Eckhardt Fuchs / Tokushi Kasahara / Sven Saaler (eds.)

A New Modern History of East Asia

Volume 1

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A New Modern History of East Asia

Volume 1

Edited by the Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee

Translated by Maya Ileto and Roger Prior

With 70 figures

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Preface to the English Edition

International textbook activities first emerged within the context of the international peace movement at the end of the 19th century. It was, however, only after the First World War that these activities were taken up more comprehensively, both by the League of Nations and by other international organizations. It was then that the role played by education in fostering a peaceful coexistence of nations, the essential concept at the heart of peace education, became a more widespread aspect of the discourse in national and international contexts than hitherto imagined. It also soon became clear, however, that the topic of textbook revision was one of the most sensitive areas of international cooperation, addressing not only issues underlying political rivalries, but also touched upon an area traditionally dealt with under the exclusive national authority of individual states. The very idea that leading historians be permitted to develop a uniform international history textbook, something that had been proposed as early as the beginning of the 1930s, was met with abhorrence, not only by national school authorities but was also seen by many history scholars as encroaching upon the freedom of research and teaching methodologies. Revising national textbooks in accordance with specifically defined criteria appeared, however, to be more acceptable. This would often include such measures as excluding chapters of military or nationalistic content, for instance.

The revision of textbooks therefore became the main strand of international textbook activities after 1945. International organizations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe but also national institutions such as the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research have been

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major actors in this field up to the present day. They have developed handbooks and guidelines, and coordinated numerous international textbook commissions and projects. The Franco-German Textbook Commission, founded in 1951, is one of the most successful examples of such long-term activities.

Whereas the revision of textbooks dominated the international debate for most of the Cold War era, over the course of the past decades the focus of textbook activities has shifted away from the issue of revising textbooks towards strategies of how to improve them with regard to new challenges societies are facing today, such as diversity, human rights, sustainable development, or gender equality. In addition, the rise of new nationalism and the advent of what is sometimes called the "postfactual age" have led to a new series of controversies surrounding textbooks, particularly history books. These take place within a society or across national borders and emphasize issues of neo-national tradition, the protection of societies' self-legitimisation, the construction of new identities, and the glorification and mythologization of history. Such controversies transcend the level of academic debate to resonate with wide sections of society and frequently give rise to heated discussion.

However, the idea of producing common or shared (history) textbooks – between two or even more countries – has remained an important part of cross-national textbook activities, despite the initial strong opposition from the 1930s. This is especially true of regions where there has not yet been a reconciliation process regarding the history or histories of different countries which may be shared yet highly controversial. There have been successful attempts to create common textbooks. One example is *Das europäische Geschichtsbuch* (European History), which was written by 14 authors from 13 European countries, published in 1992 and translated into more than 20 languages.[1] Another example is the Franco-German history textbook that was published in three volumes between 2006 and 2012. This book has been translated into Japanese and Korean and is considered a "master copy", especially for joint textbook activities in East Asia. The Israeli-Palestinian textbook constitutes a further example. The Georg Eckert Institute has been

1 Frédéric Delouche (ed.), *Das europäische Geschichtsbuch. Von den Anfängen bis heute* [1992], new revised and extended edition (Stuttgart 1998).

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involved in almost all of these joint textbook initiatives. More recently it has begun the coordination of a joint German-Polish History Textbook, the first two volumes of which were published in 2016/17 and will encompass four volumes in total. Equally noteworthy is the common history of the Balkan region (Joint History Project), currently being written by historians from a dozen Balkan states. Conflicts have characterized the history of the region, from the prehistory of World War I to the civil war following the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. However, historians have demonstrated that it is possible to share and accept each other's views and present a common history, which is now freely accessible in eleven languages as an online publication. The Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, where the project is based, was awarded the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Human Rights Award in 2013, and confidently refers to the project today as the "gold standard in multi-perspective history teaching".[2]

It is difficult to measure the impact of these shared textbooks on conflict resolution, reconciliation and multiperspectivity in the history classroom because they all have a different status; some are officially approved textbooks while others are supplementary teaching material or textbooks for the private sector, etc. However, they all reflect the attempt to overcome cross-national controversies surrounding history.

In East Asia, debates on the interpretation of the modern history of the region continue to affect international relations today, and history textbooks constitute a principal "battlefield" of these controversies. While the second half of the twentieth century saw constant improvement of history education in East Asia – progress in terms of reducing divergences in historical interpretations while expanding the scope of transnational dialogue – the emergence of historical revisionism, in Japan since the 1990s, in Korea since the 2000s, and in China since the 2010s, has led to an escalation of the situation rather than to a deepening of reconciliation. While the history textbook controversy received widespread attention in the 1980s and 1990s, in the 2000s experts and politicians began to speak of a "history problem" in East Asia. Since 2014, publications have increasingly referred to "history wars", testifying to an escalation of the rhetoric on all sides.

2 See http://cdrsee.org/projects/education-projects/joint-history-project, accessed August 2017.

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Before this background, the significance of efforts on the part of historians, political scientists, educators and concerned citizens to engage in trans-border dialogue regarding the history of the East Asian region, to deepen their mutual understanding regarding their shared past, and to formulate a shared historical consciousness have grown significantly in importance. This book, the "New History of East Asia", is a result of these efforts. Its key message is that, while some differences might remain, a common broad understanding regarding the history of East Asia between countries, but also between individuals of different national backgrounds *can* be brought about. The book is a major contribution to efforts towards reconciliation in the region. As the first English-language textbook on the history of East Asia written by scholars *from* East Asia, it is also highly recommended for use in an anglophone teaching environment.

Chinese-Japanese-Korean efforts to produce a common textbook or teaching material go back to the 1980s, when the history textbook controversy first became a major international issue in East Asia. While government initiatives to present a common understanding of the past were hampered by political considerations, communication between established historians, primarily of an academic nature, proved to be highly fruitful. Books written by multinational groups of historians and educators were published from the 1990s onwards, culminating in the completion of *A History to Open the Future* in 2005, which has been available in English as an e-book since 2015.[3] While the book was a first step on the path to the creation of a common, or at least mutual, understanding of the East Asian past that transcends narrow nation-centered histories, the authors realized that there was still much to be done. Continued exchanges resulted in the plan to write a two-volume "History of Modern East Asia", which was eventually published in 2012 in Chinese, Japanese and Korean. We decided that this work deserved to be presented to an English-speaking audience, began to translate and edit the text in 2013, and completed the work on this project in late 2016.

3 The China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Tri-National Committee (ed.), *A History to Open the Future: Modern East Asian History and Regional Reconciliation* (Honolulu: School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2015). An Esperanto version was published in 2014.

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The book is a milestone in the process of Chinese, Japanese and Korean historians working towards the formulation of a shared understanding of the past of the East Asian region. While it may seem natural that historians would engage in this kind of dialogue, in an age of increasing internationalization of research and of deepening academic networks, the fact that common wisdom still holds that "national history" is limited to one nation presents a major obstacle to this kind of transnational cooperation. Before this background, it is all the more important to demonstrate that transnational dialogue is possible and fruitful. The successful work of the participants in this project shows that an exclusive "Japanese", "Chinese" or "Korean" view of the past is difficult to uphold, just as scientists of previous centuries eventually had to admit that something like a "national biology" or "national physics" was simply not possible.[4] Similarly, the history of a war, by definition a historical event in which at least *two* nations are involved, should not be written by only one or the other side; ideally it is a synthesis of multiple perspectives and of the analysis of multiple archive sources.

This academic and historical approach has been under attack in East Asia since the 1990s, when "historical revisionism", a movement led by politicians and some public intellectuals, but not supported by any influential historians, emerged as an important force in public discourse. In Japan, the movement started with the foundation of the Committee for the Re-Examination of History in the Liberal Democratic Party in 1993, but it is also not unknown in Korea and has recently gained strength in China.[5] The book

4 These tendencies were certainly not rare in the nationalist nineteenth century, culminating in the emergence of pseudo-sciences such as "racial studies," but also remained popular in the twentieth century, when, for example, Austrian scholar Philipp Lenard (1862–1946) propagated the idea of "German physics."

5 On historical revisionism in Japan, see Sven Saaler, *Politics, Memory and Public Opinion* (Munich: Iudicium, 2005); Sven Saaler, "Nationalism and History in Contemporary Japan," in Jeff Kingston (ed.), *Asian Nationalisms Reconsidered* (London: Routledge, 2016), 172–185; on historical revisionism in China, see Gilbert Rozman, "Historical Memories and International Relations in Northeast Asia," in Daniel Chirot, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daniel Sneider (eds), *Memories of World War II. European and Asian Legacies* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2014), 211–233. See also the chapters in section IV of Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge, 2018).

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in hand is, amongst other things, an attempt to stem this wave of historical revisionism and to reconfirm the authority of history scholarship in discussions about the past of the East Asian region. The authors show that narrowly framed explanations limited to the exploration of only one side of the story are not only academically questionable, but also pose a hindrance on the road to reconciliation and stability in the region.

Notwithstanding the general agreement regarding the importance of connecting historical understanding to reconciliation in the context of international relations, the chapter about the representation of the past in the public sphere in this volume was the most contested one. Historical revisionism has been more successful than history scholarship in assuming a key role during discussions on historical *memory*. State-led ceremonies to commemorate historical anniversaries, such as the end of the Second World War in East Asia, have been strongly characterized by one-dimensional approaches, and have often been described as offensive to neighboring states. The resumption of visits by Japanese prime ministers to the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo in the early twenty-first century, after a moratorium of 15 years, has been seen as a provocative step because of the extremely narrow historical narrative represented by the shrine, which dramatically contradicts interpretations of Japan's wartime past presented by academic historians. Similarly, China's military "victory parade" to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the end of the "War against Japanese invasion" was seen as counterproductive in terms of reconciliation. Chapter 8 of this book deals with the display of historical memory in the public sphere and discusses issues of public memory and museums in East Asia. Heated discussion characterized the drafting of this chapter, as the reader will notice. Eventually, the Korean version of this chapter was included in all versions of this book as a common draft could not be agreed upon. However, the Chinese and Japanese versions include comments by the authors from these two countries, which were added to the unrevised draft. Since the book in hand is a translation from the Japanese version, the editors decided to leave the text as it is. For the subject matter is instructive in itself; we believe that it is telling that, while historians can agree on shared narratives of the past, they remain at odds with the often highly politicized question as to how history is represented in the public sphere.

During the process of translating the Japanese edition into English, ed-

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iting the English version and confirming the contents with the authors from Japan, China and Korea, the editors of this translation noticed, in addition to the fundamentally different chapter 8, subtle differences in several places. While this English translation is based on the Japanese version, we took into account requests by the Korean and Chinese authors (in consultation with the Japanese authors) to adjust the English text in cases where their versions differed substantially from the Japanese edition. We also added footnotes addressed to Western readers less familiar with the subject matter than the originally intended audience, and we dropped some footnotes included in the Japanese version that seemed unnecessary for a Western audience. While the English translation of *A History to Open the Future* includes a detailed list of differences in the wording of the texts of the Japanese, the Korean and the Chinese versions, we have decided to leave it to researchers of history education and textbook issues to analyze the details and what these tell us about differences in historical consciousness prevalent in the societies of these three East Asian countries.

Overall, we hope that this publication will be of interest not only to scholars of history education and textbooks, but that it will also find its way into the classroom of courses on Modern East Asia, International Relations or the histories of Japan, China and Korea. While in many countries history continues to be taught within a national framework, this book is also highly recommendable for classes in Modern Chinese History, Modern Japanese History, and Modern Korean History, because it presents national histories embedded in the framework of regional interaction and the global system of international relations. The late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, which constitute the principal timeframe of this textbook, were already characterized by intensive cross-border interaction. However, the need to understand such developments is even greater in the twenty-first century, an era in which forces of globalism and nationalism continue to influence our daily lives, necessitating an understanding of the historical background of contemporary developments.

Eckhardt Fuchs and Sven Saaler
Braunschweig and Tokyo, August 2017

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Preface of the Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee

As we embarked on the twenty-first century after a century of invasion, war, and conflict, we hoped it would be a century of reconciliation and peace. However, that expectation was soon betrayed by conflict, amongst other things, over historical consciousness and history textbooks. It was then that we decided to collaborate to compile and publish a history textbook that could replace those that were focused on our own national perspectives. We felt that to aim at a shared awareness and reconsideration of history by deepening our mutual understanding was the best way to create a brighter future for East Asia.

In May 2005, we published *Mirai o hiraku rekishi* (A History to Open the Future), which was edited by a team of Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean historians. The response to it exceeded our expectations by far, and over 300,000 copies in total were sold in China, Japan, and Korea. It is used as a teaching resource in some junior high and high schools, as well as in some universities. It drew interest not only from within the three countries but also from academic societies and history educators in America and Europe. People reacted positively to the efforts of researchers from China, Japan, and Korea to open the way to a future of peace, human rights, and democracy based on a shared historical consciousness.

However, the limits and problems in the process of compiling *A History to Open the Future* have also received attention. Some felt that there was not enough of a shared historical awareness in the book, and that too much emphasis was placed on criticizing Japan's mistakes rather than working toward a future peace. In particular, it was argued that, while the book claimed to look at history from the perspective of "East Asia," in fact it did

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no more than look at the modern history of China, Japan, and Korea side by side, a critique that indicated a major problem of our undertaking.

At almost the same time as the publication of this book, a number of different efforts began in East Asia to try and resolve the conflict surrounding historical consciousness. Several history textbooks were published as a result of collaborative efforts between Japanese and Korean scholars, increasing interest in the history of the neighboring countries. Exchange between historians also increased as they tried to solve the disputes over our history and reach a shared historical understanding, and further seminars and symposia were held on the theme of East Asian history. "East Asian History" became an official high school course in Korea and has been taught since 2012 after the necessary textbooks were developed.

Growing interest from society, as well as the increasing exchanges regarding history, greatly encouraged our efforts to create a shared historical consciousness, and we decided to take up the spirit of *A History to Open the Future* and work together once more to make another new history textbook.

At an international conference held in Kyoto in November 2006, we agreed to collaborate and compile a new textbook. This new book was created to refine the content and our methodology in order to further an understanding of East Asia's modern history and promote a shared awareness of history. We also agreed to make it a stepping-stone toward writing a complete, systematic history of modern East Asia that would form the basis of a common historical awareness in China, Japan, and Korea.

In *A History to Open the Future,* the focus was placed on helping students and the general public to accurately understand East Asia's modern history. Therefore, we structured the content around topics and facts that were disputed by the three countries. In the new book, we emphasize a systematic understanding of East Asia's modern history by linking the historical shifts in the region with the general flow of world history. To achieve this, we refused to adopt a method in which members from each country undertook the writing of their respective country's history; instead we decided to divide up the writing by chapter, narrating history with an emphasis on the structural changes. We focused our attention on understanding structural changes in the state systems of each of the three countries, as well as their interrelationships within the context of international relations in East Asia.

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Particular emphasis was placed on understanding them within the context of their relations with Europe and America.

However, in a historical narrative concerned with only structural changes, the tangible figure of the common people who lived through them is likely to be buried; furthermore, there is a danger that it becomes difficult to see how individuals' activities and interactions with each other affected the course of modern history. We therefore decided to create a second volume that looked at the daily lives and mutual exchanges of the people of China, Japan, and Korea. Thus, the first volume of the new book is a chronological study of the structural changes in China, Japan, and Korea's modern history, whereas the second volume examines the lives and interactions of the people, based on a variety of topics.

While research collaborations tend to emphasize continuous opportunities for exchange among scholars and improved results, our efforts focused on producing a joint work. Our aim was to make the fruits of our collaboration a shared social heritage rather than a simple mishmash of individual research. For this reason, the process consumed a great deal of time and effort. Our work was supported by a consensus that we were contributing to the development of an "East Asian Peace Community," and from 2002 this was our driving force.

Today there is lively debate in the three countries regarding the "East Asian community." This was not the case when we began working together to create these resources for teaching history. We would like to see these two volumes contribute to resolving the conflicts between the three countries and establishing peace, because that is the path toward a future in which the people of East Asia can interact with each other, share culture, and exchange ideas.

We also hope that the readers of this work further discuss the problems that we have raised. We would like the book to play a role in fostering an awareness of history that looks to the future, helping people understand the history of East Asia and consider the history of countries different from their own in a new light. It is with this sentiment that we have published this new two-volume textbook in China, Japan, and Korea. We hope that this provides an opportunity for renewed exchange and fruitful dialogue concerning historical awareness of East Asia's past.

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Outline of the First Volume

In the first volume, we analyze East Asia's modern history, focusing on the transformations in international relations. It can be broadly divided into three periods. The first period is the collapse of the traditional international system in East Asia centering around China and the emergence of Japan as an important actor on the international scene. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, which gave rise to a new international order with Japan at the top. In the second period, Japan's imperialist invasions led to colonial rule and war, and as nationalist movements in China and Korea arose to counter this, nation-states came into being. This period is covered in chapters 4 and 5. In the Asia-Pacific War (1931–45), the newly formed order led by Japan was destroyed and a new framework of international relations was created. The third period covers postwar history, namely the Cold War, which went through various transformations before ending in 1989. Chapters 6 through to 8 examine the changes in postwar East Asia, focusing on the Cold War order. The specific transformations in modern East Asian history covered in each chapter are as follows:

Chapter 1 outlines the origins and structure of the traditional Sinocentric international order, as well as the changes from the latter half of the nineteenth century onward due to pressure from the Western powers. Chapter 2 follows events leading up to the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), showing how Japan, as it promoted its policy line of "Rich Country, Strong Army" and fought back against Western pressure, advanced into and attacked East Asia, destroying the existing order. The third chapter draws attention to the grave situation in both China and Korea as they were forced to confront the crisis of colonization or semi-colonization. As Japan rose to prominence, in its struggle for hegemony against the Western powers it colonized Taiwan and took part in the race to divide up China, before going on to colonize Korea and confront Russia.

After the Russo-Japanese War, international relations in East Asia were reorganized favorably for Japan, and seizing the absence of European powers in East Asia during the First World War as an opportunity, Japan extended its influence even further. In Chapter 4, we follow the progress of this expansion while examining the influence of ethnic and popular

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movements in East Asia, such as the March First Movement in Korea and the May Fourth Movement in China. The Washington Conference and the Northern Expedition, during which war in China escalated, were state-level responses against these popular movements and other changes occurring in East Asia.

Chapter 5 looks at the war period, in which the Second Sino-Japanese War escalated into the Asia-Pacific War. By trying to tear down the existing international order through use of military force, Japan brought an era of war to East Asia. The repercussions of the war were enormous, for Japan as the nation that started it and also for the people and societies of China and Korea. War also transformed the hierarchy of modern East Asia that had been reorganized around Japan. By 1945, China had emerged victorious in its war of resistance against Japan; Japan was defeated; and Korea was liberated.

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union divided the world up into two blocs. While threatening each other with nuclear weapons, they used that tension to maintain hegemony in their own spheres of influence. Chapter 6 describes the formation and features of the Cold War order in East Asia. Unlike the Cold War in Europe, East Asia's divisions were far more complex and unstable, as evinced by the Korean War. After that, divisions between the "Communist Bloc" and the "Democratic Bloc" were further stretched, but the voice of the so-called non-aligned countries also grew stronger, and antiwar, pro-peace, and human rights movements spread.

Chapter 7 looks at the nature and transformation of the Cold War order in East Asia. It describes the confrontation between China and the Soviet Union, which was characteristic of the Cold War in East Asia, and also looks at the anti-communist alliance of South Korea, the United States, and Japan, the intensification of the Cold War as demonstrated by the Vietnam War, and finally the process by which this tension was alleviated through détente.

Chapter 8 takes a look at the situation in East Asia after the end of the Cold War and identifies movements that began in the region aimed at constructing a regional community. This is developed into an examination of how these movements can help to bring about peace in the East Asian community.

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Outline of the Second Volume

The second volume examines the lives of the people of China, Japan, and Korea and their interaction with each other, based on eight themes. The collapse and transformation of the traditional East Asian order brought change to the lives of people in the region, and the introduction of Western civilization also had a direct impact. Mutual exchange among the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean people also increased, thereby influencing their societies and cultures.

Chapter 1 explores the role of the state and ideas about the state, as well as the relation between the state and the people, by examining the foundations of the state as laid out in the respective constitutions. A constitution is a country's fundamental law, stipulating matters such as the relationship between the people and government, the structure of authority, and the protection of people's rights, and it is intimately connected to the country's politics, laws, economy, and society. In building a modern state, the constitutions of China, Japan and Korea reveal differences in how the people were positioned within the political system.

The modern era was a time of urbanization. Chapter 2 explores the modernization process in China, Japan, and Korea by examining the growth and development of cities, using as case studies Shanghai, Yokohama, and Busan (Pusan). These three cities are representative of the drastic transformations in the modern era that accompanied the opening of trading ports in East Asia in the mid-nineteenth century. People's lifestyles were radically transformed with the industrial revolution, and particularly remarkable were the changes to transportation. There was a complete change in the speed and methods of movement, and people's living spaces expanded. Chapter 3 looks into this topic with a focus on railroads – a symbol of modernization, as they made life more convenient and were a driving force for industrial development. At the same time, railroads also played a role as a vanguard of colonial rule. The primary aim of this chapter is to elucidate both of these aspects.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the history of cross-border movements while examining the impact of migration and exchange in the past, as well as the current situation of migrants throughout East Asia. Voluntary migration and exchange in East Asia grew around the time that trading ports

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were opened in the nineteenth century. People's motives for migration, and the modes employed, varied according to time and place. Some moved in search of a better life, while others were forced to migrate due to the demands of war. There were also people who moved abroad to study what they considered to be more advanced civilizations.

The family is the context within which people are born, raised, work, age, and end their lives. In addition to being the basic social unit, the family is also a site where citizens are nurtured according to the needs of the state, and the state has therefore given family policies much attention. In addition to similarities among families in China, Japan, and Korea, all of which are part of the Confucian cultural sphere, Chapter 5 examines the history of the family with particular focus on the differences emerging from social change.

Modern education in the three countries of East Asia began after contact with the West. Rulers and intellectuals built schools and reorganized school systems. Modern education became available to everyone, and elementary education was made compulsory. What did this mean for the people? Chapter 6 focuses on elementary education to analyze the instrumentalization of schooling for character building, to identify state principles and policies applied in education, and to clarify the impact of changes in education on people's lives and views.

In addition to education, information greatly influences people's knowledge and awareness. The media plays a major role in communicating information and culture in modern society. Chapter 7 explores the history of mass media and identifies changes in popular culture with a focus on newspapers, radio, television, and movies. Newspapers first appeared during the modernization process. Movies greatly impacted popular culture, and radio strongly influenced people's social awareness. In the modern era, television manifested tremendous influence through the vivid images it provided.

Japan's war of aggression in East Asia escalated into total war in the 1930s. It was not just soldiers who were drawn into total war; everyone was, including the general public. The war robbed people of their happiness. Many lost their lives during the war and did not return home. In all of the countries involved, victorious or not, the war left deep scars that would be difficult to heal. How should we remember the war today? Chapter 8 con-

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siders, for the sake of East Asia's future, the war experiences and memories of the people.

Finally, Chapter 9 raises the issue of how, today and in the future, we may overcome the past. It touches on issues such as the "comfort women" and war compensation, as well as transnational historical consciousness.

The Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee
May 2012

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Foreword to the English Translation

East Asia today is facing a growing number of problems that revolve around history textbooks and historical consciousness. In 2002, we began compiling a trilateral history textbook that could replace existing ones focused on one-country perspectives, with the objective of deepening mutual and transnational understanding. In May 2005, we published *Mirai o hiraku rekishi* (A History to Open the Future) in China, Japan and Korea, simultaneously, to serve as a teaching resource in the three countries. This was the first such attempt in the history of East Asia. The response was far beyond our expectations, with over 300,000 copies sold in total. With *A History to Open the Future*, we hoped to lay the foundation for a shared understanding of history among students and the general public in East Asia, particularly children, and we structured the content around topics and facts that were disputed by the three countries.

In November 2006, we agreed to continue collaboration and compile a new history book to follow *A History to Open the Future*. To further our shared understanding of East Asia's modern history and promote a common historical consciousness, we decided to edit and publish a two-volume set: one volume was to present a systematic analysis of East Asia's modern history, linking the historical shifts in the region with those in world history, and the second volume was to focus on the daily lives and mutual exchanges of the people of China, Japan, and Korea. We spent about six years on the project and published the Korean version of *A New Modern History of East Asia* in May 2012, the Japanese version in September 2012, and the Chinese version in February 2013.

Both *A History to Open the Future* and *A New Modern History of East Asia*

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took the people of Japan, China, and Korea – the readers – into consideration and were published in each of the three languages. And to present this common history to the rest of the world, we decided to make it available in a language widely used around the world. Preparations to publish an English version of *A History to Open the Future* thus began in 2007. With the kind cooperation of the Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI) in Braunschweig, Germany, we were able to quickly complete the translation of *A New Modern History of East Asia*, which we present to readers here. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Eckhardt Fuchs, Director of the GEI, as well as all others involved in this project, for their extensive support.

There has been steady dialogue in Europe regarding the topic of history textbooks, in particular between Germany and France as well as between Germany and Poland. Joint publications include a common textbook for German and French schools and common teaching resources for history for the eleven Balkan states. An English version of our book is crucial in order to share the results of our years-long dialogue in East Asia and align with the global trend of engaging in transnational discussions regarding history and history education. We truly hope that this book will promote the internationalization of this dialogue beyond our borders. At the same time, nothing would make us happier than for this publication to provide an opportunity for people around the world to deepen their knowledge of the modern history of East Asia and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of world history.

This is just the beginning of efforts by historians of China, Japan, and Korea to engage in an active dialogue on history and to produce history teaching materials and textbooks. There are still many issues yet to be resolved. At the same time, the opposition and conflict over historical consciousness in East Asia is becoming an increasingly grave issue. We hope that through this book, readers around the world and people with an interest in discussions on transnational history textbooks can turn their attention to the situation in East Asia and to international dialogue on the problems of the region, so that we may overcome them to build a peaceful future.

Editorial Committee of the Trilateral History Textbook for China, Japan and Korea
March 2017

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Note on Transliteration

Throughout this book, Chinese terms have been rendered in the Pinyin transliteration, but the commonly-used Wade-Giles transliteration has been added in brackets on first occurrence in case of names often used in this rendering. For Japanese, the Hepburn system is used, but we have omitted the macrons often used to mark long vowels. For Korean, the Revised Romanization of Korean (2000) is used.

Chinese, Japanese and Korean names are given in accordance with East Asian custom, the family name preceding the personal (given) name. In case of Mao Zedong, Mao is therefore the family name, Zedong the personal name; in case of Natsume Soseki, Natsume is the family name, Soseki the personal name; and in case of Kim Dae-jung, Kim is the family name and Dae-jung is the personal name.

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Eckhardt Fuchs, Tokushi Kasahara and Sven Saaler
Braunschweig, Fuefuki and Tokyo, August 2017

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Chapter 1:
The Impact of the West and the Destabilization of the Traditional Order in East Asia

Since ancient times in East Asia, the emperor of China, the self-anointed "Son of Heaven," invested the leaders of the surrounding countries as kings of their respective realms and recognized their areas of rule. In return, the kings sent envoys to the Chinese emperor at regular intervals and offered tribute. This tribute system, also known as the Sinocentric system, functioned as a form of international order (see column 1 at the end of this chapter).[6] However, due to the relationship China had with the surrounding nations and ethnic groups, the specific form of this system varied over time. In particular, the transition in the seventeenth century from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty was seen as barbarians (the Qing Dynasty was founded by the Jurchen, or Manchu, people from what is today the Northeast of China) overrunning civilization (the Ming Dynasty), and this greatly influenced people's perception of regional order in East Asia.

The Opium War of 1840–42 provided the impetus for the collapse of the existing regional order and the establishment of a new international order. Among the Western powers that encroached on East Asia in the nineteenth century, there already existed a form of order based on international law.[7]

6 Under this system, called *Ce feng* in Chinese, *Sakuho* in Japanese, and *Caek bong* in Korean, the Chinese emperor appointed the leader of a country king and provided the state with bureaucrats, an official seal, and a calendar system. As suzerain, China would not interfere in the tributary state's internal politics, so the tributary states were effectively independent countries. However, China would sometimes send military assistance in the event of a tributary state being attacked, so in a sense the system was a form of military alliance.

7 The idea that all countries should follow basic laws when dealing with each other first

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This Western-centric system aimed at facilitating interaction between "civilized nations" on equal terms. However, under the banner of international law, the Western powers took for granted the limited sovereignty of what they considered semi-civilized and uncivilized nations. They believed that "areas without a ruler" – could be taken into possession by whoever discovered them first. The principles of this international law thus included the rationalization of colonial rule and of global domination by the Western powers.

In the East Asian region, Japan was quick to learn the dual nature of Western international law after opening its doors to the Western powers in the 1850s, and it charged headlong down the road to becoming what was considered a "civilized nation" (according to Western standards) at the time. Japan not sought to modernize, but, based on the logic and definition of "civilization," it also strove to dominate the region and subjugate its neighbors China and Korea. Therefore, it was not the Western powers alone that destroyed the traditional order in East Asia.

In this chapter, we take a close look at the regional order that defined relationships between the countries in East Asia, as well as how it changed due to the incursions of the Western powers and how the countries then redefined their relations throughout this period.

1. Political Transformations and Regional Order in East Asia in the Seventeenth Century

China, Japan, and Korea at War and Amid Political Transformation

In the fifteenth century, the regional order in East Asia was established in the form of a tribute relationship between China of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and the states surrounding it. However, from the middle of the sixteenth century, this system of peaceful diplomacy and cultural as well as

emerged in seventeenth-century Europe, and these laws were used as the basis for determining how sovereign European nations managed their external affairs and interacted with each other.

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economic exchange was shaken by the appearance of pirates (*wako*[8]) and their activities along the southeast coast of China. Ultimately, it was the Japanese who decisively transformed the situation in the region with the invasion of Korea (Joseon) at the end of the sixteenth century. Warrior and feudal lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) put an end to more than one hundred years of civil war in Japan (the warring states period), unified the country, and expressed his ambition to conquer Ming China and control the East Asian region. To that end, in 1592 he invaded Korea. Background to the invasion was Hideyoshi's attempt to control the military power of the other feudal lords, the *daimyo*, and restore licensed trade[9] with the Ming Dynasty that had been suspended in the middle of the sixteenth century. With their vast military experience accumulated over the course of fighting for unification, and their powerful muskets made using imported Western technology, the Japanese forces soon captured Hanseong (modern-day Seoul) and advanced as far as the Ming border.[10] They were prevented from following up on their success in advancing to the north both by the Korean navy, led by Admiral Yi Sun-sin, cutting off their military supplies, and by the so-called "Righteous Armies" that sprang up all over Korea to attack the Japanese troops with guerrilla tactics. Thus the tide began to turn. Furthermore, the Ming army, which had been sent to protect the Liaodong region and prevent China from becoming a battleground, joined the Korean forces to take back Pyongyang, reversing the tables against Japan. On the heels of that success, the Ming army then marched south but was defeated by the Japanese at Bidigwan in Gaoyang County, and the war situation turned into a stalemate. The Ming army tried to broker peace with the Japanese, bypassing the Korean government in the process.

Demanding withdrawal of the Japanese forces as a prerequisite to the

8 *Wako* was the name given by Koreans and Ming-era Chinese for Japanese involved in piracy, but later the majority of these pirates were actually Chinese.

9 *Kango boeki*, as it was known in Japan. The *kango* was a trade permit given to some Japanese ships. The Japanese ruler, shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, sent tribute to the Ming. Only ships given the *kango* certificate by the Ming were allowed to trade with China.

10 The Ming court first thought the attack by distant Japan was part of a conspiracy with Korea, but their suspicions eventually vanished two months after the invasion began, and Korea's suzerain, the Ming, sent a relief army.

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ceasing hostilities, the Chinese proposed giving investiture to Toyotomi Hideyoshi as king of Japan and the granting of a tribute mission from Hideyoshi to China as a possible road to peace. In response, Hideyoshi demanded that the Ming court send an imperial princess as a consort for the Japanese emperor, that four of the eight Korean provinces be ceded to Japan, and that, regardless of any investiture, licensed trade (tribute trade) be resumed. The Chinese still believed that they could make peace with the Japanese by bringing them into the East Asian tribute system, and so in 1596 they invested Toyotomi as king of Japan. However, as none of his demands had been met, Toyotomi launched another invasion of Korea in 1597 (the second invasion of Korea, or the Keicho Campaign). Again, the Japanese forces struggled in the face of resistance from the Korean and Ming armies, and in 1598, after Toyotomi Hideyoshi died of illness, the Japanese army completely withdrew its troops.

The two invasions of Korea by Japan over a seven-year period caused great political upheaval in the form of dynastic or regime change across the East Asian region,[11] which, in turn, led the various countries to reevaluate and reexamine their mutual relationships.

Taking over from Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Japan, in 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1613) established the Bakufu government (shogunate) in Edo (modern-day Tokyo). He also opened negotiations to normalize and restore relations with China and Korea, which had been broken off during the war.

The shogunate's policy towards Korea changed according to the period but for the most part focused on restoring and maintaining diplomatic

11 This war had a major effect on each of the three countries. In China, Nurhaci, the leader of the Jurchen people in northeastern China, was in the ascendency, and when the Ming emperor dispatched a relief army to Korea, Nurhaci used the opportunity to unite the Jurchen and establish a dynasty known as the Later Jin, threatening both the Ming Dynasty and Korea (see below). As a result of sending troops to Korea, the bankrupt Ming court's financial position worsened further, and amid internecine fighting this ultimately led to the collapse of the Dynasty and the rise of the Qing. The Korean invasions by Japan were accompanied by the exchange and appropriation of technology and people. Many people were brought from Korea to Japan, used for labor, as ceramic craftsmen, passing on pottery technology to various parts of Japan such as Arita, in the present-day Saga Prefecture. From Japanese soldiers who surrendered, the Koreans gained arquebus technology, and they deployed troops armed with these weapons along the banks of the Yalu (Amnok) River to counter the Jurchen.

