices. The ODC, which was the primary source of finance for the KPAs, had a branch office (*shutchō sho*) in Longjingcun, plus seven finance bureaus (*kin'yūbu*) in Longjingcun, Juzijie, Toudaugou, Hunchun, Baicaogou, Tianbaoshan and Gayahe. Financial, savings and interest operations were also performed by several private small companies. These private companies were said to be parasitic in nature, charging daily interest rates on loans of ten to twenty *sen*, compared with four *sen* charged by the ODC branch office and five *sen* charged by the KPA financial bureaus. There were other barriers to poorer farmers gaining access to credit – property and moveable goods were normally used as collateral on loans, effectively limiting credit to farmers of middle or higher material status, or landlords. Korean tenant farmers were also burdened with taxes and other fees due to the Chinese state, and sometimes sold their tools, livestock and household items to landlords or pawnbrokers just to raise the money to survive.[83] They were common victims of an exploitative practice called green field purchase (*aota gaitsuke* in Japanese). This referred to the purchasing of a crop such as soybeans in summer (i.e. while the crop was green), and paying the farmer considerably under the market value (*Man-Mō jijō* gives 40-50% of market value as an example price). Later, at harvest time, the purchaser collected the harvest and sold it at full market price, reaping a considerable profit. This practice virtually guaranteed a cycle of poverty for the farmer.[84]

[82] Ibid, 114–115.
[83] Ibid, 116.
[84] Ibid, 116.

Such practises were denounced at the United KPA general meeting of August 1929. The KPA leaders made a number of detailed demands for the ODC to address the various financial concerns: that there should be improved financial services tailored specifically for residents, and that this service should be well-funded, with a budget of at least 2 million yen. Daily interest should be reduced to two *sen*, referral and loan procedures should be simplified, and relief fund mechanisms should be considered by the financial bureaus. Further, to improve the financial options available, the KPA leaders suggested the establishment of new credit structures in the form of contributions from landlords and the wealthy, to be run by the KPAs as joint stock companies. The financial bureaus were run by the KPAs in name only – in other words, they were not independent bodies working in the interests of Koreans in Jiandao. The KPA leaders wanted them run by wealthy Koreans with land ownership certificates who could supply the needed low-interest loans.[85] These financial complaints confirm the general picture of the KPAs as representing genuine Korean interests, even as their financial mechanisms were geared towards the profits of Japanese investors and better-connected Koreans.

To turn to the subject of the KPAs and education in Jiandao: by the end of the 1920s the Japanese-supported school system consisted of the Central School (Chūō gakkō) in Longjingcun, four normal schools (*futsū gakkō*) in Toudaogou, Baicaogou, Juzijie and Hunchun, and over thirty auxiliary academies (*futsū gakkō hojo shodō*). In addition, there were numerous private Korean schools which existed outside of the Japanese-supported system, and Chinese-run schools. The KPA leaders bemoaned the lack of a proper middle school system, meaning that most Korean pupils relied on privately run schools for education beyond the elementary level: "as a result, [the pupils'] thoughts are degenerated by the unsound curriculum, and there are many troublemakers who transmit radical ideology (*fuonshugi*) to the simple-hearted rural folk."[86] This comment reveals a prejudice against native Korean schools, which had a history of anti-Japanese and Korean nationalist indoctrination. In 1928, the United KPAs petitioned the Jiandao consular representative Shibazaki Shirao and GGK political affairs director Ikegami Shirō (1857–1929) for the establishment of "a comprehensive practical middle school education system" together

[85] Ibid, 117.
[86] Ibid.

with "a full enhancement of supplementary village schools."[87] Along with a coordinated system of middle schools, the KPA leaders wanted sufficient funds for eighty academies, or roughly one for every 5,000 Koreans, as well as qualified staff, improved curriculum, and graduations from academies to be equivalent to those from elementary schools. The KPA leaders warned that radical ideologies were taking root in the private Korean schools – fixing the middle school issue by extending the Central School curriculum was thus an urgent priority. In response to these appeals, the SMRC contributed 30,000 yen to each KPA.[88]

The KPA meeting discussants called for properly qualified doctors in all the KPA areas, and general sanitation measures. There was a lack of potable water, leading to diseases like tuberculosis. The general lack of sanitation had led to the spread of amoebal dysentery, malaria and influenza. New migrants were reported to be bringing intestinal flu and gonorrhoea from Korea. Many people in Jiandao were dying each year after treatment by quack doctors and practitioners of traditional remedies.[89]

The main agricultural needs for the KPAs were summarised as seed improvements, grain selection and subsidiary industries. KPA leaders considered Korean farmers largely ignorant of such matters as seed improvement and grain selection, and were thus losing large potential profits. KPA leaders called for experts to act as representatives for farmers in the acquisition of improved seeds and selection of optimal products. At the March 1928 KPA general meeting, members resolved to vigorously petition the North Hamgyŏng provincial government in Korea and the Japanese consulate in Longjingcun to enact these measures – the appeal was continuing as of June 1930. The KPAs wanted more support for such subsidiary industries as hemp cultivation and hemp cloth manufacture, animal husbandry and silkworm cultivation. They petitioned for companies in the towns to facilitate mass production in the hemp industry, for tax-free exports of hemp to Korea, for animals to be purchased and distributed to farming villages, for the distribution to villages of mulberry varieties appropriate to the region, and for training in silkworm rearing to be provided in towns.[90]

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[87] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 185.
[88] *Man-Mō jijō*, June 1930, 117–118.
[89] Ibid, 118.
[90] Ibid, 119–120.

Finally, a number of miscellaneous matters were brought up at the KPA general meetings. An expansion of tax-exempt areas for trading was desired by association members, to supplement the existing two-*ri* tariff-free zone along the Sino-Korean border. A proposal was made to extend this zone all over Jiandao. Members also wanted the diplomatic function of the KPAs recognised and rewarded accordingly by salary increases. They reasoned that since Jiandao was under Chinese sovereignty, the KPAs were in fact pursuing Japanese policy aims in a foreign land and should be properly recognised for this service. A final point of concern was the amelioration of hardship for immigrants, through free temporary lodging for new arrivals and mediation between landlords and tenant farmers. The KPAs had successfully implemented both of these measures by 1930.[91]

Based on the above evidence, in the course of the 1920s the KPAs had become one of the most important organizing structures for Koreans in Jiandao, as well as one of the most important "Japanese" power networks. They are partly a testament to the success of Japanese borderland colonialism. Yet the KPAs also clearly spoke for the interests of Korean settlers, including the most impoverished. While Chinese and Japanese officials and capitalists wrangled for control of Jiandao, Korean society at the local level enjoyed evident success in organizing and in articulating its needs, in the face of considerable insecurity and persecution.

Conclusion

The colonization of Jiandao by Koreans was supposed to provide a strong demographic base for Japanese influence. The GGK's "protection and nurturing" of the Korean colonist population in the borderland had a dual purpose: to expand Japanese demographic influence outwards into Manchuria (the Koreans were "Japanese subjects") and to provide Koreans with an alternative source of healthcare, education, finance and general security. Japanese pamphlets and monographs such as *Current Conditions in Jiandao* presented arguments to justify Korean settlement in historical, racial and legal terms. This ideological background supported the practical aim of securing Japanese influence in the borderland.

[91] Ibid, 120–121.

Together with this biopolitical component, the second component of Japanese policy in the borderland was the drive to complete the Jilin-Hoeryŏng railway. The Korean colonization policy and the railway policy thus clearly complemented each other in Japan's pursuit of geo-strategic control of eastern Manchuria. Ironically, however, the railway issue contributed to the end of the alliance between Japan and its only powerful friend in China, Zhang Zuolin.

Chinese "rights recovery" nationalism and the growing influence of the central Chinese government made Japan's borderland policy increasingly untenable as the 1930s approached. The position of Koreans in the borderland come under vigorous legal attack from China. The naturalization of Koreans as Chinese nationals, accompanied by the forced assimilation procedures which had long been the policy of Chinese authorities in Jiandao, was intensified under China's new laws. In short, the expansion of Korean settlement in the borderland was viewed by many Japanese as both as legally justified and as beneficial for national policy, provided that they retained their imperial Japanese subjecthood, while many in China viewed the presence of unassimilated Koreans as detrimental to the national project.

Meanwhile, the GGK maintained the Korean People's Associations as their primary arm of administration in the four counties of Jiandao. The KPAs were colonial institutions by which Japanese capital and political control were transmitted to the borderland. Yet it would be mistake to see the KPAs as merely collaborative. These organizations acted as independently as possible in the cause of Korean welfare. They did this by exploiting their connections with Japanese institutions in the borderland, especially the GGK and its financial partner the ODC. Yet the KPAs also initiated and carried out their own policies, such as mediating with landlords and helping new immigrants from Korea to settle down. For poorer Korean farmers, the KPAs were a source of financial assistance which, while offering harsh terms, were at least more reliable than the Chinese moneylenders.

Japan's support of the KPAs failed to quash Korean guerrilla activism in the borderland. Aside from the KPAs, Koreans in Jiandao organized a number of other political bodies to meet the challenges facing them from the Chinese and Japanese states, including a branch of the first

official Korean Communist Party. Some of the KCP's popularity in the borderland was no doubt due to the fact that Korean settlers had no dependable claim to their land or livelihood, especially after the implementation of China's "anti-Korean" land and immigration laws. Thus, whatever their ideological split, one should not exaggerate the differences between the KCP and the KPAs. Both organizations provided an organizing structure, a sense of purpose and a means of material betterment, for Koreans living in a state of perilous insecurity in the borderland.

CHAPTER FIVE

Borderless Ideology in Jiandao and the Road to Manzhouguo, 1929–1932

In previous chapters I have traced Japanese policy towards Jiandao and the Jiandao Koreans as a type of borderland colonialism, which was shaped by Japan's interactions with China during the Chinese colonization and development of the old Qing Empire frontier. In borderlands, states compete for political power and influence, while local movements emerge which feed off state rivalry. The inability of either competing state to assert full power effectively leaves a vacuum which local movements may fill. In Jiandao, the Korean Communist Party (KCP) was one such movement. While the Korean People's Associations (KPAs) received Japanese support, and while China's Nationalist Party government (now allied with Zhang Xueliang in the northeast) worked to enforce naturalization of Koreans and regulate land ownership at the borderland, the communist movement came to represent the national aspirations of many Koreans who had been robbed of their national determination by imperialism.

Communism posited an alternative, internationalist ideology based upon the class solidarity of workers across the world. In East Asian countries like Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam, communism had a strong nationalist component from the start – these peoples wished to throw off the yoke of Japan, China and France respectively. Communism in East Asia was also largely reliant upon peasants rather than an urbanized working class. Communism gave disadvantaged countries a strong ally – the Soviet Union – from whom to acquire cash and arms. It also panicked the governments of powerful capitalistic empires like Japan.

Korean communism provided a strong ideological link between Koreans in Jiandao, in Shanghai, in the Soviet Far East and in the colonized peninsular homeland. In short, it threatened the regional order which imperial Japan had built since the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, based upon accommodation with favored Chinese authorities, privileged access to Manchuria, protection and control of Koreans and security of the Sino-Japanese border. A new ideological

frontier had become visible, as the internationalist ideology of communism confronted the Japan-centered, anti-communist *kokutai* (national entity).

The KCP rebuilt itself after the Japanese police repression of the late 1920s, and formed new contacts with the Soviet Union and with a new arrival in China's north-east, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Communism had been proscribed under Japan's 1925 Peace Preservation Law as a denial of private property and the *kokutai*. Under the Japanese government's extraterritorial arrangements in China, Koreans charged with communist activity and other crimes in Jiandao were tried and punished by the courts of the Government-General of Korea (GGK) under the Peace Preservation Law. This extension of the Peace Preservation Law to affairs in Jiandao would be tested after a major uprising by Koreans occurred across Jiandao in May, 1930.

Jiandao experienced a marked security deterioration between 1929 and 1932. By 1929, the Japanese and Chinese police had largely destroyed the KCP's organizations in Korea and Manchuria. After the absorption of the Korean Communist Party (KCP) Manchurian Bureau into the CCP, Korean communists in Jiandao briefly became better organized and better supplied, but violent ruptures between them and their Chinese comrades soon occurred. Meanwhile, the Korean People's Associations (KPAs) had become increasingly dissatisfied with their Japanese security umbrella, and some of their members peeled off to form the People's Livelihood Corps (Minsaengdan), another armed political group.

The early 1930s were characterized by numerous highly-publicized incidents, from communist revolts to land disputes to race riots, which were widely reported in the Japanese press and used to justify a stronger Japanese hand in Manchuria. The May 30 Jiandao Uprising was one of the most significant of these incidents, demonstrating the extent to which the Chinese and Korean revolutionary movements had become intertwined. The status of Koreans in Jiandao formed part of the core of China's complaint against Japan to the League of Nations in 1931. Part of the task of this chapter, then, is to examine and describe the part played by the Jiandao question in the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in the 1930s.