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relations, with the Japanese Tsushima feudal domain (*han*) acting as an intermediary. Since the domain had suffered severe economic repercussions from the cessation of diplomatic relations caused by the two Japanese invasions of Korea, it took an active role in the mediations, going so far as to secretly forge diplomatic messages written by both countries. The result was that in 1607 Korea made peace with Japan and began sending "Reply and Prisoner Repatriation Missions" there (see below). Furthermore, in 1609 Korea allowed trade with the Tsushima domain through the *Waegwan* ("Japan House") established for that purpose in Busan. Part of the context for restoring relations with Japan was that the situation in East Asia had taken a disadvantageous turn for Korea. In order to prepare for the threat of the Jurchen in southern Manchuria (later known as the Manchu), who were gradually expanding their power into northern Korea, the Korean Yi Dynasty had to officially end its status of war with Japan and restore diplomatic relations in order to stabilize its southern region against any external threat.

At the same time, the shogunate tried to restore relations with the Ming court using the Kingdom of Ryukyu as an intermediary (see also column 2 on the Ryukyu Kingdom at the end of this chapter). In 1609, acting with the permission of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, the Satsuma domain (present-day Kagoshima Prefecture in southern Kyushu) brought Ryukyu under military control and made it a vassal state. The domain, however, decided not to interfere in the tribute relationship that the Ming court had already established with Ryukyu because it profited from tributary trade between China and Ryukyu. The Ryukyu Kingdom thus found itself in the unique position of maintaining relations with both Ming China and the Satsuma domain. However, as the Ming emperor refused any contact with the shogunate through the Ryukyu Kingdom, the shogunate had no choice but to trade indirectly with China through licensed trade. This trade was operated mainly from Nagasaki, but these activities were halted with the implementation of Japan's isolation policy in the 1630s.

With the Tsushima domain acting as an intermediary, the shogunate restored diplomatic relations with Korea, but failed to do so with China. To control foreign contacts, it implemented a strict policy of forbidding Jap-

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anese sea travel outside of Japan,[12] while at the same time monopolizing trade with the Dutch Republic and China through Nagasaki in Kyushu in Western Japan. It also allowed trade between the Tsushima domain and Korea, between the Matsumae domain and Ezo (modern-day Hokkaido) and Karafuto (modern-day Sakhalin), as well as between the Satsuma domain and China through the Ryukyu Kingdom.

While Korea, Japan, and the Ming were fighting, in the Northeast of China Jurchen leader Nurhaci had become so powerful that he offered the Ming court to send reinforcements to Korea against the Japanese invasion. The Ming court declined this proposal. In 1616, Nurhaci established his dynasty, the Later Jin, and declared war on the Ming, occupying Luxun (Fushun) in the Liaodong region in 1618. The Ming court prepared an expeditionary force to counter this threat, while at the same time demanding that Korea send military support in return for China's assistance against Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions. Korean king Gwanghaegun attempted to reach a diplomatic solution with both the Later Jin and the Ming in order to avoid antagonizing the former and maintain peace in Korea. But facing pressure from both the Ming emperor and from factions within his own court, which argued that Korea should send troops as repayment for China's previous military assistance, Gwanghaegun sent an army to support the Ming forces in their attack on the Later Jin. However, he secretly ordered his army to steer clear of any serious fighting and instead surrender to the Later Jin, which they did at the Battle of Sarhu. Later on he refused the Ming emperor's requests for additional military aid, and there was growing hostility between the king, who tried to maintain peace through friendship with the Later Jin, and his vassals and court officials, who wanted to support the Ming. In 1623, a palace coup took place with Injo ousting Gwanghaegun and seizing power as the sixteenth king of the Joseon Dynasty (Injo Coup).

The Ming initially criticized Injo's coup as a usurpation that would shake the very foundations of China's tribute relationship with Korea. Since the approval and investiture of the Ming was necessary for the new regime to be

12 This kind of policy, known as *haijin* in Chinese, was originally introduced in Ming China and forbade private overseas travel and trade by the general Chinese populace. It was also adopted by the Qing Dynasty from the mid-seventeenth century onward. A similar policy was implemented in Korea. Japan's national isolationist policy is also regarded as a form of *haijin*.

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properly recognized and its power base made permanent, Injo emphasized that Gwanghaegun had betrayed the Ming by allying with the Later Jin. He also gave a clear indication of his intent to actively support the Chinese invasion of the Later Jin territories. In crisis over their challenge to the Later Jin, the Ming saw Injo's offer of support as genuine, and proposed investing him as king on the condition that the Koreans fight the Later Jin on their behalf. With this conditional Chinese patronage, Injo chose to ally more closely to the Ming and take a hard line against the Later Jin. However, the Koreans were in no position to face the Later Jin in battle. Injo had been unable to fully secure his own domestic power base so far, and while he emphasized closer ties to China, he maintained a cautious stance by trying to preserve the status quo and not provoke the Later Jin.

Amid this instability, Hong Taiji (Abahai), Nurhaci's successor in the north who later became the Qing emperor Taizong, attacked Korea in 1627 (the first Manchu invasion of Korea). Unprepared for war, the Koreans transferred their court to Ganghwa Island anticipating a long war, but accepted Hong Taiji's demand for an unequal relationship between Joseon and the Later Jin. Thus, the two concluded a peace treaty. From the perspective of the Koreans, however, who had tried for years to position themselves above the Jurchen, establishing a relationship with inferior status was a humiliation. Moreover, as their financial burden increased due to continued demands from the Later Jin for supplies, they were propelled even further down an anti-Later Jin path. While the Later Jin were successful in gaining economic advantages from Korea, they also became increasingly concerned over growing Korean opposition.

In 1636, Hong Taiji renamed the Later Jin dynasty "Qing" and styled himself as emperor. While opposing the Ming Dynasty in the south, the Qing emperor also demanded that Korea become his vassal. As a result of this demand, the faction in the Korean court that had strongly advocated fighting the Qing gained support. Relations between the two countries deteriorated further, leading the Qing army to attack Korea at the end of December 1636 (the second Manchu invasion of Korea). After holding out for forty-five days in Namhansanseong, a mountain fortress city located twenty-five kilometers southeast of the capital, King Injo eventually surrendered. Korea became a vassal of the Qing and promised to pay tribute, and it also agreed to cut off diplomatic relations with the Ming and

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promised to send troops to assist the Qing, should they ever attack the Ming. Having removed the threat of Korea from the east, the Qing went on to destroy the Ming and take control of China in 1644.

The invasions of Korea by the Later Jin and the Qing were both wars that arose from the complex diplomatic relations between the nations of Ming, Later Jin (Qing), and Korea. Throughout the course of these wars, the Japanese shogunate and Tsushima domain tried to improve relations with Korea – which had been hostile and stagnant ever since Toyotomi's invasions of the peninsula – by providing the Koreans with arms and proposing to send military support. Korea, while suspicious of the Japanese, adopted a policy of maintaining friendly relations in order to keep the Qing in check. This is symbolized by the fact that, directly before the second Manchu invasion, Korea changed the name of its diplomatic mission to Japan from a "Reply and Prisoner Repatriation Mission" (a diplomatic mission to "reply" to Japanese requests for friendly relations and bring back prisoners taken previously by the Japanese) to a "Communications Mission," denoting exchange based on mutual trust.

From the end of the sixteenth century up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the regional status quo in East Asia was reshaped through the four wars that took place on the Korean peninsula between the three countries. In particular, the change from the Ming to the Qing was seen as a shift from the "center" (Ming) to the "periphery" (Qing), and it had an enormous effect on the way people at the time viewed the international order.

The "Age of Discovery" Reaches East Asia

As the regional order in East Asia was changing from the latter half of the sixteenth century onward, the European powers, which had entered into an "Age of Discovery,"[13] turned their interest toward East Asia after making

13 Due to explorations carried out first by Spain and Portugal, the eyes of Western Europe were focused on every corner of the globe. The Western European nations launched ocean voyages, expanding their power into non-European territories and colonizing them.

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inroads in Southeast Asia. From the mid-sixteenth century, Portugal monopolized trade with China and Japan through its base in Macau. While trading with China in Manila, Spain also began to gain control of the transit trade routes formerly in the hands of the *wako* pirates. Soon after, Holland set up the Dutch East India Company and grabbed a dominant position in East Asian trade, including a monopoly in Japan.[14] During this period of burgeoning trade, Japanese silver[15] and silver from Europe and the New World (America) poured into the region, leading to the formation of a vast economic trade bloc all over East and Southeast Asia. Along with building colonies, the Europeans also spread Catholicism under the protection of the Pope. Macao was an outpost for propagating Catholicism, with the activities of the Jesuit missionaries being particularly noteworthy.

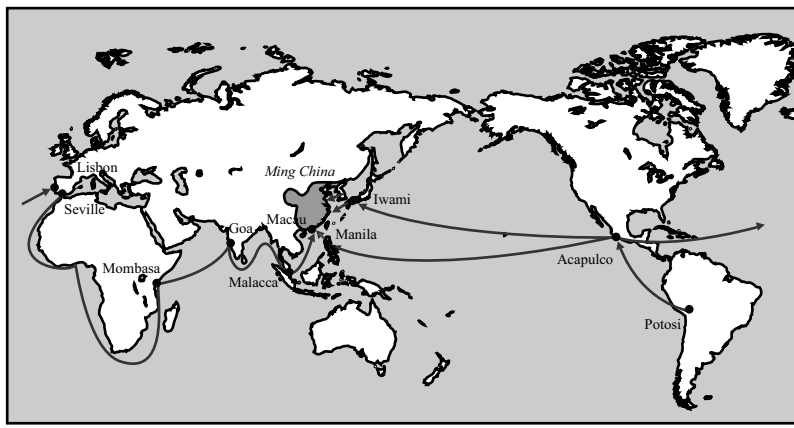

Figure 1: Circulation of silver in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Jesuit missionary work in East Asia gained momentum in Japan more than in China. Ever since the Spanish Jesuit Francis Xavier first arrived in Kyushu

14 The Dutch East India Company was founded in order to control trade in Asia. Moving into Southeast Asia, it ousted Portugal and England, then went on to occupy Taiwan as a base for commerce throughout the region. The Dutch eventually took over Portugal's monopoly on trade between China and Japan, even as Japan otherwise sealed its borders to foreign trade.

15 Due to factors such as the opening of the Iwami silver mine in 1562, silver from Japan accounted for one-third of the world's production during this period.

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in 1549, missionaries ventured to Japan. At that time, the feudal lords were in conflict with each other and thus tried to strengthen their armies. They showed an interest, among other things, in Western arquebuses and their military firepower, and some of the feudal lords, the *daimyo*, even converted to Catholicism. The shogunate initially allowed Catholic evangelism along with trade, but when the Dutch spread a rumor that the Portuguese and Spanish had territorial ambitions toward Japan, missionary activities were banned. Moreover, after a group of Catholics led a large-scale uprising in Kyushu in 1637 (the Shimabara Rebellion), the shogunate banned Catholicism completely. As a result of this proclamation, trade with Portugal and Spain, the countries behind Catholic evangelism, was also banned, and only trade with the Protestant Dutch remained.

In China, the Catholic missionaries had been evangelizing on a large scale ever since Jesuit Matteo Ricci landed there in 1583. Ricci accepted the practice of idolatry in China, represented by religious rites that included worship of Confucius and of nature. Adopting the Chinese name Li Madou, he carried out his missionary work dressed in the style of a Confucian scholar. However, this method of proselytizing was criticized as heretical within the Catholic Church. The "Chinese Rites Controversy" arose in the mid-seventeenth century, questioning the degree to which Chinese Confucian customs should be allowed in Christian belief, and this dispute continued for more than one hundred years. During the course of the debate, the Holy See sent envoys to China with papal bulls to argue that the rites practiced in China were acts of superstition. However, the Qing saw this as foreign interference and only recognized Catholic missionaries who accepted the Chinese rites, while forbidding all others.

From the end of the sixteenth century, ships from Portugal, England, Holland, France, and the Americas had also begun appearing off the coast of Korea. The reasons for these Western vessels to voyage to Korea varied according to the country and period. Initially, most either arrived there by chance, having been blown off course, or landed briefly in search of food, water, and fuel, but this gradually gave way to exploring, surveying, and seeking trade, and occasionally Catholic missionaries secretly entered the country to proselytize. Korea's reception of the Western ships also varied according to the circumstances. In the case of ships that washed up on the coast, Korea helped repatriate the sailors according to their wishes re-

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gardless of nationality. When preparing to send a crew home, the Korean authorities provided food and bedding for the shipwrecked sailors but also locked them up, preventing interaction with the general Korean populace. Then, using an overland route, the sailors would be moved to the closest city to the border where they could be repatriated. As Korea at the time also had a *haijin* policy in place banning maritime activities, it was forbidden for shipwrecked sailors to return home by sea. With the exception of ships washed up due to poor weather, all other Western ships were refused entry and dealt with harshly, whether they came for surveying, trade, or missionary work.

Transition from the Ming Dynasty to Qing Dynasty, and Changes to the East Asian Order

In 1644, the Qing occupied Beijing and overthrew the Ming Dynasty, but they still faced a powerful anti-Qing movement in many parts of China. The largest threat was the seaborne forces of Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga), a Ming commander who had established a base in Taiwan after driving out the Dutch and declaring it the Kingdom of Tungning. The Qing therefore issued a decree prohibiting overseas trade and the construction of large vessels by anyone who did not have official permission, in an effort to reinforce the maritime ban.

However, after the Qing overwhelmed the forces of the Tungning Kingdom in 1683 and made Taiwan a territory of the Qing Empire, the maritime ban was relaxed and Chinese merchants were once again allowed to engage in foreign trade.[16] Customs houses in four areas were established to manage overseas traffic and trade: Amoy (now Xiamen) in Fujian Province; Canton (Guanzhou) in Guangdong Province; Ningbo in Zhejiang Province; and Shanghai in Jiangsu Province. These customs houses collected a tax on ships entering and leaving their harbors. In other words, foreign nations were allowed to trade even if they did not enter into a relationship of investiture-for-tribute with the Qing emperor – provided they met certain conditions,

16 Chinese ships were allowed to sail to Nagasaki and to trade in Japan under the supervision of the shogunate.

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such as paying customs duties. This way of doing commerce even continued after the "Canton System" was established in 1757, according to which foreign trade was allowed only in Canton.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Russia advanced into the region around the Amur River. Russian troops built fortresses in Nerchinsk and Albazin, and also sent diplomatic missions to Beijing several times with the aim of opening up trade with the Qing, an effort that ultimately ended in failure. In 1685, after the Qing had suppressed all anti-Qing threats, with the Tungning Kingdom in Taiwan being the last holdout, the emperor decided to attack the Russian base at Albazin (known as the Sieges of Albazin) to prevent an increase of Russian hunters and immigrants along the northeast border. The Russians at first withdrew to Nerchinsk but then tried to re-establish the Albazin fort. In response, the Qing launched another attack, and midway through a ceasefire was brokered. After lengthy negotiations the parties signed a border treaty in 1869 (the Treaty of Nerchinsk), in which the Qing agreed to give up the area around Nerchinsk in exchange for the Russians abandoning Albazin. The treaty's outcome was that the Qing secured the whole region along the dividing range of the Amur River, to which their power previously had not extended, and they held this land until the middle of the nineteenth century; Russia, meanwhile, was allowed to trade in Beijing. The treaty meant that the Qing Dynasty's northern border was in North Manchuria, but since it was unable to demarcate the border between Mongolia and Siberia on its western flank, trade-related conflicts continued to grow. In 1727, Russia and China attempted to solve this problem by signing the Treaty of Kyakhta, in which both parties agreed to trade with each other only in the city of Kyakhta; before they had been practicing commerce arbitrarily in many different regions. The border demarcated under this treaty is now the current border between Mongolia and Russia. The Qing signed the border demarcation treaty with Russia and regarded Russia as an equal state, but when the Qing drew the border with Korea, it did not enter into a treaty as it had done with Russia.

At the time, the people of China and Korea crossed back and forth over the Yalu and Tumen Rivers (in Korean: Amnok and Tuman respectively), and this frequently led to friction between the two sides. In 1685, a diplomatic incident arose when a group of Qing officials on an exploration mission near Mount Baekdu were attacked and killed by Koreans who had

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crossed the Yalu River in search of wild ginseng. After similar incidents also occurred in 1690, 1704, and 1710, the Qing dispatched a diplomatic mission to Korea to try and solve the border dispute. This led to a boundary marker being erected on Mount Baekdu on May 15, 1712, inscribed with a message setting the boundary at the Yalu River to the west and the Tumen River to the east. However, a territorial dispute emerged once again in the 1880s as the Qing and Korea argued over how to interpret the term "Tumen River."

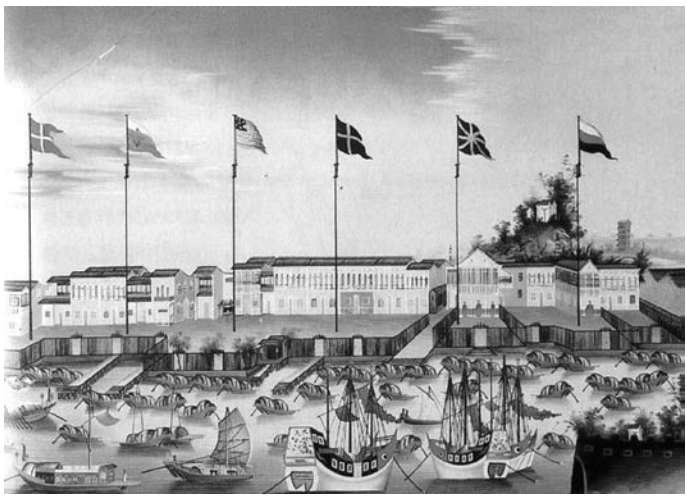

Figure 2: Trade factories in eighteenth-century Canton. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

Foreign affairs in Qing China were managed by two agencies in the central bureaucracy, the Lifan Yuan and the Ministry of Rites. The former was in charge of all work concerning areas such as Inner and Outer Mongolia, Qinghai, Tibet, and Xinjiang, as well as Russia and Central Asian states like Gurkha and Kokand, which could all access China via overland routes from the north and west. The Ministry of Rites, by contrast, was in charge of dealing with the tribute states, such as Korea, the Ryukyu Kingdom, Annam, Myanmar, Siam (now Thailand), as well as trade-only countries such as Japan, Holland, England, and Portugal, which came to China via its southeastern shores.

The Qing court's foreign policy was reflected in the nature of its relations

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with the other countries in East Asia. Korea, which shared a border with China, had tried to attack the Qing, but in the face of the Qing's overwhelming power the country had no choice but to maintain its tributary relation with China. However, a strong feeling remained among many Koreans that they still had an obligation towards the Ming. This came through, for example, in building the Altar of Great Gratitude, which lauded Ming emperor Wanli for sending an army to help Korea at the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions. This sentiment also led Korea to see itself as a "Small China" with ideals inherited from the Ming Dynasty, and not to recognize the Qing, originally coming from the region of Manchuria, as representing civilized China. Korea thus fulfilled its obligation to the Ming on a conceptual level, and the trend of spiritual resistance against the Qing Dynasty continued until well into the eighteenth century. From the mid-eighteenth century, however, a belief that Korea should actively adopt Qing culture emerged among the Korean intelligentsia, who had experienced it first-hand as Qing power reached its zenith.

Compared to Korea, Japan was relatively free of the threat posed by the Qing. The shogunate simply traded with China through Nagasaki without receiving investiture as king from the Qing emperor, and Japan was classified as a trading partner. As it was separated by distance from the tributary relations of Qing China, the Japanese developed a view of themselves as civilized, seeing other nations and peoples such as Korea, the Ryukyu Kingdom, Holland, and the Ainu as barbarians.

The political transformation on the Chinese mainland from Ming to Qing provided the impetus for Korea and Japan to form their own brands of Sinocentrism and free themselves from the original Chinese-based version. This, then, had an enormous influence on Korean-Japanese relations. Since Toyotomi's invasions, Korea had held the Qing in check, and it had also started sending diplomatic missions to Japan once more, as requested by the Japanese, in order to prevent them from invading again. The shogunate, for its part, used the arrival of the diplomatic missions as an opportunity to flaunt its power internally. However, from the seventeenth century onward a Qing-centric order of power took root in East Asia; relations between the Qing and Koreans became more peaceful, whereas in Japan the need for the diplomatic missions gradually disappeared as the power of the shogun

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became more established. The diplomatic missions ended when the last was sent over in 1811.

During this period, the East Asian countries generally maintained strict maritime bans on ships from nations outside the region, and their economic systems of self-sufficiency were not difficult to maintain. There were, in fact, very few European trading vessels, and Western trade with China ran a chronic deficit. This meant that unlike North and South America, East Asia was not integrated in the European economic system with its global division of labor.

From the end of the eighteenth century, Britain gained an overwhelming advantage in its trade with China compared to the other Western nations. However, British products did not sell well on the Chinese market while imports of Chinese tea to Britain increased rapidly, resulting in a growing deficit in its Chinese trade. To wipe out this trade deficit, Britain began selling Indian-grown opium in China; from this point on, East Asia was quickly locked into the Western-based capitalist markets.

2. Aggression of the Western Powers in East Asia

The Opium Wars and the Treaty of Nanjing

The Qing largely stuck to their policy of banning maritime activities (*haijin*), but they did keep one port, Canton (now Guangzhou), open for overseas trade. An exclusive guild for Chinese merchants (*cohong*) monitored and controlled the trade and behavior of foreign merchants in the city by levying customs fees. For the British, the *cohong* prevented the expansion of their trade, so on several occasions they sent diplomatic missions to the Qing demanding equal diplomatic negotiating rights and the dismantling of the Canton commerce system in an attempt to destroy the guild. The Qing's attitude, however, was unrelenting.

While this was happening in China, in 1784 Britain cut the tax on tea, leading to an increase in the consumption of Chinese tea.[17] In order to gather

17 In Britain, the custom of drinking tea had spread even to ordinary households with the advance of the Industrial Revolution.

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enough silver required for the purchase and import of tea, the British had to look for a product to sell to China. They chose opium. By exporting textiles cheaply to India, the British were able to increase profits, and with silver earned by smuggling Indian opium into China, they were able to buy Chinese products like tea and ceramics in large quantities to sell back in Britain, thus realizing enormous profits. It was a triangular trade route, with goods going from Britain to India, from India to China, then from China back to Britain. Consequently, from around 1825, opium smuggling into China increased rapidly, creating an adverse balance of trade for the Qing, and the amount of silver currency flowing overseas from China grew year by year.

Despite repeated bans on opium, by the late 1830s at least two million people in China were addicted to it. Within the Qing court opinion was divided, with one side insisting that smoking opium should be strictly prohibited and the other arguing that it had to be legalized and controlled. Eventually consensus formed on the side in favor of strict prohibition. In 1839 Lin Zexu, a main supporter of the opium ban, was sent to Canton as special commissioner, and once there he began a harsh crackdown on Britain's opium trade. When a few British sailors killed a Chinese man, Lin used it as an opportunity to close off Macau and to confiscate and destroy 20,291 chests (1,284 tons) of opium from British merchants; this act led the British to start a war against China in 1840 (the First Opium War). The war became a catalyst for the Western powers to encroach into East Asia on a large scale. In the British Parliament, the majority Whig Party managed to curb a debate initiated by the Tory opposition to control the opium trade, and the Whigs agreed to pay the war expenses. The claims of capitalists involved in the burgeoning industry of selling opium, who appealed to free trade arguments and demanded that the prohibitive Canton System be scrapped, were also recognized. After that, the British forces, which boasted the most advanced military equipment, occupied cities in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, even advancing as far as Nanjing. Eventually the Qing emperor was forced to surrender, and in August 1842 the Treaty of Nanjing was signed.

With its thirteen articles, the Treaty of Nanjing stipulated the cession of Hong Kong to the British, the opening of five ports (Canton, now Guangzhou; Amoy, now Xiamen; Fuzhou; Ningbo; and Shanghai), establishment of consulates at those ports, and permission for British people to

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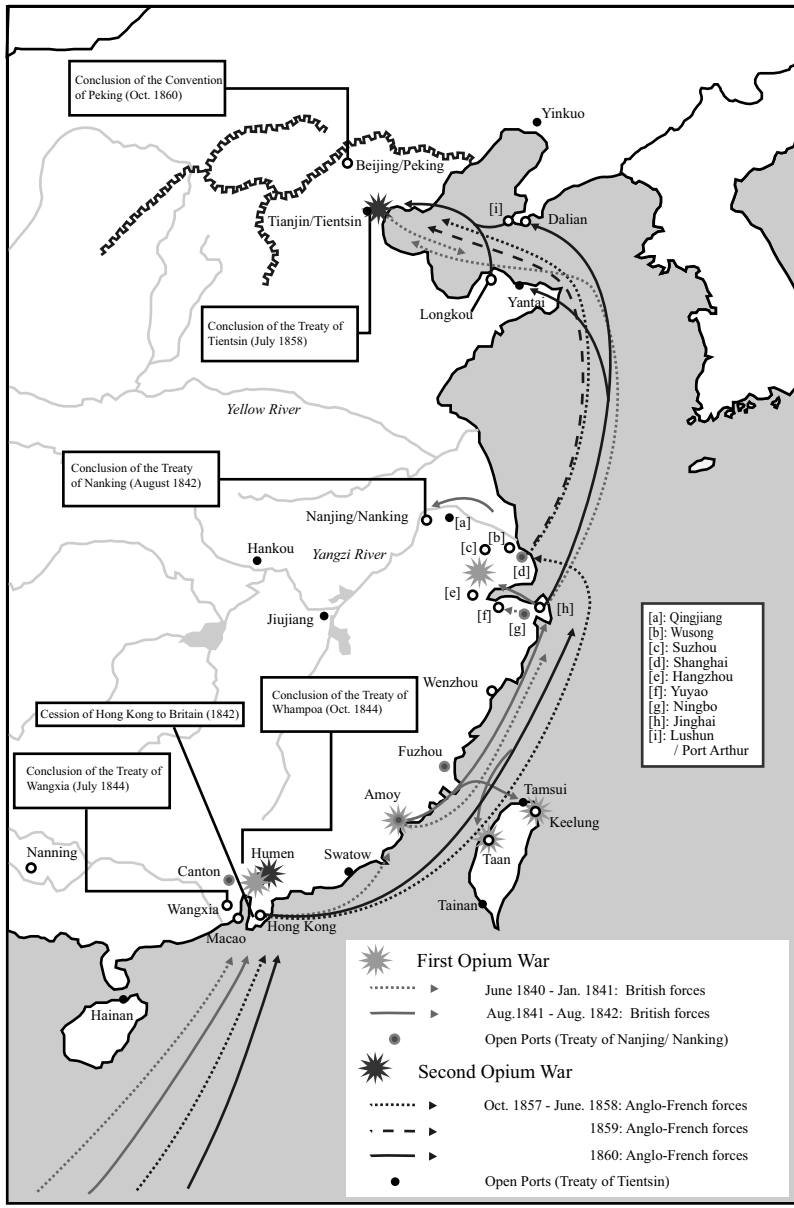

Figure 3: The First and Second Opium Wars.

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live there with their families. China also had to pay the British government $21 million, of which $6 million was compensation for the destroyed opium, $12 million reparations for Britain's military expenses, and $3 million for repayment of debts incurred by the British merchants. Merchant guilds with exclusive trading rights such as the *cohong* were also to be abolished, and the rate of tariffs on imports and exports to and from China were to be determined with the agreement of both countries. After the Treaty of Nanjing, the Qing entered into a follow-up treaty with the British at Humen in 1843 concerning commerce and tariff regulations at the five open ports (the Treaty of the Bogue). In 1844 they also signed the Treaty of Wangxia with the United States and the Treaty of Whampoa with France, recognizing agreed tariffs, consular jurisdiction, a "most-favored nation" provision, and the right of military ships to anchor at the open ports. These became known as the "unequal treaties," which the Western powers unilaterally forced on Qing China.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing, the ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai were opened over two years from 1843 to 1844. However, for the Qing, entering into the treaties with the West was no more than a temporary measure to avert an impending crisis, and it did not fundamentally change the nature of the tributary trade system in East Asia. This meant that the aims of the Western powers such as Britain, which was trying to export large amounts of textiles to China, were not fully realized. Moreover, China had always had a strong element of self-sufficiency in its social and economic systems; not only did the Chinese dislike imported goods, but after the First Opium War anti-Western feelings also grew among the people, especially in Guangdong.

In 1856 the "Arrow Incident" occurred, in which sailors from the trading ship *Arrow* were arrested by Qing officials on suspicion of piracy and the British flag was thrown into the sea. This provoked Britain to join forces with France, which was in the middle of negotiating with the Qing over the execution of a French missionary by the Chinese in Guangxi province, and in 1858 they launched a joint military expedition (the Second Opium War). The Anglo-French forces first occupied Guangzhou, then began to head north, and when they reached Tianjin, they put forward demands to revise the previous treaties. In 1858, the Qing emperor entered into new treaties with Britain and France at Tianjin; soon after, the United States and Russia

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also signed similar treaties with the Qing. The content of the treaty with the British included: 1) the establishment of a diplomatic mission in Beijing, 2) permission to travel in inland China and trade along the Yangtze River, 3) new trade agreements and agreements on tariff rates (legalization of the opium trade), 4) more open ports in addition to the original five, and 5) official recognition of Christianity in China.

The treaty also stipulated that instruments of ratification be exchanged in Beijing within a year of signing. After the Anglo-French forces left, however, there were calls within the Qing court to reject the British and French demands. In response, in 1860 a joint Anglo-French army numbering some twenty thousand troops once again marched into China, advancing as far as the imperial summer palace Yuanmingyuan (a palace built in the European style) near Beijing, and forced the Chinese to sign the Convention of Beijing. After the British and French representatives left the Chinese capital, the Russians also signed a convention with the Qing. In addition to recognizing the lands north of the Amur River as Russian territory, which had already been agreed upon in the 1858 Treaty of Aigun, the convention also recognized lands east of the Ussuri River as Russian. This meant that Russia now could advance into what later became the Maritime Province (Primorsky Krai).

These treaties destroyed once and for all the Canton trading system, in which the Qing had allowed limited Western commerce within the tributary trade system. A relationship based on the unequal treaties was now established that would last for a century.[18]

Commodore Perry's Flotilla and the Opening of Japan

In the nineteenth century, Britain was looking to expand its markets from India to East Asia, and British ships began appearing in the waters off Japan, aiming to take over the Dutch trading sphere and their dependent territories. In 1808, the British Royal Navy ship *HMS Phaeton* intruded into Nagasaki harbor in order to capture a Dutch vessel, and it only left after taking representatives from the Dutch trading factory hostage and obtain-

18 China was eventually able to revise the Unequal Treaties during the Second World War.

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ing fuel, food, and water (this is known as the "Phaeton Incident" or the "Nagasaki Harbor Incident"). British ships also sailed to the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1816, as well as into Uraga Bay near present-day Tokyo on three separate occasions, in 1817, 1818, and 1822, in order to demand permission to trade. In 1825, worried by these British acts, the shogunate ordered that all foreign ships approaching the Japanese shore be unconditionally repelled.

However, the Opium Wars brought about a change in policy. In July 1842, after the shogunate heard from the Dutch that the war had ended in Qing defeat, the shogunate ordered that Western ships be provided with food, fuel, and water if needed, so as to avoid armed confrontation. Furthermore, it ordered the feudal domains to implement defensive measures around Japan, especially in Tokyo Bay, in readiness for a British attack.

The fallout from the Opium Wars spread fastest to the Ryukyu Kingdom. Britain had already surveyed the Ryukyu coastline and realized its strategic value, and in 1843 the British arrived demanding to trade with the kingdom. While putting off talks with the British, Ryukyu requested assistance from both the Qing and the Japanese shogunate. The Qing did not respond to the request, but the shogunate immediately sent a team to investigate the situation. The shogunate anticipated that the situation would either lead to a break-off of negotiations between Britain and Ryukyu, to friendly relations between the two, or to war. In any case, the shogunate's main aim was to prevent increased pressure to open Japanese ports even if Ryukyu might have to open its ports to Britain.

The United States, too, having stepped up its trade with China through the Treaty of Wangxia in 1844, ordered Commodore James Biddle to go to Japan to open up trade talks there. However, he did not plan or prepare sufficiently, and although he managed to sail his two ships into Tokyo Bay, he returned home empty-handed. The outcome of Commodore Matthew C. Perry's expedition, which reached Japan in June 1853, was different. After pressing Japan to open its borders by demonstrating his firepower off the coast of Uraga, he was able to sign the Convention of Kanagawa with the shogunate the following year. The convention brought an end to the *haijin*-type maritime ban that the shogunate had maintained for over two hundred years. It also opened the ports of Shimoda (in the south of the Izu peninsula) and Hakodate (in Hokkaido) to American ships and stipulated that US ships could be provided with fuel and supplies. The United States was hoping for a

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wide-ranging trade treaty similar to the one entered into with the Qing. However, unable to obtain a satisfactory result from the talk (with the exception of gaining "most-favored nation" status), the Americans withdrew, mindful of circumstances in Japan that ran counter to opening up the country, and resolved to enter into discussions again.

Next, the shogunate entered into treaties outlining the same conditions with Britain in 1854, Russia in 1855, and the Netherlands in 1856, and in 1858, it signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States. This treaty stipulated that the ports of Kanagawa (present-day Yokohama), Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyogo (present-day Kobe) would be opened; that Edo (present-day Tokyo) and Osaka would also be opened to foreign trade; that tariffs would be agreed on by both countries; that consular jurisdiction would be provided for Americans and a foreign concession (settlement) established; and that the United States would receive "most-favored nation" status. The shogunate also signed equivalent treaties of amity and commerce with the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France in 1858 (known as the Ansei Treaties, or Ansei Five Power Treaties). These were unequal treaties that were advantageous to the Western powers, but compared to the Treaty of Tianjin that the Qing signed that same year, the Ansei Treaties were relatively more favorable to Japan; the Treaty of Tianjin included provisions protecting Christianity, officially recognizing the opium trade, and granting foreigners free trading rights in the interior of China. The difference lay in the fact that the Chinese signed the Treaty of Tianjin after their defeat in the Second Opium War, whereas the Japanese signed the Ansei Treaties after negotiations.[19] Moreover, looking at the issue on a larger scale, it could also be said that popular resistance in Asia, such as the Taiping Rebellion in China and the Great Rebellion (also known as the Sepoy Rebellion) in India, affected the policy of the Western powers, particularly Britain, toward Japan. In order to meet the demands of the new system under the Ansei Treaties, the shogunate established a diplomatic bureau, *Gaikoku Bugyo*, the same year (1858) to manage foreign relations.

Before the Americans entered into treaty negotiations, their draft version

19 The shogun's officials entered negotiations having learned from China's experience of opening up the country and from Chinese sources about the West, such as the *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms*, written under the supervision of Lin Zexu.

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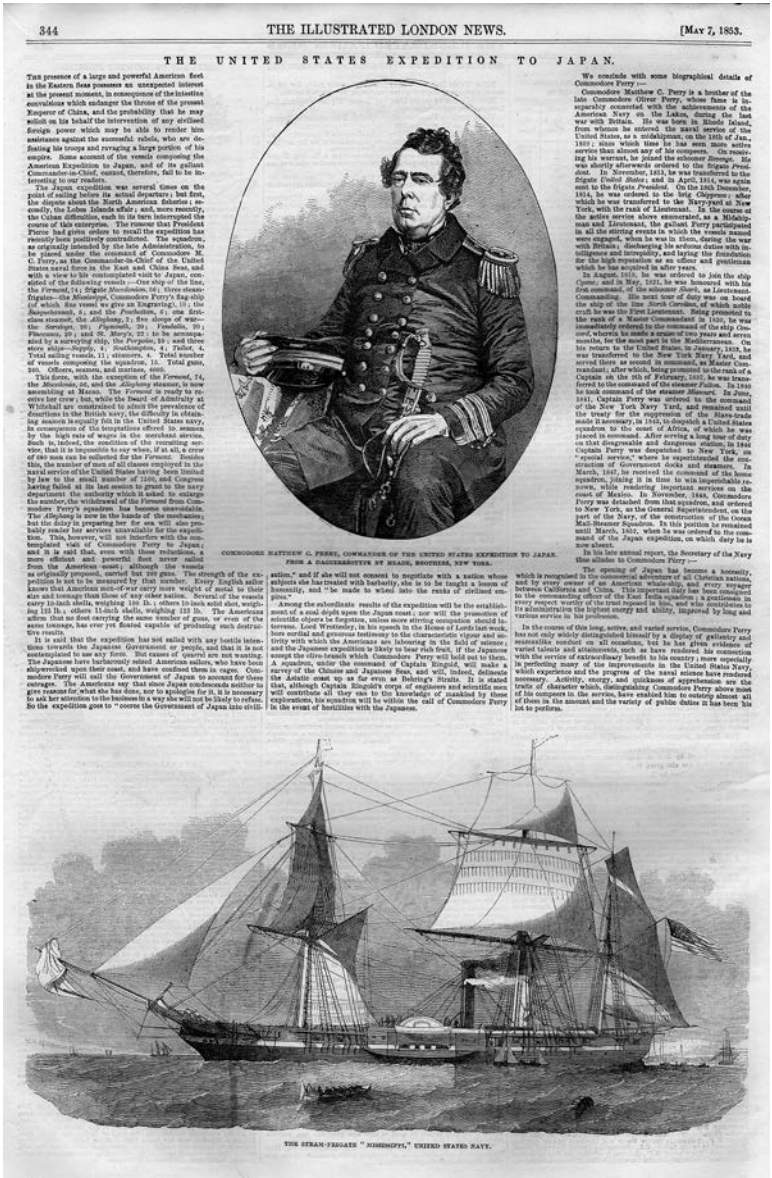

344 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS. [MAY 7, 1853.

THE UNITED STATES EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.

The presence of a large and powerful American fleet in the Eastern Seas possesses an unexpected interest at the present moment, in consequence of the intestine convulsions which endanger the throne of the present Emperor of China, and the probability that he may solicit on his behalf the intervention of any civilised foreign power which may be able to render him assistance against the successful rebels, who are defeating his troops and ravaging a large portion of his empire. Some account of the vessels composing the American Expedition to Japan, and of its gallant Commander-in-Chief, cannot, therefore, fail to be interesting to our readers.

The Japan expedition was several times on the point of sailing before its actual departure; but first, the dispute about the North American fisheries; secondly, the Lobos Islands affair, and, more recently, the Cuban difficulties, each in its turn interrupted the course of this enterprise. The rumour that President Pierce had given orders to recall the expedition has recently been positively contradicted. The squadron, as originally intended by the late Administration, to be placed under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry, as the Commander-in-Chief of the United States naval force in the East and China Seas, and with a view to his contemplated visit to Japan, consisted of the following vessels:—One ship of the line, the *Vermont*, 74; frigate *Macedonian*, 56; three steam-frigates—the *Mississippi*, Commodore Perry's flag-ship (of which the vessel we give an Engraving), 10; the *Susquehannah*, 8; and the *Powhatten*, 6; one first-class steamer, the *Allegheny*, 2; five sloops of war—the *Saratoga*, 20; *Pigmouth*, 20; *Vandalia*, 20; *Plymouth*, 20; and St. *Mary's*, 22; to be accompanied by a surveying ship, the *Porpoise*, 10; and three store ships—*Supply*, 4; *Southampton*, 4; *Talbot*, 4. Total sailing vessels, 11; steamers, 4. Total number of vessels composing the squadron, 15. Total guns, 240. Officers, seamen, and marines, 4000.

This force, with the exception of the *Vermont*, 74, the *Macedonian*, 56, and the *Allegheny* steamer, is now assembling at Macao. The *Vermont* is ready to receive her crew; but, while the Board of Admiralty at Whitehall are constrained to admit the prevalence of desertions in the British navy, the difficulty in obtaining seamen is equally felt in the United States navy, in consequence of the temptations offered to seamen by the high rate of wages in the merchant service. Such is, indeed, the condition of the recruiting service, that it is impossible to say when, if at all, a crew of 660 men can be collected for the *Vermont*. Besides this, the number of men of all classes employed in the naval service of the United States having been limited by law to the small number of 1500, and Congress having failed at its last session to grant to the navy department the authority which it asked to enlarge the number, the withdrawal of the *Vermont* from Commodore Perry's squadron has become unavoidable. The *Allegheny* is now in the hands of the mechanics; but the delay in preparing her for sea will also probably render her services unavailable for the expedition. This, however, will not interfere with the contemplated visit of Commodore Perry to Japan; and it is said that, even with these reductions, a more efficient and powerful fleet never sailed from the American coast; although the vessels as originally proposed, carried but 226 guns. The strength of the expedition is not to be measured by that number. Every English sailor knows that American men-of-war carry more weight of metal to their size and tonnage than those of any other nation. Several of the vessels carry 10-inch shells, weighing 100 lb.; others 10-inch solid shot, weighing 128 lb.; others 11-inch shells, weighing 128 lb. The Americans affirm that we dust carrying the same number of guns, or even of the same tonnage, has ever yet floated capable of producing such destructive results.

It is said that the expedition has not sailed with any hostile intentions towards the Japanese Government or people, and that it is not contemplated to use any force. But cases of 'quarrel are not wanting. The Japanese have barbarously seized American sailors, who have been shipwrecked upon their coast, and have confined them in cages. Commodore Perry will call the Government of Japan to account for these outrages. The Americans say that since Japan condescends neither to give reasons for, what she has done, nor to apologise for it, it is necessary to ask her attention to the business in a way she will not be likely to refuse. So the expedition goes to "coerce the Government of Japan into civilisation," and if she will not consent to negotiate with a nation whose subjects she has treated with barbarity, she is to be taught a lesson of humanity, and "be made to wheel into the ranks of civilised empires."

Among the subordinate results of the expedition will be the establishment of a coal depôt upon the Japan coast; nor will the promotion of scientific objects be forgotten, unless more stirring occupation should intervene. Lord Wrottesley, in his speech in the House of Lords last week, bore cordial and generous testimony to the characteristic vigour and activity with which the Americans are labouring in the field of science; and the Japanese expedition is likely to bear rich fruit, if the Japanese accept the olive-branch which Commodore Perry will hold out to them. A squadron, under the command of Captain Engold, will make a survey of the Chinese and Japanese Seas, and will, indeed, delineate the Asiatic coast up as far even as Behring's Straits. It is stated that, although Captain Kingold's corps of engineers and scientific men will contribute all they can to the knowledge of mankind by these explorations, his squadron will be within the call of Commodore Perry in the event of hostilities with the Japanese.

We conclude with some biographical details of Commodore Perry:—

Commodore Matthew C. Perry is a brother of the late Commodore Oliver Perry, whose fame is inseparably connected with the achievements of the American Navy on the Lakes, during the last war with Britain. He was born in Rhode Island, from whence he entered the naval service of the United States, as a midshipman, on the 19th of Jan., 1809; since which time he has seen more active service than almost any of his compeers. On receiving his warrant, he joined the schooner *Revenge*. He was shortly afterwards ordered to the frigate *President*. In November, 1813, he was transferred to the frigate *United States*; and in April, 1814, was again sent to the frigate *President*. On the 15th December, 1814, he was ordered to the brig *Chippewa*; after which he was transferred to the Navy-yard at New York, with the rank of Lieutenant. In the course of the active service above enumerated, as a Midshipman and Lieutenant, the gallant Perry participated in all the stirring events in which the vessels named were engaged, when he was in them, during the war with Britain; discharging his arduous duties with intelligence and intrepidity, and laying the foundation for the high reputation as an officer and gentleman which he has acquired in after years.

In August, 1819, he was ordered to join the ship *Cyane*; and in May, 1821, he was honoured with his first command, of the schooner *Shark*, as Lieutenant Commanding. His next tour of duty was on board the ship of the line *North Carolina*, of which noble craft he was the First Lieutenant. Being promoted to the rank of a Master Commandant in 1826, he was immediately ordered to the command of the sloop *Concord*, wherein he made a cruise of two years and seven months, for the most part in the Mediterranean. On his return to the United States, in January, 1830, he was transferred to the New York Navy Yard, and served there as second in command, as Master Commandant; after which, being promoted to the rank of a Captain on the 8th of February, 1837, he was transferred to the command of the steamer *Fulton*. In 1840 he took command of the steamer *Missouri*. In June, 1841, Captain Perry was ordered to the command of the New York Navy Yard, and remained until the treaty for the suppression of the Slave-trade made it necessary, in 1843, to despatch a United States squadron to the coast of Africa, of which he was placed in command. After serving a long tour of duty on that disagreeable and dangerous station, in 1844 Captain Perry was despatched to New York, on "special service," where he superintended the construction of Government docks and steamers. In March, 1847, he received the command of the home squadron, joining it in time to win unperishable renown, while rendering important services on the coast of Mexico. In November, 1848, Commodore Perry was detached from that squadron, and ordered to New York, as the General Superintendent, on the part of the Navy, of the construction of the Ocean Mail-Steamer Squadron. In this position he remained until March, 1850, when he was ordered to the command of the Japan expedition, on which duty he is now absent.

In his late annual report, the Secretary of the Navy thus alludes to Commodore Perry:—

The opening of Japan has become a necessity, which is recognised in the commercial adventure of all Christian nations, and by every owner of an American whaleship, and every voyager between California and China. This important duty has been confided to the commanding officer of the East India squadron; a gentleman in every respect worthy of the trust reposed in him, and who contributes to its accomplishment the highest energy and ability, improved by long and various service in his profession.

In the course of this long, active, and varied service, Commodore Perry has not only widely distinguished himself by a display of gallantry and seamanlike conduct on all occasions, but he has given evidences of varied talents and attainments, such as have rendered his connection with the service of extraordinary benefit to his country; more especially in perfecting many of the improvements in the United States Navy, which experience and the progress of the naval science have rendered necessary. Activity, energy, and quickness of apprehension are the traits of character which, distinguishing Commodore Perry above most of his compeers in the service, have enabled him to outstrip almost all of them in the amount and the variety of public duties it has been his lot to perform.

COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY, COMMANDER OF THE UNITED STATES EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.
FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE BY BRADY, BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

THE STEAM-FRIGATE "MISSISSIPPI," UNITED STATES NAVY.

Figure 4: Article about Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan from the *Illustrated London News*. Source: private collection.

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contained a plan to make the harbor at Naha in the Ryukyu Kingdom one of the open ports. The shogunate rejected this proposal on the grounds that the Japanese could not deal with the Ryukyu Kingdom because it was so far away. However, this also made Japan realize that the question of explaining the kingdom's "affiliation" was a serious diplomatic problem. After his success in concluding the Convention of Kanagawa with Japan in 1854, Perry opened up negotiations with the Ryukyu Kingdom, and in July of that year the parties signed a trade treaty. Following the treaty with the Americans, the kingdom entered into trade treaties with France in 1855 and the Netherlands in 1859, so that it, too, became a part of treaty relations with the Western powers. In the Western powers' efforts to advance their aggression against East Asia through the unequal treaties, only Korea remained.

The Western Powers' Invasion of Korea

While the Qing were signing treaties with the Western powers after losing the two Opium Wars, and Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom were beginning to conclude treaties with the West, Korea was being ruled by a form of regency government in which certain branches of the royal family and bureaucrats monopolized power. This regency lasted from 1800 to 1863. As Korea also had a *haijin* maritime ban policy in place, formal foreign relations were limited to the investiture-tribute arrangement with the Qing and the diplomatic missions sent to the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan (see above).

The first Western power that sought trade with Korea was Britain. In 1832, the armed merchant vessel *Lord Amherst* from the British East India Company appeared near the bay of Mong-geum in Hwanghae Province, seeking permission to trade. The British also sent a naval vessel in 1845, which surveyed Jeju Island and the southwest coast without Korean permission, and also asked Korea to open to trade. The Korean court rejected the British demands to trade on the grounds that it would be too difficult because Britain was so far away. The court also argued that it could not privately engage in commerce with anyone without the consent of the Chinese emperor. Korea thus referred to its investiture-tribute relationship with the Qing to legitimize rejecting Western demands for trade.

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In 1846, France sent three naval vessels to Oeyeon Island in Chungcheong Province and handed over a letter for the Korean king protesting the execution seven years earlier of over two hundred Catholics, including some French missionaries. The following year, two French ships that had come to receive the king's reply ran aground on the Gogunsan Archipelago in Jeolla Province. Again, the Koreans used their status as a tributary state of China and passed on their reply to France through the Qing. This actually marked the first exchange of diplomatic letters between Korea and a Western country.

After the Second Opium War, Russia annexed the Primorsky Krai region (the Maritime Province) from the Qing, which meant that it now shared a border with Korea along the Tumen River. Around the same time, Russia also occupied the island known as Nokdun in the Tumen river estuary, which had been Korean territory. However, due to the severe cold in the Primorsky Krai, the sea there was only passable on average 140 days per year. For the Russians to advance into the Pacific Ocean, securing a warm-water port in Korea or the surrounding area was a matter of urgency. In 1862, Russia proposed to the Japanese exchanging the Kuril Islands, which were Russian, with the southern part of Sakhalin Island, but this met with rejection from the shogunate. In response, the Russian navy occupied the island of Tsushima in an attempt to gain a foothold in the south, but withdrew six months later after a British intervention at Japan's request. Britain believed that if Russia were to take hold of Tsushima, it would gain a stepping-stone not only to Korea and Japan but to the whole of the Pacific, so it did everything it could to prevent that. Russia then sent ships to the east coast of the Korean peninsula to survey and search for a warm-water port, at the same time demanding that Korea open trade and negotiations with them. Korea did not send a response but punished all those on the Korean side who had been in contact with the Russians, and maintained their *haijin* maritime ban vis-à-vis the Western nations.

In 1863, King Gojong (Kojong) succeeded to the Korean throne. As he was still young, his father, Heungson Daewongun, controlled political power. Domestically the Daewongun put an end to the abuses of the regency and restored the authority of the royal family. Externally he guarded against Western ships and banned overseas commerce. In particular, he cut off trade with Japan because Japan had entered into diplomatic relations with

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the Western powers, and he strengthened the defenses around Dongnae Castle in Busan against the threat of a Japanese invasion.

It was from this time that attempts by the West to invade Korea escalated. In August 1868, the *SS General Sherman*, an American merchant ship, approached demanding to trade, but the crew turned violent when their request was rejected.[20] The local residents and officials fought back, setting fire to the ship and executing the crew. Two months later in October, seven French naval vessels occupied Ganghwa Island using the Daewongun's persecution of Catholics as a pretext, and demanded the execution of those responsible as well as a trade treaty with Korea. The French forces met with stiff resistance from the Korean army, and after tough fighting they were forced to withdraw about a month later.

In 1868, a German merchant named E. J. Oppert attempted to raid the tomb of the Daewongun's father. This incident had decisive influence on the Daewongun's policy of refusing to open the country to trade and restore diplomatic relations. In 1871, the United States sent five warships to Korea to demand punishment for those involved in the *SS General Sherman* incident, as well as to make the Koreans sign a trade treaty, by force of arms if necessary. The American forces briefly occupied Ganghwa Island, but they, too, met with stiff resistance from Korean forces and eventually pulled back just over a month later, without fulfilling their objectives. However, as the US ships had closed off the sea route for transporting goods from the south of the Korean peninsula to the capital of Hanseong during this time, the capital suffered food shortages and prices rose, so anti-Western sentiment among the people grew. Naturally, arguments emerged from some sections of Korean society that opening the ports would be unavoidable, but with Western invasion attempts becoming more serious, the Daewongun's opposition to trade and the restoration of diplomatic relations only became stronger.

20 The *SS General Sherman*, which was an armed merchant vessel, took a Korean official prisoner, and also shelled villages, killing some civilians.

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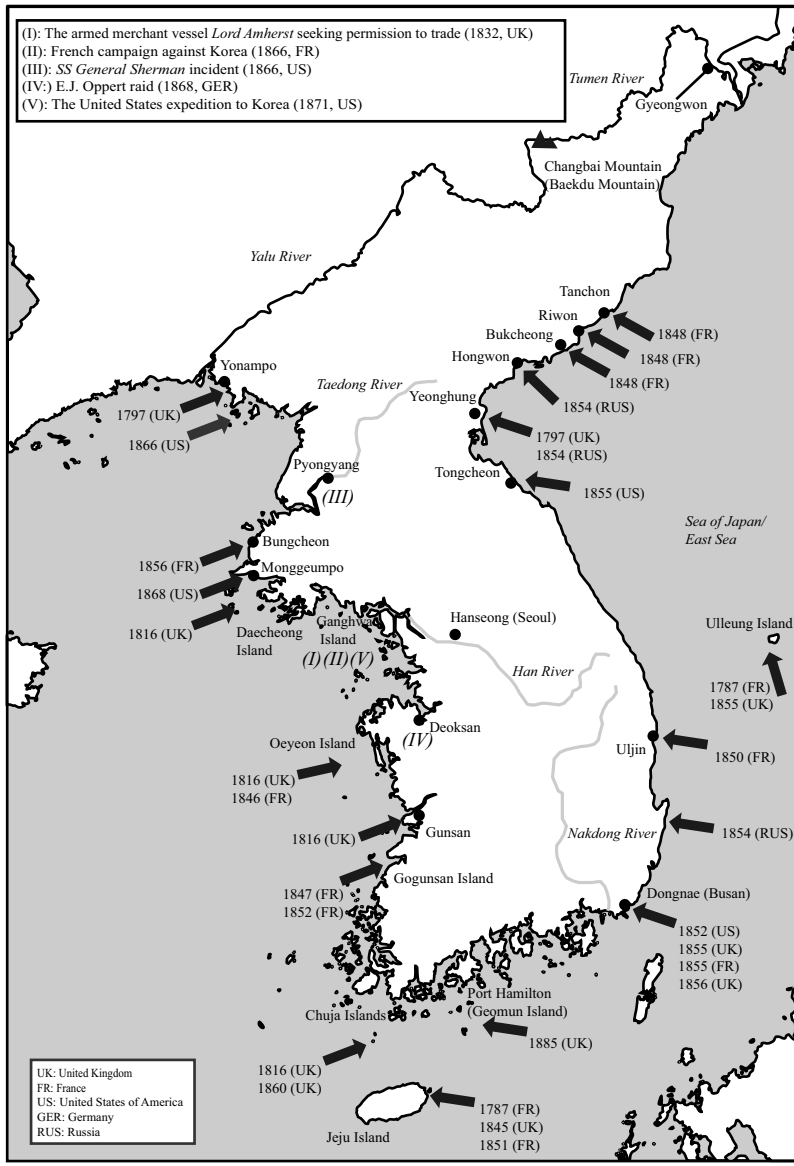

Figure 5: The Western Powers' encroachment into the Korean peninsula.

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3. East Asia's Reaction to the West

The Zongli Yamen and the Self-Strengthening Movement in China

As the international treaty system began taking shape after the Opium Wars, China began to change. In January 1861, the Xianfeng emperor approved the establishment of the Zongli Geguo Tongshang Shiwu Yamen (Office for the General Management of Trade and Relations with All Countries), commonly known as the Zongli Yamen (Tsungli Yamen). This was to be a special body in charge of diplomatic negotiations with the Western countries.[21] After the Zongli Yamen was set up, a movement for westernization or "self-strengthening" began to grow, especially among the Han Chinese bureaucrats. To begin with, the officials started adopting the latest Western military technology. In the process, work also began on building infrastructure, such as railways and ports, and the scope of investment was gradually expanded from the armament industry to private enterprise as well. China also made efforts to change relations with the Western powers, allowing foreign diplomats to reside in the capital and open legations based on the terms of the Convention of Beijing, also opening up Tianjin, the gateway to the capital. While the Zongli Yamen was responsible for negotiations and issues related to the treaties with the Western powers, the Ministry of Rites continued as before to deal with the East Asian countries.

In September 1863, W. A. P. Martin, a missionary and interpreter at the American legation in China, visited the Zongli Yamen with the American minister (diplomatic representative) Anson Burlingame, bringing with him an abridged Chinese translation of jurist Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*. Officials at the Zongli Yamen were at first unreceptive to the idea of publishing the book. However, in 1864 the Second Schleswig War between Denmark and Prussia extended into China's territorial waters when Prussian naval vessels seized three Danish merchant ships in Jiaozhou Bay. Quoting from Martin's translation, the Zongli Yamen submitted a

21 All work concerning diplomacy with the West was previously called "Yi-wu," with "Yi" being a character meaning "barbarian" (夷). After the Treaty of Tianjin, use of that character was no longer recognized, and it was replaced with the character "Yang" (洋) meaning "Western."

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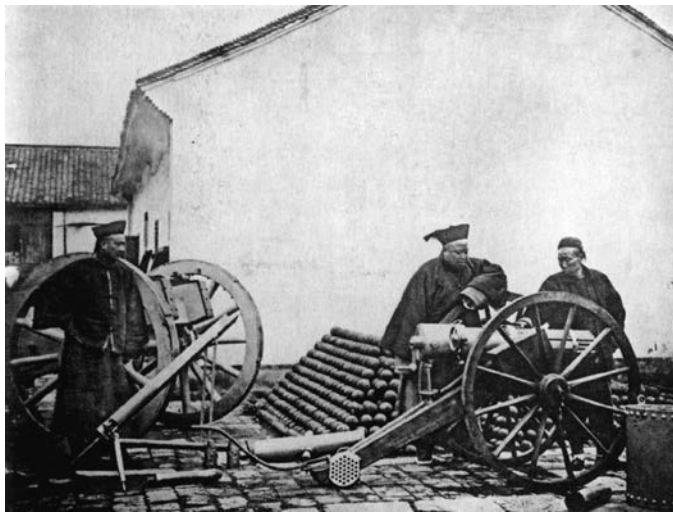

Figure 6: A weapons factory in Nanjing founded in 1865. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

protest to the Prussian legation, claiming that the seizure of another country's vessels by a foreign military off China's coast was an infringement on the Qing's sovereignty. Eventually the Prussian envoy released the three Danish ships and paid the Qing $1,500 in compensation. This solution spurred the Zongli Yamen to spend 500 taels to publish Martin's translation, and the office distributed three hundred copies of the first edition to regional officials. Zheng Guangying, who was part of the Self-Strengthening Movement, argued that the Qing could adequately defend its interests using international law. This signifies that some in the Self-Strengthening Movement were rejecting the old worldview based on Sinocentric thinking and had begun to adopt new ideas based on international law, which was rooted in Christian concepts of civilization.

By 1868, the time was drawing near to revise the Treaty of Tianjin. In order to carry out the negotiations, the Zongli Yamen sent its first official diplomatic mission to the West. The mission was made up of Qing officials and led by the former US minister to China, Burlingame, who was now employed as an advisor to the Qing. The Burlingame Mission visited the heads of various treaty countries and had considerable success, including

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managing to sign a revised treaty with the United States from a relatively equal standing. However, serious issues still remained, in particular those concerning the right to trade and conduct missionary work, the construction of railroad and telegraph networks, oversight of the opium trade, the legal status of foreign nationals on Chinese territory, and navigation of Chinese rivers and other domestic waterways by foreign vessels. In 1870, the House of Commons in Britain refused to ratify the proposed revised treaty with China. In China, an angry mob upset with the behavior of a group of missionaries protected by extrajudicial status attacked the Catholic cathedral in Tianjin and killed several people there, leading the Western powers to become more aggressive in their diplomacy. Li Hongzhang, viceroy of Zhili Province (present-day Hebei Province), who had ensured that negotiations with the Western powers went smoothly after the massacre, now became the leading figure in Qing foreign policy.

The Sonno Joi Movement and the Meiji Restoration

In Japan, a movement calling itself "Sonno Joi," which advocated respect for the emperor (*sonno*) and the expulsion of Westerners (literally "barbarians," *joi*), began to gather strength when the shogunate signed the 1858 Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States without the emperor's permission. When the shogunate responded by launching the Ansei Purge and cracking down on the Sonno Joi groups, the movement became more violent and the wave of anti-shogunate sentiment only rose further.

The most influential supporters of the Sonno Joi movement came from the Choshu feudal domain (now part of Yamaguchi Prefecture). Allying with court nobles in the old capital of Kyoto, they pressed the shogunate to expel foreigners from Japan. The shogunate promised the imperial court that Japan would rid itself of foreigners on May 10, 1863. When that day came, Choshu domain bombarded foreign ships passing through the Shimonoseki Straits. This compelled *daimyo* and court nobles who favored closer cooperation between the shogunate and the imperial court to rid Kyoto of Choshu domain members and their allies at the court by using troops from the Satsuma and Aizu feudal domains (August Coup). Choshu domain sent an army to Kyoto to fight back, but an order came from the

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emperor to attack Choshu, and their resistance was eventually put down. Furthermore, in revenge for the bombardment of foreign vessels, a combined fleet from the British, American, French, and Dutch navies attacked the Choshu domain (Shimonoseki Bombardment). This persuaded the domain to punish the Sonno Joi faction and apologize to the shogunate, thus bringing the matter to a close. From this point on, the Sonno Joi samurai decided that driving out foreigners from Japan was impossible, and they switched their goal to overthrowing the shogunate and opening up Japan.

At the same time, the British fleet attacked Kagoshima in 1863 (also referred to as the War between England and Satsuma) on the grounds that Satsuma samurai had killed a British merchant (Namamugi Incident or Richardson Incident). This conflict led the Satsuma domain to change its policy, too, toward one of overthrowing the shogunate. As a result, the Satsuma and Choshu domains entered into an alliance in early 1867 in order to topple the shogun. From this moment on, the political conflict revolved around whether the shogunate should hold the reins of government or whether it would be overthrown and a new government formed with the emperor at its center. The conflict came to an end in December 1867 when the anti-shogunate faction took power through a coup d'état that restored the emperor's direct rule and established a new government.

In the war against the old shogunate forces, which lasted until May 1869, the new government was ultimately victorious. Moving away from its initial justification for overthrowing the shogunate, namely driving the foreigners out of Japan, it adopted a policy of opening up the country and seeking friendship with foreign countries. It declared that direct imperial rule would raise Japan's national prestige in its encounters with other nations. This meant that the government would build a modern national polity centered on the emperor.[22] The breakup of the shogunate's system for controlling the country and the social and political revolution to establish a modern state was called the Meiji Restoration.

The foreign policy problem faced by the new government was how to

22 The previous emperor had died suddenly the year before, and his successor, Emperor Meiji, was just fifteen years old. Political power in the new government was held by a group of low-ranking samurai mainly from the Satsuma and Choshu domains, as well as a number of court nobles.

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revise the unequal treaties that the shogunate had signed with the Western powers. The time limit for amending the Ansei Treaties was May 1872, so in November 1871 the government sent a diplomatic mission to the United States and Europe, led by court noble Iwakura Tomomi (Iwakura Mission). Numbering over one hundred people, there were forty-six delegates including several members of the new government, such as Okubo Toshimichi and Kido Takayoshi, in addition to around sixty staff and students. The mission had three goals: 1) to hand over a letter from the emperor to the leaders of each of the treaty countries, 2) to begin preliminary negotiations for revising the treaties, and 3) to study the cultural, social, and political systems and institutions of the West. With regard to the second goal, these preliminary negotiations failed in the United States, the first country the delegation tried. However, during the more than two years that the mission was away, the group toured all over Europe and the United States, observing modernization policies in action, before returning to Japan.

Figure 7: The key figures in the Iwakura Mission (from left to right): Kido Takayoshi, Yamaguchi Masuka, Iwakura Tomomi, Ito Hirobumi, and Okubo Toshimichi. Source: Charles Lanmen, *The Japanese in America* (1872), courtesy of Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives.

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During this time, a number of books were printed in Japan that introduced the situation in the West to the Japanese. Of these books, Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyo Jijo* (Things Western), published between 1866 and 1870, was extremely popular, with the first edition alone selling more than 150,000 copies. The incredible sales enjoyed by *Seiyo Jijo* show that historical awareness in modern Japan started to make a major shift away from the conventional approach to international order in terms of a Japanese Sino-centric system toward a worldview focusing on the advancement and development of civilization, with the West as a standard. Fukuzawa later clarified his view on how civilization develops, saying that it starts from "chaos," then goes through stages of "barbarianism" and "semi-civilization" before advancing to "civilization." This shift in how the Japanese saw history gathered pace when the Meiji government promoted "Cultural Enlightenment" as a national policy.[23]

King Gojong's Direct Rule and Changes in Korean Foreign Policy

In December 1868, after setting up a new government built around the emperor, Japan declared that monarchy had been restored. It sought to establish diplomatic relations with Korea, which was reinforcing the Daewongun's policy of refusing foreign trade and diplomatic relations to combat the West's incursions. An official letter sent by Japan to Korea announced that the Japanese "emperor" (*tenno*) had promulgated an "imperial decree" and returned to direct rule. Stating that the letter differed from the traditional format used in past communications, Korea refused to accept it. From Korea's perspective, the change in format represented a transition away from the relationship of equals that the country had enjoyed in the past toward a hierarchical one. Despite repeated requests from Korea to amend the letter, Japan refused to budge. From Japan's point of view, the

23 While the Meiji government pursued a policy of enlightenment, its members, mostly formerly low-ranking samurai, heralded the Restoration to bolster their weak power base with the emperor's authority. By making Shinto the state religion and promoting the Japanese Imperial Calendar system, which counted the years starting from the mythical Emperor Jinmu's succession to the throne, the government endeavored to deify the emperor.

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Korean king had been in a relationship of equals with the shogun, who had been a subordinate of the Japanese emperor; hence, the Korean king also had to accept his position as a subordinate of the *tenno*. Japan continued to send missions to the peninsula, including one led by Sada Hakubo, an official at the Foreign Ministry (1870). However, the talks ended in failure, and when Sada returned to Japan in March of the following year, he claimed it would be impossible to establish diplomatic relations if Korea maintained its stance, arguing that in such an event, Korea should be "subdued." Key figures within the government debated whether or not to send troops to the Korean peninsula, eventually deciding to send another mission and, if Korea continued to reject Japanese demands to establish diplomatic relations, resolve the issue by military means. In August 1873, a group led by Saigo Takamori, a central figure in the government, decided to send another mission. But in October of that year, the Iwakura Mission returned to Japan and strong-armed the government into cancelling its plans. Angered at this, Saigo and other advocates of the mission to "Subdue Korea" (Seikanron) left the government. However, Iwakura's group was not necessarily opposed to sending expeditionary forces overseas, as demonstrated by the invasion of Taiwan in 1874 and the Ganghwa Island Incident in 1875, both of which occurred soon after Saigo's group had left the government (see below).

About a month after the Seikanron debate, there was also a change in authority in Korea. The regent Daewongun stepped down, and King Gojong began a new rule of government. In order to secure the monarchy's power, Gojong revised the old policies of the Daewongun. Over the course of these reforms, a change appeared in Korean policy with regard to Japan: Until then Korea had rejected Japan's formal letter requesting a restoration of diplomatic relations, under the justification that Japan was no different from the West. Now, Gojong's awareness of Korea's external position played a part in his decision-making.

Even as the Daewongun was rejecting all requests to open Korea's ports, Gojong had received reports on the upheavals in international affairs concerning East Asia from officials sent to the Qing court. Learning that the Western powers were not tributary states to China, and that Japan was now in a relationship of equality with the Qing as well, Gojong sensed a change in the situation in East Asia. He was concerned that Korea was isolated compared to China and Japan, which were both in the process strengthening

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their economies and military through the Self-Strengthening Movement and the Meiji Restoration, respectively, while maintaining diplomatic relations with the West.