The borderless ideology of communism and the decline of security in Jiandao

From the Japanese policing point of view, a period of relative tranquility had settled over Jiandao since the raids of the East Manchurian KCP branch in October 1927 and September 1928, as reported by consular police chief Aiba Kiyoshi to a police officers' general meeting.[1] By 1929, opposition and unrest were brewing again. The KCP was attempting to revive itself in Manchuria through a Preparatory Committee for the Rebuilding of the KCP, announced in June 1929.[2] On August 1, the Koryŏ Communist Youth League in Manchuria issued a resolution calling for withdrawal from the Singanhoe and the creation of a "joint struggle organization" in its place. This was in accordance with the current Moscow line condemning cooperation with nationalists.[3]

From September 1929, violent unrest abruptly increased in Jiandao. Thirty-two Korean villagers were threatened and robbed of about 400 yen by an armed group in Yanji County. In October, "outlaw Koreans" (*futei Senjin*) robbed a village in Yanji County of fifty-five yen. Another rebel group infiltrated Longjingcun in December and were arrested by Japanese police. In January 1930, over seventy students were rounded up by Japanese police after a disturbance at the middle school in Longjingcun. By February, student unrest had spread to the towns of Juzijie, Toudaogou and Erdaogou with displays of the communist red flag and distribution of printed propaganda; Japanese and Chinese police made a joint show of force in Longjingcun and Toudaogou to quell the demonstrations. Also in February, members of an armed group shot three Japanese police officers and a Chinese before fleeing – Japanese consular police killed one gunman and arrested another. In April, Japanese consular police arrested over 170 Korean communists who had gathered to commemorate the founding of their party. Then in May, a

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[1] Ogino Fujio 荻野 富士夫, *Gaimushō keisatsushi: zairyūmin hogo torishimari to tokkō keisatsu kinō* 外務省 警察史:在留民保護取締と特高警察機能 [History of the Foreign Ministry Police: The Protection and Control of Residents and the Function of the Special Higher Police] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 2005), 501. This source is useful summary, with many direct quotations, of the Japanese Foreign Ministry's fifty-three-volume *Gaimushō keisatsushi*.
[2] Yi Sunhan 李盛煥, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku: Kantō o meguru Nit-Chū-Chō kankei no shiteki tenkai* 近代東アジアの政治力学　間島をめぐる日中朝関係の史的展開 [The Political Dynamics of Modern East Asia: Jiandao and the Historical Development of Japanese-Chinese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1991), 248, 250.
[3] Robert A. Scalapino and Chong Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 116–118. The Koryŏ Communist Youth League was the youth branch of the KCP Manchurian General Bureau, based in Ning'an County.

group of Korean communists who extorted money to rebuild their party were targeted by Japanese police, who made twelve arrests.[4]

Although these incidents create a general impression of lawlessness, they had diverse causes. The robberies bear the hallmarks of either simple criminality, or of Korean communists expropriating funds for their political cause. The student demonstrations were made in solidarity with students in Korea, who had conducted school strikes and attempted to organize demonstrations under the leadership of the Singanhoe after the Kwangju Incident of October 30, 1929. The Japanese authorities in Korea suppressed the demonstrations before they gained any momentum, arresting many Singanhoe members and leading the Korean left wing to distance itself from the Singanhoe.[5] Authorities in China were no more sympathetic than their Japanese counterparts. In January 1930, a demonstration by Korean and Chinese leftists was held in Dunhua, and Zhang Xueliang's armed troops responded with indiscriminate violence against local Koreans, attacking, arresting and robbing them. Fifteen demonstrators were later executed.[6]

The overall decline in security in the Sino-Korean borderland lead to tensions between liberal and interventionist politicians in the Japanese government. In Japan, the Hamaguchi Cabinet had begun in July 1929 with the moderate liberal Shidehara Kijūrō (1872–1951) as foreign minister. In September, soon after the first robbery incident mentioned above, Shidehara cabled Jiandao Consul-General Okada Kanekazu to express hope that further deterioration of Sino-Japanese relations could be avoided, and stipulating that Chinese police should handle local criminal affairs as much as possible.[7] This went against the interventionist approach towards Jiandao and Manchuria which had been gaining ground in Japan.[8] Shidehara did eventually respond to the

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[4] Ogino, *Gaimushō keisatsushi*, 501–502.
[5] The Kwangju Incident began after a scuffle between Korean and Japanese students. The GGK police arrested about sixty Korean students, but no Japanese, leading to the national unrest. Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 115–116.
[6] Barbara J. Brooks, "Peopling the Japanese Empire: The Koreans in Manchuria and the Rhetoric of Inclusion," in *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 25.
[7] Erik Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge: Foreign Ministry Police and Japanese Expansionism in Northeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 97.
[8] See for example the following pamphlet, discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis: Naitō Juntarō 内藤 順太郎, *Man-Mō no tokushusei to hōjin* 満蒙の特殊性と邦人 [Japanese Nationals and the Special Status of Manchuria and Mongolia] (Tokyo: Tō-Asha shuppanbu, 1928).

unrest in Jiandao more forcefully in March 1930, after the killing of the three Japanese. The Foreign Ministry telegraphed a "Memorandum on Control Preparations" (*torishimari tehai ue no kokoroe*) to the Jiandao consulate on March 4. This memo made recommendations for improving investigations of rebels including their weapons, and preparing sub-consulates, KPAs and the Japanese-controlled financial bureaus (*kin'yūbu*) for further attacks with improved manpower and organisation.[9] Shidehara was again criticized by right-wing civilians and officers for his participation in the 1930 London Naval Agreement, which limited Japanese naval capacity.[10] The unrest in Jiandao was just one of several factors in the discrediting of Shidehara and Japanese liberal diplomacy in the early 1930s.

Armed rebellion by Koreans in Jiandao gained momentum when the KCP began allying itself with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1928, the beginning of a rocky relationship.[11] Stalin's "one country, one party" policy proposed the merging of all Korean communist groups active in China into the CCP. In November 1929, representatives of the CCP and KCP in Manchuria were strongly urged by the Comintern to merge their parties. In January 1930, the Harbin Conference was convened and attended by the CCP Manchurian Province Executive Committee members and leaders of the various KCP factions, and the "one country, one party" policy, was again strongly encouraged. Part of the difficulty in realising the merger was the endemic factionalism of the KCP. Nonetheless, in March 1930 the dissolution of the KCP Manchurian Bureau and its absorption into the CCP Manchuria People's Committee was declared. Of the major KCP factions, the M-L Group's Manchurian organisations were dissolved in early April, the Tuesday Society's in June, and the Dunhua Preparatory Society also in June.[12] The M-L Group's final declaration encouraged Koreans to abandon the idea of Manchuria as an extension of Korea, claiming that the struggle to liberate Korea would not bring about emancipation in Manchuria, and that Manchurian Koreans should join the Chinese revolution.[13]

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[9] Ogino, *Gaimusho keisatsushi*, 503.
[10] Akira Iriye, *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Longman, 1997), 54-55.
[11] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 151.
[12] Ibid, 151–152.
[13] Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 220.

The notion of Manchurian-Korean unity which had flourished across the various branches of Korean nationalist thought thus suffered a major blow due to pragmatic considerations.

The CCP Yanbian Special Branch (Zhonggong Yanbian tebie zhibu) was established to take the place of the KCP's Jiandao bureau. Secretariats, propaganda departments, education departments, organisation departments, mobile armed units and mass action committees were set up in each of Jiandao's counties. Despite Chinese control, Koreans formed the great majority of communist activists in Jiandao. The CCP actively pressed Koreans to join. By mid-1930, the KCP in Manchuria was totally dismantled – individuals who didn't join the CCP were scattered to Korea, Shanghai and Siberia.[14]

The efficient if somewhat paradoxical alliance between Chinese and Korean communists was well demonstrated by an uprising which took place across Jiandao on the night of May 30, 1930 (hereafter the May 30 Uprising). The CCP was lead at this time by Li Lisan (1899–1967), who had participated in the May 30 Movement in Shanghai. An uprising was planned for the fifth anniversary of that movement, and ordered by the CCP Manchuria People's Committee. Although the anniversary was significant for the Chinese rather than the Koreans, it was the Koreans within the party ranks who carried the uprising out. Scalapino and Lee note that "Chinese Communists [in Jiandao] were limited to a handful of intellectuals and a very small number of workers in a few urban centres." So "the Chinese called upon their Korean comrades to launch a major uprising in [Jiandao]."[15] Propaganda flyers were distributed beforehand, marking out the following targets: "the Korean People's Associations, banks, financial bureaus, police, the Kōmeikai, reactionary newspapers and running dogs who are the exploitative apparatuses of Japanese imperialism."[16]

The uprising was launched late at night, concentrated in the towns of Longjingcun, Toudaogou and Hunchun. In Longjingcun, the centre of Japanese authority in Jiandao, the attackers destroyed electric lights and a power station, sabotaged the railway track, and destroyed facilities of the Jiandao Middle School, the Oriental Development Company branch office, the Korean

[14] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 253–254.
[15] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 156–157.
[16] Ogino, *Gaimushō keisatsushi*, 506. I have been unable to identify the Kōmeikai.

People's Association and many private homes in the Korean neighbourhood. This targeted destruction was typical of the uprising region-wide.[17]

The Japanese authorities in Jiandao were not prepared for an attack of such scale. The consular police were not fully aware of the degree to which the organisation and manpower of the KCP had been brought wholesale into the CCP. As police chief Aiba Kiyoshi recalled: "The tactics of espionage, that is the rapid and mutual infiltration customarily practised by the [Chinese and Korean] communist parties had ceased, and they have merged together to overturn Japan's political authority. No news of this was brought to light. This was the cause of the May 30 rebellion."[18]

A contemporary Japanese article claimed that the former M-L faction formed the core of the May 30 rebels, with some admixture from the Shanghai, Seoul and Tuesday Group communists, and in cooperation with the CCP Yanbian Special Branch.[19] This suggests that remnants of the former KCP factions survived within the CCP. The article raised doubt as to whether May 30 was a nationalist uprising, describing it as a Korean communist uprising supported by the CCP and the Soviet Union (despite acknowledging that rebels were chanting the *mansei* cheer of Korean independence). As evidence it cited not just the targets, but also the tactics: the rebellion took the form of organised partisan-style warfare, and the rebels were supplied with Russian arms. The day before the rebellion the area was scattered with communist propaganda billets in Korea, Chinese and Russian; also prior to the uprising, CCP members and Korean communists conducted a campaign of agitation in the villages, advocating the union of workers and farmers across national borders, threatening landlords and burning promissory notes (the records of tenant farmer debt to landlords).[20] The May 30 Uprising should really be characterised as both communist and nationalist. While making common cause with communist internationalism, and receiving aid and support from the CCP and the Soviet Union, the uprising clearly addressed local Korean concerns.

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[17] Mantetsu chōsaka 満鉄調査課, "Senjin kyōsantōin no Kantō ni okeru daibōdō" 鮮人共産党員の間島に於ける大暴動 [The Great Insurrection of Korean Communists in Jiandao], *Man-Mō jijō*, June 25, 1930, 41–42.
[18] Ogino, *Gaimushō keisatsushi*, 504–505 (quotation on p. 504).
[19] Mantetsu chōsaka, "Senjin kyōsantōin no Kantō ni okeru daibōdō," 44–45.
[20] Ibid, 44–45.

The same Japanese article raised suspicions about the response of the Chinese police:

> During the disturbances [in Toudaogou] not one Chinese soldier or police officer could be seen. Leaving the insurgents to succeed is highly suspicious – one could even ask whether there was not some prior understanding between the rebels [and the Chinese side].[21]

On the other hand, the same article ended by expressing hope for "the establishment of satisfactory cooperative relations" between "appropriate Japanese and Chinese authorities." The states of China and Japan needed to deal with the common threat of a "Korean-Chinese alliance based on the borderless communist ideology" (*kokkyō nashi to iu kyōsan riron ni motozuku Sen-Shi no ketsugō*).[22] The borderless or supra-national character of communist ideology provided a common focus through which imperial Japan and nationalist China could supress the Korean independence movement.

The May 30 Uprising aggravated divisions within the Japanese government over how to deal with the Korean question in Jiandao. As in other areas of Japan's China policy, Foreign Minister Shidehara was reluctant to endorse military responses. The governor-general of Korea Saitō Makoto wrote to Shidehara on June 25: "Due to the necessity of protecting residents and maintaining peace along the Korean border upon the outbreak of this incident, it is our intention to dispatch police personnel forthwith from Korea to Jiandao." Shidehara did not support Saitō's plan, citing the need to show a conciliatory attitude to the Chinese side. Shidehara then rejected a June 26 request by Jiandao Consul-General Okada for more police.[23] Consular Chief of Police Aiba then plotted with Saitō to have police brought over the border – Shidehara relented after the shooting of several Japanese police officers by their Chinese counterparts. These shootings had taken place in Longjingcun on October 6, 1930: two Japanese policemen were killed and one seriously injured.[24]

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[21] Ibid, 42.
[22] Ibid, 47.
[23] Shidehara to Okada, June 21, 1930, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho*, Shōwaki 1:4, 109.
[24] "Kantō jiken no sono ato" 間島事件のその後 [After the Jiandao Incident], *Man-Mō jijō*, November 25, 1930, 1.

Pressure on Japan to resolve the insecurity in Jiandao came from yet another quarter – the Korean People's Associations. In early October 1930, a United KPA meeting was opened. Its participants expressed disgust at the inability of the Japanese authorities to protect their livelihoods and well-being, as had been promised so many times. They wrote a letter of appeal to the Chinese authorities, demanding an end to persecution, and a written resolution (*ketsugibun*) to the Japanese consulate, demanding better protection and threatening to dissolve the KPAs. Having received no response from the consulate, the KPA members initiated a mass resignation from October 30. The consulate was able to persuade them to return to their duties, but the KPAs proceeded to petition the GGK and the Japanese government.[25]

The KPAs produced pamphlets on the dangers posed to Koreans by the Chinese military's anti-communist zealotry, and called for a fundamental solution to the Jiandao problem. In the November 25 edition of the journal *Man-Mō jijō*, two civilian appeals to Japanese authorities for intervention were reproduced. The first was from the Hunchun Japanese and Korean People's Association to the foreign minister, colonial minister and governor-general of Korea, dated October 14, 1930. It called, firstly, for the Chinese behind the shooting of Japanese police to be brought to account, and secondly, for an increase in security forces. It characterised Hunchun County as uniquely vulnerable to insecurity due to its location along the Russian border.[26] The second appeal was from the Greater Japanese and Korean Residents' Association of Baicaogou (Wangqing County), and was dated October 26. It enumerated the crimes committed by "communist bandits" (*kyōhi*) and looked forward to the time when they would be "mopped up" (*sōtō serare*). The appeal called for more security forces. Such appeals show that the KPAs (which by now seem to have merged with Japanese resident groups) played a significant part as "brokers of empire," to borrow the coinage of historian Jun Uchida.[27] The GGK responded directly to the petitions. On October 15, Okada reported receiving 300 policemen, eighteen propaganda experts and eighteen medical personnel from the GGK for the "protection" of local

[25] Hirooka Kiyonobu 廣岡浄進, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu" 間島における朝鮮人民会と領事館警察 [The Korean People's Associations in Jiandao and the Consular Police], *Jinbun gakuhō* 106 (April 2015), 186–187.
[26] "Kantō jiken no sono ato," *Man-Mō jijō*, November 25, 1930, 2–3.
[27] Ibid, 6–8.

Koreans from bandits.[28] Early in November, however, these GGK police were removed under Shidehara's instructions.[29]

By the spring of 1931, 13,168 arrests had been recorded in relation to the May 30 Uprising.[30] A total of 329 individuals were extradited to Korea to stand trial. They were categorized in the trial proceedings as follows: a group of sixty-six who were found to have been "associated with the May 30 insurrection" and a group of 263 who were members of the CCP. The public prosecutor's statement emphasised the need to "maintain stability" and to punish such offences to set an example. The defendants were charged with violating the Peace Preservation Law, homicide, robbery and other offences. Strict sentences were handed down, included twenty-two death sentences and five for indefinite hard labour. Thirty-three of the convicted made appeals, but on June 18, 1936, all sentences were upheld.[31]

During the long Japanese reprisal to the May 30 Uprising, a remaking of communist structures in Jiandao was taking place, in accordance with an August 1930 order by the CCP. The party created various front organisations, such as the Peasants' Association, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Mutual Assistance Association, and the Women's League. Yanbian (Jiandao) now fell under the East Manchurian Special Committee, under which was established prefectural committees. The ethnic composition of the Yan-He (Yanji-Helong) Prefectural Committee was entirely Korean, and Kim Sangsŏn became its head in March 1931. He had a long history of nationalist and communist activity, and had been connected with the M-L Group.[32]

During this period of reorganization, the Korean communists pursued their separation from other Korean nationalist organisations within the umbrella group, the Singanhoe. In late 1930, a "Yanbian gathering of the masses" had taken place, consisting of eleven organisations and over 1,200 individuals. The Japanese consular police kept a close eye on it, considering it a meeting of

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[28] Okada to Shidehara, October 15, 1930, in Gaimushō, *Nihon gaikō bunsho*, Shōwaki 1:4, 191.
[29] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 101.
[30] Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu 満洲国軍政部軍事調査部, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū* 満州共産匪の研究 [A Study of Communist Insurgents in Manchuria]. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kyokutō Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1969), Volume 1: 69.
[31] Ogino, *Gaimushō keisatsushi*, 514–515.
[32] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 159–160.

communist and nationalist leaders.[33] But this gathering turned out to be the last gasp of communist-nationalist alliance in Jiandao. On May 15, a Singanhoe national conference was held, and the members voted to dissolve the association. The KCP elements had become alienated from the Singanhoe's united front goals. "Henceforth, the Communist goal was to be the establishment of an underground movement based upon workers and peasants."[34]

The Korean communist movement had clearly survived its merger with the CCP, proving able to address specifically Korean concerns. The Korean communists had also won sufficient material strength and moral authority to break away from the nationalists. The communist ideology crossed national borders with ease. By contrast, the KPAs were reduced to petitioning the GGK for assistance. The borderland of Jiandao, which had for so long allowed rebels, exiles and outcasts to gather strength and organise, was now home to the most powerful challenge yet to Japanese empire on the continent. For the makers of Japan's continental policy in the army and government, control of the borderland was more necessary than ever in order to keep the red menace at bay.