With this in mind, soon after beginning direct rule, Gojong sent Park Jungyang to the consulate at Dongnae, Korea's diplomatic post in Busan that dealt with Korean-Japanese relations, to investigate the situation. Park made contact to Japanese officials at the Waegwan (Japan House) in Busan, and he replaced the entire staff of the Dongnae consulate and the governor of Gyeongsang Province, who had been in charge of the previous negotiations. Gojong also personally chaired a meeting of the State Council in February 1875, where he pushed to accept Japan's diplomatic letter and actively build diplomatic relations with the Japanese. In the face of opposition from court ministers and officials, he failed to achieve this, but it exemplifies the change in Korea's approach to Japan after King Gojong took direct control. Although the Japanese sensed this change, they eventually turned to "gunboat diplomacy" instead – which the Western powers had demonstrated all over East Asia – in order to gain an even more advantageous position over Korea in their negotiations. The display of military force by dispatching the Japanese gunboat *Un'yo* in September 1875 was a demonstration of this shift in Japanese politics.

4. The Destabilization of the Regional Order in East Asia

The Signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Trade and a New Sino-Japanese Relationship

Internal change in the East Asian order brought about the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which was signed in 1871 and ratified in 1873. This was the first time in the region that two countries entered into a relationship other than one of investiture and tribute.

In 1870, the Japanese Foreign Ministry stripped the Tsushima domain of the right to manage diplomatic relations with Korea and sent Yanagiwara Sakimitsu, a high-ranking official, to Tianjin to ask the Qing to enter into a treaty of equals. By signing an equal treaty with China, Japan also aimed to gain an edge on Korea in their diplomatic relations. Some officials in the

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Qing government asserted that Japan's treaty request was a strategy to take advantage of China's current troubles, and therefore should not be accepted. However, others, including Li Hongzhang, the viceroy of Zhili, and Zeng Guofan, the viceroy of Jiangsu and Zhijiang Provinces, suggested that since Japan was no longer a tributary state, it would be wrong to reject its request outright. Li Hongzhang in particular argued strongly that since China had already entered into treaties with the West, rather than reject Japan's demands and make it an enemy, China should be more cooperative and work together to try and find some way of meeting the challenge from the Western powers. The Zongli Yamen eventually agreed with Li and moved toward signing a treaty with Japan.

When the negotiations began, the Japanese first submitted a draft to the Chinese that included demands for consular jurisdiction and most-favored nation status. In trying to obtain the same sort of privileges as the West, Japan had changed the terms of the equal treaty proposed during the preliminary negotiations. Li Hongzhang rejected this draft and submitted one of his own. In July 1871, Date Munenari was sent with full negotiating powers to China, and at a meeting with Li entered into negotiations based largely on the Chinese draft version. In September that same year, the two countries signed the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce. It was a groundbreaking treaty, the first equal treaty for the two countries, providing for territorial integrity and mutual aid, setting trade tariffs, and recognizing each other's right to consular jurisdiction, which was something that the Western powers had demanded.[24] The Japanese had tried to get the most-favored nation status and special trading rights and thus gain an advantage over the Chinese, but this part of the negotiations did not go smoothly. They deferred ratifying the treaty and demanded a number of changes, but their demands were rejected. Eventually, in April 1873, China and Japan exchanged ratified copies of the treaty – with no amendments – in Tianjin. The signing of this treaty showed a change in the Qing's attitude, which previously had been one of limiting treaty relations to the Western powers, and signified that the international order in East Asia was changing.

The Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty was not completely

24 The clause concerning "Mutual Aid" was inserted at the suggestion of the Chinese, but the Japanese feared it would arouse Western suspicions.

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without gain for the Japanese. By entering into a relation of equals with Qing China, they were effectively able to free themselves from the region's traditional hierarchy based on the Sinocentric relationship of investiture in exchange for tribute; Japan, in turn, now had justification to claim superiority over Korea, which remained under China's suzerainty. Furthermore, the treaty triggered Japan's emergence as a challenger of Qing China and the East Asian regional order. The invasion of Taiwan in May 1874 marked the start of Japan's rise.

Japan's Invasion of Taiwan and the Annexation of Ryukyu

The spark for Japan's invasion of Taiwan was the massacre of fifty-four shipwrecked people from Miyako Island in the Ryukyu Kingdom by indigenous Taiwanese in 1871. The following year, Japan abolished the kingdom and made the islands a feudal domain (Ryukyu han) subject to Japan. This was the first step toward the annexation of the kingdom, which had until then maintained foreign relations with both Japan and the Qing. Based on Ryukyu's new status, the Japanese then demanded compensation from the Qing for the massacre of what the government considered "its nationals." While asserting their dominion over the Ryukyu Kingdom, the Qing rejected Japan's demand for compensation on the grounds that the "untamed" indigenous Taiwanese were "beyond China's control" (meaning that the Qing government and authority did not extend to them), much like the Ainu in Japan or the Native Americans in the United States. However, the Japanese foreign minister, Soejima Taneomi, intentionally interpreted the phrase "beyond China's control" to mean that Qing China did not rule over the indigenous Taiwanese. Taking advice from his American advisor, Charles W. LeGendre, he proposed to the government that Japan invade Taiwan. This made use of the principle in international law at the time that whichever country first acquired *terra nullius*, or land belonging to no one, had the right to possess it.

After Soejima resigned from government in October 1873 due to internal fighting over the mission to "Subdue Korea" (Seikanron), Japanese policy regarding the Taiwan problem took shape in February the following year under the leadership of Okubo Toshimichi. The official reason for invading

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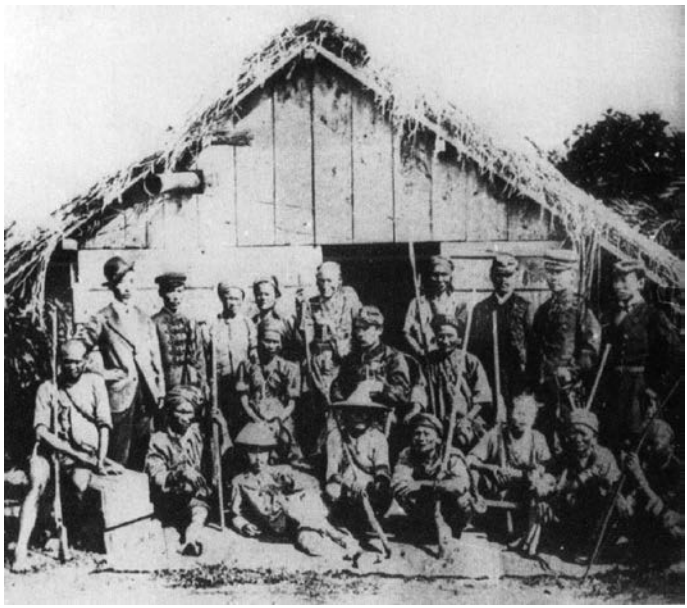

Figure 8: Japanese troops during the invasion of Taiwan, gathered in front of their billet. In the center is Saigo Tsugumichi, Governor of the Office for the Territory of Taiwan. Source: *Saigo totoku to Kabayama Sukenori* (1936).

Taiwan, as Okubo put forth, was to punish the indigenous Taiwanese for killing the shipwrecked Ryukyuan fishermen, but the true reason was to force the Qing to recognize Ryukyu as a Japanese territory. Also present was the goal to colonize part of Taiwan.

In May 1874, an expeditionary force numbering some three thousand Japanese troops invaded Taiwan. This was the first time in the history of modern Japan that troops had been sent overseas. At that time Russia and Britain were facing off against each other, so the Japanese optimistically thought that if they invaded Taiwan, the West would not intervene, despite the island's strategic importance. Contrary to their expectations, however, the invasion brought criticism from the Western powers, as they were eager to promote good relations with the Qing. On top of this, the expeditionary force lost more than five hundred troops through tropical diseases and failed to achieve any significant military gains.

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However, the Western-style military reforms undertaken by the Self-Strengthening Movement in China were not progressing as well as planned, either, so the Qing did not have the capacity to go to war with the Japanese. Consequently, the British minister in Beijing, fearing an interruption of trade due to war, intervened to reach a compromise in which the Qing paid the Japanese 500,000 taels to compensate for killing the fishermen. Japan took this to mean that the Qing recognized that Ryukyu belonged to Japan.

After achieving a diplomatic victory over China, Japan sought to entrench its control over Ryukyu by demanding that the Kingdom sever its tributary relation with the Qing. Ryukyu was eventually annexed to Japan in 1879, becoming Okinawa Prefecture. The old ruling elite tried for several years to restore the kingdom and return to the former tributary relationship with China. They organized resistance against the Japanese government as well as a non-cooperation movement, and even asked the Qing for military assistance, but these efforts were suppressed by the Japanese government and ended in failure.

In 1880, Japan proposed an amendment to the Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty, whereby the islands of Miyako and Yaeyama in the Ryukyu archipelago would be ceded to the Qing in exchange for receiving most-favored nation status and the right to trade freely in the Chinese interior, just like the Western powers.[25] A treaty to divide the Ryukyu Islands was drawn up, mediated by former US president Ulysses S. Grant, but it met with great opposition within the Qing court and was never signed.

The Ganghwa Island Incident and the Treaty of Ganghwa

On September 20, 1875, the Japanese naval vessel *Un'yo* entered the seas off Ganghwa Island with the pretext of surveying the coastline of the Korean peninsula. When the Korean forces guarding the coast fired their cannons as a warning, the *Un'yo* returned fire and landed troops at the fort on Yeongjong town, attacking the Korean troops there. They only withdrew

25 In exchange for obtaining the right to trade in inland China, the Japanese were ready to give up the Miyako and Yaeyama islands, which it had already taken over and made part of Japan.

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after inflicting several casualties and material damage.[26] Japan used this incident as leverage to demand that Korea open up the country.

In December of that year, the Japanese government informed the Qing that it was sending a minister plenipotentiary to Korea based on provisions contained in the Sino-Japanese Treat of Amity and Commerce. It demanded a reply from the Qing on the state of relations between China and Korea. Deciding that the Japanese were militarily superior, the Qing took a passive stance to avoid military conflict, stating that they hoped Japan and Korea would resolve their issues peacefully.[27] Thus for the Japanese, the greatest perceived obstacle to diplomatic relations with Korea, namely the interference of China, turned out to be no more than a groundless fear.

When Charles Kirill von Struve, the Russian diplomatic representative in Japan, received news that Japan would send a diplomatic mission to Korea, he made clear that he supported the Japanese efforts and would send assistance if necessary. Harry Parkes, the British minister in Japan, also hoped the Japanese would force Korea to open its gates instead of having the Western powers do it; he feared the Russians would use this kind of opportunity to advance south. The United States also supported Japan, since it was vying for trading rights in Taiwan and the seas around Korea.

Having thus strengthened international support for concluding a treaty with Korea, in January 1876 Japan dispatched seven ships to Ganghwa Island to coerce the Koreans to enter into a treaty. At the same time, Japan had troops stationed in Shimonoseki ready to start a war if the Koreans refused. The Japanese mission resulted in signing the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity – also known as the Treaty of Ganghwa – in February 1876. The key content and provisions of the treaty, comprising twelve articles in total, is as follows.

The first provision stated that Korea was a sovereign country with equal rights to Japan, but this hid the fact that Korea thereby exited the tributary relationship it had with China; it was an attempt by Japan to position itself above China in Korea. The fifth provision stipulated that Korea would open

26 Thirty-five Koreans died, sixteen were taken prisoner, and thirty-six cannons were captured. The Japanese suffered two casualties.

27 Another factor contributing to this response was that the Qing faced pressure from Britain after the murder of a British diplomat.

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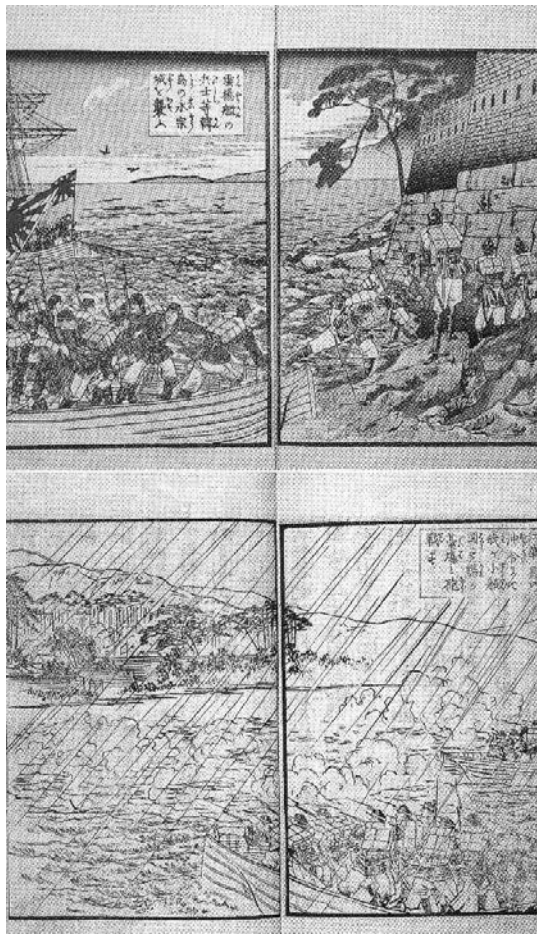

Figure 9: The Battle of Ganghwa. The upper image shows sailors from the *Un'yo* as they land on Yeongjong Island; the lower image shows the Japanese forces exchanging fire with the Korean artillery batteries. Source: *Meiji taiheiki*, vol. 11/1 (1876).

two other ports[28] besides Busan within twenty months and allow trade. The seventh provision gave Japan the freedom to survey Korea's coastline and

28 The provision did not go so far as to specify which places would be open ports. In 1880, the port of Wonsan was opened, and in 1882 Incheon.

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make nautical charts, which would eventually allow the country to look for possible landing sites in the event of military action. The tenth provision stipulated that in the event of a criminal case arising in the open ports and involving both nationalities, those concerned would be dealt with according to the laws of their own country, based on the nationality principle. In other words, it recognized extrajudicial rights for the Japanese.

Following the Treaty of Ganghwa, the two parties signed an addendum to the original treaty and a Japanese-Korean trade treaty in August of the same year. These allowed for the circulation of Japanese currency in the open ports, granted Japan the freedom to import and export rice, and declared tariff exemption for Japanese goods. Later, some within the Korean government realized that the "no tariffs clause" was problematic and negotiated with the Japanese in an effort to amend it, but to no avail. This clause was abolished in 1883 after the US-Korea Treaty of 1872 stipulated that the Korean government had the right to impose customs duties on goods it imported and exported.

The provisions of the Treaty of Ganghwa and the subsequent trade treaty between Japan and Korea were extremely tough, even compared to the unequal treaties forced by the Western powers on the Qing after the Opium Wars and Japan at the end of the shogunate. Japan was stating that Korea was less advanced than itself, even though the two countries had hitherto been in a relationship of equals. It coerced Korea into a treaty with conditions far more unfair than the treaties Japan had concluded with the Western powers, in order to secure political and economic preference in Korea ahead of the West. Later, through China's mediation (aiming to prevent Japan's push into the peninsula), Korea entered into a trade treaty with the United States in 1882 and friendship and trade treaties with the other Western powers beginning with Britain, thus becoming fully part of the modern system of international relations.

The era from 1870 to 1880 was therefore a decade during which the internal order in East Asia was fundamentally shaken, first with the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1871, then the Treaty of Ganghwa in 1876, and Japan's annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1879. Qing China faced a crisis in its ancient investiture-for-tribute relations

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(Sinocentric system), while at the same time coming into conflict with Japan over the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan, with Russia over the Ili Basin region,[29] and with France over the kingdom of Annam (present-day Vietnam).[30] The Qing's sense of crisis was evident in their crude interventions into the Korean peninsula in the 1880s, when Korea began entering into treaties with the Western nations. At the same time, once Japan's formation as a unified state was complete, it quickly reorganized the East Asian region into a series of treaty-based relations following the treaties it had signed with Western powers, and in doing so forced Korea to open up. Japan's foray into Korea was a threat to the Qing's suzerainty, and to counter this, China stepped up its intervention on the peninsula.

29 During an Islamic uprising in Xinjiang in the northwest of China, Russia dispatched an army and took control of the Ili Basin region. The international border between China and Russia was fixed in the Treaty of Ili (also known as the Treaty of Saint Petersburg) in 1881.

30 When France pushed into Indochina and made Annam a protectorate, Qing China refused to recognize the new status, since it was suzerain of Annam. In 1884 it went to war with France but lost, thereby also losing suzerainty over Annam.

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Relationships of Tribute and Investiture in the East Asian Region
In pre-modern East Asia, the basic view of the world was called *hua-yi* and assumed that all states and peoples were centered on China, the "Middle Kingdom." This so-called Sinocentric worldview emphasized the cultural differences between the people of Huaxia,[31] located in the central portion of the Chinese mainland, and the *yidi* or "barbarians," who lived around them. However, the system gradually developed to characterize the political connections between China and its neighboring countries, resulting in relationships of investiture and tribute as the physical manifestation of the Sinocentric worldview. The nature of the investiture-for-tribute relationship was defined in more detail over time, originating during the Qin (221 BC–206 BC) and Han (206 BC–220 AD) Dynasties, being refined during the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) Dynasties, and finally systematized in 1368, when the Ming Dynasty replaced the Mongol Yuan Dynasty under the slogan "Restoring Huaxia."

How did the relationship of investiture and tribute develop during the Ming era (1368–1644)? Let us look at relations between the Ming and Joseon Korea. When the Joseon Dynasty was established, the Ming gave initial approval but did not immediately invest the dynasty's founder, Yi Seong-gye, as king. The Joseon king was finally invested following the Jingnan Rebellion in China, which broke out as a succession quarrel in 1399 soon after the death of the Ming Dynasty's founder. In 1401, Joseon king Taejong was invested by the second Ming ruler, the Jianwen emperor, and in return King Taejong provided the emperor with horses for his military. When the Jianwen emperor was dethroned, King Taejong acted astutely in response to the change and asked the newly enthroned Yongle emperor in China once more for investiture (1403). The Yongle emperor, who had seized power after defeating his nephew, Jianwen, to become the dynasty's third emperor, overlooked the war horses given by Taejong to Jianwen

31 The Chinese character *hua* (華) means "splendid" or "flourishing," and the character *xia* (夏) means "thriving," Huaxia thus referred to a cultural region conforming to the order of rites and law and controlled by an emperor who ruled through Heaven's will.

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and accepted the request for investiture, partly in order to legitimize and strengthen his own position. From then on, the Joseon sought to maintain stability in their dynastic rule by following a policy of submitting to the Ming; at the same time they also reaped economic and cultural benefits through tributary trade with China.[32] As long as Korea did not pose a threat, the Ming did not interfere in the Joseon's domestic affairs.

The starting point for investiture-tribute relations between the Ming and Japan was the question of how to deal with the problem of *wako* pirates. In 1370, the founder of the Ming Dynasty sent a group of envoys to Prince Kaneyoshi, son of the Japanese emperor Godaigo, who held sway over the Kyushu region, asking him to suppress the Japanese pirates appearing frequently off the Chinese coast. In 1371, Prince Kaneyoshi sent tribute to the Ming emperor and was invested as "King of Japan," a title supporting his quest to establish control over the Kyushu region. In 1392, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the third shogun of the Muromachi shogunate (*bakufu*), succeeded in uniting the rival southern and northern imperial courts of Japan. After suppressing the *wako* pirates and the remaining forces of the southern court in Kyushu, he tried to boost the finances of the *bakufu* by engaging in official trade with the Ming. This corresponded to the Jingnan Rebellion in China, so the development of Sino-Japanese relations went a similar way as those between China and Joseon. Yoshimitsu was first invested as "King of Japan" in 1401 by the Jianwen emperor and once again in 1403 by the Yongle emperor,[33] after which he received an official license from the Ming to begin tributary trade. Considering that before this, Japan had not received investiture from China but had

32 Tributary trade was extremely profitable, as China bore all expenses incurred during the stays of visiting diplomatic missions, and the gifts given by the Chinese emperor in exchange for the tribute far exceeded the tribute itself. Merchants attached to the missions carried out the trade.

33 Toward the end of the rebellion, envoys from Yoshimitsu prepared two official letters, one for each party in the conflict. They gave the victorious Yongle emperor one of the letters, which Yoshimitsu signed as his "vassal," and Yoshimitsu in turn received investiture.

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only sent tribute, Yoshimitsu's investiture as king was a major milestone in the development of international relations in East Asia.

Korean-Japanese relations were also characterized by the investiture-tribute relationship centering on Ming China. In 1404, after Yoshimitsu sent a letter to the Joseon king in which he called himself "King of Japan," Joseon sent missions to the *bakufu*, which were returned by Japanese "royal missions" from the shogun to Korea. These missions were delegations of envoys exchanged between states that had received investiture from China, with the intention of mutually recognizing their equal position.

However, this only applies to relations between the Joseon court and the *bakufu.* Missions exchanged between the Joseon and the fiefdom of Tsushima were different in character. Since its founding, the Joseon Dynasty had sent troops to the Tsushima islands on a number of occasions in order to stamp out the *wako* pirates based there, and this led to the Treaty of Gyehae[34] (called the Kakitsu Treaty in Japan) with Tsushima in 1443. The terms of the treaty stipulated the time and frequency allowed for tributary trade (by Tsushima with Joseon), as well as the number of ships allowed to take part in it. Korea therefore had a two-layered relationship with Japan: on the one hand, the Joseon court was an equal of the Ashikaga shogunate based on the premise of being in the same investiture-for-tribute relationship with Ming China; on the other hand, it was in a hierarchical relation with the island fiefdom of Tsushima. The relationship between the Joseon and Tsushima was formed in the same way as those between the Ming and their neighbors.

The investiture-for-tribute relations in East Asia were thus systematized in the first half of the fifteenth century, with Ming China at

34 Various parties from Japan took part in the tributary trade with Korea because it was so lucrative, but they were required to carry a certificate issued by the So clan from Tsushima. This clan oversaw part of the Joseon court's foreign relations work. Furthermore, some islanders from Tsushima moved to three ports in Korea, including Busan, to work in trade and fishing, and a consulate was built to deal with the administrative work arising from trade and to entertain diplomatic missions sent from Japan.

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the center. The establishment of this system was possible because there was a need for mutual recognition among the newly unified dynasties and countries founded around this time.

The Pre-modern Ryukyu Islands

In the fourteenth century, three regional powers developed in the Ryukyu Islands (present-day Okinawa Prefecture of Japan): Hokuzan (North), Chuzan (Middle), and Nanzan (South). However, in 1429, Chuzan established a unified royal dynasty and the Ryukyu Kingdom was founded. After the Ryukyu king was invested by the Ming emperor, he not only engaged in trade and diplomacy with China but also actively developed the kingdom's intermediary trade with Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia. As tribute for the Ming emperor, the kingdom sent Ryukyuan horses, sulfur, whetstones, and textiles, as well as swords, weapons, folding screens, and fans from Japan, and pepper, sappanwood dyes, and ivory from Southeast Asia. In return, the kingdom bought iron tools, fabrics, and ceramics from China. Officially coming to China to bring tribute to the Ming court, ships from Ryukyu sailed back and forth all over Southeast Asia, including visits to Siam, Sumatra, Java, and Vietnam, and vessels from Southeast Asia frequently sailed to Naha. Ships from the Ryukyu Kingdom also docked at Japan's Hyogo harbor, bringing sappanwood dyes and pepper from Southeast Asia and copper coins from Ming China. Notwithstanding a dynastic change in the Ryukyu Kingdom following a coup d'état in 1469,[35] the burgeoning trade and diplomatic relations with the countries of Southeast Asia continued as before. Naha was a bustling port, with Japanese merchants coming from Hakata (Fukuoka) and Sakai (Osaka) in addition to traders from other foreign lands.[36] However, around the mid-fifteenth century, Portugal and

35 A former peasant and servant called Kanamaru seized the throne in a coup and established the Second Sho Dynasty as King Sho En.

36 Chinese merchants from Fujian emigrated to the village of Kume in the central area of Naha and were in charge of the administrative side of the trading business as official representatives to the Ryukyu Kingdom.

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Spain began making inroads into the Pacific region, and the Chinese and Japanese merchants also became more active in their overseas trading, causing a decline in Ryukyu's trading activities.

In 1609, the Japanese domain of Satsuma invaded the Ryukyu Kingdom and brought it under its authority, and it also took control of the kingdom's tributary trade with China. In 1654, ten years after the Qing Dynasty had replaced the Ming, the new rulers also decided to invest the Ryukyu king. After envoys were dispatched to the investiture of the Ryukyu king for the first time in 1663, missions were sent every time a new king took the throne.[37] Every two years the Ryukyu Kingdom sent a diplomatic mission with tribute to Beijing, where it had an audience with the emperor and presented him with an official letter of the king and special Ryukyuan products. After returning to Ryukyu, the tributary mission would submit a report to the king, before moving on to the Satsuma domain to report on the state of affairs in China. The tributary missions continued up until 1870. The Ryukyu Kingdom also sent missions to the shogunate in Japan. In 1634, envoys from Ryukyu had an audience with the shogun in Kyoto, then in 1644 they visited Edo (present-day Tokyo). There were two types of diplomatic missions from Ryukyu: congratulatory missions sent to celebrate the accession of a new shogun, and missions of appreciation whenever a new Ryukyuan king ascended the throne.[38] The kingdom therefore sent diplomatic missions to both China and Japan. In the pre-modern era, the Ryukyu Kingdom was a key player in international relations in East Asia, in terms of both politics and diplomacy, and the economy and trade.

37 To ensure that China never found out that Ryukyu was under Satsuma control, officials from the Satsuma domain hid in Urasoe while the Chinese envoys for the investiture stayed in the kingdom. The reason for the subterfuge was that Satsuma was able to get hold of Chinese products by intervening in Ryukyu's tributary trade with China.

38 Envoys going to Edo were instructed by the Satsuma domain to wear Chinese clothing and act Chinese in every way. As with the missions from Korea, the aim was to bolster the shogunate's power by showing the people that foreign diplomats came to greet the shogun.

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Recognition of "International Law" in China, Japan, and Korea
Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an order based on international law was gradually established among the modern nations in the West, governing relations among sovereign states with equal standing. However, through this international law, the Western nations rationalized unequal treaties with non-Western states and a discriminatory international order. Originally known as the "Law of All Nations," international law spread to East Asia (in the nineteenth century), but the Qing, Japan, and Joseon (later the Great Korean Empire) each adopted it in different ways.

After the fall of Beijing to British and French forces in 1860, the Qing began to make active use of international law in their negotiations with the West. In 1864, the Qing court paid for the publication of an American book on international law translated into Chinese by the American missionary W. A. P. Martin. However, the Qing did not adopt international law directly. By adhering to the stipulations of international law, they intended to develop relations on an equal footing with the West and to avoid giving Western powers an excuse to invade China. Against this backdrop, the Qing did not attempt to revise the unequal treaties with their stipulations of consular jurisdiction, the right to agreed tariffs, and unilateral "most-favored nation" status. However, the Qing also tried to preserve the existing Sinocentric concept of (Chinese) civilization vs. barbarians (*hua-yi*) in its relations with neighboring (Asian) states.

As soon as the book *Elements of International Law* had been translated into Chinese, Japan imported and published it. Nishi Amane, who had studied in the Netherlands, made a separate Japanese translation and had it published in 1868. The Japanese government adopted international law as a universal standard and used it to justify opening the country as well as revising the unequal treaties Japan had signed with the West. Furthermore, in order to exclude Qing influence from Japan's negotiations with the Joseon court over the opening of Korean ports, in 1876 the Japanese government asserted that Korea was an autonomous country based on international law. This led to a

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disagreement with the Qing, who asserted that Korea was, as before, a tributary state of theirs.

From 1882 onward, as it entered into trade treaties with countries like Britain and the United States, the Joseon government tried to preserve its sovereign rights by using the provisions concerning mutual security between powers and sovereignty as defined under international law. However, when its sovereignty was infringed upon during incidents such as the occupation of Geomun Island (aka Port Hamilton) by British forces (see chapter 2) and mounting intervention by the Qing in its internal politics, the Joseon government began to doubt the effectiveness of international law. Later, however, in 1897, the Great Korean Empire used Johann C. Bluntschli's writings on international law as a basis for strengthening imperial rights and asserting Korean independence.

China, therefore, used international law in an effort to avoid giving the Western powers an excuse to invade while attempting to maintain the Sinocentric order based on the concept of *hua-yi* in intraregional relations. Japan used international law to expand its influence and gain supremacy in East Asia. Korea, meanwhile, tried to use international law to gain recognition as an autonomous and independent nation, but this endeavor never produced any tangible result.

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Timeline

1840 First Opium War (China).
1842 Signing of the Treaty of Nanjing with Great Britain (China).
1854 Signing of the Convention of Kanagawa with the United States (Japan).
1856 Second Opium War (China).
1858 Signing of the five Ansei Treaties (Japan).
1863 Enthronement of King Gojong; regency of Heungseon Daewongun.
1868 Imperial Restoration and the enthronement of the Meiji emperor (Japan).
1871 Signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce.
1872 Abolition of the Ryukyu Kingdom and establishment of the Ryukyu Fiefdom (Ryukyu han).
1874 Japan sends troops to Taiwan (Taiwan Expedition).
1875 Battle of Ganghwa.
1876 Signing of the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity (Ganghwa Treaty).

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Chapter 2:
The First Sino-Japanese War and the Dissolution of the Traditional Order in East Asia

The traditional international order in East Asia, also called the Sinocentric order (see chapter 1), quickly began to break up during the 1870s and 1880s due to the encroachment of the Western powers and the ensuing actions of Japan. Japan rapidly laid the foundations for a modernized state and internalized Western international law with the aim of emerging onto the world stage, where the Western countries were vying with each other for supremacy. It then embarked on a national policy encapsulated in the slogan "Casting Off Asia, Joining Europe," and tried to expand its power into the Korean peninsula. While Japan's policy in continental Asia focused on Joseon Korea, Qing China responded by also stepping up its presence there, at the same time trying to maintain the traditional East Asian order. Korea responded by trying to free itself from both Japanese and Chinese interference by entering into diplomatic relations with the Western powers. In 1894, spurred by the Donghak (Tonghak) Peasant Uprising, war broke out between China and Japan on the Korean peninsula. The conflict resulted in the dissolution of the traditional East Asian order and the formation of a new international order. The First Sino-Japanese War was a historical turning point that determined the future directions taken by each of the three East Asian countries.

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1. Transformations in East Asia during the 1880s and the Korean Problem

Transformations in East Asia

In the 1870s, Japan stepped up its policy of absorbing the Kingdom of Ryukyu (on the Ryukyu Kingdom, see column 2 at the end of chapter 1) and also adopted a policy of expanding its influence into Joseon Korea. Qing China responded in a variety of ways in order to preserve the current order in East Asia.

Japan pressed ahead with its annexation of Ryukyu and established the prefecture of Okinawa in 1879. Even though the Qing did not recognize this step, it nevertheless meant that the Chinese Empire had lost one of its traditional vassal states. In the midst of this, the reformers in the Qing court (the so-called Self-Strengthening Movement) adopted an unprecedented policy for East Asia: to keep Japan in check by intervening in Korean politics and recommending that the Korean government open up the country to the West.

For its part, the Korean government (the Joseon court) steadfastly maintained its refusal to open its doors to Western countries even after it had signed the Treaty of Ganghwa with Japan in 1876 (also known as the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876) and opened its ports to the Japanese. Meanwhile, the United States, which was interested in Korea due to its geopolitically important location, asked Japan to act as mediator with Korea in an attempt to get into the country before the other Western powers. However, Japan showed little interest in the request, and Joseon also rejected the idea. This led the United States to consider entering into a treaty with Korea using Qing China as an intermediary. In 1880, US commodore R. W. Shufeldt began negotiations with Qing China's powerful politician Li Hongzhang in Tianjin to bring about a trade treaty with Korea. Li's goal was to entice the other Western powers to curb both Russia, which was aiming to advance south into China and Korea, and Japan, which was trying to invade Korea.

On the other hand, when the Joseon envoy Kim Hong-jip visited Japan in August 1880 as part of the agreement under the Treaty of Ganghwa, the Qing

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envoy to Japan, He Ruzhang, ordered his secretary Huang Zuxian to draft the "Policy for Korea," which he then gave to Kim Hong-jip. The document argued that China, Japan, and Korea had the most to fear from Russia, and that in order to confront Russia, Korea should be friendly toward China and also ally with Japan and the United States. Kim Hong-jip took the document back to Korea and advised King Gojong that the country should resist Russia and open up its ports to the United States. The Korean government indeed chose to open up the country and passed on this news to Li Hongzhang in March 1881.

In March 1882, Li Hongzhang received a request from the Korean government to negotiate with the United States, and he embarked upon treaty talks with the Americans on Korea's behalf. The Qing tried to insert a section of text into the treaty saying that although Korea was a vassal state of China, it had autonomy in its domestic politics and diplomatic relations. However, since the United States objected to this, the parties eventually reached a compromise in which the King Gojong sent a letter to the American president – separate from the treaty – recognizing that the Joseon was a vassal of the Qing. China had stubbornly maintained its stance because it wanted international recognition of Korea's status as its vassal. The Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation (also known as The United States-Korea Treaty of 1882) was signed in May 1882. In June, treaties almost identical in content were signed between Korea and Great Britain and then Korea and Germany.

Relations between China, Japan, and Korea and the Imo Incident of 1882

Influenced by the "Policy for Korea" and the observations of the Korean diplomatic mission to Japan, the Joseon government began to promote a policy of enlightenment, with the goal of creating a nation that was both wealthy and militarily strong. In particular, it established a new army unit, the so-called Special Skills Force, in order to beef up its military power, inviting Japanese instructors to provide state-of-the-art training. It also sent delegations and students to Japan and China in an effort to introduce the latest developments in culture and cultural institutions back into the country. Emboldened by the government's policy, the reform movement

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under the leadership of modernizer Kim Ok-gyun advocated a further modernization of institutions, the introduction of Western technology, and the restructuring of domestic politics. In response, opposition from Confucian scholars and bureaucrats grew, leading to the emergence of the "Movement to Reject Heterodoxy." This movement advocated the preservation of Confucianism as the correct moral path and rejected Christianity as heretical teaching. The Joseon government worked to suppress this movement, the emergence of which intensified hostility between the two camps in Korean politics.