Korean land rights in Jiandao in the early 1930s

In the wake of the May 30 Uprising, Japanese political and military leaders met to find a solution to the increasingly urgent challenge of Korean insurgency in the borderland. In August 1930, a "conference on the Jiandao question" (*Kantō mondai kyōgikai*) was held in Tokyo by the GGK, Foreign Ministry, Colonial Ministry and several branches of the military. GGK Police Bureau Chief Morioka requested that the police powers of the Foreign Ministry in Jiandao be transferred to the GGK to resolve the security crisis. The foreign minister refused. For its part, the Korea Army shared a report titled "Observations and Comments regarding the Jiandao Question" to the Army Ministry and Army General Headquarters, recommending revision of the Jiandao Agrement. A KPA report entitled "The Fundamental Solution of the Jiandao Problem" supported the GGK and Korea Army viewpoints.[35] These debates at the top level of officialdom continued

[33] Hirooka Kiyonobu, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 187.
[34] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 119.
[35] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 187.

into the following year; another "conference on the Jiandao question" opened in July 1931. In an ominous sign for the future, the GGK considered staging a "Jiandao Incident" that summer which would serve as a pretext to invade and annex the region.[36]

More restrained approaches to the Jiandao question were also recommended. In a July 1931 article in *Chōsen Kōron*, Okazaki Kō examined Japanese policy for the relief of Korean farmers in Jiandao, and insisted on a reassessment of the situation by Japanese policy makers and actors. He reminded readers that Manchuria was part of the sovereign state of China and relief should be managed accordingly:

> Day by day, China is awakening. Today's Manchuria… is Chinese Manchuria. It is not the Manchuria swayed by the Zhang family. It is the Manchuria swayed by the central government. With regards to Japan's Manchuria policy too, now is not the time for thinking of an alliance with the Zhang family, but for shifting towards an alliance with the central government.[37]

Okazaki was also a realist in terms of Japanese military strategy in Manchuria vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, envisioning a vital role for the Koreans:

> If we think of Jiandao as the fastest route [from Korea] to northern Manchuria from the viewpoint of a great national military march, to strengthen the economic power of the Korean farmers is to build a hidden and strong foundation which must contribute to a great achievement someday.[38]

Thus, Okazaki shared with earlier Japanese writers the biopolitical view of Korean colonization of the borderland discussed in Chapter Four. The vitality of Korean agricultural life could only be beneficial for Japanese continental policy, and Japanese support of Korean settlers was critical in order to maintain the strategic route into Manchuria. But Chinese national power had awoken and Chinese views on the Korean question could not be ignored.

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[36] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 108.
[37] Okazaki Kō 岡崎興, "Kantō ni okeru Sennō kyūsai ni taisuru ikkōsatsu" 間島に於ける鮮農救済に対する一考察 [An inquiry into relief measures for Korean farmers in Jiandao], in *Shokuminchi shakai jigyō kankei shiryōshū*, Chōsen-hen 24 (Tokyo: Kingendai shiryō kankōkai, 1999), 239.
[38] Ibid, 239.

Chinese views had become uncompromising in the direction of excluding Japanese and non-naturalised Koreans from Jiandao. The 1930 Land Law established the imposition of burdens or duties for transfers to foreigners in the areas of farmland, forestry, pastures, fisheries, salt, mines, and fortified, military or border lands and furthermore banned them from making lease agreements. In 1931 came the Law Punishing the Appropriation and Sale of Land which forbade all sale of land to Japanese (which probably included Koreans).[39]

At the provincial level, a September 1930 regulation issued by the Jilin government stipulated that "when a naturalised Korean purchases land, investigation must be made in order to discover whether he wants to purchase it as a means of residing as a permanently naturalised citizen or on behalf of some Japanese." A League of Nations (LON) commission later claimed that local district officials "wavered" in enforcing these regulations, sometimes issuing temporary naturalisation certificates to Koreans in order to collect naturalisation fees. The LON found that some Japanese connived to get Koreans naturalised "in order to use them as dummy land-owners or to acquire lands by transfer from such naturalised Koreans."[40] Generally, Japanese authorities opposed Korean naturalisation, although Japanese loan associations, "some of which have been organised especially for the purpose of acquiring land tracts," could see the benefits:

> Many Koreans have therefore become naturalised Chinese subjects in order to possess land, some of them, however, having acquired such titles, transferring them to Japanese land mortgage associations. This suggests one reason why there has been a difference of opinion among the Japanese themselves as to whether naturalisation of Koreans as Chinese subjects should be recognised by the Japanese government.[41]

Laws restricting Korean land purchase were joined by laws restricting immigration from Korea and the establishment of Korean schools. These laws were often enacted at the county or provincial level. In May 1930, the national government ordered county authorities to revoke the nationality of Koreans with either communist or pro-Japanese sympathies.[42] In May 1931, the

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[39] Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 150.
[40] League of Nations, *Appeal by the Chinese Government: Report of the Commission of Enquiry* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1931), 58.
[41] Ibid, 54, 57.
[42] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 259.

Hunchun District Bureau of Public Safety aimed to limit the number of Korean schools funded by Japanese, and restrict the activities of "pro-Japanese" Koreans.[43] The same month, the Jilin provincial government promulgated the "Law Prohibiting Sale and Mortgaging of Land and Sale of Oxen to Foreigners." Korean farmers who violated the law could be imprisoned or deported. In June, the Jilin provincial government instructed the counties to assess and report on the Korean population, households and land possessions, as well as the area of developed and undeveloped land and the population density. This was done with a view to diluting the Korean presence with the immigration of Han Chinese.[44] On July 15, a secret instruction of Jilin Province to county authorities insisted on naturalization, with a probationary period before land ownership was allowed. The instruction took a sympathetic view towards Korean farmers, but insisted nonetheless that their immigration made them a "vanguard" of Japan's encroachment on Manchuria. The provincial directive stated that:

> According to the directive of the national government, Japan's employment of Koreans as the vanguard of its invasion is truly deplorable, but if we, for this reason, were to establish a policy for the Koreans' expulsion, difficult questions of human rights and international norms would arise. But if we were to naturalise the Koreans in Manchuria today at a single stroke, then besides eliminating the Sino-Japanese dispute over the governmental jurisdiction over Korean farmers, we would in addition assimilate the Koreans, and they would cooperate with our compatriots in opposing the Japanese invasion and repudiating their influence. This would constitute good policy. We believe that the comprehensive naturalisation of Korean farmers in Manchuria, which forms the aim of the above national government directive, is a policy which would fundamentally resolve the complex and manifold problems and conflicts between China and Japan. In observance of the above directive, the county governments are to work as much as possible towards the hastening of [the Koreans'] assimilation.[45]

For Japanese ideologues, China's naturalization policy equaled oppression of Koreans. A Japanese military source described the history of assimilation as the ongoing deprivation of

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[43] League of Nations, "Special Study No. 9" in *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 273.
[44] Wellington Koo, *Memorandum on the Status of Koreans in the Three Eastern Provinces* (Beiping: League of Nations, 1932), 12.
[45] The Jilin Province directive to the counties is given in Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, Volume 1: 150–151. On the perception of Koreans as a vanguard of Japan, see also League of Nations, "Special Study No. 9" in *Appeal by the Chinese Government*, 273.

property and leasehold rights, the exploitation of Koreans "in the manner of rural serfdom" by Chinese landlords, the denial of land to those not wearing Chinese dress and queue hairstyle, and the forced discarding of laboriously reclaimed land. Relations between Chinese and Koreans were characterized as those of "controllers and the controlled, oppressors and the oppressed, exploiters and the exploited."[46]

Since the beginning of its involvement in Jiandao, Japan's policy had been to oppose the naturalization of Koreans in China and to encourage Koreans to join the KPAs, to attend Japanese-run schools and generally to remain under the Japanese administrative wing. By 1930 this approach was increasingly seen as unrealistic, given the rapid development of Chinese national institutions and nationalist ideology. The Japanese government became divided on the question of naturalization for Koreans in Jiandao. In 1930, Japan's Colonial Ministry (Takumushō) and even the GGK had warmed to the idea of naturalization. On May 24, 1930, the Colonial Ministry announced a draft edict deciding that Koreans in Manchuria should be allowed to naturalise as Chinese nationals, pointing out that Japanese nationality law gave them this right. In the words of Colonial Minister Matsuda:

> With regards to the permission for Koreans to naturalise, this is not solely the opinion of the Colonial Ministry, but has been agreed upon by Governor-General of Korea Saitō. As to the naturalisation of Koreans, it is desirable to undertake procedures to implement our Japanese nationality law in Korea.[47]

Matsuda was referring here to the fact that, while Japanese law did not recognise dual nationality, it did recognize *change* of nationality. It was Japanese policy, not law, preventing Koreans from naturalizing.

In contrast to Matsuda and Saitō, the South Manchuria Railway Survey Bureau (Mantetsu chōsaka) took the position that allowing Koreans to naturalise in China would be a mistake,

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[46] Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu, *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 151.
[47] Mantetsu chōsaka 満鉄調査課, "Tai zai-Man Senjin kikaken fuyo hōshin no kakuritsu ni tsuite" 対在満鮮人帰化権附与方針の確立に就て [On the Establishment of a Policy to Grant Naturalization Rights to Koreans in Manchuria], *Man-Mō jijō* 満蒙事情 [Conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia], June 25, 1930, 1.

recommending that the government should go no further than the extension of the Japanese Nationality Law to Korea. Several reasons were given in the article to oppose the Colonial Ministry's draft edict. Firstly, "the shedding of Japanese nationality by Koreans in Manchuria will be an obstacle to our national policy towards Manchuria-Mongolia." Secondly, "granting naturalisation rights is not necessarily a fundamental solution to the question of Koreans in Manchuria." "The root of the evil," the article argued, "lies in the matter of Koreans being unable to receive land ownership rights [in China]." According to the SMR Survey Bureau, the conundrum surrounding Japanese subjects in China's north-east had changed from a question of territorial sovereignty (the *Kantō mondai* or "Jiandao question") to one of legal rights (the *tochi shoyūken mondai* or "land ownership rights question"). The article concluded that it was "an extreme fallacy" to suppose that naturalization rights would resolve the "land ownership rights question."[48] It can be seen from this argument that Japan's borderland colonialism had not changed in its basic aim – to employ Koreans as proxy colonists in order to improve Japanese access to Manchuria-Mongolia. It was simply the means of achieving this aim which had evolved over time, and which had formed the subject of debate among Japanese policy-makers.

Ethnic violence, propaganda and Japanese invasion in 1931

In 1931, mass violence broke out between Chinese and Korean civilians, in Manchuria and in Korea. At the base of this violence were disputes over land usage, and Japanese backing of Koreans in Manchuria. These issues had their roots in Jiandao, but their geographic scope was now much larger. Japanese media reports of these incidents were sensationalistic, advocating for Japanese military intervention in Manchuria as the only way to restore order. In September 1931, the Kwantung Army would begin its occupation of Manchuria, leading to the intervention of the League of Nations and the founding of the Japanese puppet state of Manzhouguo.

The first highly inflammatory incident of the year was the killing of Captain Nakamura Shintarō together with his entourage of three in June 1931. The men were arrested in Inner Mongolia by troops loyal to Zhang Xueliang, accused of spying, and summarily executed. News of the killings

[48] Ibid, 2, 11.

caused outrage in Japan and led to new calls for invasion.[49] Shortly afterwards, a second widely-reported incident occurred at Wanpaoshan near Changchun, Jilin Province. On July 1, a group of Korean farmers were digging an irrigation ditch on land leased to a Japanese by Chinese landlords, then subleased to the farmers. This area was not in a commercial territory (*shōbuchi*) covered by the 1909 Jiandao Agreement, so Koreans were not entitled to own land. The Chinese landlords, believing that the irrigation project would damage their land, sabotaged the project by having the ditches filled in and sending Chinese farmers armed with clubs to drive the Koreans away. The latter turned to the Japanese consular authorities who sent their own police forces into the fray. The incident escalated into what a Japanese periodical hyperbolically called "a ferocious shoot-out lasting two-and-a-half hours" between Japanese and Chinese police. In fact, no fatalities resulted, yet this rather minor incident was extensively exploited for propaganda purposes.[50]

Japanese reports of the Wanpaoshan Incident exhibited the same ideological stance of the earlier reports concerning the May 30 Uprising. Japan was depicted as the source for restoration of order – a nation which "to the utmost degree resolves upon peaceful solutions to incidents [of this type]." The Chinese participants were depicted as a violent mob (*bōmin*), whereas Japan's consular police had taken on "the responsibility of defending the Korean farmers" (*Sennō hogo no nin*).[51] And the Koreans were once again depicted as a subject people in need of protection and patronage. The periodical *Man-Mō Jijō* criticized Shidehara for downplaying Wanpaoshan as "a local incident, not of great importance."[52] In fact, Shidehara's characterisation was accurate – he made his comments before the incident was blown out of proportion. Meanwhile, the *Man-Mō Jijō* published first-hand accounts from policemen to heighten the drama of the "Sino-Japanese collision." It also dwelt on the damage done to the land that the Koreans were trying to irrigate, quoting a consular police official who had taken part in the skirmish that "since repairing the

[49] Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 39.
[50] Mantetsu chōsaka, "Futatabi Manpōzan mondai okori kore ni inshite Chōsenjiken boppatsu" 再び万宝山問題起り之に因して朝鮮事件勃発す [The Wanpaoshan Incident Again – It Causes Korean Incidents to Erupt], *Man-Mō jijō*, July 25, 1931, 3. Incident covered pp. 1–7.
[51] Ibid, 4–5.
[52] Ibid.

damage will take at least twenty days, death [of seeded crops] in the rice paddies to which water has been cut off is inevitable. For this year's harvest the situation is hopeless."[53]

After Wanpaoshan, exaggerated reports that Chinese were killing Koreans entered the Korean Peninsula and sparked major anti-Chinese riots there. Starting two days after the incident, on July 3, Chinese businesses in the city of Inchŏn were destroyed and Chinese nationals were attacked and lynched. The riots continued for several days, spreading around the peninsula to cities such as Keijō (Seoul), Suwŏn, Kaesŏng and P'yŏngyang. Members of the Chinese community sought refuge in association buildings, schools and the Chinese embassy in Keijō, while martial law was declared in Gyŏnggi Province and P'yŏngyang. There were scores of deaths and extensive property damage. One can observe in Japanese reports of this Korean rioting that, in contrast to the usual dehumanising language used for rioters and insurgents, the Korean lynch-mobs were here identified using the more neutral *gunshū* ("crowd" or "mob"). No mention is made of thugs, bandits, rebels and so forth, although one mention of the word *bōmin* ("violent mob") occurs at the very end of the article. The reason for this shift in language is probably that the violence was not directed at representatives of the Japanese Empire, but was viewed as an understandable outburst of emotion after years of oppression by the Chinese. The article goes so far as to suggest that the Korean masses were fired up by "the relentless oppression of Korean farmers in Wanpaoshan by the Chinese authorities." A statement from the GGK military police agreed that the riots were caused by news of "Chinese oppression of the Koreans in Manchuria," characterising them further as a "general revolt by the Korean people" (*ippan Senjin no hankan*).[54] It would be truer to say that inflammatory media reportage of such "oppression" incited the riots.

In September 1931, using a pre-planned railway bombing in Mukden as its pretext, the Kwantung Army began its total occupation and seizure of Manchuria. This Manchurian Incident took many in the Japanese government and army by surprise, and the responses to the situation were necessarily ad hoc. The incident led to immediate unrest and dislocation of Korean residents from their land. On September 23, five days after the incident, Shidehara offered to increase the

[53] Ibid, 5–7.
[54] Ibid, 11–14. Quotes on 11, 13.

consular police force to cope with the disorder. In October, he discussed with Jiandao Consul-General Okada the boosting of police to deal with the ongoing insecurity. These discussions were "based largely on the demands made in petitions by local Korean [People's] Associations."[55]

The KPAs, reviled as collaborators by leftist Koreans, advocated for Korean interests aggressively after the Manchurian Incident by demanding the protection so often promised them by the Japanese authorities. They did not just look to Japan, however, but created their own militant organisation. On October 10, a three-day United KPA conference opened in Longjingcun. The KPAs declared their participation in new "industrialising organisations" (*sangyōka dantai*), which later become the Minsaengdan (People's Livelihood Corps).[56]

A group of Koreans in Juzijie established the Minsaengdan in November. Its formation was approved by the Japanese police, although they later suspected it of harbouring Korean nationalist tendencies. Far worse persecution came from the CCP, which in turn suspected the group of spying for the Japanese. This paranoia led to the deaths of many Minsaengdan members and violent purges within CCP ranks of suspected or imagined sympathisers.[57] KPA leaders tried to convince the consular police chief to support the intervention of the Korea Army in support of the Minsaengdan, but Suematsu refused.[58] The suppression of the Minsaengdan by the CCP and the lack of assistance from Japan led to the organisation's demise in July 1932, although former members were still being targeted by the CCP between October 1932 and February 1936.[59] The fate of the Minsaengdan demonstrated the hollowness of Japanese promises to "protect" Koreans in Jiandao. It also showed again the impossible position of Koreans in Jiandao, who were endeavouring to assert autonomy in a geographical space claimed by multiple powers.

New order in Jiandao: the founding of "safety villages"

[55] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 105.
[56] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 188.
[57] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 167.
[58] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 188.
[59] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 201–207 for the Minsaengdan and its suppression.

After the Manchurian Incident, the Kwantung Army began to occupy the whole of Manchuria. The GGK used the opportunity of Japanese military dominance to establish the tight control over Koreans in Manchuria that it had always wanted to. A GGK study of December 1931 showed that there were over 10,000 displaced Koreans as a result of racial violence from Chinese against Koreans. A 1932 survey indicated approximately 35,000 refugees in Jiandao alone.[60] The GGK used the displacement as an opportunity to resettle the Koreans in model villages with the mediation of the KPAs. As a GGK history recorded:

> After the Manchurian Incident, some Korean refugees were unable to return to their places of origin. For their benefit, this government [the GGK] contributed funds to the East Asia Development Corporation [EADC] in Mukden, which made plans to establish and manage safety villages (*anzen nōson*).[61]

In 1932, the GGK contributed over 70,000 yen to the EADC, which itself provided double that to make a fund of 210,000 yen. The EADC purchased land adjacent to the SMR line in Fengtian Province and built Tieling, the first safety village, for displaced Koreans to settle in. More safety villages were jointly founded, with the EADC and GGK sharing costs: Hedong in Jilin Province in 1933, Yingkou in Fengtian Province in 1933, and Suihua in Heilongjiang Province in 1934.[62] Yingkou provided a new home for forty unemployed infantry soldiers and their families from Korea: these were the first government-sponsored migrants from Korea to Manchuria, beginning a program of state-sponsored migration in the Manzhouguo era.[63]

A slightly different system evolved in Jiandao, upon the initiative of the GGK, the Jiandao consulate and the KPAs, who planned and established ten collective hamlets (*shūdan buraku*) to house the displaced. Jiandao was the scene of conflict between the Kwantung Army and the Chinese resistance, as seen in the February 1932 occupation of Baicaogou by Chinese commander Wang Delin. Displaced Korean farmers were in dire need of food, clothing and

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[60] Ibid, 127–128.
[61] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 399.
[62] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō* 在満朝鮮同胞に対する本府施設の概要 [An outline of the Government's facilities for our Korean compatriots in Manchuria], in *Shokuminchi shakai jigyō kankei shiryōshū*, Chōsen-hen 24, 24–27.
[63] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 399.

shelter. They were vulnerable to murder, arson, robbery and kidnapping by soldiers and communists. KPA medics responded to the immediate need for treatment of the injured, but since many people would not be able to return to their homes and would need long-term relief, the idea of collective hamlets came about. These would facilitate the provision of relief by concentrating the needy in set locations, and could be engineered as model farming villages.[64]

The collective hamlets were meticulously planned. The "core of their management" (*keiei no shutai*) would be the KPAs, under the "guidance and direction" of the GGK and Jiandao consulate. The villages and selected surrounding farmland areas would be guarded by Japanese and Manzhougou soldiers and police officers against armed communist and bandit groups. The refugees were not settled randomly but were selected: a thousand families possessing material and manpower were selected to build ten hamlets, consisting of about 100 households each. 96,000 yen was allocated to the hamlet construction, 60,000 as relief from the GGK and 36,000 loaned by the Oriental Development Company (ODC). GGK officials, KPA technicians and the Japanese consulate in Longjingcun cooperated in surveying, choosing and leasing sites, selecting and settling villagers, organizing self-defence groups, constructing walls and other fortifications, and constructing communal buildings and temporary housing while actual houses were completed. By September 1933, nine hamlets were finished (completion of the tenth was delayed by security problems).[65] The building of the hamlets met with strong resistance from anti-Japanese forces, who sabotaged their construction and conducted armed attacks. The GGK praised the construction directors, KPA technicians and police and self-defence units for resisting these attacks.[66]

The collective hamlets were designed to advertise the efficiency of Japanese administration. They were built to set dimensions: approximately eighty *ken* (145.44m) squared, with a surrounding earthen wall eight to nine *shaku* (242.4–272.7cm) tall and three *shaku* (90.9 cm) thick. Outside the wall was a moat three *shaku* deep and three *shaku* wide. There were gun turrets at the four corners of the enclosure, two to four gates which closed at night and self-defence units (*jieidan*)

[64] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 27–28.
[65] They were Beihamatang, Dayangcun, Zhongping, Chunxingcun, Xilinhe, Changrenjiang, Tushanzi, Qingshanli and Luotuohezi. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 28–29.
[66] Ibid, 28–29.

drawn from local males of military service age. The nine completed hamlets had a total of 891 households by 1934. Each household had a farming area of three *machi* five *tanbu* (approximately three-and-a-half hectares), where important crops included soybeans, millet, potatoes and rice. According to a GGK source, tenants paid 30% of their harvest to their landlords (who were predominately Chinese) and kept 70%, while landlords also assumed the tax burden. These relatively generous conditions seemed designed to attract Korean farmers away from association with "outlaw Koreans" in the hinterland, and into the Japanese surveillance orbit. Whether of their own volition or because they were forced to relocate, Korean farmers indeed came, hence the rapid growth of new hamlets.[67] Construction began of sixteen new hamlets in March 1934 but the sites came under attack from communist guerrillas. Most of the hamlets had nonetheless been built by May.[68] By 1936, twenty-eight collective hamlets had been built in Jiandao, for 2,933 households (16,469 individuals).[69]

In many ways, the collective hamlets of Manzhouguo resembled the KPA system which had been pioneered in Jiandao from the 1910s. The main difference was that the former could be more intensively controlled than the latter had been, due to Japan's military occupation. But the essential aims were similar – to keep Korean farmers away from rebels and under the "protection and control" of Japanese police, to regulate Korean economic life, and to employ Koreans as proxy colonists on the frontier of Japan's expanding empire. The rapid establishment of the collective hamlet system demonstrates the important precedents and lasting effects of Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao in the 1905-32 period.

The state of Manzhougou was established with Japanese patronage in March 1932, an event which was rhapsodized by GGK sources. An official GGK history noted that prior to the Manchurian Incident, for all the progress they had made, Koreans in Manchuria had faced profound obstacles, including "ceaseless oppression by the north-eastern warlord clique and its officials, rampant banditry in the space left by inadequate government, and domination by the so-called outlaw Koreans." But since the foundation of Manzhougou things had been completely different:

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[67] Ibid, 30.
[68] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 399–400
[69] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 145.

> Under Manzhouguo's national policy of the harmony of the five races and the loving protection of the Empire of Japan, our Korean comrades await rebirth into a new life. Also, the general masses in Korea intend to embrace this epoch-changing phenomenon and fly to the new paradise of Manchuria…[70]

Giving the lie to this rosy view, the Minsaengdan petitioned the Manzhouguo government in March 1932 to recognise Jiandao as a "special administrative district" (*tokubetsu gyōseiku*), but the Japanese authorities in the new government were united in their refusal.[71] In addition to dashing the hopes for Korean political autonomy, Japan began a "large-scale mopping-up campaign" in Eastern Manchuria in April. By the end of the year, more than 1,200 communists and individuals considered loyal to them had been shot, and another 1,500 imprisoned.[72] As previously, the Korea Army cooperated with the Kwantung Army in crushing anti-Japanese armed groups. A Korean "national salvation army" began operating in Jiandao in April; the Korea Army crossed the Tumen River to supress it. In May and June, the Minsaengdan organised "self-defence units" and began drilling centres in cooperation with the Japanese consulate – KPA members were deeply involved in these. The self-defence units were closed down in July.[73]

Although armed Korean groups like the Minsaengdan continued to draw the suspicion of Japanese authorities, the KPAs would continue their pre-Manzhouguo role as the primary structure for the dissemination of Japanese policy and financial capital to Koreans, through the collective hamlet system in Jiandao and safety village system elsewhere in Manchuria. As in previous periods, the GGK oversaw the development of Korean colonies with the cooperation of other public and private colonial agencies. Hyun Ok Park notes that:

> Koreans were accepted as the members of the Manchukuo [sic], but they were also required to enrol in the family registration system of Korea. The [GGK] continued to represent Koreans,

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[70] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 7.
[71] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 188.
[72] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 160–161.
[73] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 188. Hirooka suggests that autonomous Korean military units were considered undesirable under the *gozoku kyōwa* ("harmony of the five races") policy.

> coordinating and financing their migration, settlement, and agricultural production and exchange.[74]

In 1932, the GGK dispatched an engineer to the Manzhouguo capital Xinjing (Japanese: Shinkyō) to manage agrarian policy; six people were selected from the KPAs to act as agricultural technicians in cooperation with GGK officials, to direct cultivation, promote subsidiary industry, supervise irrigation design and other work. The subsidiary industries promoted by the GGK and KPAs included the weaving of ropes, sacks and mats (over 4,400 yen provided in 1933) and the raising of chickens, pigs and bees. Silkworm cultivation in Jiandao had been receiving GGK assistance since 1924 and continued to do so; in 1932 the GGK provided an engineer, nine technicians and six veterinarians to improve livestock.[75]

The GGK made major financial investments in Korean colonization in Manzhouguo, often in association with private capital. During the period of ongoing Chinese resistance and Korean refugee flow, this capital was often termed "relief." The GGK provided the KPAs with over 54,000 yen relief funds in 1932, and over 41,000 yen in 1933. Important areas of relief included the purchase of working and breeding cattle, the promotion of animal husbandry (including providing the above veterinarians and better feed), establishment of seed production fields (especially for the improvement of soybean cultivation), education and the provision of equipment for the self-sufficient production and use of fertilizer.[76] In 1932, the GGK made an arrangement with the ODC to make annual aid payments (*hojokin*) of 100,000 yen, over a period of five years. The company would then disburse three times that (i.e. 300,000 yen annually). The plan was to provide capital to 2,500 Korean farming households over the first five years. The stated aim was to relieve the farmers from the yoke of Chinese landlords and money lenders, and transform them into independent landed farmers.[77] For the GGK, and for associated Japanese-run companies like the ODC and EADC, the Manchurian Incident provided a golden opportunity. It allowed the sort of colonization program in Manchuria, performed by Korean farmers under Japanese leadership, which had for so long been envisioned by Japanese Jiandao advocates.

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[74] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 51.
[75] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 19–20.
[76] Ibid, 20–22.
[77] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 400.

Legacies: Jiandao in the Manzhouguo period (1932–45) and beyond

The establishment of the Manzhouguo puppet state allowed Japanese officials to drive through their colonialist policies. The political environment in Tokyo was conducive to this firm interventionist approach in Manchuria; in May 1932, the Cabinet of Saitō Makoto (formerly governor-general of Korea) replaced that of the assassinated Inukai Tsuyoshi. It was known as the "national unity" cabinet, yet it involved the elbowing aside of the political parties from Japan's government. From then until the end of the World War II, "political party members were precluded from holding the premiership and kept out of all but the most minor cabinet posts."[78] The Saitō government officially recognized Manzhouguo on 15 September, 1932. The release of the Lytton Commission Report in October, and the League of Nations motion condemning Japan as an aggressor, did not halt Japanese designs on the continent – Japan withdrew from the League in early 1933.