At the same time, dissatisfaction grew among members of the traditional units of the Joseon army. They claimed they were being discriminated against because the new units were receiving better treatment, including higher pay. In July 1882, distribution of the rice rations (which the soldiers received as salary) in the traditional units was delayed, and when some underhanded dealings occurred over the distribution of the rice, soldiers of the traditional units rose in revolt. They attacked and killed officials they considered corrupt and slew the Japanese military instructor. A number of civilians who also harbored anti-Japanese feelings joined the uprising so that it grew in scale, and the mutineers even went so far as to attack the Changdeok Palace. This is known as the Imo Incident. To bring the situation under control, King Gojong brought his father, the former regent Heungseon Daewongun, back from retirement.

When the soldiers of the traditional army units and civilians attacked the Japanese legation, the Japanese diplomats, led by envoy Hanabusa Yoshimoto, all returned to Japan via Incheon and reported the situation to the Japanese government. The government then assembled a force of four warships and one army battalion in the Incheon area, and with this show of military force demanded that the Korean government take responsibility for the incident.

Meanwhile, the Qing sent a force of three thousand troops into the peninsula to prevent the Japanese from using the opportunity to muscle their way into Korea. Backed by these troops, the Qing representative, Ma Jianzhong, attempted to mediate between the governments of Korea and Japan. The Daewongun was captured by Chinese troops and taken to Tianjin, falsely charged of attempting to oust King Gojong. He was accused of insulting the Qing emperor, who had recognized King Gojong as the king

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of Korea, and of deceiving the rightful king, thus allegedly committing an unforgivable crime. China was intervening increasingly in Korea, justifying its interference with its rights as Korea's suzerain. As a result, the Daewongun's power was destroyed, and the power of a different faction around the pro-Chinese Queen Min (Myeongseong), a rival of the Daewongun, was restored.

Through the arbitration of Ma Jianzhong, Korea signed the Treaty of Chemulpo with Japan and agreed to additions to the 1876 Treaty of Ganghwa. In the Chemulpo Treaty, Korea accepted the Japanese demands almost completely, including punishing the people responsible for the uprising, paying compensation to the families of Japanese soldiers who had died during the fighting, and issuing an official public apology. The Koreans strongly resisted paying compensation and allowing the Japanese to station troops in Korea to protect its legation, but eventually they were left with no choice but to give way in the face of Japan's hardline stance.

The Imo Incident highlighted the growing hostility between China and Japan over the Korean peninsula, and the Qing's intercession in Joseon's internal politics intensified. In September 1882, China decided to station three thousand troops in the Joseon capital Hanseong (present-day Seoul), with Yuan Shikai chosen to lead the detachment. In December, China also dispatched to Hanseong Ma Jianchang as an advisor on domestic politics and the German diplomat and China expert P. G. Möllendorff as an advisor on foreign affairs.

In October, China and Korea signed a trade treaty stipulating that both send trade commissioners to supervise merchants in each other's countries. As Korea's relationship with China was similar to that of vassal and suzerain, this was actually an unequal treaty advantageous to the Qing. In the preamble to the treaty, Joseon is explicitly described as a "vassal" of Qing China. For the Qing, signing the treaty reflected a desire to give its vassal state special treatment. The wording emphasized this point to make clear that the relationship between the two countries existed under the traditional system of suzerain and vassal, and was not a modern treaty relation like those between the Qing and the West. The backdrop to the treaty was a traditional awareness of suzerain and vassal (tributary), as well as a general understanding of modern treaties. It was not quite the same as the unequal treaties the Western powers had signed with Joseon and other East Asian

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countries, but since the Qing had already interfered both politically and economically in Joseon Korea, the treaty's impact was somewhat similar.

After the Imo Incident, the Korean government continued to advance its enlightenment policies, but this strategy became dependent on the Qing's intervention. The Progressive Party, led by Kim Ok-gyun, Park Young-hyo, Hong Young-sik, and Seo Kwang-beom (Soh Kwang-pom), sought fundamental changes independent of China and aimed to achieve a reform similar to the Meiji Restoration in Japan. As it strengthened its ties to Japan, it found itself in opposition to the Korean government.

Japan, meanwhile, saw that to control the Korean peninsula it could not avoid an eventual confrontation with the Qing; thus, there was a growing push in the country for a large-scale expansion of its military power. This prompted some within the Japanese government to propose a policy whereby Korea's neutrality would be guaranteed by Japan, China, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. The real intent of this initiative was for Japan to intervene in and control Korean affairs together with the other powers, which were already exerting their influence on the peninsula; it was also an attempt to bolster Japan's relatively weak position.

The Gapsin Coup of 1884 and Intervention by the Western Powers

In 1883, France made an attempt to turn Annam (present-day Vietnam) into a protectorate. This deepened the hostility between France and Qing China, which claimed the right of suzerainty over Annam. Armed conflict eventually broke out in 1884. The Sino-French War continued into the following year until it concluded with the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin). Under its terms, the Qing had to recognize Annam as a protectorate of France.

The Sino-French War stirred up a sense of crisis in Japan, as the public feared an invasion of Asia by the Western powers. A newspaper affiliated with the Liberal Party, the main pillar supporting the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (Jiyu Minken Undo), proposed that Japan should foray into Asia and the government and people of Japan should end their antagonism.

Meanwhile, intense fighting with France had led the Qing to withdraw half of their forces stationed in Korea. The Progressive Party, led by Kim Ok-

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gyun and Park Young-hyo, saw this as a golden opportunity to launch a coup d'état. Their attempt to grasp political power, known as the Gapsin Coup of December 1884, was supported by the Japanese envoy. The Progressive Party took control of the palace and seized power, but the coup ended in failure after three days when the Qing sent in troops to quell it. Kim Ok-gyun, Park Young-hyo, Seo Kwang-beom and others fled to Japan. During the course of the fighting, the Japanese forces inside the royal palace were driven out, and several Japanese people residing in Korea were killed. Hawkish arguments then gained traction in Japan for strong measures against the Qing, as well as criticism that the Japanese government was half-hearted in its response. Fukuzawa Yukichi, who had supported both the Korean Progressive Party and the coup, argued vociferously for war with China.

While continuing to obfuscate the fact that its envoy had been involved with the coup, the Japanese government signed the Treaty of Hanseong (also known as the Japan-Korea Treaty) in January 1885 with the Korean government. The main points of the treaty were that the Korean side would issue an official apology, give financial compensation to the families of the Japanese killed, and pay indemnity for any destroyed property. Between March and April of that year, Japan, represented by Ito Hirobumi, negotiated in Tianjin with Li Hongzhang, representing the Qing. The negotiations ended in the Convention of Tientsin (Tianjin). Under its terms, the two countries agreed to jointly withdraw their troops from Korea and to inform the other party in advance if one was going to send troops into the peninsula. After the Gapsin Coup, Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote his famous editorial "Datsu-A Ron" (Casting off Asia). Disillusioned with the failure of the pro-reform coup, he argued that Japan should break off relations with its "bad friends" in Asia and go along with the "civilized countries of the West."

Following the signing of the Tientsin Convention, the Qing further stepped up intervention in Korea. King Gojong responded to this by approaching the Russians in an effort to curb Chinese influence. He also attempted to counter the Chinese by using the German diplomat P. G. Möllendorff, sent to him by the Qing, to invite Russian military advisors to Korea, but he was unable to realize this plan. The Qing court then sent Yuan Shikai to Korea to replace Möllendorff, thereby further strengthening its position.

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Figure 10: The central actors of the Gapsin Coup (from left to right): Pak Young-hyo, Seo Kwango-beom, Soh Jai-pil (also known as Philip Jaisohn), Kim Ok-gyun. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

In Japan, some argued for military action to neutralize the Qing's increased involvement in the peninsula, but the government's position was to avoid a conflict with China. The Japanese even proposed joining forces with the Qing to prevent Russia from pushing into Korea, but this was rejected. After the Gapsin Coup, Japan's political influence on Joseon Korea waned, but it still sought to step up its economic involvement in the country.

In April 1885 Great Britain, in conflict with Russia over Afghanistan, occupied the island of Geomun, which lies between the Korean mainland and Jeju Island, in order to put a check on the activities of the Russian Pacific fleet. The following year, the Joseon court requested Qing arbitration, so Li Honzhang entered into negotiations with the Russian envoy to China and extracted a promise from Russia not to venture into Korea. This allowed the

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British to withdraw their forces from the island in February 1887. Thus, the Western powers exerted increasing pressure on the East Asian countries, and with the rivalry between Great Britain and Russia as well as tensions in Sino-Japanese relations over Korea, the Korean peninsula became a major international issue.

Revising the Unequal Treaties

The treaties that Qing China concluded with various Western countries in the 1840s and 1850s were unequal treaties. As the Qing were negotiating them with the West, they gradually began to realize how unfavorable these treaties were. In 1867, with the 1858 Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) with Britain about to expire, the Qing began preparations to revise it. From 1868 to 1869, they negotiated a revision with the British and eventually concluded a revised treaty known as the Alcock Convention. However, British merchants saw the revisions as too much of a compromise to the Chinese, and the British Parliament refused to ratify it. The Qing were influenced by Japan's attempts to revise the unequal treaties it had signed, and they became increasingly vociferous in their demands to the Western countries to revise the old treaties. Although they were unable to abolish the unequal treaties, they did try to reduce some of the harm caused by the privileges conferred under them.

The treaties Japan entered into with the various Western countries were also unequal. The new government established after the Meiji Restoration (1868) made treaty revision a national objective, and from 1871 it embarked on a series of measures to achieve this. Japan's objective was a relationship of equal status with the Western powers and its acceptance as an equal member of the international community. At the same time, however, Japan pushed Korea into signing an unequal treaty with the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876. Following this, the Joseon signed a succession of unequal treaties with a number of Western nations. Those nations, however, did not touch the suzerain-vassal relationship between the Qing and Joseon, tacitly accepting that as suzerain, the Qing would act as guardian over the Joseon court's diplomatic efforts.

Qing China allowed the Joseon to enter into treaty relations with the Western nations even though it was a tributary state, with the explanation

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that although it was a subject, Korea was nevertheless autonomous. This showed that the Qing were trying to recognize Joseon's autonomy to act in external affairs, but only on the premise that the traditional relationship of investiture-for-tribute was maintained. However, there was a difference in the ways each side interpreted the concepts of "vassal state" and "autonomy." The Qing regarded a vassal state as being subject to them and under their protection, whereas the Joseon saw it as merely a ceremonial matter. Moreover, the latter took "autonomy" to mean independent under international law, whereas the Qing saw it as existing in name only.

In May 1886, Owen N. Denny, who had replaced P. G. Möllendorff as the Korean government's advisor on international law, clashed with Yuan Shikai and criticized his high-handedness vis-à-vis Korea. In 1888 he published a pamphlet titled "China and Korea," in which he attacked the Qing's Korea policy and argued that the term for Korea's status should be translated as "tributary state" and not "vassal state." He emphasized that a tributary state could still be basically independent and that Korea was not China's vassal but, notwithstanding the ceremonial tribute relationship, rather an independent and sovereign state. Yuan Shikai argued the opposite, emphasizing that Joseon was a "vassal state" of the Qing.

Korean scholar Yoo Gil-joon described Joseon's situation as a "dual status": despite signing treaties as a sovereign state with various countries (but not China), it was still in a tribute relationship with the Qing. However, he argued that although Joseon continued a tribute relationship with China, in terms of international law it was a sovereign state because it was independent in terms of domestic politics and foreign relations. Based on "international law," he negated that the relation between Joseon and the Qing was a suzerain-vassal relationship.

Meanwhile, Japan began to work on revising the unequal treaties it had signed with Western nations in order to enter into a relationship of equals with them based on international law. The Japanese government first attempted to restore tariff autonomy and, to this end, signed a new agreement with the United States in 1878. However, Great Britain and Germany opposed these revisions, and within Japan voices emerged to prioritize abolishing the foreign powers' extraterritorial rights, so further negotiations were called off. The Japanese government then drew up a proposal to revise Western privileges concerning tariffs and extraterritorial rights, and from 1882 preliminary

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talks began to discuss the Japanese draft with each of the treaty countries. At conferences beginning in 1886, Japan negotiated treaty revision, starting from a draft of a revised treaty based on British and German proposals.

Inoue Kaoru, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of the treaty revision talks, argued that in order to achieve equality with the Western powers, Japan would have to become an imperialist power with a colonial empire. Ever since the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, the Japanese government had being trying to westernize the Japanese state and society, but these efforts became even more noticeable under Inoue Kaoru.

The Japanese government kept its ongoing negotiations with the West a secret from the Japanese people, but in 1887 some within the government expressed their view that the proposed treaty revision was disadvantageous to Japan. This led to an opposition movement against the allegedly humiliating revision, which spread throughout the country. The public was strongly against the revision for its pandering to the West, by allowing foreigners to move freely around Japan and foreign governments to appoint judges in exchange for giving up extraterritorial rights. Inoue was forced to resign as foreign minister, and the talks came to a halt. His successor, Okuma Shigenobu, decided to manipulate the antagonism among the Western powers by negotiating with each country individually. As a result, in 1888 he was successful in talks with the United States, Germany, and Russia; however, since the key issues remained basically unchanged, for example allowing the appointment of foreign judges, opposition mounted again and the treaty revisions were cancelled.

Even so, Japan continued its attempts to revise the treaties, and in July 1894, on the eve of the First Sino-Japanese War, it finally succeeded in signing the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which included a provision for abolishing Britain's consular jurisdiction. Moreover, Japan also restored its tariff autonomy in 1911, one year after its annexation of Korea.

Japan's path to revising the treaties and achieving a relationship on equal footing with the Western powers was the flipside to dismantling the traditional order in East Asia and constructing a new relationship of inequality and subjugation there. Another part of this process was the deepening of Anglo-Japanese relations, as the two countries drew closer together to resist Russia's southward advance in East Asia.

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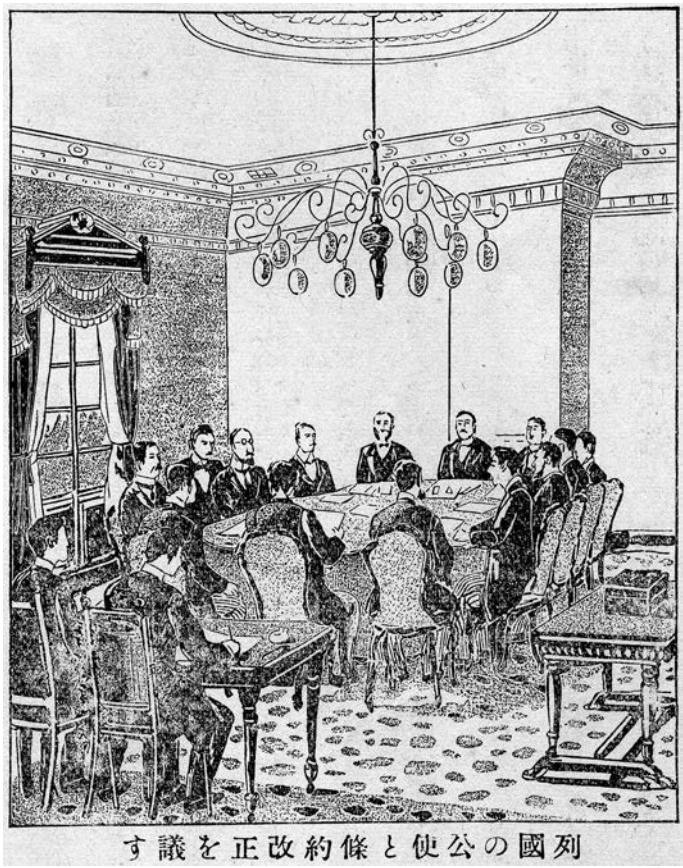

Figure 11: Image of the conference held to revise the unequal treaties. Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru is announcing Japan's policy to various foreign ambassadors. Source: Monbushō, *Kōtō shōgaku kokushi, gekan*, 1929, p. 124.

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2. The First Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95

East Asia on the Eve of War

After the Imo Incident, far-reaching changes occurred in both Japan and China. Japan had been pursuing a policy of "enriching the country, strengthening the military" ever since the Meiji Restoration, but it now began building up its military more, stepping up preparations for a war with China. The Qing had begun to intervene directly in the politics, military, economy, and foreign affairs of Joseon Korea, going beyond the bounds of the traditional East Asian tribute system. Superficially, the struggle between China and Japan over Korea was resolved by the Convention of Tientsin (Tianjin) in 1885, but in fact the antagonism intensified.

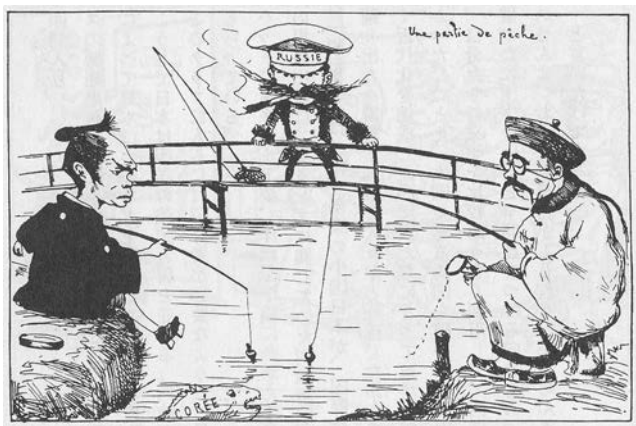

Figure 12: "Fishing," by Georges Bigot, in Tobae, February 15, 1887. Japan and the Qing try to catch Korea, while Russia looks for an opportunity to pounce. Source: private collection.

In addition to the dispute between Japan and China over Korea, after the Sino-French War the Western powers began to show more interest in East Asia, and the rivalry between Great Britain and Russia became more blatant. The Western powers also stepped up their pressure on Southeast Asian countries. After being defeated by the French, the Qing were forced to abandon their claim of suzerainty over Annam, and following that, the

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British declared their annexation of Burma (Myanmar) in 1886, making it a part of British India.

In Japan, at the first meeting of the newly opened Imperial Diet (parliament) in December 1890, Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo gave a speech on his administration's policies in which he claimed that for a state to be independent, it had to secure not only its "line of sovereignty" – that is, the country's borders – but also a "line of national interest," which was essential to the preservation of the line of sovereignty. Based on these concepts, he sought approval for a budget to expand the Japanese military. What he imagined as Japan's "line of national interest" was the Korean peninsula. Behind this claim was the idea of "offensive self-defense," specifically stating that Japan had to strike first and secure the peninsula as part of its sphere of influence – before Russia could do so. However, Russian Far Eastern policy at this time was rather passive in nature, and its main goal was the preservation of the status quo in Korea. Furthermore, since Yamagata claimed that the line of national interest stretched with an increase in the line of sovereignty, logically this meant that securing the line of national interest would lead to continuous expansion. As a result of the policy of military expansion, by 1894 Japan was in a position to start a war with the Qing.

The Donghak Peasant Revolution and China and Japan's Expeditionary Forces

In 1860, a new religion was founded in Korea called "Donghak," which literally means "Eastern Learning." Opposing Western influence, such as Christianity, it combined elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism and aimed at societal reform. It gained high popularity among the peasants. Surprised by the strength of the Donghak, in 1864 the Korean government arrested and executed the founder of the religion, Choe Je-u, on charges that he had misled and deceived the people. However, his successor, Choe Si-hyeong, expanded Donghak influence throughout the country in spite of the government crackdown, gathering even larger numbers of followers.

Because peasants were suffering from oppression by an inept and corrupt bureaucracy from the ruling yangban class, there had been sporadic dissent

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all over the country since 1862. After Korea opened its ports to foreign trade, the peasant dissent grew further. Demands for political and tax reforms emerged as the peasants' poverty grew, a result of the increasing rice trade with China and Japan and the seizure of Korean trading areas by Chinese and Japanese merchants. Anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese sentiment rose among the Korean people, and in 1890, Korean merchants closed their stores in strike in the capital Hanseong, demanding the removal of Chinese and Japanese merchants from the city as well as from neighboring areas including Yongsan and Yanghwajin. In 1891, fishermen on Jeju Island rose up in rebellion, demanding that Japanese fishermen be banned from fishing in the sea around the island. The peasants' livelihood also suffered; they not only had to shoulder a heavy tax burden due to the wrongdoings and corruption of the regional officials, but also had to contend with rising rice prices as a result of growing rice exports.

Figure 13: The leader of the Donghak peasant revolution, Jeon Bong-jun, who was arrested and executed in December 1894. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

The Donghak movement forcefully re-emerged in 1893 when its followers petitioned the government to legalize the propagation of their religion. Jeon Bong-jun and Son Hwa-ung, who had emerged as new leaders of the

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movement, used this opportunity to call for the expulsion of Westerners and Japanese and urged their followers to form "righteous militias" and rise up in insurrection. In February 1894, over one thousand peasants under Jeon Bong-jun's leadership revolted in the Gobu region in the province of Jeolla. Jeon was trusted by and popular with the peasants in the region. He planned to expand the revolt across the whole province of Jeolla. His peasant army successfully fought government forces dispatched to suppress the uprising, and by the end of May, it had occupied Jeon-ju, the capital of Jeolla Province. The Donghak Peasant Revolution had reached its climax.

Unable to end the peasant rebellion, at the beginning of June the Korean government asked the Qing to send military support, and following that, it made a formal request for troops to be dispatched to Korea. Meanwhile, Japan, already in a position to send its forces to the peninsula and waiting for a chance to do so, quickly decided to send around six thousand troops under the pretext of protecting its legation and Japanese residents in Korea. An imperial headquarters was set up, and the Meiji emperor and Ito Hirobumi's cabinet began preparations for war. The Japanese government informed the Qing that they were sending troops to Korea based upon the terms of the Convention of Tientsin (Tianjin) and then sent troops to the peninsula. On June 7, the Qing officially informed Japan that they, too, were sending troops. The first 2,100 Qing troops landed in Korea and took up their positions in Chungcheong Province, the majority in the Asan region.

The peasant army, occupying Jeon-ju in Jeolla, took advantage of the Qing and Japanese intervention to sign a peace agreement known as the "Jeon-ju Truce" with the Korean government forces before withdrawing from the city. After pulling out of Jeon-ju, the rebel army set up bodies of peasant self-rule (Jipganso) in most parts of Jeolla Province. Through these institutions, the peasants punished the pernicious bureaucrats, abolished the social status system, and began reforming the tax and land ownership systems.

Proposal for Joint Japanese and Chinese Reform in Korea

As a result of the Jeon-ju Truce, both Japan and China lost any reason to keep their troops in Korea. In mid-June, negotiations for a joint troop

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withdrawal were opened between Japan, represented by Otori Keisuke, and China, represented by Yuan Shikai. The Japanese side had no intention of pulling their troops out of the peninsula. In a cabinet meeting, the government in Tokyo decided to send a proposal to the Qing suggesting that both armies suppress the revolt, and that the two countries cooperate to reform Korea's domestic politics after that. The cabinet also decided it would not withdraw its forces stationed on the peninsula regardless of how discussions went with the Qing, and if the Qing refused to cooperate, Japan would go ahead with reforms in Korea on its own. By keeping their troops in that country without paying heed to the intentions of the Chinese, the Japanese were trying to pave the way to war.

The Japanese proposal to jointly reform Joseon's political system was no more than a pretext for keeping Japanese forces in Korea. It was based on the assumption that the Qing would not agree to it, since the Chinese emperor claimed the right of suzerainty over Korea. Indeed, China eventually rejected the Japanese proposal, arguing that the revolt was over and therefore, according to the terms of the Convention of Tientsin (Tianjin), both China and Japan should withdraw their troops. The Chinese side also emphasized that any reforms in the country should be undertaken by the Koreans themselves, and that neither Japan nor China should interfere in its internal politics. As both the Korean government and ministers from Western countries such as Great Britain and Russia were pressing for the simultaneous withdrawal of Japanese and Chinese troops, the Qing expressed their intention to remove Chinese troops from the Korean peninsula. However, the Japanese government ignored the Qing's response, stating that Japan would not withdraw its forces until reforms had been implemented. This letter from the Japanese government to the Qing was the first step toward breaking off diplomatic relations between the two countries.

It was at this point that Russia and Britain intervened. In late June, the Russian minister in Japan asked whether the Japanese forces would withdraw if the Qing did, to which Mutsu Munemitsu, the foreign minister, responded that a reform of Joseon's internal politics was the top priority, and Japan would not pull its troops out unless those reforms were approved. In early July, Great Britain also attempted to broker peace. However, Japan claimed that responsibility for the conflict lay with the Qing, and sent China a second letter formally breaking off diplomatic relations.

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On July 16, an event occurred far away in London that provided the key for Japan's decision to start the war. In order to get on Great Britain's good side, Japan had been compromising in the negotiations to revise the unequal treaty signed previously and had finally succeeded in signing the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Britain. As a result, the Japanese were received a guarantee from the British that they would not intervene in the event that Japan went to war with China.

The key person in Qing policy-making at this time was Li Hongzhang, governor of the Beiyang region in the north of China. He wished to avoid a war with Japan since he knew that the Northern (Beiyang) Fleet he commanded was unprepared and no match for the Japanese. Li therefore tried to contain Japan by influencing the other powers through diplomatic means. The Empress Dowager Cixi, the real power holder in the Qing court, also supported Li and tried to stave off the war, but, in contrast, the Guangxu emperor and his close aides argued in favor of a war.

Occupation of the Joseon Royal Palace

In order to find a pretext for war, at the beginning of July 1894 the Japanese minister in Korea, Otori Keisuke, sent the Korean government a proposal for reforms based on the decision of the Japanese cabinet taken in June. When the Korean court rejected it, Otori decided that matters had at last reached the point where Japan should press for the implementation of its demands more forcefully, even through an occupation of the Royal palace. He requested that the Joseon demand the withdrawal of Qing troops and a rejection of all treaties and agreements signed between the Joseon and the Qing. He gave the Korean government a deadline by which to respond in order to make the Joseon feel pressure. On July 23, the Japanese troops stationed in Yongsan, just outside of Hanseong, attacked the Gyeongbok Palace where King Gojong lived, brought it under their control and forced a change of government. Before the war with the Qing broke out, the Japanese had carried out a military maneuver against Korea.

The Japanese freed the former regent Heungseon Daewongun from house arrest, to which he had been confined since being sent back to Korea by the Qing, took him to meet the king, and then put him in charge of the

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affairs of state. Making use of its military power, Japan managed to drive out the regime led by Queen Min and her followers and install a pro-Japanese government in its place. Next, on July 25, before any declaration of war had been made, the Japanese fleet attacked Qing naval vessels near the small island of Pung, marking the beginning of the First Sino-Japanese War. After this engagement, Japanese forces attacked the Qing troops stationed in Korea, capturing Seonghwan on July 29, and Asan the following day.

The Sino-Japanese War Unfolds

Some members of the Japanese government believed that Japan should fight the war not only with the Qing but also with Korea. An imperial decree declaring war on Korea was drafted that described the enemy as "Qing and Joseon," but Korea was removed in the final draft. Thus, on August 1, 1894, Japan declared war on the Qing and formally commenced hostilities. The official reason given by Japan for the war was that the Qing were interfering in the domestic affairs of Joseon and treating it as a vassal state. Japan would fight the war to guarantee Korea's independence. Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote that the conflict was one between civilization and barbarians, and that it was unavoidable for the advancement of civilization; he even claimed that the Chinese should be grateful to the Japanese as "bringers of civilization."

From around the end of May 1894, the government in Japan had been in a stand-off with the opposition in the Imperial Diet, but attacks on the government died down as soon as the war began. In September, the imperial headquarters was moved to Hiroshima, and the Meiji emperor moved there, too, presenting himself as the commander-in-chief in charge of the Japanese military. At an extraordinary Diet meeting held in October, all political parties backed the government for victory in the war, and the government request for provisional military expenditure was quickly passed without any changes.

The Japanese army attempted to advance into China's Northeastern region through the northern part of the Korean peninsula, and the Qing army countered by concentrating its forces in Pyongyang to stop the Japanese. The Japanese forces began their attack on the city in mid-September and routed the Chinese troops to claim victory. From early on, Japan had

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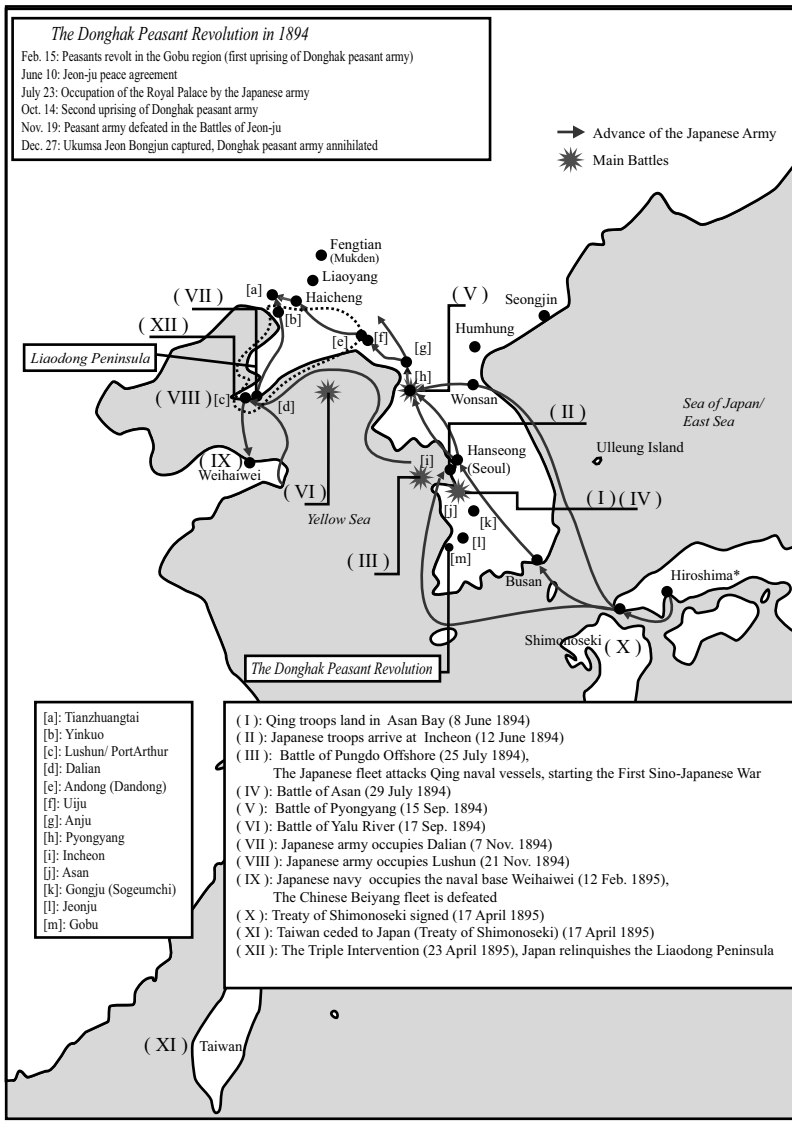

* *note*: Hiroshima was the location of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters.

Figure 14: The Sino-Japanese War.

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ramped up its preparations for war and brought public opinion around in its favor, whereas the Qing had rushed into war without reaching a consensus on wartime policy. The Qing were eventually defeated because they were inferior as a modern military in terms of organization and training; their army regulations were incoherent; their officers were corrupt; and there was a widespread sense of defeatism among the units. Li Hongzhang's policy of avoiding battle and conserving his strength was another factor. The Qing's relatively modern Beiyang Fleet exchanged fire with the Imperial Japanese Navy in the Battle of the Yalu River, but the Japanese navy remained victorious, sinking many Chinese ships.

Figure 15: The massacre at Lushun (Port Arthur), as photographed by Count Kamei Koreaki. Kamei was adopted by a family of former daimyo and in 1894 assembled a team of six photographers to document the battlefields as a war correspondent at his own expense. Source: *Meiji 27–8nen sen'eki shashincho* (1907).

The defeats inflicted on the Qing in the battles of Pyongyang and the Yalu River shocked the Western powers. In Britain, some feared that China would be thrown into disarray by the Japanese victory, which would in turn threaten British trade profits. The Russian government asserted that Japan must not be allowed to occupy the Korean peninsula. In October 1894, the British government approached Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and the

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United States and proposed that they jointly urge the two sides to make peace. There were two conditions laid out in the British plan: first, that the Western powers guarantee Korea's independence; second, that the Qing compensate the Japanese for their war expenditure. The British envoy to Japan sounded out the Japanese government regarding the question of peace with China. However, the Japanese side rejected the proposal saying it had not prepared any conditions of their own, and while discussions had begun, Japan was not yet able to present them to the British. The other powers also refused to go along with the British plan.

In November, the Japanese army headed towards Lushun (Port Arthur) from Dalian Bay as part of its strategy to invade the Liaodong peninsula. Both sides engaged in a fierce fight, but the Japanese forces were able to capture the Lushun fortress after it was abandoned by Qing troops. Entering the city of Lushun, the Japanese mopped up the defeated troops that remained, killed the captured or wounded soldiers and massacred a large number of civilians, including women, children, and the elderly. This brutal, large-scale massacre was widely reported in the world press, and criticism of Japan grew. Japanese newspapers that had dispatched war correspondents to the affected area also ran articles describing the streets of Lushun filled with corpses. The Japanese government tried to obfuscate the details, justifying it as isolated elements getting carried away amid the confusion of war and claiming that many of the people killed were not civilians but Qing soldiers who had taken off their uniforms. However, the criticism directed towards Japan was not tampered so easily.