Free now to import Korean labour without the hindrance of Chinese nationalist laws, or obligations to the League of Nations, the GGK and Kwantung Army began an ambitious policy of migration from Korea to Manchuria, with the assistance of the ODC and EADC. The Korean governor-general Ugaki Kazushige argued for controlled migration, opining that recent events had made Koreans more sympathetic towards Japan. He argued that their sympathy could be fostered if Japan offered them security. The Kwantung Army and GGK agreed in late 1932 to manage the Korean refugee crisis, and to implement coordinated immigration starting in 1935.[79]

Japanese subjects were legally permitted to own land after Manzhouguo was founded, resolving one of the most intractable disputes of the 1905–32 period. Even after extraterritoriality was abolished in 1937, the GGK continued to be responsible for Koreans in Manchuria. They were still expected to enrol in the family register of Korea, as opposed to the Manzhouguo state register, and served in the GGK's army rather than the Manzhouguo one. They were however

[78] Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 126.
[79] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 143. The Kwantung Army delayed some of these steps because it preferred Japanese to Korean immigration. Ibid, 59.

subject to Manzhouguo laws and taxes.[80] Another consequence of the end of extraterritoriality was the abolition of the Japanese Foreign Ministry consular offices.[81] The consular police were absorbed into the Manzhouguo government police bureau.[82]

As it had done before 1932, the GGK provided funds and experts from Korea to assist the development of Korean communities. After the founding of Manzhougou, the Laodougou (formerly Tianbaoshan) and Gayahe financial bureau sub-branches became full branches, and two more branches opened in Heidingzi and Mingyuegou. The GGK dispatched operating funds and people to run them. By the end of the 1933 fiscal year, there were nine financial bureaus in Jiandao: in addition to the above four, the Longjingcun, Toaodaogou, Juzijie, Baicaogou and Hunchun bureaus had existed for years. There were a further twelve financial institutions servicing Koreans in other regions of Manchuria. As of 1933, the GGK had distributed a total of 16,000 yen relief money and over 560,000 yen loans to farmers.[83]

In 1933, the GGK distributed 103,259 textbooks for the education of Koreans in Manchuria, at the cost of 12,417 yen.[84] As of October 1933, there were reportedly 472 Japanese-controlled schools for Koreans abroad, with over 38,500 pupils enrolled.[85] By 1933, the medical doctors sent out by the Korean People's Associations to remote households now worked in up to forty-two locations. Also, as a measure against the cattle plague that had affected Jiandao in the past, serum injections were now being widely distributed, including within the safety villages.[86] In 1934, to meet KPA demand for medical care in the collective villages, GGK helped expand medical facilities in thirteen locations. Trained staff were sent to distant areas to treat the many displaced Koreans. The Medical Faculty of Keijō Imperial University sent medical treatment units (*shinryōhan*) and manufactured household pharmaceuticals, distributing them for free to about

[80] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 135–137.
[81] Barbara Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 156.
[82] Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire's Edge*, 35, 131.
[83] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 13–14; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 400–401.
[84] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 10.
[85] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 400.
[86] Ibid, 401.

70,000 people annually. The GGK also reported spending over 11,000 yen annually on epidemic prevention, such as smallpox vaccinations.[87]

Between May and August 1933, a major survey was carried out to identify land appropriate for agriculture in Manchuria. The research team was made up of twenty-seven people from the GGK, Keijō Imperial University, the Kwantung Authority (Kantō-chō), the Kwantung Army and the Japanese consulate in Manchuria. As a result, thirteen potential agricultural zones were identified.[88]

The number of Korean People's Associations expanded massively from thirty-four branches in 1931 to 134 branches in 1935.[89] Hyun Ok Park has estimated Korean membership of around 84%. The expanded activities and functions of the KPAs included: education, welfare (e.g. fire-fighting, relocating the poor, housing the homeless, operating cemeteries and crematoria, disease control), supporting farming (e.g. instruction on new methods, irrigation, market operation), managing the cooperatives, and disseminating information (on laws, politics, the economy and culture in Korea). In 1936, "all [their] functions except those concerning education and customs were passed to the Manchukuo state."[90] The KPAs had been a pillar of Japanese borderland colonialism since the founding of the first one at Longjingcun in 1917 (see Chapter Two). From their humble origins as village associations they had grown into a whole social, economic and governing apparatus, and part of the foundation upon which the state of Manzhouguo was built. The KPAs exemplify how Japanese policy in Jiandao from 1905–32 contributed to the subsequent history of the region.

The Korean communist guerrilla movement continued in Jiandao in association with the CCP. In late 1932, the remnants of the Korean communists in the East Manchurian Special Committee retreated with their supporters to the hinterlands of Jiandao. Between November 1932 and February 1933 they organised five "soviet districts" in Yanji, Wangqing and Hunchun counties, involving approximately 4,100 persons. These soviets trained guerrillas and also established

[87] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Zai-Man Chōsen dōhō ni taisuru honfu shisetsu no gaiyō*, 12.
[88] Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Shisei sanjūnen-shi*, 402–403.
[89] Ibid, 397; Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 168.
[90] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 168.

"people's courts" which condemned and executed Minsaengdan members. In addition, six "revolutionary committees" were established in other areas where communist control was weaker.[91] A CCP directive of January 1933 "replaced class struggle with the anti-Japanese struggle in order to address the specific conditions in Manchuria." This replaced the Li Lisan line of radical class struggle.[92]

In September 1934, the Japanese organised a civilian group called the Mutual Assistance Society (Hyŏpchohoe in Korean) to help fight the communist guerrillas. "It was used to gather intelligence, conduct propaganda activities, negotiate surrenders, separate guerrilla leaders from their rank and file, and drive wedges between different guerrilla units."[93] The five soviet districts in Jiandao had to be abandoned. The communists were by this point hugely outnumbered by Japanese forces. However, the guerrilla units organised under the soviets became the basis for the Second Army of the Northeastern People's Revolutionary Army, led by the future North Korean ruler Kim Ilsŏng and active between 1933 and 1936.[94] In the autumn and winter of 1935, the Japanese army's "anti-bandit annihilation campaign" pushed the Second Army west out of Jiandao, whereupon it was broken up and joined other CCP army divisions. "Thus, by 1936, Korean Communist guerrillas had given up their operations in [Jiandao]."[95] The violence and disorder of the guerrilla movements (notably the Minsaengdan Incident) and the success of Japanese propaganda upon ordinary Koreans, are cited by Scalapino and Lee as factors in the Japanese victory.[96] In 1936, the Kwantung Army banned the settlement of Koreans near the Sino-Soviet border, and in areas reserved for Japanese settlers. It effectively limited Korean settlement to twenty-three counties in Andong and Jiandao provinces. Then in 1938, it limited Korean farming immigrants to 10,000 a year.[97]

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[91] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 161, 167.
[92] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 208–209.
[93] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 168.
[94] Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 28.
[95] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 165.
[96] Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea, Vol. 1*, 169–170.
[97] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 144. Park in fact gives Dongbiandao (in its Korean version Tongbyŏndo) instead of Andong, but to my knowledge the former unit no longer existed.

The ideological notion of Manchuria and Korea as a single region under Japanese leadership, so crucial in the evolution of Japan's Jiandao policy, did not die with the founding of Manzhouguo as a separate state. Inaba Iwakichi, one of the earliest Japanese Jiandao experts (see Chapter One) would specialize in Manchurian history at the new Kenkoku University, in the capital city of Xinjing. During the Manzhouguo period, Japanese scholars, accompanied by military personnel, visited Hunchun County to study the site of the eastern capital of Parhae, the ancient semi-Korean kingdom. This capital was the point from where Parhae's envoys had been dispatched to Nara Japan in the eighth century. The purpose of this scholarship was to prove historical and ethnic ties between Japan, Korea and Manchuria, as legitimation for current Japanese policy. As another indication of this thought, in October 1936 Korean Governor-General Minami met with Kwantung Army Commander Ueda at the Tumen River to discuss smuggling, banditry and bridge construction. In their dialogue, the Yalu and Tumen were imagined not as a national border, but as "uniting" Korea and Manchuria. In 1937, Minami looked forward to the "harmonious unity" (*konzen yūgō*) and "co-existence and mutual prosperity" (*kyōzon dōei*) of Korea and Manchuria.[98]

In 1934, Manzhouguo became an empire under the control of Japan and the nominal rule of the last Manchu emperor Puyi. A radical reorganisation of Manzhouguo's administration was carried out, and Jiandao became one of eleven newly formed provinces (not including Xinjing, which was a special municipality). Jiandao Province included the four traditional counties as well as Antu (formerly of Fengtian Province). Yanji was named provincial capital (*shengcheng*), seat of the provincial government office (*Jiandaosheng gongshu*) which began operating in December.[99] Hyun Ok Park notes that this did not represent Korean autonomy, as only about 25% of provincial government posts went to Koreans, and the governor was Chinese.[100]

Autonomy had become a goal for Koreans in Jiandao as a way of escaping from Chinese and Japanese state oppression. The CCP recognized this desire for autonomy, and desirous of Korean

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[98] Inoue Naoki 井上直樹, *Teikoku Nihon to "Man-Sen shi:" Tairiku seisaku to Chōsen/Manshū ninshiki* 帝国日本と＜満鮮史＞　大陸政策と朝鮮・満州認識 [Imperial Japan and "Manchurian-Korean History:" Continental Policy and Knowledge of Korea and Manchuria] (Tokyo: Kōshobō, 2013), 195–203.
[99] Hirooka, "Kantō ni okeru Chōsenjin minkai to ryōjikan keisatsu," 188.
[100] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 137.

military support conceived and announced a Jiandao Korean People's Self-Governing District (Zhonggong Jiandao Chaoxianren zizhiqu) in November 1935.[101] The CCP thus atoned for its slaughter of suspected Minsaengdan members in the early-mid 1930s by fostering a Sino-Korean alliance against Japan which ultimately prevailed. In 1952, three years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Yanbian Korean Autonomous District (Yanbian Chaoxianzu zizhiqu) was established. In 1958 it was upgraded to the status of an autonomous prefecture (*zizhizhou*), with Dunhua County reincorporated, and this is the form it holds today.[102]

The centuries-old dispute over the border location was settled between the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) in a 1964 agreement which confirmed the Yalu and Tumen rivers as the border, while granting some islands and sandbanks to North Korea. The Republic of Korea (South Korea) was not party to the agreement and has not recognised it.[103] In the post-independence state mythology of North Korea, the struggle of Korean guerrilla groups against Japan in Jiandao, in which Kim Ilsŏng had played a part, is attributed huge significance. According to Charles K. Armstrong, although the role of Kim in this struggle is partly mythologized and no doubt exaggerated, the guerrilla struggle was nonetheless "the formative experience for those who ultimately came to power… and as such profoundly influenced the new political and social system created in the North."[104]

Conclusion

Japan's borderland policy vis-à-vis China had always had diplomatic and aggressive facets. In the resolution of the "Jiandao question," there had been tension between cooperation with China and Japanese military unilateralism. At the turn of the 1930s, an intensification of several old problems in Jiandao caused the latter tendencies to finally prevail. Too often, diplomacy was

[101] Yi, *Kindai higashi Ajia no seiji rikigaku*, 291–292, 440.
[102] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 242. Yanbian currently consists of six municipalities (Yanji, Tumen, Dunhua, Hunchun, Longjing, Helong) and two counties (Wanqing, Antu).
[103] The China-DPRK agreement was reached in secret in March 1962, then signed in March 1964. It gave to the Korean side about 280 square kilometres more than Korea had received from the 1909 Jiandao Agreement. See Sang Wook Daniel Han, "The dispute over the legal status of Gando: a reflection of distorted development of international law in Northeast Asia," *Journal of the History of International Law*, 10 (2008): 226.
[104] Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution*, 17.

sabotaged by events on the ground, as when Shidehara's briefly successful restraint of another Japanese "Jiandao expedition" in 1930 was undermined by the shootings of Japanese police officers in October that year. The hard-line elements involved in Japan's Jiandao policy won the day, and the "Jiandao question" coalesced with larger international concerns – the need for resources at the time of the Great Depression, the growing diplomatic isolation of Japan, the growth of communism and the Korean independence movement – to create the conditions favouring Japanese occupation and conquest of Manchuria. All this suggests that the borderland – a scene of overlapping jurisdiction between two or more expanding states – is an inherently violent place, where conflict is inevitable without successful negotiation or mediation. This is something the League of Nations was not able to deliver.

The Korean experience in the borderland was multifaceted – some Koreans chose uneasy alliances with Chinese and Japanese actors, while others rejected Chinese and Japanese overlordship and fought for Korean autonomy. By the late 1920s, the Koreans' political autonomy in Jiandao was gradually diminished as the two colossi of China and Japan closed in upon the borderland. The politics of the borderland fragmented Korean society, leading to the creation of rival nationalist and revolutionary factions, with legacies still apparent in today's north-south political division. This fragmentation of national identity may be seen as characteristic of the borderland, where contradictory identities and alliances are made available.

This period saw the flourishing of various Korean nationalist and revolutionary groups. By the end of the 1920s, the Korean communists had become predominant among armed groups in Jiandao, and had made common cause with the CCP. In the May 30 Uprising, they targeted the structures of Japanese economic domination of Koreans, such as the Oriental Development Company and the financial bureaus which loaned money to Korean farmers through the KPA networks. This fact clearly demonstrates that insecurity of land and livelihood, and especially exploitation by loan organizations, was a source of deep anger for many Koreans.

The colonial institutions established by Japan in Jiandao, notably the KPAs, provided an important cornerstone of the Manzhouguo state. The KPAs provided the structure and medium by which Japanese government policy and Japanese public and private investment capital flowed

across Korean settler society. The KPAs also supplied the organisational basis for the Korean collective hamlets in Jiandao and the safety villages in inner Manchuria, which survived to become local units in the Manzhouguo period. Certain foundations for Manzhouguo society and economy were thus set before the Mukden Incident, chiefly in the 1919–1931 period, during which the KPA system was developed. In Jiandao one sees a remarkable continuity before and after 1931, which transcended the ruptures of the Mukden Incident and the establishment of Manzhouguo.

The independent mobilisation of KPA members into the Minsaengdan, coupled with the KPA petitions to the Japanese, indicates that the aims of the KPAs were first and foremost concerned with Korean livelihoods, not with collaboration. The failure of the Japanese to adequately address these concerns spurred the creation of the Minsaengdan and strengthened the movement towards Korean autonomy in Jiandao, and towards the appeal of communism.

The KCP-CCP alliance appeared to some Japanese as the threat of a borderless ideology against the integrity of the empire. The recent history of Jiandao had been a one of clashing jurisdictions, and the scramble by the Chinese and Japanese states to assert their administrative control through whatever means possible. Communism threatened the jurisdictions of both imperial Japan and nationalist China. This borderless ideology proved able to unify the disparate and disenfranchised peoples of the borderland, at least for a while. The implementation of the "one country, one party" line, the rupture between the CCP's Chinese and Korean members in the early 1930s, and the emergence of a specifically Korean revolutionary movement, however, demonstrated the degree to which ethnic nationalism remained powerful.

Although terrible violence was committed by the CCP against Koreans in the early 1930s, and by Koreans against Chinese, it was ultimately the CCP which recognised the national aspirations of the Koreans. By letting the Korean guerrillas take their due place in their anti-imperialist revolution, the CCP finally resolved the "question of Koreans in Manchuria." This process culminated in the creation of the Yanbian Autonomous Korean Prefecture and the recognition (in name at least) of the Koreans as an official minority of the People's Republic of China. Having said that, if the CCP had not defeated the Nationalist Party in the Chinese Civil War, and

established state control of eastern Manchuria by 1949, who knows what accommodation with the Jiandao Koreans might have been reached?

CONCLUSION

Japanese policy in Jiandao between the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and the Kwantung Army's occupation of Manchuria (1931–32) was a distinct and important part of Japan's diplomatic, military and economic policy towards the Asian continent. This thesis has traced the origins and trajectory of Japan's Jiandao policy, focusing on its conception and implementation by various actors and how it contributed to the transformation of the Qing imperial periphery of Jiandao into a fiercely contested borderland. I have also analysed the impact of Japanese borderland colonialism upon society and politics in and around Jiandao, suggesting that Japanese policy was shaped by, and in turn helped to shape, the history of this borderland. This period saw the "Jiandao question" mutate from a boundary dispute between the Manchu Qing and Korean Yi dynasties into a maze of legal claims involving various Korean, Chinese and Japanese political actors, with the threat of violence and even war constantly looming. Japanese policy was not the only instigator of these historical changes, but it was a highly important one.

Following scholars such as Adelman and Aaron, I defined a borderland in the Introduction as a scene of contention between imperial rivals, where a local borderland society (corresponding in variable degrees to Richard White's "middle ground") interacts with the power networks of the nation-state/empire, whether through resistance, collaboration, adaptation or acceptance. A borderland by definition is not completely controlled by a state. It exists in the interstices of two or more states, creating opportunities for political interference from any direction, and for the development of resilient and independent political institutions within the borderland itself. A borderland can provide sanctuary to outlawed political actors, who may exploit its contested nature by moving across boundaries, or by playing rival state authorities against each other. Borderlands have often fostered political movements which challenge states. In the early nineteenth century, the US-Mexican borderland had nurtured Anglo-American settlers who ultimately rebelled against Mexico and declared the independence of Texas, triggering the US-

Mexican War (1846–48).[1] In the early twentieth century, the situation in Jiandao offered a similar opportunity for Korean political actors who wished for independence from Japan.

The Japanese approach to exerting control in Jiandao was a form of borderland colonialism. Unlike the "formal colonialism" practiced in Japanese dominions such as Korea or Taiwan, borderland colonialism took place in a region (Jiandao) which was not a colonial possession of Japan, and thus had to be accomplished through "informal" means. I have employed the term "power networks" for the various expressions of informal Japanese colonialism in Jiandao.[2] Multiple power networks criss-crossed the borderland of Jiandao and competed to influence local society, as discussed especially in Chapter Two. They consisted of such things as Korean village associations, financial flows, schools, medical facilities, transport and trade routes. All of these were established in Jiandao by imperial actors in the service of Japan. Japanese networks competed with rival networks established by exiled Korean political parties, Chinese local authorities and other such players. Imperialist actors created power networks primarily with the interests of the metropole (e.g. Japan) in mind, but they were also be driven by more self-serving, local purposes. The agents of the RGK's Special Station, for instance, when arguing so passionately for a Japanese Jiandao policy, were as much concerned with holding onto their jobs as with ideological goals. Furthermore, the networks created or exploited by different Japanese actors did not always coincide. As we saw in Chapter Three, confusion respecting the functions of the Japanese consulates and the Government-General of Korea led to the former concentrating on "control" (notably policing and management of Korean People's Associations through the consular police) and the latter on "protection and nurturing" (consisting of hygiene, education, supply of finance, and so on).

The origins of Japan's Jiandao policy can be traced to the time of the Russo-Japanese War. However, certain conditions already existed which determined the course of Japanese policy. For Japanese policy to take shape in the ways that it did, "Jiandao" first had to emerge in the political

[1] Paul Ganster and David E. Lorey, *The U.S.-Mexican Border into the Twenty-First Century* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 17–33.
[2] For the concept of the power network I am indebted to Ward's analysis of Dutch "networks of empire:" Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

imaginations of East Asia. Let us recall that Jiandao had not existed as a political entity – with a regional government, county divisions, inclusion on maps and so forth – until the second half of the nineteenth century. The Sinocentric world order of past centuries had enabled Sino-Korean border issues to be negotiated within a traditional framework of tribute diplomacy, but by the late-nineteenth century this framework was crumbling. The region of "Jiandao" came to exist in various political imaginations in the context of a changing international legal framework in which Western imperialism and diplomatic norms were redrawing international boundaries and imposing states of colonial subjection on peoples across the world. Japan was an active participant in this global club of imperial powers. The global development of nationalism was a related phenomenon; in this context Korean intellectuals coveted Manchuria as part of their national heritage and challenged China's claim to Jiandao. Japan's defeat of China in the war of 1894–95, together with the "unequal treaties" forced upon China by Japan and other powers, gave the legitimacy of "might equals right" to the new international norms. Japan's government approached the Jiandao question according to the rules established by the great powers – diplomacy, treaties and when justifiable, force. The "Jiandao question" was ultimately a political and legal discursive construct by Japanese policy makers, much as "Jiandao" itself had been largely a construct of late nineteenth-century Korean nationalism. Japanese policy makers, in the process of "protecting" (and later colonising) Korea, viewed the Koreans in Jiandao as subjects over whom state authority had to be asserted. In classic imperialist fashion, the Japanese conceived of a "Jiandao question," much like their British contemporaries conceived of Egypt's political limbo under unofficial British rule as the "Egyptian question," and the issue of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as the "Jewish question." The Japanese framing the subject of Korean nationality in Jiandao as a "Jiandao question" implied that this was a question for which they, the imperial power, had the responsibility to find a solution.

Japan's initial involvement with Jiandao was in part opportunistic and pragmatic. Japan took on the job of resolving the "Jiandao question" due to its usurpation of power from the Korean government, and its ultimate annexation of Korea. When Japan assumed control of Korea, it also inherited the Sino-Korea border dispute. Japan's leaders then set about resolving the dispute according to Japan's perceived national interest in the context of tensions with Russia, the Japanese "post-war management" of Manchuria, and the security of Japanese dominion in Korea.

Behind Japan's ostensible aims – to protect Korean emigrants in response to requests from figures in the Korean government – lay the desire to control Jiandao for strategic, security and economic reasons. Borderland colonialism in Jiandao thus partly reflected political expediency, as much as concrete geopolitical aims or ideology.

Japan's Jiandao policy was formed through the tensions between the expanding Japanese empire and China's colonization of the Qing frontiers. In the early twentieth century, China was undergoing upheaval and revolution interspersed with periods of bold political reform. While Japan was establishing the apparatuses of colonial control in Manchuria, the Qing and later the Chinese Nationalist governments were reforming the administration of their vast frontier regions, abolishing the Manchu banner-based military outposts and establishing civilian government offices. In Jiandao, a Chinese civil government headed by a District Governor (*daoyin*) was established in Yanji City. The Chinese government sent soldiers to the border region to establish control, while diplomats strongly asserted Chinese sovereignty over Jiandao.

Direct Japanese involvement in Jiandao began during the Russo-Japanese War, a time when Japan was gradually drawing Korea into its orbit as a protectorate. Japanese leaders, notably Hayashi Gonsuke (in his capacity as advisor to King Kojong of Korea) and Itō Hirobumi (soon to become the resident-general of Korea) recognized the Sino-Korean border dispute as a golden opportunity for advancing Japanese influence on the continent. Japan's government accordingly supported the Korean territorial claim in Jiandao from 1905 to 1909.

In this early period of Japanese Jiandao policy, crucial contributions were made by experts in the military and scholarly fields. These "Jiandao advocates" (*Kantō ronsha*) were the first Japanese to visit and study Jiandao, to argue passionately for Japanese control or influence there, and to make policy proposals. The continental adventurer Nakai Kinjō, the Special Station chief Saitō Suejirō, and the historians Naitō Konan, Suzuki Shintarō and Inaba Iwakichi were among the key figures of this kind. They made tours of Jiandao and described to their readers its history, demography, topography, and economic and agricultural potential. Theirs was a distinctly colonialist approach, which proposed the linkage of Jiandao to the Japanese metropole by means of railway and port. This would provide Japan's Korea-based authorities with the means to

extract Jiandao's resources, to keep an eye on the Korean settlers in Jiandao, and to penetrate forces into Manchuria more quickly should another conflict begin with Russia. Thus, individuals on the ground, rather than in far-away Tokyo, took the lead in shaping Japan's borderland colonialism. Japan's Jiandao advocates influenced policy in Tokyo and in the colonial government in Keijō/Seoul, while interacting with Korean collaborators and pro-independence activists, as well as with ambitious local Chinese warlords and reformist officials.

The Jiandao advocates articulated the reasons for Japanese involvement in Jiandao. Their efforts were essential in directing the energies of Japanese colonialism in the borderland. The justifications they formed were cited time and again by those who determined policy, whether in the government or the military. An ongoing conversation about the Jiandao question took place among Japanese historians, reporters and pamphleteers which helped to shape attitudes which were held and policies which were taken. For instance, Nakai Kinjō's calls for a railway line linking Jilin to Hoeryŏng and the Korean port of Chŏngjin were adopted and carried out by Japan's government. The memorandum of Saitō Suejirō, the RGK's Special Station Chief, regarding the protection of Jiandao's Koreans was similarly heeded.[3]

The writings of the Jiandao advocates and their influence on policy highlight the crucial role of sub-imperialists in advancing imperialist policies generally. Sub-imperialism consists of the work in the service of empire performed by "men on the spot" rather than by political and economic pressures in the imperial metropole. It was prevalent in the British and other empires – adventures like Cecil Rhodes and local colonized elites who participated in British indirect rule for their own profit are examples. Japanese sub-imperialism in China has been well-studied and documented – cases include the *Shina rōnin* (China adventurers), the numerous groups of businessmen and traders and the Japanese Residents' Associations.[4] In the case of Jiandao, sub-imperialists like the Jiandao advocates not only argued for the military and strategic importance of Jiandao, but conducted studies in the field and in the archives which formed a huge body of geographical, economic and historical knowledge about the region north of the Tumen River.

[3] These cases are discussed in Chapter One.
[4] On the Japanese Residents' Associations see Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011).

These studies fuelled the creation of the power networks of Japanese borderland colonialism in Jiandao.

At a different level than the Jiandao advocates, the Japanese Residency-General of Korea (1905–10) and its successor the Government-General of Korea (1910–45) also clearly performed a sub-imperialistic function in Jiandao. We have seen how they were responsible for adopting many policies suggested by the Jiandao advocates, such as posting military police (*kenpei*) in Jiandao (most notably establishing the Special Station in 1907) to perform the "protection and control" of Koreans. Additionally, the RGK established the Oriental Development Company in 1908 (subsequently approved by a government bill in Tokyo) to facilitate the Japanese "development" of Korea, and this company in turn began supporting the Korean colonisation of Jiandao from 1917. The GGK provided loans to Korean farmers through the East Asian Corporation for the Promotion of Industry from 1922. They also established and ran schools and medical clinics.[5] The GGK furthermore lobbied for the construction of a railway through Jiandao, linking Jilin Province with the ports of Korea and thence with the Japanese metropole. In these and other ways they did not just implement imperialistic policies drafted in Tokyo, but took a leading role in creating and implementing policies which both advanced Japanese imperial agendas, while also giving additional purpose and importance to the RGK/GGK itself. The sub-imperialism of the RGK and GGK restricted itself in two important ways – it was limited to matters concerning the borderland of Jiandao, and to Koreans in Jiandao and beyond. The RGK/GGK thus carved out a sub-imperialist "niche" in Manchuria which stood alongside the similar (if larger) niches of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the Kwangtung Army and the South Manchurian Railway Company.

Japan's Jiandao policy was formed haphazardly amidst the shifting aims and power structures of the Japanese military and government. The various imperialist actors were far from seeing eye to eye. The core Jiandao advocates (Nakai Kinjō, Inaba Iwakichi etc.) favoured military intervention

[5] The extent to which these measures to "protect and nurture" Koreans succeeded is open to question, and somewhat beyond the scope of this thesis. Charles K. Armstrong suggests that in the 1930s, "despite Japanese efforts to improve the livelihood of local peasants, living standards may have actually declined during this period." Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 24. For the GGK, the *appearance* of helping Koreans in Jiandao was more important for its standing vis-à-vis rival Japanese imperial actors. Nonetheless, as we saw in Chapter Four, material aid was distributed to Korean farmers, although it mainly benefitted wealthier ones.

to resolve the Jiandao question, which created the political climate necessary for the "Jiandao expedition" in 1920 after the Hunchun Incident. Other Jiandao advocates, Naitō Konan among them, favoured restraint and official diplomatic channels with China. Further disagreements revolved around the national status of the Koreans in Jiandao – should they be allowed to naturalize as Chinese, or not?

The evolution of Japan's approach to the Jiandao question therefore highlights the factional differences within Japanese political life. The many high-level conferences in which the Jiandao question was discussed – the Seoul Conference, the Far Eastern Conference, the discussions in Tokyo in 1930 – testify to the importance with which Jiandao was held in people's minds. These various conferences were somewhat successful in bringing the parties together – the GGK and Foreign Ministry were able to coordinate their Jiandao policies after the Seoul Conference, for instance. The 1930 conference was instrumental in pushing Japan towards a military solution headed by the Kwantung Army. Furthermore, the historical process noted by scholars such as Barbara Brooks, in which Japanese diplomacy was gradually discredited while military solutions gained respectability, was on full display in Jiandao.[6]

The RGK and GGK maintained agents in Jiandao throughout the period under study, beginning with the tentative explorations of the Jiandao advocates, then escalating to the dispatch of more and more military police. The Residency-General's Special Station in Jiandao, while only remaining open for two years, created the foundations of a Japanese power network in the borderland, and its activities were continued by the consular police and by agents of the GGK. General Hasegawa of the Korea Army, the highest-ranking Japanese officer in the Korean protectorate, gave his blessing and support to the Special Station's projects, as did the Cabinet of Saionji Kinmochi in Tokyo. The information provided by the GGK's borderland agents percolated upwards to the government of Tokyo, influencing the content of cabinet legislation and international treaties. Japanese government policy towards Jiandao was thus worked out at various levels of government and military authority and debate. Furthermore, policy had to be

[6] This process is described in Barbara Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

considered against the strength and aims of whichever Manchu or Chinese authorities were in control of China's north-east at any given time.

The Sino-Korean boundary dispute, which centred on the identification of the boundary river and the rights of Koreans to live and work in Jiandao, had provided Japan's entry into the borderland in the capacity of conductor of Korean foreign affairs. Although commentators such as Nakai Kinjō and Naitō Konan noted the weakness of Korea's territorial claim in Jiandao, the territorial dispute was nonetheless used as a diplomatic tool within Japan's continental policy. Even then, significant disagreement existed among those concerned with Jiandao, with some like Itō Hirobumi wary of antagonising China, and others (notably in the Korea Army and Special Station) who were more combative. Naitō and Itō were prominent voices favouring an eventual resolution of the border dispute in a way that satisfied both China's and Japan's requirements. Yet clearly, some Japanese, particularly within the army, favoured borderland intrigue as a way of pursuing Japanese policy aims on the continent.

Japan was forced to drop its territorial claim (on behalf of Korea) in the 1909 Jiandao Agreement. This apparent concession by Japan was actually the beginning of a slightly reoriented proactive Jiandao policy. Japan's Jiandao policy was not abandoned, but underwent an adaptive metamorphosis. In 1910, one year after the Jiandao Agreement, Korea was annexed by Japan. Koreans became subjects of Japan under Japanese law. Legal scholars established an identity for Koreans residing outside of the formal Japanese Empire – they would still be considered subjects of Japan, and forbidden from changing their nationality. Translated into foreign policy, this meant that Japan would assert its right to "protect and control" Koreans residing abroad, while denying them the right to naturalize as demanded by the Chinese government. This policy was opportunistically followed in Jiandao.