After the defeats at Pyongyang and the Yalu river, the Qing government looked to assign responsibility for the failures, and criticism of Li Hongzhang grew. The Qing prioritized the defense of the border region along the Yalu River and concentrated their forces there. From the middle of October to March the following year (1895), a number of battles were fought along this belt of land. Furthermore, from mid-December 1894, the Japanese also attacked what was left of the Beiyang Fleet, and then went on to attack the naval base at Weihaiwei on Shandong peninsula in the latter part of January. In the face of this all-out attack from the Japanese forces, the Qing surrendered in February 1895.

Although the Qing army exceeded the Japanese forces in terms of numbers of soldiers, and the Qing navy was superior to the Japanese navy in

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terms of numbers of ships and tonnage, they were inferior in mobilization capacity and performance, partly because they were more akin to a private military force rather than a national army and navy. Thus, the Chinese military was defeated by a Japanese force that was inferior both in equipment and fighting spirit.

Negotiations for peace commenced on March 20, 1895, in Shimonoseki, Japan (see below), but the Japanese were hoping to force the Qing to cede Taiwan in the talks, and prepared to invade the island. As a prerequisite, they also drafted a plan to invade the Penghu (Pescadores) Islands to the west of Taiwan. After negotiations had begun, Japanese troops landed on the islands and occupied them after short fighting.

Anti-Japanese Resistance by the Korean Peasant Armies and the Gabo Reforms

In July 1894, right before war began between Japan and the Qing, a new government was formed in Korea made up mainly of progressive bureaucrats like Kim Hong-jip. In August, Japan signed a joint provisional agreement with the new government. The Japanese insisted that the Koreans accept their recommendations for political reform, and they also demanded concessions for building railway lines between Hanseong and Busan and between Hanseong and Incheon. After Japan had sent troops to the peninsula, it also forced the Korean government agree to the installlation of telegraph lines for the Japanese military (also from Hanseong to Busan and from Hanseong to Incheon). As a matter of fact, the Japanese army had already started working on these telegraph lines without Korean approval. In addition, Japan extracted a promise from the Korean government not to take issue with the Japanese occupation of the Korean royal palace. Soon after, the Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Joseon was signed, in which the Korean government was forced to cooperate with the Japanese in their fight against the Qing and provide material assistance such as provisions. Japanese forces were victorious at the battles of Pyongyang and at the Yalu River, then pressed on to the border with China using Korea as a foothold.

In the first half of the war, Korea was the main battleground. The Japanese fought the Qing army while forcibly collecting food supplies, materials,

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horses and men from around Korea. In October 1894, the peasant army led by Jeon Bong-jun and others rose up again with the aim of driving the Japanese forces out and toppling the administration that was cooperating with Japan. Armed with weapons taken from government buildings, the main body of the peasant army planned to head north and seize Gongju (the capital of Chungcheong Province), before proceeding to attack the capital Hanseong. A force of ten thousand peasants closed in on Gongju and made two attacks on the city between late November and early December. The Korean people carried out acts of resistance against the Japanese army throughout the country, such as by attacking regional government offices cooperating with the Japanese and cutting the telegraph wires used by the Japanese military. Peasants rose up in revolt in the provinces of Gyeonsang, Gangwon, Gyeonggi, Pyonggan, and Hwanghae, and guerrilla activities were carried out on the road between Busan and the capital, where the Japanese supply bases and telegraph lines were concentrated, and in the region along the road from the capital to Uiju near the Sino-Korean border.

The Japanese military and the Korean government mobilized their forces in response, and between late November and early December there was fierce fighting in many parts of the country. While embroiled in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan was also engaged in a war with the Korean populace. The peasant army was forced to pull back in the face of the Japanese army's modern weaponry and astute tactics, and by January 1895 their resistance had come to an end. Jeon Bong-jun was captured in December 1894 and executed in April the following year. The Japanese military adopted a policy of extinguishing the peasant army "down to the last man" and engaged in a thorough crackdown. According to government records from the time and O Chi-yong's book *The History of the Donghak*, over thirty thousand people were killed in the fighting and during crackdowns and massacres, and the overall number of war victims is estimated at between three and four hundred thousand. This was an act of slaughter carried out by the Japanese military against not only the peasant army, but also ordinary peasants in the surrounding areas.

Meanwhile, the government led by Kim Hong-jip established a body called the "Deliberative Council" to undertake a systematic reform of the Korean state, and it commenced independently with reforms, even though it was a pro-Japanese administration set up through Japanese military inter-

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vention. The series of reforms implemented between the time of the council's establishment and the collapse of the Kim Hong-jip government in February 1896 is known as the Gabo Reform. The first stage of the Gabo Reform covers the period up to December 1894, when the Deliberative Council was dissolved. During this stage, the government introduced a modern social system to Korea and realized reforms of the administrative structure, public finances, and the tax system. In addition, it abolished the social class system and the guilds. Even the peasants who had stood against the government welcomed the measures to reform the social classes and the tax collection system.

After the Japanese were victorious in the first stage of the Sino-Japanese War, the cabinet in Tokyo discussed its Korea policy again in August 1894 and decided that although nominally the goal was an independent Korea, Japan would actually aim to make Korea a Japanese protectorate. In October 1894, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru took up the position of Japanese minister to Korea and stepped up Japanese intervention in Korea's domestic politics. He prohibited the involvement of the Daewongun and Queen Min in the affairs of the state, and brought the royal court and the government under his control. He then brought back Park Young-hyo, Seo Kwang-beom, and other pro-Japanese reformers, who had sought exile after the Gapsin Coup, and made them take part in the administration of Kim Hong-jip, ensuring that a large number of Japanese officials would be hired as advisors. The reforms in Korea were implemented under strong Japanese pressure. Inoue tried to promote a Korea policy based on the British policy in Egypt, but the degree of possible intervention by the Japanese minister was limited. Not only was he unable to rally political forces in Korea for his objectives, but he also lacked a plan to create a power structure in Korea that could successfully turn the country into a Japanese protectorate. This was only achieved in 1905 with the establishment of the Residency General of Korea (Kankoku tokan-fu).

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3. The Treaty of Shimonoseki and Relations between China, Japan, and Korea

The Treaty of Shimonoseki between China and Japan (1895)

Qing representatives, led by minister plenipotentiary Li Hongzhang, arrived in Japan in March 1895, and discussions for an armistice and a peace treaty began in the city of Shimonoseki. After the Japanese delegation presented a draft treaty at the beginning of April, negotiations on the peace conditions commenced. Li pressed for more moderate terms, but the Japanese delegation refused to compromise. Around this time, a Japanese political activist attempted to assassinate Li, and Japan, fearing criticism from the international community, was forced to make concessions and bring the negotiations to a speedy conclusion. The peace treaty between Qing China and Japan, known as the Treaty of Shimonoseki, consisted of eleven articles and was signed on April 17, 1895, bringing the First Sino-Japanese War to an end.

Figure 16: The signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty by Japanese Minister Plenipotentiaries Ito Hirobumi (seated right) and Mutsu Munemitsu (standing left of Ito) and Chinese minister Li Hongzhang (left). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

Under the terms of the treaty, the Qing recognized that Korea was a completely independent country and agreed to abolish the tribute relationship between Korea and the Qing court (Article 1); the Qing ceded the Liaodong

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peninsula, Taiwan, and the Penghu Islands to Japan (Article 2); and the Qing agreed to pay Japan 200 million taels (around 300 million yen) in eight installments as war indemnity (Article 4). Article 6 dictated that Japan and the Qing would conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation and a convention to regulate trade and frontier exchange based on the Qing's treaties with the Western nations: in addition to the previously opened cities and ports, the Qing would also open the ports and cities of Shashi, Chongqing, Suzhou (also known as Soochow), and Hangzhou to the Japanese; Japanese steamships would be allowed passage between Yichang and Chongqing in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River and passage from Shanghai to Suzhou and Hangzhou; Japanese nationals would be permitted to freely engage in any manufacturing industry in China's open ports and cities; and the Japanese were given certain privileges regarding inland taxes and duties. In addition, Japanese forces would be withdrawn from China within three months of the treaty's ratification (Article 7); and as a guarantee that China would faithfully execute the treaty, the Qing agreed to a temporary Japanese military occupation of Weihaiwei (Article 8). Of these, Article 6 gave the Japanese exactly the same privileges that the Western countries had obtained from China. Fearing intervention from the West, the Japanese government hurried to bring the treaty into effect. Within the Qing government, the clamor for war grew stronger in protest at its signing, and numerous addresses were made to the Qing emperor claiming that if he recognized this treaty, incursions by foreign powers would only escalate. Some also argued to reform domestic politics and criticized the policies of the Self-Strengthening Movement.

The traditional international order in East Asia was finally destroyed by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Sinocentric, investiture-for-tribute system came to an end, and a new order based on Western international law and the unequal treaties stretched across the whole region. At the same time, the First Sino-Japanese War and the Treaty of Shimonoseki marked the point at which Japan began to pursue a more active policy toward the continent and to step up its aggression into Asia.

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Cession of the Liaodong Peninsula and the Triple Intervention

At the beginning of April 1895, the Russian foreign minister proposed to the other Western powers that they advise Japan to abandon its occupation of the Liaodong peninsula. Germany agreed to the proposal, as it hoped increased Russian interest in the Far East would weaken the Franco-Russian Alliance in Europe, and it also hoped to acquire a naval base from the Qing. France also agreed in order to maintain its alliance with Russia and prevent the cession of Taiwan and the Pescadores (Penghu) Islands to Japan. Great Britain, however, did not respond to the proposal, believing Japan would act as a bulwark against Russia's southern advance and hoping the provisions in Article 6 of the Treaty of Shimonoseki related to the expansion of open ports and markets and increased trade for Japan in China would also be extended equally to the other powers.

Six days after the Treaty of Shimonoseki was concluded, envoys from Russia, Germany, and France urged Japan to return the Liaodong peninsula to the Qing and requested a reply within fifteen days. The reasons given were that Japan's occupation of the peninsula put the Qing capital in peril, made Korea independent in name only, and jeopardized peace and stability in the Far East. Along with this message, in a display of military might, Russia sent seventeen warships, Germany two, and France one to Zhifu in Yantai, where the instruments of ratification were to be exchanged. This is known as the Triple Intervention.

Japan attempted to counter this joint intervention by appealing to Great Britain and the United States. However, America did not respond to Japan's overtures, and Great Britain refused to help. Britain did not want Japan to grow further in strength and change the status quo in East Asia. On its own, Japan announced that if China paid a larger sum in compensation, it would in turn give up all territorial concessions on the Liaodong peninsula apart from Jinzhou (the part including Port Arthur/Lushun on the southern tip of the peninsula). However, since Russia, France, and Germany insisted on Japan's total abandonment of Liaodong, Japan eventually decided to renounce its claim. Despite this decision, Japan still replied to the three powers that the instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Shimonoseki would be exchanged as planned, and that it would demand compensation from the Qing in return for giving back the peninsula.

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Eventually, in exchange for 30 million taels, Japan relinquished the Liaodong peninsula. In Japan, there was escalating anger toward the intervention by the three countries, and hostility towards Russia grew. "Enduring hardship to get revenge" became a catchphrase among the Japanese, and the government took advantage of this mood among the people to press ahead with building up its armaments. At the same time, the Japanese began to feel a growing sense of superiority over China and Korea after the Sino-Japanese war, looking down on its two neighbors.

The Qing Cession of Taiwan and Japan's War of Aggression in Taiwan

Rumors that Japan had demanded the cession of Taiwan from the Qing reached Taiwan in early March 1895. However, this hearsay soon became reality when Japanese forces landed on and occupied the Penghu Islands. Some of the local gentry protested to the Qing court through the island's governor-general, Tang Ching-sung. However, hiding the severity of the situation, the Qing tried to so the the gentry by saying they had been concerned about Taiwan since the previous year. After giving Tang Ching-sung some encouragement, they ordered him to defend the island.

When the gentry learned that the Treaty of Shimonoseki required the Qing to cede "the whole of the Island of Taiwan and its adjacent islands," they were furious that the Qing court had turned its back on Taiwan, and began to protest the cession. Through Tang Ching-sung, the gentry petitioned the Qing court, stating their opposition to the island's cession. They also hoped that Great Britain would come to their aid or that there would be a another Triple Intervention, but in the end their hopes came to nothing. Next, the gentry looked to Taiwanese independence as a way to survive, and they launched an independence movement led by Tang Ching-sung. The Qing dismissed Tang from office, but nevertheless the island declared independence in May 1895, and the Republic of Formosa was established. Tang was put forward as its president and Liu Yong-fu as commander-in-chief of the military forces. On May 8, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was ratified. After being appointed governor-general of Taiwan, Admiral Kabayama Sukenori left for the island with military forces.

Even though the Sino-Japanese War had ended, Japan still continued a

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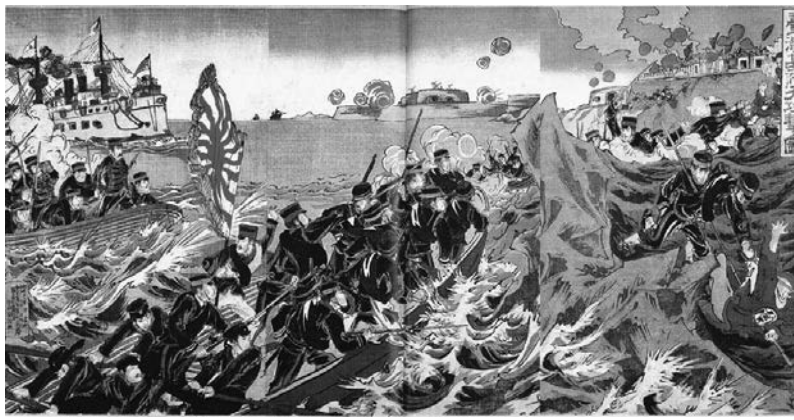

Figure 17: "Major Assault at Keelung, Taiwan," woodblock print by Kokuni Masa. Kabayama Sukenori, who had been appointed governor-general of Taiwan, landed near Keelung on the northernmost tip of Taiwan on May 29, 1895, with the Imperial Guards Division. He encountered resistance from aboriginal Taiwanese, leading to fierce fighting. Courtesy of Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.

war of aggression, now in Taiwan. In May, the Japanese forces began to land on the island, and by the beginning of June they had captured Keelung and Taipei. Tang Ching-sung fled to the Chinese mainland with the republic's top officials, bureaucrats, and soldiers. Some of the influential people among the Han immigrants also fled Taiwan. In mid-June 1895, the Japanese forces held a ceremony to inaugurate the new rule in Taiwan, overseen by Governor-General Kabayama. After the ceremony, the Japanese troops pressed into the southern portion of the island, but they met with fierce resistance from the Taiwanese Republican Army. In the south, Taiwanese resistance was led by Liu Yong-fu, who was in charge of defending the area around Tainan. There was bitter fighting in many areas, but in October Liu and his staff fled, the Japanese captured Tainan, and the Republic of Formosa came to an end.

In the five months since landing on the island, Japan had sent 49,835 soldiers and 26,214 military laborers to Taiwan, suffering 4,642 losses through fighting or illness, including Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa, commander of the Imperial Guard Division. The total number of Han-Taiwanese killed by the Japanese forces is estimated at well over ten thou-

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sand. However, even after the Japanese had occupied the whole island, resistance from the inhabitants continued. It is generally assumed that between 1898 and 1902, 10,950 people were killed or executed by the Japanese as they suppressed the islanders' guerilla-style resistance. Taiwan was thus made into a Japanese colony. Japan had now become a nation that controlled parts of East Asia while at the same time being part of East Asia.

The Sino-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation

In 1871 China and Japan had signed the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce, an equal treaty in which both sides agreed to determine tariff rates together and recognize consular jurisdiction over each country's nationals living in the other country. However, this treaty was nullified when war broke out between the two countries in 1894, and the conflict led to the brokering of a new treaty based on the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Sino-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, as it was known, was signed in July 1896 in Beijing and promulgated in October that year. Under the new treaty, Japan obtained the same sort of unequal privileges over the Qing that the Western powers enjoyed, including consular jurisdiction, the right to fix tariff rates, and the most-favored nation status. In terms of international relations, Japan now dealt with China from the same position as the imperialist Western nations.

Before the war, Japan had managed to partly revise the treaty it had with Great Britain, but now it seized a position that placed it above China on the international stage. With Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and other Western countries, Japan built concessions in Xiamen (Amoy) in 1896 and in Hankou and Tianjin in 1898, as well as becoming part of the joint concession in Shanghai. Furthermore, it opened a succession of its own concessions, starting with Suzhou and Hanzhou in 1897, Shashi in 1898, Fuzhou in 1899, and Chongqing in 1901. Concessions were residential areas for foreigners into which the Qing's administrative authority did not extend. They also acted as springboards for making further inroads into China.

The indemnity the Qing had to pay Japan as a result of the Sino-Japanese War consisted of three parts: 1) war reparations based on Article 4 of the Treaty of Shimonoseki; 2) costs for defending Weihaiwei; and 3) com-

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pensation for the retrocession of the Liaodong peninsula. The total sum amounted to just over 203 million taels. This was equivalent to three years' income for the Qing state treasury. The Qing court tried to make up the amount entirely by borrowing from foreign countries, and the Western powers competed with each other to become creditors. Eventually loans were secured from Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and France, and the Qing court then had to pay 16 million taels each year to pay them back. The imperialist Western powers used these loans as leverage to get various rights and concessions and to gain further ground in China.

When converted into the Japanese currency of the time, the indemnity that China paid to Japan amounted to more than 364 million yen, more than four years' worth of Japan's state finances. Japan received the money in British pounds, which was the international currency of the time. The majority of the sum (84 percent) was spent on military enlargement as well as on providing the capital to establish Yawata Ironworks, for example, and communication projects such as telegraph and telephone lines.

In Japan, the capitalist economy made a huge leap forward due to the war with China, advancing the country's industrial revolution, which had been centered on light industry before the war. Using the privileges extracted from the Qing, Japan increased its cotton yarn exports to China. It also pressed ahead with an enormous military expansion in an attempt to force its way into the competition then playing out among the imperialist nations to divide up China. Japan's military expenses were now three times greater than before the war, and to make up for this, the tax burden on the Japanese people increased.

Effects of the Sino-Japanese War on Korea

Under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Qing officially recognized Korea's independence, and the tribute relationship between the two countries with China as suzerain was abolished. However, the "indepdenence" referred to in the treaty did not mean Korea would be truly independent or autonomous; rather, Japan would try to control the country instead of the Qing. Kim Hong-jip's second cabinet was in power in Korea at the time and

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advanced a number of reforms under the direction of Japan's minister resident Inoue Kaoru.

However, due to direct pressure on Japan from Russia in the Triple Intervention, Inoue's plans for more direct control of Korean domestic affairs suffered a setback. Furthermore, when Japan returned the Liaodong peninsula to the Qing following the Triple Intervention, the pro-Russian faction in Korea around Queen Min (Myeongseong) aimed to increase its power and curb Japan's influence by strengthening ties with Russia. The pro-Japanese reformer Park Young-hyo, who had previously been appointed to a key post in the government, lost his position and sought refuge once more in Japan. With several of its members gaining appointments to government positions, the pro-Russian faction now held the real reins of power in Korea.

After Inoue Kaoru's policies of promoting reforms in Korea failed, army officer Miura Goro replaced him as Japan's resident minister. Miura decided to restore Japan's influence by removing Queen Min, so he devised a plan to assassinate her. In October 1895, a group comprising members of the minister resident's staff, members of the Japanese garrison stationed in Korea, and some Japanese advisors and political activists residing in the Korean capital raided the Gyeongbok Palace and hacked the queen to death, before carrying her body out of the palace and burning it. This is known as the Queen Min Assassination Incident or "Eulmi Incident" of 1895. The assassination was witnessed by American military instructors and Russian engineers, so it escalated into an international affair. Fearing isolation from the West, the Japanese government removed Miura from his post and recalled him to Japan; other Japanese involved in the incident were also pulled out of the country and brought back to Japan (however, not a single person involved received any form of punishment).

Soon after the assassination of Queen Min, Kim Hong-jip's fourth cabinet was formed under pressure from Miura Goro. The pro-Russian and Min factions were removed from power, and in their place, pro-Japanese and reformist politicians and bureaucrats were appointed. However, the barbarous murder of the queen heightened anti-Japanese sentiment among the Korean people, and there was growing criticism of Kim Hong-jip's government because it followed Japanese instructions. In January 1896, "Righteous Militias" rose up in an armed struggle against Japan. Kim Hong-

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jip's government dispatched troops throughout the country in order to crush them. This left a hole in the defenses of the capital, and the pro-Russian faction took advantage of this to launch a coup d'état with the assistance of Russian marines from a Russian naval vessel anchored at Incheon. King Gojong was transferred to the Russian legation, and a pro-Russian government was established. Kim Hong-jip and others involved in the assassination of Queen Min were killed, and Yu Gil-jun and other members of the pro-Japanese faction once again fled to Japan.

The First Sino-Japanese War led to the dismantling of the traditional international order in East Asia, and at the same time it brought East Asia itself to the forefront as a focal point for wider international issues. While opening the way for foreign powers to carve up China, it also aggravated tensions between Japan and Russia on the Korean peninsula and brought a tremendous change to the balance of power in the East Asian region. After the war, Japan gradually stepped up its efforts to invade and expand into the Asian mainland from the Korean peninsula, both competing with and confronting the Western powers.

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The Qing's Korea Policy

Scholars in China, Japan, and Korea have different interpretations of the Qing's policy toward Joseon Korea from the 1880s up to the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95).

When Japan's annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom threatened the Qing's suzerainty over its vassal states in 1879, the Qing began to implement an aggressive interventionist policy towards the remaining tributary states. During the Imo Military Uprising in July 1882, the Qing sent a large military expedition to the Korean peninsula under the pretext of protecting Korea as a Chinese "tribute state" and punishing the uprising's ringleader, the Daewongun. They eventually crushed the uprising by force.

In October that same year, the Qing signed a trade treaty with Korea. This treaty recognized the Qing's right to consular jurisdiction, the authority to open trade posts in Hanseong (present-day Seoul), trading rights for Chinese merchants in the Korean hinterland, and fishing and navigation rights in Korean waters. The views of scholars in China, Japan, and Korea diverge with regard to this treaty. The Korean and Japanese academic communities focus on the unequal provisions of this treaty and the Qing's coerciveness. In contrast, Chinese academics say that the reason for putting in provisions beneficial to the Qing arose from the unique suzerain-vassal relationship between the two countries, and that this treaty cannot therefore be regarded in the same way as the unequal treaties with the Western powers. They see this treaty as containing the idea of both a traditional vassal relationship and a modern treaty.

In December 1884 the Qing used troops stationed in Korea to crack down on supporters of the Gapsin Coup, which was launched by reformers like Kim Ok-gyun. After the coup was suppressed, China posted diplomatic, financial, and military advisors in the country to bolster its influence over the Joseon. One of them was Yuan Shikai. In 1885, Yuan suggested to Li Hongzhang (Viceroy of Zhili and Minister of Beiyang) that King Gojong be dethroned, referring to rumors of a second secret treaty signed by Korea with Russia as a pretext, but the Qing court did not accept his proposal. Next, to make it impossible for

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Korea to get the protection of Japan or the Western powers, in 1886 Yuan claimed that Korea had to accept Chinese protection as it was a vassal state of the Qing. When the Joseon decided to send envoys to the United States and five European countries, Yuan demanded the mission to be aborted because Joseon had not sought advice from the Qing in advance. Even after the envoys had been sent, he continued to demand that the Joseon court first consult with the Qing diplomats stationed in Korea. The Qing also put an end to Joseon attempts to secure loans from America, France, Great Britain, and Japan, instead ensuring that Korea got loans from them. They also tried to merge the Korean port customs houses with their own. Furthermore, the Qing spent several years setting up a telegraph line to connect the north and south of the country, and then placed the line's management under their own control.

Historians in Korea and Japan think that up to 1894, despite Joseon's claims of autonomous independence, the Qing tried to make Korea a vassal state by intervening into Korea's internal politics, stationing military forces there, and implementing a variety of economic measures. However, Chinese historians argue that, although Yuan Shikai clearly intervened in major ways in Korea's domestic and foreign politics while posted there, this was only to strengthen China's suzerainty, and Korea's relations with China did not go beyond the bounds of traditional suzerainty.

How to View Japan's Continental Policy

As a result of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), Japan colonized Taiwan. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) it colonized Korea and the southern part of Manchuria to become a continental state, or a state expanding into the Asian continent. When did Japan start out on its way to becoming a continental state? Opinions in China and Japan differ with regard to this question.

Even in Japan, the mainstream opinion among historians is that the invasion of the Asian continent was an integral part of the country's path to modernization. However, opinion is divided as to when ex-

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pansion on the continent became a key element of Japanese policy: in the early phase of the Meiji period (the 1870s), after negotiations to divide up the Ryukyu Kingdom with China (1880–81), after the Imo Military Uprising in 1882, or even later. Even for scholars considering Japan's development as a continental power to be an inseparable part of modernization, it is generally assumed that the expansion into Korea was a fundamental piece of foreign policy, but China itself was initially not envisioned as a target for Japanese expansion. Furthermore, some recent Japanese studies have suggested that up until the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), Japan had various options available, not just the binary choice of whether to become an imperialist power or a colony of Western Europe. They believe that Japanese aggression and expansionism were not necessarily the only inevitable outcomes, and they argue that the Sino-Japanese War was itself the turning point.

Chinese research, by contrast, states that the goals of Japan's continental policy were both the Korean peninsula and northeastern China, and that the formation of this policy lies in the chain of events leading up to the First Sino-Japanese War. In 1868, the Meiji government expressed its intention to expand its influence in the name of the emperor. The targets of this continental policy were made clear, for example, by Kido Takayoshi's argument in late 1868 for an expedition to Korea, the Japanese Foreign Ministry's foreign policy formulated in 1870, and the "Draft Proposal for a Military Expedition to Qing China," drawn up in 1887 by Ogawa Mataji, at the time head of Department Two in the Imperial Japanese Army's General Staff Office. In 1890, Prime Minister General Yamagata Aritomo defined Japan's "line of national interest" in a policy speech, and around the same time he stated that Japan should take possession of Korea, Manchuria, and the Primorsky Krai (Maritime Province), a territory controlled by Russia. With the approval of this policy in both the Imperial Diet and the Cabinet, Japan's continental policy had taken its final form. The First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), the annexation of Korea in 1910, the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and the total war between China and Japan commencing in 1937 were all

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executed as part of this continental policy. In China, modern Japan's continental policy is thus seen as a continuous, unalterable process starting with the Meiji Restoration.

Historians in Korea, however, focus their attention on the Japanese debate to send a punitive military expedition to Korea, which emerged during the process of restoring diplomatic relations with the Joseon kingdom after the Meiji Restoration. They see the invasion of Ganghwa Island by troops from the Japanese vessel Un'yo as the first incident in this context and emphasize that all Japanese policy towards Korea after the Japan-Korea Treaty (Treaty of Ganghwa) of 1876 was implemented to fulfill its continental policy.

The Treaty System and Extraterritorial Rights

The term "treaty system" refers to a modern framework in which relations between countries were shaped by treaties concluded following the provisions of international law. Through the military power of the Western countries, China, Japan, and Korea were forced into a series of treaties that led to the destruction of the traditional Sinocentric order in East Asia and the creation of a new, modern international order. However, in the course of this transformation, the Western countries gained a variety of privileges through their power and severely violated the sovereignty and national interests of China, Japan, and Korea. These treaties are therefore also called "Unequal Treaties."

After the Opium Wars, China was gradually drawn into the Western powers' treaty system. For China, the first unequal treaty was the Treaty of Nanjing with Great Britain in 1842. It then signed the Treaty of Wangxia with the United States and the Treaty of Whampoa with France in 1844, the Treaty of Canton with Sweden-Norway in 1847, and the Treaty of Kulja with Russia in 1851. These unequal treaties demonstrate that a treaty system was being constructed in China. The Qing also entered into the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) with Britain, France, Russia, and the United States in 1858, then signed the First Convention of Peking (Beijing) in 1860 with Britain, France, and

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Russia, by which key privileges for the Euro-American powers were established in China. This also signified the formation of a treaty system around China. From the 1860s to the 1880s, China entered into unequal treaties with the world's major capitalist countries. In 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War, the Qing signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japan and the latter became one of "the powers" (*rekkyo*), reinforcing the treaty system. In 1901, after a war of aggression in China by a coalition of eight countries, the Qing were forced to sign the humiliating Boxer Protocol (Peace Agreement between the Great Powers and China) with Great Britain, Russia, France, the United States, Japan, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Spain. It was now that China's treaty system was complete. Later, the treaties China had entered into with the powers were revised slightly, but there was no change to the basic framework.

Japan signed commercial treaties with the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Great Britain, and France in 1858. Called the "Five Ansei Treaties," they were unequal treaties in that they gave the foreign powers certain privileges, including the right of consular jurisdiction and fixed tariffs. Following the Meiji Restoration, Japan initiated attempts to revise the treaties with the goal of achieving an equal relationship with the Western nations and recognition as an equal member of the international community. However, while trying to achieve this, Japan also forced an unequal treaty on Joseon Korea in 1876.

In Korea, the Joseon Dynasty signed a treaty with the United States in 1882 and thus began to open up its doors to the Western powers. In the same year, they signed a follow-up agreement to the 1876 treaty with Japan and also concluded trade treaties with both Great Britain and Germany. In 1884 and 1886, they signed trade treaties with Russia, Italy, and France. The powers obtained privileges such as consular jurisdiction, fixed tariffs, trade rights, and most-favored nation status from the Joseon. Korea was thus also brought into the Western powers' (and Japan's) system of unequal treaties.

Together with unequal trading terms, the main problem with the treaty system lay in the exercise of extraterritoriality. This mainly

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refers to consular jurisdiction, and it was something that the Western powers enjoyed as a result of the unequal treaties concluded with the countries they invaded. It was a one-sided privilege through which a consul could administer justice vis-à-vis members of the nation he represented and based on the laws of his country, even though the persons facing legal action resided in a different country (that is, China, Japan, or Korea).

The Treaty of the Bogue, signed by China and Britain in 1843, gave the British consular jurisdiction for the first time in China. Following that, the United States, France, Sweden-Norway, and Russia also gained this privilege. Japan later secured one-sided extraterritoriality for its nationals (in China) through the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. The Five Ansei Treaties signed by Japan with Western powers in 1858 recognized consular jurisdiction for nationals of Western countries in treaty ports in Japan.

Joseon Korea allowed consular jurisdiction when it signed treaties with the Western powers and Japan. The Qing Dynasty also signed a trade agreement with the Joseon in 1882 and obtained the right to consular jurisdiction for Chinese nationals in Korea, without reciprocating this privilege. However, a trade treaty signed by the Qing and the Great Korean Empire in 1899 provided for both sides to have consular jurisdiction in each other's country.

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Timeline

1879 Abolition of the Ryukyu domain and establishment of Okinawa Prefecture.
1880 Kim Hong-jip visits Japan as an envoy for Korea.
1882 Korea signs the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation with the United States, followed by trade treaties with Great Britain and Germany; Imo Incident (Korea); Korea and China sign a trade treaty.
1884 Sino-French War (China); Gapsin Coup (Korea).
1889 Promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (Japan).
1894 Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation (Japan); Donghak Peasant Revolution (Korea); First Sino-Japanese War.
1895 Signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki; Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany, and France; Japan's war of aggression in Taiwan; assassination of Queen Min by a group of Japanese including embassy officials.
1896 Signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

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Chapter 3:
The Russo-Japanese War and the Struggle for Hegemony in East Asia

In the period from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, Japan assumed greater prominence in East Asia as it introduced Western institutions and culture and eventually caught up with the Euro-American powers. Stepping up overseas aggression, Japan took part in the Great Powers' struggle for supremacy in East Asia. This not only brought change to the traditional structure of the international order in this region; it also meant that Japan became inextricably intertwined with the interests of the Western powers. On the one hand, Japan clashed with Russia; on the other, it joined hands with Britain in its attempt to colonize Korea and to prevent the Russian Empire from expanding to Northeast China. At the same time, China and Korea faced the crisis of being divided up by the Western powers and Japan. How did Japan compete for hegemony in East Asia with the Western powers, and how did China and Korea deal with the growing national crisis? Finally, what sorts of changes occurred in international relations in East Asia and the domestic development of the three countries?

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1. Rivalries among the Powers in East Asia after the First Sino-Japanese War

Japan and the Division of China by the Western Powers

The sudden emergence of Japan as a prominent power after the Sino-Japanese War in 1894/95 pushed the Western powers to divide up China and transformed the ways in which they competed with one another in East Asia. Russia's influence had spread to Manchuria (Northeast China) and the Korean peninsula as a result of the Triple Intervention (1895). Russia's advance south brought it onto a collision course with Britain, aiming to secure railway concessions for a line between Peijing and Mukden (Fengtian). The US, too, was looking to expand its influence in the Pacific region, and expressed its fear of Russia's southern push. This led to a configuration of two groups of powers intertwined in complex ways and competing with one another, with one side consisting of Britain, the US, and Japan, and the other side Russia, France, and Germany.

In order to pay off the enormous war indemnity to Japan stipulated in the 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Qing court had no choice but to rely on foreign debt. The Great Powers competed to lend the Qing money in an attempt to gain more privileges and expand their interests in China as security for the loans. With the principal sum and the interest combined, the loans from Russia, France, Britain, and Germany amounted to over 600 billion *taels.* Securities for the loans included the tax receipts from China's maritime customs and regional tariffs called *lijin* and *yanli.*[39] With these, the Great Powers also were able to control the Qing Dynasty's power over customs administration and regulation of public finance. These loans, and the harsh political and economic conditions attached to them, became the means by which the powers were able to proceed in dividing up China.