Japanese experts reframed the territorial "Jiandao question" as the extraterritorial "Korean question." That is, the focus of Japanese attention in Jiandao shifted after 1909 from the resolution of the Sino-Korean border dispute (the Jiandao question) to the exercise of Japanese jurisdiction over Koreans (the Korean question). They created a discourse of Chinese oppression (*appaku*) of Koreans, based largely on the facts of high Korean tenancy rates in Jiandao (while

landlords were predominantly Chinese) and the heavy financial burdens on Korean farmers. The presence of Japanese officials in Jiandao was not scaled back after 1909, but merely subject to changes of terminology. The Special Station was replaced by a Japanese consulate and several sub-consulates, but these were still staffed (though not exclusively) by officials from the Government-General of Korea (GGK), and supported by military police dispatched by the GGK. The institutions founded by the Japanese, including the Jiandao Mercy Clinic and Jiandao Normal School, were not handed over to China, but underwent cosmetic name changes, and so forth. Meanwhile, the Japanese Jiandao policy, consisting of "protection and control" of Koreans while trying to secure railway concessions and other rights, continued.

Legal authority was a crucial network of borderland colonialism in Jiandao. Through the Sino-Japanese Agreement of 1909 and subsequent pacts, Japan would insist upon extraterritorial jurisdiction over the Koreans in Jiandao, together with the right to direct the construction of a railway connecting Jilin City with Hoeryŏng in Korea. The Chinese government for its part contested the extraterritorial rights of Koreans in Jiandao, while Japan insisted upon their validity under Japanese law. Japanese borderland colonialism took a form similar to that described by Lauren Benton's metaphorical "puzzles of negative and positive space"[7] – a legal privilege here, a concession there – forming a network of legal sovereignty.

Complementing Japan's legal networks of empire in Jiandao were others that are best described as "extra-legal." The colonial Korea Army reserved the right to intervene across the Sino-Korean border, as they did after the Hunchun Incident in 1920. Japan's claimed right to "protect and control" Koreans in Jiandao was the pretext for the expansion of armed might into the region, a situation which was made possible by China's political fragmentation under the warlords (see Chapter Three). Japan's scattered police and military outposts, and their willingness to act outside of the legal restraints governing Sino-Japanese relations, served to push forward Japanese control of the borderland.

[7] Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38, footnote 99.

Japanese borderland colonialism relied upon Korean settlers. In some cases Koreans cooperated with Japanese officials, especially when some material means of ameliorating the hardships of their lives was offered. But Japanese policy, in Korea and in Jiandao, also provoked Korean resistance which became better organized and more aggressive over time. Jiandao became one of the primary sites of the Korean communist revolution, a movement which contributed to wartime defeat of Japan and supplied the leadership of the future North Korean state.

During our period, however, the infiltration of Japanese policy aims into Korean village life was achieved with some success through collaboration with Korean groups, such as the United Progress Association (Ilchinhoe) in the early period after the Russo-Japanese War, and the Korean People's Associations (KPAs) in the subsequent few decades. The KPAs provided Korean farmers with access to Japanese finance, and performed community leadership and surveillance functions. Local Koreans within the designated "KPA areas" were compelled to join the associations.

China meanwhile observed a longstanding policy of naturalization and assimilation of Koreans; even under the turbulent warlord rule of Zhang Zuolin, the government of Yanji District established chambers of commerce for Koreans, and enticed Koreans into a Chinese-language school curriculum reflecting national standards (see Chapter Two). The Sino-Japanese contest over the territory of Jiandao had transformed into a contest for the control of the Koreans. Chinese and Japanese colonialism in Jiandao touched upon multiple aspects of Korean life, from education to finance to village government.

Koreans in Jiandao adapted to the pincer-like pressure from the expanding Chinese and Japanese empires in a variety of ways. Jiandao had been the scene of Korean nationalist insurgencies since the time of Yi Pŏmyun's rebellion against the Qing at the turn of the twentieth century. As Japanese rule became entrenched in Korea, pro-independence and nationalist movements flourished in Jiandao. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, nationalist Korean movements were generally succeeded by communist organisations. Some Koreans responded to Japanese pressure to join the KPAs, while others willingly assimilated into their Chinese nationality. The majority, however, attempted to live their lives independently, resisting the manifold political pressures

around them. Whether or not Koreans were willing to act as sub-imperialists for Japan, their propaganda value was considerable on the domestic front. Jiandao advocates portrayed the Koreans as subjects carrying out brave pioneering work on a hostile frontier, requiring Japanese assistance and protection.

Through the 1920s, the Korean communist movement gained in influence, and founded a base of operations in Jiandao. Atrocities against Japanese civilians committed at Nikolaevsk in Siberia, and a Korean armed raid at Hunchun gave the GGK the pretext for military intervention in Jiandao in 1920, where Japanese soldiers committed atrocities against Korean civilians in turn. Japan managed to form an alliance with Zhang Zuolin's Fengtian government against the communists, formalised in the Yü-Mitsuya Agreement of 1925. The older Korean nationalist groups were displaced from Jiandao by the Korean communists. The Zhang regime claimed that it was cooperating with Japan's fight against Korean communism, but Japanese officials opportunistically criticized what they termed the Chinese oppression of Koreans, creating in turn the justification for further Japanese interventions.

Beginning in 1927, Chinese governing authorities began to ban the sale of land to Koreans and to limit further Korean immigration, on the grounds that Koreans were an "imperialist vanguard" of Japanese encroachment (see Chapter Four). This movement of discrimination coincided with, and was in part fuelled by, the gradual national unification of China under Chiang Kaishek's Nationalist Party, frustrating Japanese aims in Manchuria and leading to a jingoistic atmosphere in the Japanese media and in army circles. Discrimination against Koreans in Jiandao and beyond fed perfectly into the narrative built up by the Jiandao advocates, that the Korean pioneers, as subjects of the Japanese emperor, required Japan's "protection and control."[8]

The trends hitherto apparent in Jiandao eventually culminated in armed rebellion and Japanese invasion, as discussed in Chapter Five. The Korean Communist Party East Manchurian branch, based in Jiandao, was smashed by Japanese police in the late 1920s, but it regrouped as a wing of the Chinese Communist Party's Manchurian bureau. This Korean contingent of the CCP

[8] The Japanese had been smarting from anti-Japanese immigration laws in the USA and other countries, which must have hardened views of the Korean immigration bans in China.

undertook a major anti-Japanese revolt in Jiandao in 1930 (the May 30 Uprising), targeting symbols of Japanese rule and KPA members, whom the communists despised as collaborators.

Japanese colonialist policy played Korean colonists off against Chinese ones, empowering Koreans to seize Chinese land and water supplies (as witnessed for instance at Wanpaoshan in 1931). It sought to make the borderland as "Korean" as possible, viewing this as favourable both for Japanese aims in Manchuria and for the consolidation of power in the colonial dominion of Korea. This approach was not significantly altered by the recognition of Jiandao as Qing territory in 1909, or by any of the subsequent ups and downs in Sino-Japanese relations.

Despite many changes brought on by the rapidly changing conditions in Jiandao and beyond, Japanese policy in Jiandao had a definite thrust in a certain direction throughout the 1905-32 period. It was clearly and consistently aimed at strengthening Japanese influence over the Korean residents of Jiandao while weakening the influence of Chinese political actors (unless, like Zhang Zuolin's Fengtian regime, they happened to benefit Japan), and at surveying and developing Jiandao in ways that benefitted Japan. Japanese policy towards Jiandao's Koreans was seen in the Japanese imperialist worldview as directly increasing Japanese influence on the Asian continent.

It is also the case, however, that tensions and contradictions existed in this view. More Koreans in Jiandao meant more "Japanese subjects" and potentially more Japanese influence; it meant, for one thing, an excuse for Japan's Foreign Ministry to increase its consular police forces. But on the other hand, given the growing Korean anti-Japanese rule movements, and the emergence of a Korean government-in-exile and the communist movement, further Korean emigration to Jiandao meant more potential enemies of Japanese continental policy. Korean strength in Jiandao was a double-edged sword. Ultimately, it proved on the whole detrimental to Japanese imperial expansion, as it nurtured the Korean communist and nationalist revolutionary forces which made common cause with Japan's enemies in the Second Sino–Japanese War (1937–45).

In sum, Japanese actors lay a network of power across the region from 1905-32, whose fundamental nodes of contact and influence included the Longjingcun consulate and numerous sub-consulates, the consular police, the GGK and the Korean People's Associations. Other

"nodes" were less tangible – they included Japan's extraterritorial privileges, as well as expert knowledge about Jiandao's land, routes of communication, population and economy. Japanese colonial power networks in Jiandao prepared the region for full-scale colonialism under Japanese direction in the Manzhouguo era. Japanese policy in Jiandao furthermore provided some of the later organizational basis for Korean villages in Manzhouguo. The Korean People's Associations served as nuclei for the Korean "collective hamlets" created in Manzhouguo from 1933.

Japan's approach to Jiandao in the 1905–32 period was essentially colonial, even after the recognition of Jiandao as Chinese territory in the Sino-Japanese agreement of 1909. While never a formal colony (notwithstanding its later incorporation into Manzhouguo), Jiandao was one of the most important parts of Japan's informal empire in China. Jiandao's economy was geared by the Japanese towards interconnection with the economies of Korea and Japan. This was the case early after the Russo-Japanese war, with the surveys performed by the Jiandao advocates and the Special Station to establish Jiandao's economic potential, and with the importance placed on linking it to Korea's north-eastern port of Chŏngjin by railway, so that goods from Manchuria could reach Japanese ports via Jiandao. Jiandao was one of the regions in Japan's informal empire in China which became most closely integrated with the empire economically, demographically, and administratively. It was thus rather equivalent to the Lower Yangzi region or to Fujian Province, albeit poorer and less developed. The RGK's Special Station in Jiandao was a true colonialist institution, though short-lived. After 1909, the Japanese consular facilities in Jiandao continued to channel colonialist policies, with the participation of the RGK and (from 1910) the GGK. Japanese companies like the Oriental Development Company could operate freely and the Korea Army was poised at the Sino-Korean border to intervene in Jiandao, as seen in 1920–21.

Was Jiandao a "middle ground?" As discussed in the Introduction, studies of East Asian borderlands have often been concerned with testing Richard White's "middle ground" notion, according to which the imperial "periphery" (that is, the borderland) may not be decisively influenced by the imperial "core," but that the borderland evolves its own distinct political and

social forms.[9] I would hesitate to suggest that Jiandao constituted a full-fledged "middle ground" because the hybrid political and social forms described by White in his study of North America's Great Lakes borderland did not have time to develop. On the other hand, Korean colonists in Jiandao did cultivate significant political and cultural autonomy. As we have seen in this thesis (see especially Chapters One and Four), religion, national dress, and traditional schools were important markers of Korean autonomy, and Korean villagers resisted attempts by Chinese and Japanese authorities to restrict these expressions of identity. And it was these very expressions of identity that the nation-states/empires of Japan and China, and also the communists, attempted to control in their exercise of borderland colonialism.

Instead of characterising Jiandao society as a middle ground I would prefer to characterise it as a fragmented borderland society whose inhabitants sought varying kinds of self-determination. Politically active Koreans were not interested in creating a new identity in Jiandao, but in liberating their homeland from Japanese rule, or at the very least, of maintaining their traditional Korean identity and ways of life in a new environment. The more radical political movements such as the Korean Communist Party were not different in this respect. For such movements, Jiandao was convenient for its location at the meeting point of three states, and for its rugged montane topography which favoured guerrilla warfare.

In another sense, however, it is possibly useful to think of Jiandao as a middle ground. This is in the sense that the history of the region was driven to a considerable degree by local actors, by individuals and groups on the periphery of empire. To begin with, Jiandao provided a haven for Korean rebels, freedom fighters, refugees and political exiles. At the turn of the twentieth century, Yi Pŏmyun and his associates fought Qing soldiers in defence of the Korean claim to Jiandao; in the Russo-Japanese War, Yi fought on the side of Russia against Japan. Jiandao subsequently hosted soldiers of the disbanded Korean army from 1907, Confucian-traditionalist movements in the 1910s, an early incarnation of a Korean government-in-exile, an army-in-exile, the cells of the Korean communist movement and others. The challenges posed by these groups

[9] White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

formed part of the reason for Japanese involvement in the borderland, even as they themselves largely acted in response to Japanese policy in Korea.

In his history of the Dutch East India Company's imperial networks, Ward noted the importance of the "categorization of people" in the network of forced migration.[10] Language was also a highly significant aspect of Japan's borderland colonialism. In many Japanese articles, government papers and other texts, Jiandao was the site of discursive boundaries as well as national and administrative ones. The 1909 Jiandao Agreement, for instance, named the Koreans in Jiandao "borderland people" (*henmin*). The articles of the agreement recognised that the Koreans' membership in a national, legal jurisdiction was unsettled, and attempted to remedy this by defining the rights of Koreans to travel across the border, to be accompanied by a Japanese official in court, and so on. The "commercial territories" (*shōbuchi*) named in the 1909 agreement constituted a series of internal borders within which Japan's extraterritorial rule was recognised. Outside of these territories, in the "mixed residence areas" (*zakkyochi*), Koreans supposedly had the same rights as Chinese nationals.

A distinction emerged in the colonialist mindset between "pro-Japanese" (*shin-Nichi*) and "anti-Japanese" (*han-Nichi*) Koreans. The former term often referred to members of the Korean People's Associations. The role of these associations in collaborating with Japanese colonial policy is a complex one, but we can safely state that not all KPA members were collaborators. KPAs were usually established near Japanese police posts, and we have seen evidence that Koreans living near them were forced to join. The notion of the "pro-Japanese" Korean was bureaucratically reinforced by the issuing of character certificates to Koreans who were able to demonstrate their loyalty, as seen in Chapter Three. By contrast, the label "anti-Japanese" was coterminous with the very common "outlaw Korean" (*futei Senjin*) as well as "bandit" (*hizoku*) and similar words denoting criminality. The terminology marked out certain individuals for arrest, deportation to Korea or summary execution.

In Jiandao, Koreans who opposed Japan occupied a perilous legal space. The GGK maintained that the laws of colonial Korea applied to Koreans everywhere, so that opponents of Japan could

[10] Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 5.

be killed or extradited for trial. The Hunchun Incident and the Nikolaevsk Massacre (both 1920) together marked a turning point in Japanese responses in Jiandao. Under the Zhang Zuolin regime in the 1920s, the Korea Army was able to cross the border in military expeditions to Jiandao (*Kantō shuppei*). This is reminiscent of extra-judicial British violence in India's Northwest Frontier Province, as described by Kolsky and Hopkins.[11] The brutal practices carried out under British rule – public executions, the killing of livestock, the burning of villages – resemble the actions of Japanese soldiers during the Jiandao expeditions" of the 1920s and the "annihilation campaigns" of the 1930s. Extreme methods which were not sanctioned by law were carried out on frontier lands or borderlands in order to deal with declared states of emergency. Discursive practices rendered "communists," "outlaw Koreans" or "bandits" as enemies beyond the pale, like the Muslim "fanatics" of the Northwest Frontier Province.

Unlike the tribal frontier territory in British India, Jiandao lay within the sovereign territory of a major state, China, and was subject to Chinese law, albeit imperfectly applied. Japan's Jiandao policy, when it came to enacting violent reprisals upon armed groups of Koreans, had to be worked out in conjunction with the Chinese authorities. The 1920–21 Japanese reprisals for the Hunchun Incident were conducted after Zhang Zuolin granted his approval. But Japanese interventions in Jiandao were often conducted without the approval of Chinese authorities, who were largely powerless to stop them. A formal "legal regime of exception" did not exist in Jiandao as it did in northwest India. By contrast, the Jiandao expedition and similar actions formed part of Japan's interactions with the imperfectly established governing authorities of China. This is why I have adopted the notion of "overlapping jurisdiction" to characterise the borderland of Jiandao. China had nominal sovereignty in Jiandao, but the actual performance of Chinese sovereignty was not strong enough to exclude Japan from exercising some aspects of governmental authority there. The legal regime in the borderland was unstable, because legal authority (including punitive military authority) wavered between Chinese and Japanese control.

[11] Elizabeth Kolsky, "The Colonial Rule of Law and the Legal Regime of Exception: Frontier 'Fanaticism' and State Violence in British India," *The American Historical Review* 120:4 (October 2015): 1218–1246; Benjamin D. Hopkins, "The Frontier Crimes Regulation and Frontier Governmentality," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 74 (May 2015): 369–389.

The fact that Jiandao has been generally recognised as falling within Chinese territory leads us to term Chinese colonization in the borderland "internal" and the Japanese version "imperialist." But this dichotomy should not be overemphasised. Jiandao ultimately became part of the Chinese Republic, but this outcome was not at all clear before World War II, and certainly not before 1909. The Chinese and Japanese attempts to enfold the Koreans within the institutions of their respective states resembled each other closely. To start with, both the Han Chinese and Japanese were relative newcomers to the Jiandao region, which had historical links to the Jurchen and Korean peoples. Ultimately both China and Japan attempted to control Jiandao by marking the exact border, by defining who belonged within it and who didn't, and by establishing the trappings of security and administration. They established official apparatuses of legal sovereignty (police and courts), national infrastructure (such as schools) and policies for assimilating the local population. Both nations attempted to annex Jiandao's population, while Koreans seen as threatening or disloyal were expelled from national membership by legal and discursive means.

At around the same time that the Jiandao dispute emerged, the Ottoman Empire, faced with Russian encroachment on its frontiers, had tried to strengthen its border by hiring the Kurdish militias as a national cavalry.[12] Similarly the Chinese and Japanese attempted to secure the Jiandao borderland by incorporating its Korean settlers into their respective national populations. It has been illuminating to think of Chinese and Japanese policies towards Jiandao in the 1905–32 period, together with the Korean autonomous movements, as constituting a shared experience of "borderland colonialism." Through various interacting political machinations, social movements, discursive practices and historical trends, a nameless frontier became a disputed borderland and ultimately an ethnic prefecture of the new People's Republic of China.

Epilogue

[12] Janet Klein, *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) 2–5.

Let us end by briefly considering some colonial borderlands in the contemporary global scene. We could instance the Russian government's "Near-Abroad Doctrine," begun under Boris Yeltsin in 1993 and continued under the long presidency of Vladimir Putin (1999–2008; 2012–present). Its main objectives include "termination of conflicts in Russia's neighbourhood, protection of Russian speaking minorities and human rights and declaration of Russia's vital interests in the former Soviet territories."[13] Note the similarity with Japanese official language regarding the "Korean question" in Jiandao, concerning protection, security and national interests. While the explicit aim of the Near-Abroad Doctrine is not territorial conquest, it has led to war with Ukraine and Georgia, to the Russian annexation of Crimea, and to overlapping jurisdiction with Ukraine's authorities in eastern Ukraine.

Like Japan's Jiandao policy, Russia's Near-Abroad Doctrine employs a discourse of protecting nationals in adjacent counties in order to carry out foreign policy objectives, sometimes in an aggressive manner. Furthermore, like the Japanese government and media considered Koreans as Japanese nationals for the conveniences of foreign policy, Russian identity has been made equally malleable. Putin defined the "Russian world," meaning the Russian community that his foreign policy purports to protect, as "Russian-speaking people centred around Russia, who identify with the Orthodox Christian religion and culture and who cherish the same shared values, irrespective of their citizenship and ethnic background."[14] In contested borderlands, national identity can be defined in very broad terms for the purposes of foreign policy. As the case of Ukraine shows, there is not a one-way track from unstable borderland to stable border region. National borders can regress from stability to overlapping jurisdiction, colonialism, and war.

The history of Jiandao does offer some reason for optimism, as well as pessimism. The attempts by China's and Japan's governments to stamp out Korean identity in the borderland, whether

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[13] Öncel Sencerman, "Russian Diaspora as a Means of Russian Foreign Policy," *Revista de Ştiinţe Politice* 49 (2016): 101, accessed December 2, 2016, cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/files/numarul49_2016/10.pdf. 101. Sencerman's summary of the Near-Abroad Doctrine draws upon A. S. Sönmez.

[14] Marek Menkiszak, "The Putin doctrine: The formation of a conceptual framework for Russian dominance in the post-Soviet area," *OSW Commentary* 131 (2014): 2, accessed December 2, 2016, https://www.osw.waw.pl/.../putin-doctrine-formation-a-conceptual-framework-russian

through assimilation or through "protection and control," ended in failure. The Koreans in Jiandao fought for their autonomy and to a significant degree won it with the establishment of an autonomous prefecture in China. Yanbian has been one of China's most prosperous and least troubled ethnic enclaves, although under the presidency of Xi Jinping (2013–present), Korean ethnic identity in Yanbian is facing increased suppression.[15]

Although the China-North Korea border is now tightly controlled, considerable cross-border exchange still occurs, and foreign items such as computers and films are making their way into North Korea, probably the most isolated country on earth. Even the most repressive states can never entirely control their borders. Our history of the Jiandao borderland demonstrates the permanence of human mobility across political, legal and discursive borders, something that nation-states might well embrace rather than strive to control. Jiandao's history also bears witness to the creative potential of spaces not fully controlled by any state, having borne numerous movements for political autonomy. This history causes us reflect upon the inherent violence of rigid, linear, state-controlled borders, and the desirability of more open "border zones" where free international interaction and exchange are possible.

[15] Gao Feng, "Police Step Up Patrols in Northeast China As Korean Phased Out of Schools," (Trans: Luisetta Mudie), Radio Free Asia, accessed November 1, 2020. https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/patrols-09182020101335.html

APPENDIX ONE

Growth of Chinese and Korean populations in Jiandao and Manchuria

Year	Chinese in Jiandao (a)	Chinese in Manchuria (including Jiandao) (b)	Koreans in Jiandao (c)	Koreans in Manchuria (including Jiandao) (d)
1907 (e)	23,500		71,000	
1908 (e)	27,800		89,000	
1909 (e)	31,900		98,500	
1910	33,500		109,500	202,070
1911 (e)	35,200		126,000	
1912	49,000		163,000	238,403
1916	60,896	20,000,000	203,426	328,288
1918	72,602 (e)		253,961 (e)	361,772 (d)
1921	73,748		307,806	488,656
1922	70,698 (e)		323,806 (e)	515,865 (d)
1923 (e)	77,709		323,011	
1924	82,730 (e)		329,391 (e)	531,857 (d)
1925 (e)	82,492		346,194	
1926	86,347		356,016	542,185
1931	120,394	31,000,000	395,847	630,982

Sources: (a) Manshūkoku Gunseibu Gunji Chōsabu, ed., *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kyokutō Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1969), Vol. 1: 543. (b) Chong-Sik Lee, *Revolutionary Struggle in Manchuria: Chinese Communism and Soviet Interest, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 22. (c) *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 543. (d) *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 508–509; Yishi Liu, "Homes on the Border: Identity, Ethnicity and Everday Space in Yanbian," in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Mobile Subjects: Boundaries and Identities in the Modern Korean Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California, 2013), 154. (e) Ushimaru Junryō and Murata Shigemaro, eds., *Saikin Kantō jijō* (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 2002), 121–122. Jiandao refers to the counties of Yanji, Helong, Wangqing and Hunchun; "Chinese" appears in *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū* as "Manchurians."

APPENDIX TWO

Types of rural households in Jiandao by ethnicity, 1931

	Korean households	Manchurian households
Landlords (地主)	4,305 (7.1%)	4,503 (43.7%)
Free cultivators (自作)	21,638 (36.3%)	3,381 (32.6%)
Free/tenant cultivators (自作兼小作)	15,187 (25.4%)	1,044 (10.0%)
Tenant cultivators (小作)	18,675 (31.2%)	1,421 (13.7%)
Total	59,805 (100%)	10,349 (100%)

Source: *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 554, from an SMRC survey.

APPENDIX THREE

Demography of Jiandao counties in comparison with neighbouring counties in 1930

	KOREANS	MANCHURIANS	COUNTY/REGIONAL TOTAL
Yanji County 延吉縣	195,242 (78.8%)	50,770 (20.5%)	247,785 (100%)
Helong County 和龍縣	102,674 (94.4%)	5,984 (5.5%)	108,731 (100%)
Wangqing County 汪清縣	40,101 (63.5%)	22,853 (36.1%)	63,108 (100%)
Hunchun County 琿春縣	50,349 (56.6%)	38,295 (43%)	88,989 (100%)
Jiandao Region 間島地方 TOTAL	388,366 (76.4%)	117,902 (23.2%)	508,613 (100%)
Antu County 安圖縣	4,296 (19.4%)	17,820 (80.6%)	22,116 (100%)
Fusong County 撫松縣	2,275 (7%)	30,389 93%	32,664 (100%)
Huadian County 樺甸縣	3,169 (1.8%)	171,634 (98.2%)	174,803 (100%)
Dunhua County 敦化縣	3,429 (10.2%)	30,065 (89.7%)	33,510 (100%)
Emu County 額穆縣	4,332 (7.7%)	51,783 (92.3%)	56,121 (100%)
Ning'an County 寧安縣	6,002 (3.6%)	160,000 (94.8%)	168,768 (100%)
Dongning County 東寧縣	3,650 (8.8%)	35,000 (83.9%)	41,708 (100%)
Neighbouring counties TOTAL	27,153 (5.1%)	496,691 (93.8%)	529,690 (100%)

Population of Koreans and Manchurians* in the four counties of Jiandao, in comparison with neighbouring counties of Jilin Province in 1930. Source: *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 545–546. Of these people, 6.1% of Koreans and 30.6% of Chinese lived in commercial settlements (treaty ports), while 93.9% of Koreans and 69.4% of Chinese lived in mixed settlement areas (Ibid, 140).

*The source dates from the Manzhouguo period (1937), when residents of Manchuria were referred to as Manchurians. This category would have consisted of Han Chinese and Manchus.

APPENDIX FOUR

Korean People's Association membership, early 1930

KPA location	Korean house-holds in KPA district	KPA member households in KPA district			Non-KPA member house-holds in KPA district	KPA member house-holds as percentage of total	KPA member house-holds with official duties	KPA member house-holds without official duties	House-holds with official duties as percentage of total
		Naturalised	Not naturalised	Total					
Longjingcun	6,891	455	4,769	5,224	1,669	75.8%	3,447	1,777	50.0%
Juzijie	3,702	346	3,134	3,480	222	70.0%	3,178	302	85.8%
Toudaogou	5,613	161	5,339	5,500	113	98.0%	5,000	500	89.1%
Yilangou	2,446	137	1,491	1,628	818	66.6%	1,541	87	63.0%
Tongfosi	3,056	161	2,612	2,773	283	85.5%	2,257	516	73.9%
Tianbaoshan	4,354	31	1,939	1,970	2,384	45.2%	1,080	890	24.8%
Badaogou	2,637	49	1,934	1,983	654	75.2%	986	997	37.4%
Erdaogou	6,829	207	2,607	2,814	4,015	41.2%	2,514	300	36.8%
Yanji County	35,528	1,547	23,825	25,372	10,158	71.4%	20,003	5,369	56.3%
Dalazi	3,172	1,294	1,237	2,531	641	79.8%	2,009	522	63.3%
Nanyangping	3,923	943	1,957	2,900	1,023	73.9%	2,591	309	66.0%
Fudong	3,412	17	3,395	3,412	-	100.0%	745	2,667	21.8%
Jiemandong	2,224	50	1,800	1,850	374	83.2%	950	900	42.7%
Helong County	12,731	2,304	8,389	10,693	2,038	84.0%	6,295	4,398	49.4%
Baicaogou	4,460	295	1,310	1,615	2,845	36.2%	885	730	19.8%
Gayahe	1,074	175	898	1,073	-	100.0%	923	150	85.9%
Liangshuiquanzi	935	61	748	809	126	86.5%	712	97	76.1%
Wangqing County	6,469	531	2,956	3,497	2,971	54.0%	2,520	977	39.0%

Hunchun	3,816	144	3,334	3,478	338	91.1%	2,481	997	65.0%
Toudaogou	3,107	403	2,161	2,554	553	82.2%	400	2,154	12.9%
Heidingzi	1,519	100	629	729	780	48.0%	532	248	35.0%
Hunchun County	8,442	647	6,124	6,761	1,671	80.0%	3,413	3,399	40.4%
All KPAs total	63,170	5,029	41,294	46,323	16,838	73.3%	32,231	14,143	51.0%

Source: Mantetsu chōsaka, *Man-Mō jijō* (Dairen: Mantetsu chōsaka) February 1930: 41–42.

APPENDIX FIVE

Disbursement of Korean People's Association funds (in yen), 1929

Capital 資本金	170,000
Reserves 積立金	102,689
Special loan capital 特別借入資金	338,647
Deposits 預金	324,273
Loans 貸出金	698,373

Source: *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 576–577.

APPENDIX SIX

Uses of Korean People's Association finance bureau (*kin'yūbu*) loans, with loan amounts and number of recipients, in the year 1930.

Use of loan	Number of recipients	Loan amount (in yen)	Loan amount as percentage of total
Purchase of property for private use	4,287	263,136	37.6%
Land improvement	41	6,137	0.9%
Land reclamation	115	7,986	1.1%
Water supply	10	780	0.1%
Purchase of draught animals	4,988	235,823	33.7%
Purchase of farming tools	65	3,434	0.5%
Purchase of seeds	13	505	0.1%
Purchase of irrigation equipment	315	14,836	2.1%
Purchase of house-building materials	163	12,150	1.7%
Labour hire	60	3,363	0.4%
Repayment of old loans	1,426	88,294	12.6%
Subsidiary business	32	1,930	0.2%
Stocking up on commodities	175	14,210	2.0%
Purchase of foodstuffs	965	46,153	7.0%
TOTAL	12,655	698,737	100.0%

Source: *Manshū kyōsanhi no kenkyū*, 578–579.

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