Using the killing of two German missionaries in Shandong Province as a pretext, Germany dispatched troops to China and occupied Jiaozhou

39 *Lijin* was originally a temporary internal tariff first introduced in China to make up for the shortfall in the military budget caused by the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), but it became permanent. The *yanli* was a salt tax. The "li" in both words is written with the same character, meaning "one hundredth."

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Figure 18: China under threat of division. From left to right: Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Japan; China is in the background. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

(Kiautschou) Bay in November 1897. In March of the following year, it forced China into a treaty (the Kiautschou Bay Concession Treaty), gaining the bay as a "concession"[40] from the Qing, while also turning the whole of Shandong Province into a German sphere of influence. Russia followed swiftly and leased Liaodong peninsula as a concession, thus making Manchuria and lands north of the Great Wall its sphere of influence. The British then brought Weihaiwei and the New Territories in Hong Kong, including the Kowloon peninsula and surrounding islands, and Mirs Bay and

40 This concession was a non-permanent lease of a key port and surrounding area, but as Germany had enormous political and military power, the Qing were effectively ceding the territory to the Germans.

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Shenzhen Bay, under their control as concessions, turning parts of the Yangtze River basin, western Yunan, and Guangdong into their sphere of influence. France leased Guangzhou Bay (Leizhou Bay), and made the greater part of Yunan and Guangdong and all of Guangxi Province its sphere of influence. Japan, which had forced the Qing to cede Taiwan, also joined the Western powers' race to carve up China, and made the Qing recognize that the tract of Fujian on the coast facing Taiwan was Japan's sphere of influence. These events demonstrate how the Western powers and Japan violated China's territorial sovereignty.

As the foreign powers divided up China into spheres of influence, they also competed for Chinese mining and railroad construction rights. Russia obtained the rights to build the main line for the Chinese Eastern Railway from Manzhouli through Heilongjiang and Jilin to Vladivostok, as well as a branch line between Harbin and Dalian and an array of rights relating to these railroads, and thus established a foothold in Manchuria.[41] Russia also supported Belgian corporations in obtaining the construction rights for a railway between the Marco Polo Bridge (in Beijing) and Hankou, which would bring Russia into Britain's sphere of influence in the Yangtze River basin. Britain's Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) obtained the construction rights for a railway between Peijing and Mukden, which meant that they pushed their way into Russia's sphere of influence. Britain also took the rights to the southern portion of the Tianjin-Zhenjiang railroad, while Germany secured the rights to the northern portion, and the US obtained the construction rights to the Guangzhou-Hankou line. China's main railroad routes thus fell into the hands of the foreign powers. At the same time, France obtained mining privileges in the provinces of Yunan, Guangdong, and Guangxi; Britain secured mining rights in Shanxi, Henan, Zhili, and Sichuan provinces; similarly Germany for the whole of the Shandong Province, and Russia in Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and an even wider area. Japan set its sights on the Daye iron mine. The foreign powers also invested in the trading ports and built factories and banks,

41 A secret military agreement between Russia and the Qing stated that military aid would be provided in case of a Japanese attack on the territory of either country. The agreement also awarded construction rights regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway to Russia in order to enable military support to be sent.

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thereby coming to control the Chinese economy, and attempted to seize even more political and economic privileges.

During the period in which many of the Western powers and Japan were competing for concessions and spheres of influence in China, the US was in the midst of the Spanish-American War, which it fought in order to bring the Spanish territory of the Philippines under its control as a foothold for advancing into East Asia. The war ended with American victory and US occupation of the Philippines, but it meant that the Americans were a step behind in the race to divide up China. In 1899, in order to make up for lost time, the US government sent a "Declaration on an Open Door Policy" (Open Door Note) to Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan. Under the assumption that all concessions and interests already acquired from the Qing would be recognized, this declaration urged the powers to open up their concessions and spheres of influence in China so that the US could also attain equal trading opportunities. In its attempt to claim a share of the spoils, America only sought the opinions of the other foreign powers, and it completely ignored the Qing court and the Chinese people.

Hostility and Détente between Japan and Russia in Korea

After Queen Min (posthumously Empress Myeongseong) was assassinated and King Gojong took refuge at the Russian Legation in 1896, Japan's influence on Korea declined; conversely, Russia's increased, especially as the pro-Russian faction within the Korean royal household came to take gradual control of politics. Japan therefore began to negotiate with Russia to try and secure its position in Korea.

In 1896, Komura Jutaro, the Japanese minister in Korea, exchanged a memorandum in Hanseong (present-day Seoul) with the Russian minister Karl Ivanovich Weber, in which the two agreed to maintain the current status of the Korean government and recognized each other's right to station troops in the country. This is known as the First Russo-Japanese Convention, or the Komura-Weber Agreement. Japan made Russia recognize that it had special economic interests in Korea, and under the pretext of protecting Japanese residents it stationed troops there.

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In the same year, the Japanese Minister of Justice, Yamagata Aritomo, visited Russia and signed an agreement with the Russian foreign minister, Alexei Lobanov, under which both parties agreed to cooperate in assisting with Korea's public finances and leave all military training entirely to the Korean government, and confirmed each other's rights to build and administer telegraph lines in Korea. Further, they agreed to respect each other's rights to develop and consolidate particular interests within their respective spheres of influence, to not interfere in each other's activities, and to act together if their interests were threatened by a third party. This was the Second Russo-Japanese Convention, or the Yamagata-Lobanov Agreement.

In March 1898, Russia withdrew its military and financial advisors from Korea. At the same time, it leased the Liaodung peninsula and expanded its influence in Manchuria. In Japan, the idea of Russian recognition of Japanese control over Korea in exchange for Japanese recognition of Russian control over Manchuria emerged. An agreement was signed in April 1898 between the Japanese Foreign Minister Nishi Tokujiro and the Russian minister in Japan, Roman Romanovich Rosen. Both countries agreed that Korea should achieve independence, that neither country would interfere in Korea's domestic politics, that they would confer with the other before sending military or financial advisors there, and that Japan's economic superiority in the peninsula would be respected; Japan also gave tacit approval to the Russian concessions of Lushun and Dalian. This was the Third Russo-Japanese Convention, or the Nishi-Rosen Agreement.

The Korean Empire and the Independence Club

In 1896, after the Korean King Gojong had taken refuge in the Russian Legation, Russo-Japanese competition for influence in Joseon intensified, but in Korea voices also emerged that called for Joseon to free itself from the control of all foreign powers. More and more Koreans advocated the foundation of an independent, autonomous nation and thus opposed the government's foreign policy. At the same time, there were growing calls for the king to leave the Russian Legation and return to the royal palace and manage the affairs of the state independently. However, the favored direc-

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tion regarding the formation of an independent, autonomous state varied according to the position of each side.

In February 1897, King Gojong listened to the demands from the domestic and international spheres for Korea to free itself from Russian influence and embarked upon a series of reforms in an effort to change both his own image and that of the country. In October, he was declared emperor[42] and changed the country's official name to "The Korean Empire" (The Great Han Empire). In 1899, the Korean Empire concluded a trade treaty[43] with the Qing, which, for the first time, was based on an equal footing of the two countries. In addition, the Korean government set about promoting industry and commerce, laying out policies for the support of industry, and embarking upon the construction of electric lights, electric railways, telephones and telegraphs. It also encouraged the establishment of private-sector businesses and factories, helping set up the Korean Railroad Company. It introduced modern educational ideas based on current educational doctrines, and helped advance education in modern technology. The government opened elementary, junior high, and high schools, and began cultivating its workforce by establishing specialized schools for farming, industry and commerce, mining, and medicine. Further, it implemented a series of reforms and land surveys using Western technology with the aim of recognizing the land ownership rights of individuals, including peasants and landlords, to whom title deeds were issued. Through all these reforms, the Korean Empire was attempting to show the world that it was an independent, autonomous sovereign state ruled by the Korean Emperor.

However, after the Korean Empire was established, the conflict between the Independence Club[44] faction and the pro-Russian conservatives over what the state structure should be escalated rapidly. Members of the former grouping pressed for social reforms, basing their arguments on the belief

42 As emperor, Gojong claimed equal status with the Qing Emperor and rejected Korea's relationship to China as a vassal state.

43 The Qing initially refused to sign an equal treaty with Korea, but the Korean government finally succeeded in obtaining their agreement after three years of negotiation.

44 The Independence Club was formed in 1896, consisting mainly of intellectuals who had gone into exile following the failed Gapsin Coup and pro-Enlightenment bureaucrats, with the aim of creating a civilized and independent constitutional monarchy.

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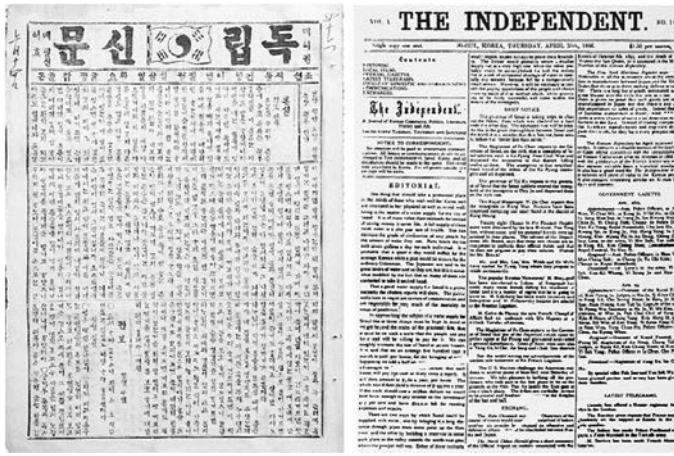

Figure 19: *The Independent* (Hangul version and English version). A private-sector newspaper which began appearing in April 1896. Of the four pages of the newspaper, three were in Hangul, and one in English. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

that the power of the emperor should be limited. Koreans, they argued, should build a society under the rule of law, different from the traditional Korean model. They also constructed the Independence Gate to symbolize independence from foreign influences such as the Qing Dynasty. They launched the newspaper *The Independent*[45] to spread ideas of civilization and progress and of autonomy and independence, and tried to enlighten the Korean people. The Independence Club also organized the "Joint Assembly of Officials and the People" and held large-scale rallies with the people of Hanseong to put pressure on the government as they sought reform of public finances and protection of people's basic rights. As well as pressing for reform of the Privy Council into a parliamentary assembly and the introduction of modern Western structures and systems, the Independence Club opposed Russia's political interference and the powers' scramble for interests in Korea.

The Independence Club tried to push forward its demands through the formation of a popular movement. However, its ideas were contradictory to the policies of top-down reform and greater authority for the emperor which

45 This was the first newspaper to be written using only Korean script.

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were being promoted by the government of the Korean Empire. The government did not accept the reform proposals of the Independence Club, and hostility between the two sides intensified. Conservative bureaucrats claimed that the Independence Club was planning to establish a republican system, and thus tried to break up the organization. The association resisted by holding Joint Assemblies, but in December 1898 the government ultimately forced the breakup of the club and the assemblies it had created. With this, the chance to transition to a constitutional monarchy was lost.

In 1899, in order to suppress anti-government reform movements led by progressive groups like the Independence Club, and thereby bolster the new empire's political system, the government announced the "Constitution of the Korean Empire." It strengthened imperial autocracy by stipulating that the power of the emperor was unlimited and that he held all legislative, administrative, and judicial control. The government of the Korean Empire now held the initiative for reform, but it was unable to realize political, economic, or social change. Ultimately Korea's attempt at modernization failed due to intervention from external forces.

The Boxer War and the Eight-Nation Alliance's War of Aggression in China

After the First Sino-Japanese War, the Western powers and Japan began their race to divide up China. Reformists led by Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei thought that the reason for China's defeat in the war with Japan lay with the Qing Dynasty, and in 1898 they initiated the so-called Hundred Days' Reform to advance institutional change following the examples of the West and Japan. However, the conservatives in the Qing court, led by the Empress Dowager Cixi, cracked down on the movement and it failed. After this, an anti-imperialist movement emerged all over the country, calling for people to "oppose the Dynasty and save the country." The Boxer Movement, as it was called[46], commenced as a resistance movement against the invasion

46 With the Western powers encroaching more and more into China, and a growing number of people suffering through droughts and then flooding, the core of this movement was the religious Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, who were trained in martial arts and thus known in the West as "Boxers." It subsequently ex-

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by the Western powers and grew stronger as a result of the general population's long-running struggle against Christianity,[47] progressively turning more violent.

The Boxers first appeared in the southwestern part of Shandong Province in 1898. They quickly spread to the border region between Shandong and Zhili, where they were soon to increase further in strength. In 1900, with the tacit consent of the Qing court, the Boxers advanced as far as the Beijing/Tianjin region, which was the political heartland of the Qing court. As the Boxers' slogan was "Support the Qing, Exterminate the Foreigners," the court initially encouraged them in an attempt to co-opt their force and use them against the Western powers. With this backing behind them, the Boxers burned down churches and then surrounded the foreign legations in Beijing and attacked them. To rescue legations under siege by the Boxers, Britain, Russia, France, the US, Japan, Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary formed an alliance and sent troops to China to attack the capital. In June, after the allied forces attacked the Taku Forts,[48] the Qing court declared war on the foreign powers. The Qing army and the Boxers steeled themselves for a war of resistance, but they were defeated by the Eight-Nation Alliance's firepower, and from July to August 1900, the allies took control of Tianjin and Beijing. The Empress Dowager Cixi fled from Beijing with the Guangxu Emperor, and ordered the suppression of the Boxers. After occupying Beijing, the troops of the Eight-Nation Alliance killed many people, plundered and burnt down their homes. Of the allied forces, the Japanese troops numbered the most, at about half of the total force.[49] At the same time, Russia made use of the opportunity to send over 100,000 of its soldiers to

panded its influence as an anti-Christian militia group, destroying railways and telegraph lines, and attacking foreigners and Chinese Christians.

47 After the Second Opium War, missionaries were given official permission to proselytize within China's interior. As their missionary activities increased, people who felt the traditional order was being threatened resisted by setting fire to churches and killing missionaries.

48 These were built in Taku (now in Tianjin City), which lay at the entrance to the sea by Tianjin and Beijing, in order to protect against foreign attacks.

49 The British were already occupied with the Boer War, and the Americans were busy putting down the independence movement in the Philippines. In order to suppress the Boxer Uprising, the British used colonial troops from India and Australia, and the French used troops from Vietnam and Algeria.

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occupy Manchuria under the pretext of protecting the Chinese Eastern Railway from the Boxers.

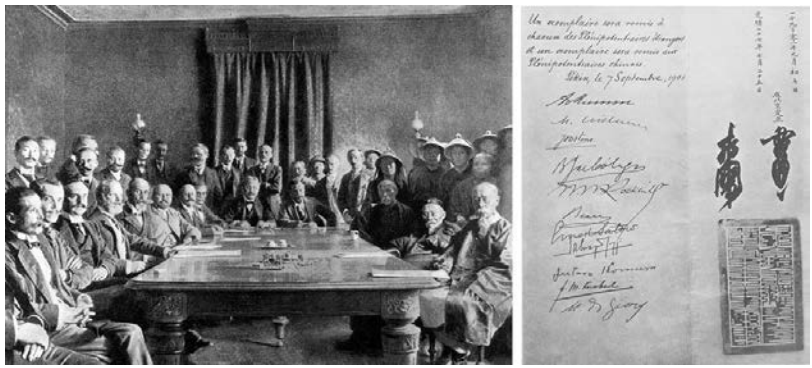

Figure 20: The signing of the Boxer Protocol and the signatures on the document. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

In September 1901, the Eight-Nation Alliance of Great Britain, Russia, France, the US, Japan, Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, together with the Netherlands, Belgium, and Spain, pressed the Qing into signing the Boxer Protocol. Under the provisions of this protocol, China had to pay the powers an indemnity of 450 million *taels* (with interest, the amount would rise to 950 million *taels*), and the signatories were allowed to station troops in Beijing, ostensibly to protect their legations. The Qing court yielded completely to the powers, and became "a court of Westerners," meaning that the Qing imperial court was controlled by foreigners. After its signing of the Boxer Protocol, China's international standing slumped to its lowest ever in history.

2. Causes and Outcomes of the Russo-Japanese War

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902

In July 1900, Russia took advantage of the Eight-Nation Alliance sending troops into northeastern China (Manchuria) during the Boxer Uprising.

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After its army occupied the region, it put forward to Japan a proposal of Korean neutrality, which fundamentally denied Japan a position of influence in Korea. The Japanese turned the proposal down, saying that they could not discuss the Korean issue until Russian forces had withdrawn from Manchuria.

How did Japan confront Russian power? Japan's government was split into two groups over this question. One side supported an entente with Russia; believing that while Russia could be regarded as Japan's direct rival in Northeast Asia, as long as Japan was unable to compete in terms of military power it should ensure that both countries recognized each other's interests in Korea and Manchuria through diplomatic cooperation. This was the so-called "Manchuria-Korea exchange" argument. The other side was in support of an alliance with Britain. The representatives of this position felt that as Russia's policy of southward expansion was a direct threat to British interests in the Far East, if Japan could secure an alliance with Britain it would gain an advantage in its struggle with Russia for interests in Northeast Asia.[50]

At the end of 1901, the former Japanese prime minister Ito Hirobumi visited St. Petersburg and met with the Russian Foreign Minister Vladimir Lamzdorf and the Minister of Finance Sergei Witte in an attempt to achieve the Manchuria-Korea "exchange." However, the meeting did not go as he had hoped; Russia insisted that Japan abandon Korea and rejected the "exchange" request. Japan next leaned toward an alliance with Great Britain.

Russia's policy of southern expansion and the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which began in 1891, threatened Britain's leadership among the other powers in the region, which it had thus far maintained with its naval power, and also threatened British interests in Afghanistan, India, and China. Moreover, at this time, Great Britain was sending a large military force to South Africa to fight the Boer War and to bring the region under its direct control. It was also compelled to strengthen its military to participate in the division of Africa, in which France and Germany also were involved. Therefore, Japan's military power was required to confront Russia. Fur-

50 In recent research, the dominant theory now is that it was not necessarily a binary choice for Japan of either cooperating with Russia or forming an alliance with Great Britain, but rather that both choices were pursued at the same time.

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thermore, America's request for an open-door policy in Manchuria ran counter to Russia's policy of exclusive control of the region. It was in this context that Japan and Great Britain gradually came closer together and began to seek a political and military alliance to resist Russia, and that the US came to support this anti-Russian coalition in the Far East.

In February 1902, Hayashi Tadasu, the Japanese envoy in Britain, signed the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance.[51] Under this treaty, Japan and Britain recognized each other's special interests in Korea and China, and also positioned themselves against Russia and its ally France. Two days after the alliance was signed, America sent memoranda to China, Russia, and the other powers strongly criticizing Russia's control of Manchuria. Together with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, this was a warning directed toward Russia. Backed by the support of Great Britain and the US, Japan ultimately resorted to war in order to resolve its standoff with Russia in the scramble for Korea and Manchuria.

The Sino-Russian "Treaty on Returning Manchuria" and the Outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War

During the 1901 peace conference following the Boxer Uprising, Russian representatives held separate talks with the Qing. The talks were held in St. Petersburg to avoid interference from the other powers in the discussions regarding the issue of withdrawing Russian troops from Manchuria. Russia was attempting to legitimize its occupation of the region and bring it under its exclusive control. When Russia's strategic intentions became known to the outside world, other powers including Japan, Great Britain, and the US raised strong objections. To prevent Russia from taking exclusive control of Manchuria, the powers put pressure on the Qing, demanding that China refrain from signing a separate treaty with Russia. At the same time, an anti-Russian movement arose in China that opposed the signing of the treaty with Russia, and the people held protest rallies. Pressed by public opinion

51 Article 2 stated that if either party went to war with another power (implicitly referring to Russia), then the other party would observe neutrality, and if a third power should join the war, the other party would also declare war and support the alliance partner.

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both inside and outside China, the Qing court refused to sign the treaty with Russia, and so Russia's plan to control Manchuria through a separate treaty with the Qing government failed.

After the Boxer Protocol was signed, China and Russia once again began negotiations on the issue of ending the occupation of Manchuria, and in a treaty signed in April 1902 Russia agreed to withdraw all its troops stationed there in three stages over an eighteen-month period and return control over Manchuria to China. The Russian army completed the first withdrawal close to the deadline stipulated in the treaty and returned the railroad it had taken over to China. This served to calm anti-Russian sentiment both inside and outside China.

However, in April 1903, the second stage of the Russian troop withdrawal stalled. A faction within Russia led by Alexander Bezobrazov, an advisor to Tsar Nicholas II, believed that if Russia's military power in the Far East waned, it would invite an attack by Japan. Thus, this group argued, Russia needed to increase its strength of troops in the region, challenge the position of Japan, and continue to occupy Manchuria. Russia would then bring under its control the entire stretch of land from Mongolia to North China and create a sphere of influence that no other power would dare to touch. As this faction became more powerful in the imperial court in St. Petersburg, it called for the reinforcement of the fort at Lushun (Port Arthur) and demanded more timber rights along the Yalu River from Korea as well as a Russian concession in Ryongampo. However, the Foreign Minister, War Minister, and Finance Minister strongly opposed these demands, as they were considered as risking worsening relations with Japan and placing further strain on Russian finances. The Tsar did not wish for war with Japan either, saying that it was necessary to return Manchuria with equanimity. In August of that year, the Finance Minister was removed from his post, which tipped the balance of power within the Russian government in favor of the hardliners.[52]

In Japan, in contrast to Russia, a movement gained momentum among the military leadership that favored a declaration of war and demanded that

52 The hardliners asserted that the return of Manchuria to the Chinese and withdrawal of troops carried out by the pro-international cooperation faction, which included the Finance Minister Witte, was a diplomatic defeat, and Witte was ousted.

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Japan secure the Korean peninsula before the Russians increased their troop strength and constructed forts and encampments in Manchuria to boost their position. In June 1903, the Japanese government decided to negotiate directly with Russia in order to protect its rights and interests in Korea, reasoning that Japanese control of Korea was being threatened by Russian control of Manchuria. Within Japan, "hawkish" arguments calling for war with Russia gained greater traction with each passing day.

Negotiations between the two countries began in August at the initiative of the Japanese. Japan tried to expand its authority in Korea to the fullest extent, while reducing Russia's influence in Manchuria as much as possible. By as late as December 1903, there was still no progress in the talks, and Japan began to prepare for war,[53] determining a strategy for fighting Russia and a policy for dealing with Korea. By contrast, even by January 1904 the Tsar and Russian War Minister were still hoping to avoid war.

On February 8, 1904, a Japanese fleet engaged Russian naval vessels in the port of Incheon (Chemulpo), and Japanese troops began disembarking there. Late that night, the Japanese fleet attacked a Russian fleet anchored in Lushun (Port Arthur). The following day, the Japanese fleet sank two Russian naval vessels at Incheon (Chemulpo). That evening, Russia decided to declare war on Japan, which it announced the following day, February 10. That same evening, Japan also declared war on Russia. With this, Japan and Russia had entered into an official state of war.

Upon the outbreak of the war, Britain, America, France, Germany, and other powers declared their neutrality; however, their motives and objectives for doing so varied. Great Britain offered advanced ships, weapons, and artillery shells to its Japanese ally, as well as use of its telegraph network, which it had set up to connect its colonies. During the war, financial institutions from both Great Britain and the US advanced four war loans to Japan, amounting to 694 million yen in total (German capital also made up part of the fourth loan). That sum was about half of Japan's war expenditure,

53 The Russian representatives initially proposed to leave Manchuria off the discussion agenda, but they changed their position during the discussions, saying that they would recognize the rights of other countries in Manchuria. Japan also compromised by not trying to limit Russian interests in Manchuria to the railways. However, it refused to accept the Russian demand that Japan "not use any part of the Korean territory for strategic purposes."

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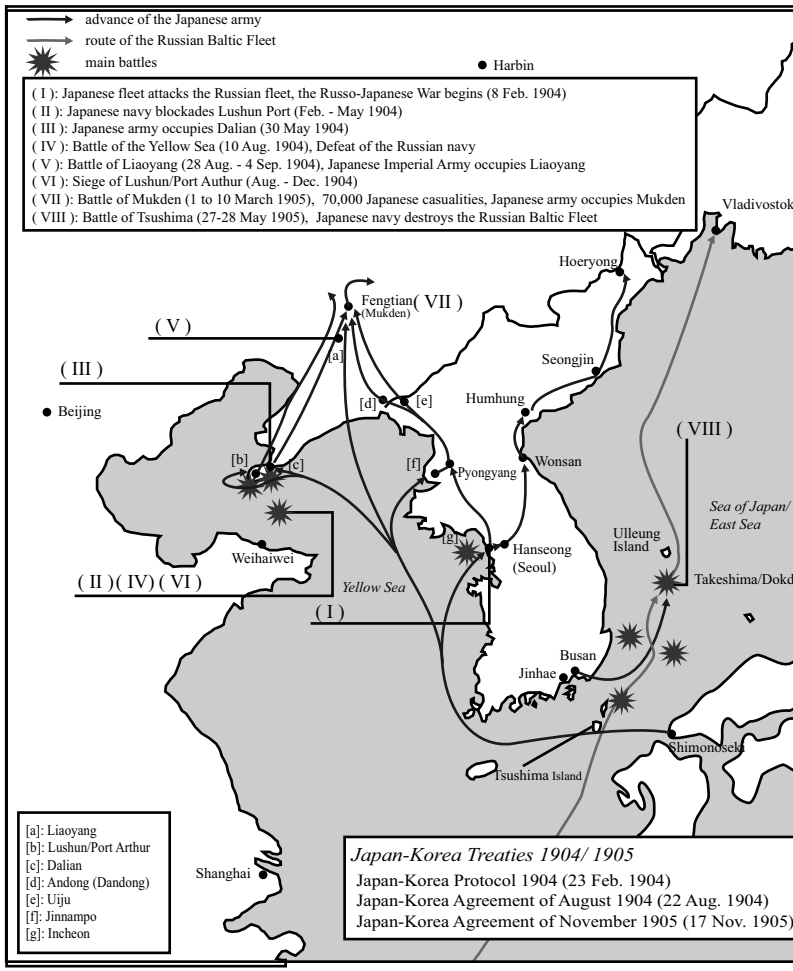

Figure 21: The Russo-Japanese War.

which is estimated to have been 1.46 billion yen,[54] and was a major assistance for Japan. France wanted to keep Germany in check from the eastern side of

54 Depending on how the statistics are calculated, total war expenditure is said to amount to 1,826,290,000 or 1,986,120,000 Yen.

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Figure 22: Russo-Japanese tug-of-war, showing Korea as the victim. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

the Eurasian continent by using the power of its Russian ally, but it desired neither war between Japan and Russia in the Far East nor any involvement in it. Great Britain also wished to avoid a showdown with France, and after it had failed to realign its relations with Germany, it then repaired its relationship with France, and the two confronted Germany together.

Because France and Great Britain had been clashing over colonial territories in Africa, the two countries signed an agreement in which France recognized British control of Egypt and Britain, in turn, French control of Morocco. At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, France offered Russia a war loan of 800 million francs, but it did not meet Russia's request for a second loan. France tried to promote peace between the two combatants, and wanted to bring a quick end to the war in the Far East.

Germany supported Russia's adventure in the Far East as it was trying to weaken the Franco-Russian alliance and if possible pull the two countries apart. From a position of neutrality, Germany sold military equipment and supplies to Russia and offered a war loan. Germany was aiming to form a relationship with Russia and benefit from the confrontation between the powers in Europe. On the other hand, it avoided isolation in the rivalry

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between the powers in the Far East by also showing some goodwill toward Japan, as it provided Japan with military equipment and supplies, and also joined with Britain and the US to provide Japan's fourth war loan.

We can therefore see that, while powers such as Great Britain, America, France, and Germany were not involved directly in the war, they adopted different strategies to expand their own influence, and their so-called "neutrality" had enormous impact on the war. Superficially, the war was fought between Japan and Russia, but in reality, it was an imperialistic war that was strongly transnational in nature.

The Japan-Korea Treaty of February 1904 and the Japan-Korea Agreement of August 1904

Before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Korean government declared a policy of neutrality. However, in spite of this declaration, Japan subsequently landed troops at Incheon. Its aim was to use the Korean peninsula as a military base for the war against Russia.[55] Japan forced Korea to sign a treaty to allow Japan to station troops on the peninsula, thus rendering war a foregone conclusion. During the war, Japan laid the foundations for a later colonization of Korea. Under pressure from Japan, the Korean government saw no choice but to send the Foreign Minister Yi Ji-yong to conclude the Japan-Korea Treaty in February 1904 with Hayashi Gonsuke, the Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary in Korea. Nominally, the treaty declared that Japan would guarantee Korea's independence and territorial integrity, as well the safety of Korea's imperial family. In fact, it was effectively a means through which Japan gained the right to interfere in Korea's domestic politics and became enabled to encroach on Korea's military and diplomatic rights. Korea was also forced to allow Japan to build bases anywhere within the country if it was deemed a military necessity.

In March 1904, Japan sent the *Genro* (elder statesman) Ito Hirobumi to Hanseong as a special envoy on a "visit to bring comfort to the Korean Imperial Family;" the actual purpose of the mission was to reinforce Jap-

55 The troops that landed at Incheon marched to Hanseong and took the Korean emperor into "protective custody."

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anese control of Korean politics, as Ito started to intervene directly in Korea's internal affairs and foreign policy. In order to put an end to the Korean government's relationship with the Russian government, Ito pressed the Koreans to rescind all the treaties it had entered into with Russia, and in May he succeeded in making them publish a declaration to this effect in the name of the Korean emperor. In the same month, the Japanese government passed a "Program for the Improvement of the Administration of Korea," in which it discarded its previously asserted claim of maintaining Korean independence. Japan's new fundamental policy was to make Korea into a protectorate. In August 1904, Japan coerced Korea into accepting foreign advisors under the Japan-Korea Agreement. Under its terms, Korea had to invite and employ a Japanese financial advisor and a foreign affairs advisor from another country, but recommended by the Japanese government. Consequently, for matters of public finance and foreign policy, Korea had to accept the opinion of these advisors.[56]

During the Russo-Japanese War, Japan forced the Korean government into a range of agreements that infringed on Korean sovereignty. As well as providing ostensible justification for Japan's military occupation and intervention in domestic affairs, these actions later became the pretext for the takeover of the country.

Suffering Caused by the War for the People of China, Japan, and Korea

After its outbreak in February 1904, the Russo-Japanese War lasted for over a year until August 1905, when a peace conference was held. It was a war of aggression rooted in both Russian and Japanese imperialism and fought over hegemony in Manchuria and the Korean peninsula. The war not only undermined the sovereignty of Korea and China, but also had tragic consequences for the people of both these countries.

When the hostilities broke out, Japanese forces swiftly occupied Korea and established military control, turning the entire country into a base for

56 After the agreement was signed, Japan removed many of the foreigners employed by the Korean government in various government departments, and replaced them with nearly 200 Japanese.

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Figure 23: A Korean mobilized to transport Japanese military goods. On the basis of the Japan-Korea Treaty, Japan freely moved its military through Korea and mobilized people for the war effort. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

the war. To fight the war in Manchuria, the Japanese military not only occupied Korean territory and railroads, but also mobilized Korean manpower and requisitioned livestock and food. It built a large telegraph network which it used to execute the war. Japan also mobilized tens of thousands of Korean peasants as forced labor to construct the Gyeongui railway line connecting Hanseong with Sineuiju, for which there was now an urgent need. Furthermore, the Japanese abducted many peasants and forced them into service as coolies for military supplies and equipment, or made them build army encampments. The Japanese military also tightened its control of the country, brutally executing anyone who destroyed telegraph wires and railway lines as a warning to others. The armed suppression and military control of Korea by the Japanese army violated Korean sovereignty and caused tremendous damage to people's lives and property.

Japan determined that it would be more advantageous if the Qing maintained a position of neutrality, so it urged the Chinese to take such a position. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, the Qing proclaimed their neutrality.[57] However, Heilongjiang and Jilin Provinces and large parts

57 The Qing government adopted a policy of friendly neutrality toward Japan, and while it

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of Mukden Province (now Liaoning) were declared "exceptions" and those territories became battlegrounds. The area specified by the authorities in Mukden Province turned into a major war zone for the Russian and Japanese forces.[58] Facing invasion by foreign powers, the Qing did not have the power to make the fighting stop, and neither could they prevent it from spreading in their own land. As the fighting was carried out in Manchuria's most heavily populated region, many innocent people lost their lives. *The Eastern Miscellany*[59] wrote that "China was neutral, but the number of dead among the Chinese people reached over 100,000, more than the number of dead on the Russian and Japanese sides." Many of the Chinese people in the war zones first suffered at the hands of the Russian forces, then at the hands of the Japanese army. They suffered humiliations that were hard to endure, and many lost their homes. Both combatants made the Chinese peasants work as forced labor for the war effort. By fighting each other in China, Russia and Japan not only violated China's territorial sovereignty, but also brought grave hardships to the Chinese people in terms of their lives and livelihoods.

Most of the Japanese people were caught up in jingoism, which played up the Russian threat far beyond its actual status. After the war began, they were led along by the wartime media coverage, so the majority supported the war. The military force of 1,090,000 troops mobilized for the war was four and a half times greater than that involved in the First Sino-Japanese War, and the number of casualties was six times greater, at 84,000. On average, eighty-one men were mobilized from each municipality, and of those an average of six men would die. The tax burden for the subjects was three times larger than before the war, making their lives harder, and the families of those killed in the war also suffered. Although small, an oppo-

refused to give any advantage to the Russian forces, Yuan Shikai and other leaders sent money to Japan.

58 The Qing declared neutrality and indicated to the world that its sovereignty stretched to Manchuria. It designated certain areas as war zones in order to limit damage to people's lives and possessions. However, in reality, both the Russian and Japanese armies ignored these rules.

59 This was a general-interest magazine first published in Shanghai during the Russo-Japanese War with the purpose of "[l]eading the people to enlightenment and bringing East Asia together;" publication continued until 1948.

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sition movement led by Christians and socialists did emerge amid fanaticism during the war.

3. The Treaty of Portsmouth

The Western Powers and the Treaty of Portsmouth

In the Russo-Japanese War, Russia was defeated by the Japanese military in both land and sea battles. The Battle of Mukden in March 1905 was the decisive victory of the Japanese army in the land war. The war at sea ended when the Japanese navy destroyed Russia's Second and Third Pacific Squadrons – commonly known as the Baltic Fleet, as it was made up of ships sent from the Baltic Sea to East Asia – in the Battle of Tsushima in the Tsushima Straits. In July, the Japanese army landed on Sakhalin Island, which it fully occupied in order to gain an advantage in the peace negotiations. Up until this point, Japanese forces had not invaded or occupied any Russian territory. The Russian military no longer had the strength to fight back.

Russia's military failure was now conclusive. Revolution had brought political instability to the country, and it no longer had the means to continue fighting. Similarly, as a result of the intense warfare, Japan, too, was running short on war funds and ammunition. Further, it was unable to replace the army officers it had lost, and it was becoming difficult for Japan to continue the campaign. Both sides faced an urgent need to bring the war to a swift conclusion. At the same time, the other powers also wanted to put an end to the fighting. Britain and America had previously supported Japan in order to prevent Russia from controlling Manchuria, but they did not want Japan to completely defeat Russia and occupy Manchuria. They were hoping for a balance of power between the two countries so that they could secure their own interests in the northeast of China.

At the same time, changes in relations between the countries in Europe also helped prompt Japan and Russia to conclude a peace. In March 1905, Germany and France faced a serious crisis over Morocco (the First Mo-

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roccan Crisis).[60] It was France's hope that Russia would end the war in the Far East and shift the focus of its foreign policy to Europe. It was under such circumstances that US President Theodore Roosevelt accepted the Japanese request to act as mediator, and Russia also responded to calls for peace.

Roosevelt entered into the peace process to put an end to the expansion of Russian influence in East Asia using Japanese resistance; at the same time, he hoped that in return for the recognition of Japan's position in Korea, Japan would recognize America's control of the Philippines. In July 1905, William Taft, the US Secretary of War, secretly signed an agreement in Tokyo with the Japanese Prime Minister, Katsura Taro, in which Japan acknowledged America's special position in the Philippines, and America Japan's special interests in Korea; this was known as the Taft-Katsura Agreement. In August, Britain renewed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Agreement for ten years. Under its terms, Japan recognized British interests in China and Britain's right to take any steps necessary to protect its control of India. In its turn, Britain recognized the special political, military, and economic interests that Japan had in Korea. Thus, with its military victory, Japan also won American and British diplomatic support.

In August 1905, peace negotiations were held at the American naval shipyard of Portsmouth, with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Komura Jutaro, and the Russian former Minister for Finance, Sergei Witte, representing each side with plenipotentiary powers. The peace conference was a place for both sides to readjust their respective spheres of influence in the Far East based on the outcome of the war, and the core issue was the realignment of both countries' interests and spheres of influence in Manchuria and Korea. Lasting around one month, the negotiations completely ignored the Qing and Korean governments; Japan and Russia arbitrarily agreed on a new division of interests in Manchuria and Korea, and on September 5, the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.

The main points of the treaty were as follows: 1) Russia recognized Japan's right to guide, protect, and control the politics, military and econ-

60 Under the *Entente Cordiale* between France and Great Britain of 1904, France recognized Britain's predominant rights in Egypt in exchange for Britain recognizing France's predominant rights in Morocco, pushing both North African countries toward becoming protectorates. Germany announced its opposition to this, which led to strained relations with France.

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omy of Korea; 2) excluding the concession on the Liaodong peninsula, all territories in Manchuria occupied and under the control of either army were returned to China; 3) Russia transferred to Japan Lushun (Port Arthur), Dalian Bay and the adjacent territories and territorial waters, and all its public works and properties within that territory; 4) Russia transferred to Japan without compensation the railway from Changchun to Lushun and its branch lines, including the coal mines and properties belonging to the railway; 5) Russia transferred to Japan in perpetuity the southern part of Sakhalin Island below the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, and all islands adjacent to it; 6) excluding the concessions, Japanese and Russian forces had to withdraw from Manchuria completely within eighteen months. However, both sides were permitted to leave a garrison in place to protect their respective railways in Manchuria.

As a result of Russia and Japan readjusting their interests and spheres of influence in East Asia – particularly Manchuria and Korea – under the Treaty of Portsmouth, the international order in the region entered a new phase. In defeat, Russia was forced to give up all its interests in Korea, and its interests in southern Manchuria were also transferred to Japan, so that the area became part of the Japanese sphere of influence. The Korean peninsula transitioned from being under a balance of power between Russia and Japan to being occupied by Japan, and Manchuria fell under their joint control.

The Japan-Korea Treaties of 1905 and 1907

After the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan soon began to seek a protectorate treaty with Korea. In November 1905, Ito Hirobumi set out for Hanseong as Japan's representative and, presenting Emperor Gojong with a personal letter from the Japanese emperor, requested that Korea agree to sign a protectorate treaty. Ito and the other Japanese ministers sought to use coercion and bribery to make the Korean ministers agree, but Emperor Gojong refused to sign the proposed treaty. Ito pressured Gojong by summoning the ministers to convene in the Imperial Council. He surrounded the venue with troops to intimidate those present, but the council still decided against concluding the treaty. Ito then brought in the army commanders and military police and increased the pressure on the Korean

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side. Another council was convened in Emperor Gojong's absence, and finally Home Minister Yi Ji-yong, Army Minister Yi Geun-taek, Foreign Minister Park Jae-soon, Education Minister Yi Wan-yong, and Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry Minister Kwon Jung-hyun agreed to sign the treaty; they were later excoriated by the people of Korea as "the Five Eulsa Traitors." Using military coercion, and in a process that was unlawful due to the lack of a letter of proxy or the approval of the Korean emperor, Ito had succeeded in making the council pass the treaty with a majority decision and thus in forcing Korea into the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty, also known as the Eulsa Treaty (1905). Under the presumption that the Korean emperor would continue to be revered and kept safe, the treaty stipulated that henceforth all Korean diplomacy would be managed and controlled via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, and a Resident-General was left in Hanseong (renamed Gyeongseong in 1910) as a permanent representative of the Japanese government, charged with administering Korea's foreign policy. Japan thus gained complete control over Korea's diplomatic rights, and Korea became a Japanese protectorate. The legations of all other countries in the Korean capital were closed, and Korean ministers stationed overseas were recalled, so that Korea lost all its diplomatic routes.

Following this development, Japan established a Residency-General in the capital, Gyeongseong, and appointed Ito as the first Japanese Resident-General in Korea (Kankoku tokan). This representative of Japan in Korea answered directly to the Japanese emperor. His office was originally established under the pretext of supervising Korea's foreign affairs, but the Japanese government then added administrative, security, agricultural, commercial, and industrial divisions to it, meaning it controlled not only diplomatic affairs, but also domestic policy.

An anti-Japanese movement emerged in response to the imposition of this treaty on Korea. People from every social class opposed the protectorate treaty forced on Korea and condemned the actions of the "Five Eulsa Traitors." Patriotic bureaucrats and intellectuals wrote to the emperor urging him to cancel the treaty, execute the traitors, and apologize to the people. Many people committed suicide out of anger, among them Min Yeong-hwan, an adjutant general and chief aide-de-camp to the Emperor. Gojong, too, opposed Japanese policies both in public and in private. On the day that the Residency-General officially opened, he put out an an-

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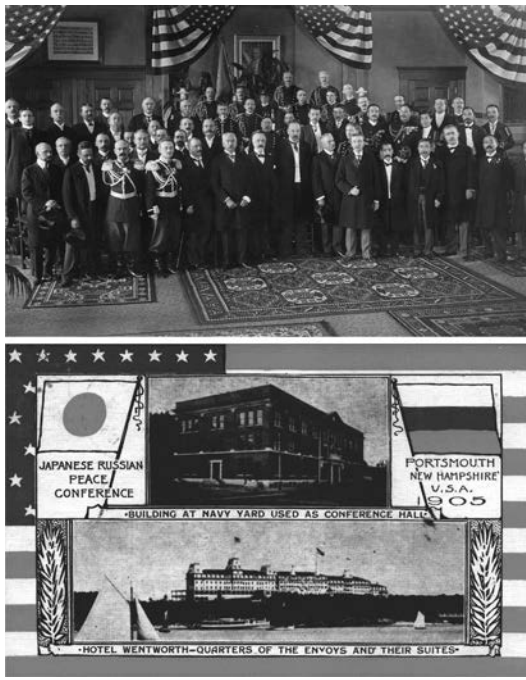

Figure 24: Commemorative postcard marking the conclusion of the Treaty of Portsmouth. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

nouncement in the *Korea Daily News* condemning the fact that Japan had forced this "protection treaty" on Korea and called upon the Western powers to support Korea's independence.

In June 1907, Gojong sent three secret emissaries, including Yi Jun, to take part in the Hague Peace Conference held in the Netherlands. Their goal was to expose the illegality of the treaty and make the claim to the international community that it was null and void. However, Russia, Great Britain, and other Western powers had already given their approval – tacit or otherwise – to Japan's status as Korea's "protector." As a result, the emissaries met with Japanese obstructionism and were unable to actually attend the conference and obtain the assistance of international society. Using this incident at the conference as an excuse, the Japanese government forced Gojong to abdicate and made him hand over the imperial throne to

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his son, Sunjong. Japan then used this opportunity to press Korea into signing the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1907. On the basis of this treaty, Japan received further rights to intervene in Korea's domestic politics, under the pretext that this would enable the Korean government to receive the Resident-General's guidance in administrative reform. Japanese people appointed by the Resident-General became undersecretaries in the Korean government, and it was they who held the real power in each government department, giving rise to a period known as "government by undersecretaries." Police and judicial powers were also in the hands of the Japanese, and the Residency-General applied Japanese military pressure to cajole Emperor Sunjong into issuing an imperial decree disbanding the Korean army. The final result of this development was that the Imperial Korean government now existed in name only.

Privileges Seized by Japan in Manchuria

Under the Treaty of Portsmouth, economic and railway privileges that China had previously been forced to grant to Russia were transferred to Japan without the prior consent of the Chinese government. In late 1905, Japan sent a representative to China for negotiations concerning these privileges. In December 1905, Japan coerced China into the "Treaty and Additional Agreement Relating to Manchuria," in which China recognized that Japan would keep all the privileges in South Manchuria that it had gained from Russia under the Treaty of Portsmouth. This meant that the southern part of Manchuria was now officially part of Japan's sphere of influence instead of Russia's.

In 1906, in order to advance its colonial policy in Manchuria, Japan established the office of the Kwantung Government (Kanto totokufu) and the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu). The company managed all the railways in southern Manchuria, controlled the land, stations, and the adjacent areas, and also operated electricity, gas, and water utilities, as well as schools, hospitals, and hotels. It also had a waterborne freight business, controlled a trading port, and ran mines in Fushun and Yantai (now part of Liaoyang City). The South Manchuria Railway Company was nominally a private corporation, but in reality it was a government-formed

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congolomerate for the economic penetration of China. The office of the Kwantung Government was the official colonial administration created by the Japanese government to control the region. It had a secretariat, a civilian administration division, and an army division, and administered all matters concerning the military, police, general administration, judiciary, prison service, public finance, and public works within its area of jurisdiction. The Japanese government appointed General Oshima Yoshimasa as the Governor, and actively promoted its colonial policies within southern Manchuria.

As American activity increased in Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese and Russians began to conspire with each other. In July 1907, Russia and Japan concluded an agreement delineating their spheres of influence (the first Russo-Japanese Agreement). Japan recognized North Manchuria and Outer Mongolia as Russia's sphere of influence, and Russia in turn recognized South Manchuria and Korea as being Japan's sphere of influence. With this agreement, Japan's position in Manchuria and Korea became even stronger, enabling it to seize further interests as it pleased.

The priorities of Japan's engagement in China were railway and mining interests and the control of the territory along the border between China and Korea. At the beginning of 1909, Japan raised the so-called "Six Matters Concerning the Three Eastern Provinces" with the Qing: the railway line between Xinmintun and Fakumen; the railway line between Tashihchiao (now Dashiqiao) and Yingkou; the idea of an extension of the railway between Beijing and Mukden (now Shenyang); the coal mines of Fushun and Yantai; mining along the railway line between Andong and Mukden City Station; and the Jiandao/Gando[61] area (Yanji region). The proposals made to resolve these issues clearly show Japan's aim of expanding its influence in Manchuria by increasing its railway and mining privileges. Moreover, Japan brought up the old dispute over the Yanji region's uncertain border between Korea and China. It used this dispute in an attempt to legitimize an invasion of the region. In September 1909, Japan pressured

61 Jiandao/Gando is located in the eastern part of China's Jilin Province, and Gando is the Korean name for the Yanji region. As the number of Koreans migrating there began to increase from the end of the nineteenth century, the question of jurisdiction arose between the Qing and Korea.

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the Qing government into signing the Gando Convention (consisting of the Sino-Japanese Convention Concerning Gando, and the Sino-Japanese Convention on Five Matters Concerning Manchuria), and tried to reach a solution over the six issues listed above. Under these two treaties, Japan recognized that the Yanji region was Chinese territory, but at the same time, it demanded that the Qing dynasty open up the region for Japanese trade. It also pressed the Chinese into granting Japan a number of privileges including further rights to build railways and run mines, and also to allow Japanese involvement in the local judiciary. Japan thus leveraged the Gando question to the maximum to put pressure on the Qing court and further strengthen its position in Manchuria.

4. Major Transformations in East Asia

Anti-Japanese "Righteous Militias" in Korea

Spurred by both the assassination of Queen Min (Empress Myeongseong) and the order to cut off top-knots in 1895,[62] anti-Japanese resistance emerged from among the Korean people under the guidance of Confucian scholars and spread throughout the country. Advocating the "smash[ing of] Japanese," they showed their loyalty to the dynasty and the people and thus were called the "Righteous Militias Movement" (Righteous Militias Movement of Eulmi).

This (first) Righteous Militias Movement died down around 1896. However, when Korea's sovereignty as an independent nation was impinged on further due to the signing of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 (the Eulsa Treaty), the movement once again came to life under the name Righteous Militias' Movement of Eulsa. In August 1905, Won Yong-pal from Wonju in Gangwon Province unified a number of smaller units under his command and rose up in revolt. After the treaty between Japan and Korea was signed in November of that year, the people raised protest movements all over the

62 This was issued by Kim Hong-jip's Cabinet as part of its enlightenment policies, but Confucian scholars and others resisted on the grounds that if traditional civilized customs were abandoned, the country would descend into barbarism.

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Figure 25: Young students also participated in the Righteous Militias Movement and fought against the Japanese army. This picture was taken by the Canadian correspondent and photographer Frederick Arthur McKenzie in 1907. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

country, forming squads and rising up in rebellion. The Righteous Militias' Movement soon spread to the provinces of Chungcheong, Gangwon, Jeolla, and Gyeongsang, and revolts by the Righteous Militias' Movement broke out all over the country. They attacked the Japanese troops, destroyed military installations, and punished pro-Japanese government officials. Min Jong-sik, a former bureaucrat in Hongseong, Chungcheong Province, named himself "Righteous General," and his forces at one point attacked and captured Hongseong city. Choi Ik-Hyeon, a former government administrator who had raised a Righteous Militias at the Confucian Museong Shrine Academy in Taein (now Jeongeup City) in Jeolla Province, wrote a letter to the Japanese government listing sixteen points by which Japan was betraying the good faith placed in it, and outlined the measures Japan should take in order to maintain proper relations with Korea. Choi and his troops attacked Taein, Sunchang, and Gokseong, but he was eventually arrested and sent to Tsushima Island.

In addition, Shin Doi-seok, a Righteous Militias leader who was a commoner by birth, raised an army in Yeonghae in North Gyeongsang Province, at one point gathering a force of over 3,000 troops, and dealt a severe blow to

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the Japanese military. Represented by Min Jong-sik and Choi Ik-Hyeon, high-ranking government officials and Confucian scholars took up leadership roles, providing enormous encouragement to the Righteous Militias' Movement's anti-Japanese resistance.

When the Korean army was forced to disband in August 1907, former soldiers joined the Righteous Militias' Movement, which had by then spread across the whole country and then became more aggressive; this was known as the Righteous Militias' Movement of Jeongmi. The first to oppose the dissolution of the regular Korean army and raise the flag of anti-Japanese resistance were the guards of the capital. Members of the government troops took their weapons and joined the anti-Japanese forces. The Wonju security force, which was armed with modern weaponry, fought several times with the Japanese army in the provinces of Gangwon, Gyeonggi, and North Chungcheong and remained victorious. As the armaments and firepower of the Righteous Militias' Movement improved, so too did its fighting capabilities, giving the movement a further boost.

Righteous Militias rose up in many locations around the country, and gradually combined with one another. In November 1907, Yi In-young, who was the leader of the Righteous Militias' Movement in the Wonju region in Gangwon Province, declared a manifesto to the whole country, calling upon Righteous Militias all over Korea to unite and advance toward Yangju. Moreover, he sent notices to the foreign consulates in Hanseong seeking their support and asking them to recognize the Righteous Militias units as belligerents under international law. His manifesto resonated with the Righteous Militias' Movement around the country, and 10,000 people gathered at Yangju on the outskirts of Hanseong. They formed the "Righteous Militia of the Thirteen Provinces," making Yi In-young the overall commander and Heo Wie the chief strategist. In January 1908, they advanced toward Hanseong and prepared to attack the capital. The advance party of 300 troops led by Heo Wie came within fewer than twelve kilometers of Hanseong's Dong Dae Mun (East Gate), but it was hit by a Japanese surprise attack and defeated. Yi In-young's forces had prepared a backup strategy, but failed to see it through when Yi was forced to rush home for his father's funeral. The unified Righteous Militias' Movement collapsed, and the movement reverted to separate campaigns scattered across the country.

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From 1907 up until 1910, the Righteous Militias' Movement fought with the Japanese military on 2,819 occasions, and the number of people involved (on the Korean side) totaled 140,000. The peak of the Righteous Militias' Movement was reached in 1908, with a total of 1,451 battles and 69,832 combatants, according to the "Account of the Suppression of the Korean Insurgents" compiled by Japan's Korean Garrison Army Headquarters. Seeing the Righteous Militias' Movement emerging and spreading all over the country, the Japanese military sent one infantry division to Korea as well as a regiment of cavalry and over 6,000 military police (*kenpei)*. With the aid of these reinforcements, a brutal and large-scale military crackdown was carried out. One of the major operations in 1909 was the attempt to suppress the Righteous Militias' Movement in North and South Jeolla Provinces. The Japanese army razed houses and villages to the ground all over the two provinces to ensure that there was nothing left that might later serve as a base for the Righteous Militias' Movement. The damage resulting from the Japanese military's relentless suppression and subjugation was enormous, and both soldiers of the Righteous Militias' Movement and people suffered huge casualties.

According to statistics compiled by the Japanese military, in just four years between 1906 and 1910, the number of dead among the Righteous Militias' Movement exceeded 17,000. As the Japanese suppression intensified, the movement gradually waned, and had largely ended by the second half of 1909. The remaining troops pulled back to the border area with Manchuria, and the Righteous Militias' Movement became into a national liberation movement.

The Righteous Militias' Movement was a struggle of the Korean people against Japanese invasion. As the invasion became more violent, anti-Japanese resistance expanded. The structure of the Righteous Militias' Movement also changed. Initially led by *yangban* and Confucian scholars, it later saw ordinary people playing an increasingly important role. They resisted the colonization which took away Korea's sovereign rights and tried to develop a national independence movement and to preserve the sovereignty of the Korean Empire as a modern state. One of the leaders of the Righteous Militias' Movement proclaimed: "It is better to die free than live as a slave of the Japanese." This encapsulates the deep-seated anguish of the Korean people as well as the widespread feeling of self-sacrifice among the Right-

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eous Militias in their desire for the freedom and independence of the Korean people.

Japan's Forced Annexation of Korea

After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan began to realign its relations with the Western powers on the basis of its alliance with Great Britain. In June 1907, it concluded an agreement with France in which both countries recognized the other's special interests in China. In a treaty with Russia concluded in July of the same year, the two countries confirmed their mutual interests in Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and the Korean Empire. In August, Britain achieved comprehensive realignment of its relations with Russia through a treaty regarding the privileges both countries had gained in Iran, Afghanistan, and the Tibet region. These bilateral arrangements not only mediated the conflicts in Asia between the powers, but also had a strong bearing on international relations in Europe, where Germany became the enemy of the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France, and Russia. In order to protect their interests in Asia, these latter three countries made agreements individually with Japan while jointly confronting Germany. For Great Britain, France, and Russia, Japan had great value as an ally. For Japan, the agreements meant that it would gain the support of the three countries and other powers for its policy of expanding influence in Asia. This was the international context in which Japan was able to advance its continental policy in Korea and Manchuria to its own advantage.

In spite of the fierce resistance of the Korean people, Japan pressed ahead with its colonization of the country. In July 1909, the Japanese government officially decided to "annex" Korea, and shortly thereafter it received the ratification of this action signed by the Japanese Emperor. In October, the Korean patriot An Jung-geun assassinated the former Resident-General of Korea, Ito Hirobumi, in Harbin. His motive was the perceived actions of Ito in thwarting Korean independence and strengthening conflicts between East Asian nations. The assassination drastically changed the situation. In December, the Korean Prime Minister Yi Wang-yong was attacked and injured by the patriot Yi Jae-myung. Japan further speeded up the process of "annexation." The Residency-General invited the Iljinhoe, a pro-Japanese

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organization, to start a movement to petition in favor of annexation, and attempted to make it look as though "annexation" was what the Korean people wanted. On December 4, Iljinhoe formally submitted its petition and a letter headed "A Merger of the Two Countries" to the Korean Emperor, Prime Minister Yi Wang-yong, and the Resident-General. This act met with intense opposition from the people, and there were protests and demonstrations throughout the country. The Japanese foreign minister, Komura Jutaro, informed the British, American, French, Russian, and German ambassadors to Tokyo of the Japanese decision to annex Korea to Japan and obtained their consent.

On August 22, 1910, Terauchi Masatake, the newly appointed Resident-General in Korea, signed the "Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty" with Yi Wang-yong. At the time, the Japanese military and police were in a state of alert, and had deployed artillery in the capital. All Korean organizations were forced to disband, and the publication of all newspapers was banned. The treaty stipulated that "His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes the complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea" (Article 1), and that "His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan" (Article 2). It further declared that the Korean Empire's sovereignty, its territories, and all its people now belonged to Japan. To the very final moments, Emperor Sunjong refused to ratify the treaty, but it was officially promulgated on August 29. Emperor Sunjong abdicated, and the Korean Empire came to an end. Japan declared that the annexation made Japan and Korea two equals comprising a single state, but this was far from the reality; Japan had forcibly annexed Korea.[63] As a result of the annexation, Korea became a colony that the Japanese could control and exploit; this state of affairs would last until 1945, after the end of the Second World War.

The annexation of Korea by Japan was an act that had been planned for a long time, and it received the tacit approval and support of the Western

63 Use of the name "Korea," for which the Korean side had vehemently wished, was not permitted. Instead, the term "the Korean region" was used and the capital Hanseong was renamed Gyeongseong, or Keijo in Japanese.

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powers. While the Japanese were delighted that they were able to join the ranks of the Great Powers, the Koreans sank into despair. When news of the annexation reached China, the Chinese people greatly sympathized with the Koreans. In China, the government and opposition political forces drew lessons from the fall of Korea as a warning, with the former speeding up the pace of constitutional reform, and the latter pressing for anti-Qing revolution.

China's Constitutional Reform and the Revolution of 1911

At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the Boxer Uprising, the Qing government implemented what was known as the "New Policies" – a series of measures aiming at political, economic, military, cultural, educational, and social reform. Most of these were ostensibly focused on learning from the West, but in actual fact they mainly learned from the experience of their neighbor Japan, to which the Qing government sent large numbers of students and observers. The number of students from the civilian population paying their own way to study in Japan also increased dramatically, and for a time studying abroad in Japan was highly popular.[64] At the same time, the Qing national and regional governments invited Japanese experts from a wide range of fields to come to China as advisors. The new policies not only introduced advanced Western thinking and culture to China via Japan, but also fostered a new social and political force that tried to fundamentally change Chinese society and politics and led to the emergence of a revolutionary and constitutionalist faction, and also new movements within the Qing court.

In China, after the Russo-Japanese War, a rift developed between the revolutionary faction[65] and the constitutionalist faction. The Constitutio-

64 In 1901 there were 280 foreign students from China in Japan; this rose to around 8,000 in 1905, and then a surge in 1906 took the total to over 17,860.

65 Various groups were formed between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, such as the Xingzhonghui ("Revive China Society") in Guangdong (which included Sun Yat-sen), the Huaxinghui ("China Revival Society") in Hunan (which included Huang Xing and Song Jiaoren), and the Guangfuhui ("Restoration Society") in Zhejiang (which included Cai Yuanpei and Tao Chengzhang).

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Figure 26: The Revolution of 1911 in China. To celebrate the successful revolution, flags of the Republic of China are put up on Shanghai's Nanking Road. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

nalists made the case for the formation of a constitutional monarchy, stating that Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War had been a victory of constitutionalism over absolutism. As a result of the war, the Revolutionaries felt that the Qing government was useless, and they argued for the armed overthrow of the monarchical autocracy and for the establishment of a republic. The two factions began to develop separately after the war, and went into competition with each other.

In response to the constitutionalist movement, and scheming from pro-constitution groups within the Qing government, the Qing court sent five of its leading ministers, including Zaize and Duanfang, to Japan to study the country's system of constitutional government. In September 1906, the Qing court implemented a preliminary constitution that used the Japanese constitution as a model. In August 1908, it initiated a nine-year process that would lead to the establishment of a preliminary constitution, and issued an outline for an imperial constitution based on the Meiji Constitution in Japan. After this, it opened provincial assemblies in every province and established the National Assembly in an attempt to form a national legislature. In May 1911, the Qing court set up a cabinet, led by Yikuang, Prince Qing, that was responsible to the legislature. Of the twelve ministers in the

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Cabinet, nine were Manchus, and of those, seven were from the imperial family, so that the people ridiculed it as the "Royal Cabinet." The Constitutionalists thus began to doubt that the Qing court truly intended to establish the constitutional system of government.

The leader of the Revolutionaries was Sun Yat-sen. In August 1905, he formed the Tongmenhui ("Chinese United League") in Tokyo with other revolutionaries such as Huang Xing, creating a unified organization for revolution in China. The main objectives of the Tongmenghui were the expulsion of the Manchus, the restoration of Chinese sovereignty, the establishment of a republic, and equal land rights. Sun Yat-sen condensed this into the "Three Principles of the People": nationalism, democracy, and the livelihood of the people. The Tongmenghui published bulletins such as "Min Bao," and became the bedrock of the revolution. It conducted an intense and hotly contested debate with the Reformists over whether to establish a democratic republic or a constitutional monarchy, and widely disseminated the philosophy of a democratic revolution. It also launched a series of armed uprisings in southern China's border region and the central provinces. While these all failed, they did serve to give the national revolutionary movement a boost.

On October 10, 1911, revolutionaries within the Hubei New Army launched a successful armed uprising in Wuchang. Uprisings in other provinces followed; fourteen provinces including Hunan, Jiangxi, and Anhui declared independence and revolutionary governments were established. This sparked the collapse of the Qing Dynasty. Sun Yat-sen returned from abroad, and, at a conference of representatives from each province, was chosen to serve as the Provisional President of the Republic of China. He took his oath of office in Nanjing on January 1, 1912, establishing the Provisional Government of the Republic of China.

However, the Revolution of 1911 was not able to secure permanent success. After talks between the revolutionary faction and Yuan Shikai, the representative of the Qing court (and former representative of the Qing to the Joseon court), Sun Yat-sen, handed over the position of president to Yuan on the condition that the Qing emperor abdicate and a republican system be enacted. On February 12, Emperor Puyi stepped down, and on March 10, Yuan took up the position of Provisional President. In order to contain the president's power, the Revolutionaries enacted the Provisional

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Constitution of the Republic of China, which was in essence a republican constitution. They also promulgated a series of ordinances and legislation and adopted a variety of policies to shore up the base of the Revolutionary government.

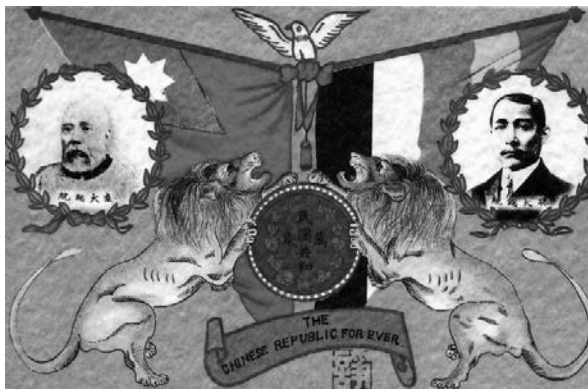

Figure 27: Poster announcing the birth of the Republic of China, with Sun Yat-sen on the right and Yuan Shikai on the left. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

The Chinese Revolution, and particularly the establishment of a republican system, sent shockwaves around East Asia and across the globe. It also planted the seeds of revolution and national liberation in colonies in Asia and elsewhere, inspiring, for example, revolutionaries in Korea, Vietnam, India, and the Philippines. However, after Yuan Shikai became president, he bolstered his autocratic powers with the support of the pro-constitution faction and with assistance from Britain and America, and he cracked down on the Guomindang (GMD, also known as the Kuomintang or KMT, literally National Party), the revolutionary organization formed by Sun Yat-sen. This led to the revolutionaries in the south launching a second revolution in July 1913 to overthrow Yuan's administration. Japan made use of the North-South split, with its army trying to expand its interests in Northern China, and the navy doing the same in the south by supporting Sun. However, the second revolution ended in failure, and Sun had to go into exile. In October of the same year, Yuan officially became president and immediately forced the dissolution of the Guomindang and the Parliament. In December 1915, he declared an imperial system to be reestablished, with himself as the new

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emperor. However, anti-imperial sentiment among the Chinese people intensified, and when Sun called for the overthrow of Yuan, the anti-imperial "Constitutional Protection Movement" spread. Under pressure from this movement, Yuan was forced to abolish the imperial system in March 1916, and he died shortly afterward.

While the Revolution of 1911 ultimately ended in failure, it did overturn the system of absolute monarchy that had continued in China for over 2,000 years, creating the first democratic republic in East Asia. Such an achievement was of groundbreaking significance for the history of China and East Asia. The Japanese government of the time did not recognize its importance; in official documents, the Japanese cabinet decided not to use the official country name of "The Republic of China" (abbreviated to "China"), but rather created the term "Shina-koku." The Chinese protested against this, but the Japanese government went even further, starting to simply use the term "Shina" for the Chinese state, a term even more derogatory, and the term "Shinajin" for the Chinese people.

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International Politics and the Plan for a Neutral Korea

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Korean peninsula became a focal point of international politics due to its geopolitical position. As the powers clashed with one another, attempts to maintain the balance of power on the peninsula resulted in proposals to make Korea neutral.

First, when China and Japan were fighting over Korea after the Imo Military Uprising of 1882, the idea of making Korea a permanently neutral state was mooted in the Japanese government. In September 1882, Inoue Kowashi proposed that Korean neutrality should be guaranteed by Japan, China, the US, Great Britain, and Germany. The plan was for the five countries to consult with one another and make Korea a neutral state like Belgium or Switzerland, and for them to protect the country jointly by not permitting military invasion. This was an attempt both to use the powers' strength to prevent Russian encroachment and to restrict Qing interference in Korea's internal politics. It was also a result of the belief that it would be difficult to maintain Korean independence under Japanese guidance alone, without the intervention of the Great Powers.

In 1883, as hostility between France and China intensified over Annam (Indochina), the Qing proposed Korean neutrality to Japan, while on the Japanese side there was a push to bring about Korean neutrality through China and Japan in cooperation with the United States. Both plans eventually came to nothing. In 1885, after the Gabo Reform, Hermann Budler, the German vice-consul in Korea, suggested to the Korean government that it achieve the country's neutrality through treaties with Russia, Qing China, and Japan.

In 1890, Japanese Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo advocated Korea's permanent neutrality. He felt that the approaching completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway by Russia would endanger the peninsula's independence, a situation that could develop into a direct threat to China and Japan. While emphasizing that Japan must secure Korea, which was defined as its "lifeline," he also argued that Japan and China needed to work together to put Korea in a position of permanent neutrality under international law like Belgium and

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Switzerland. Further, as the interests of Great Britain and Germany were also indirectly involved, he asserted that they should work alongside Japan and China to establish Korea's neutrality. Yamagata's proposal was that Korea had to be made neutral because it would be dangerous if it were occupied by another country. His plan was also an attempt to rein in Russia using the combined power of Great Britain, Germany, China, and Japan, as well as an effort to counter the Qing as they stepped up their intervention and military pressure on Korea.

These plans all emerged from ideas on how to prevent Russia from invading Korea and how to restrain the Qing's Korean monopoly by using the strength of powerful countries that had conflicting interests in the region, and they paid no regard to the views of the Koreans, who were the party the most affected by them. In the First Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese abandoned their plan to make Korea a neutral state and instead began to directly intervene in its internal political affairs with the goal of turning Korea into a Japanese protectorate.

On the Korean side, after the Gabo Reforms of 1894 the progressive party, led by Kim Ok-gyun and Yu Gil-jun, outlined a policy that aimed to achieve neutrality through a close relationship with Qing China. Further, in the face of increasing incursions by both Russia and Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War and during the period of the Great Korean Empire, Emperor Gojong and others promoted a foreign policy of using the powers that were encircling Korea to restrict further advances into Korea and thereby create a mechanism to maintain independence. However, after the Boxer War of 1900, Gojong was more cautious toward Russia, which had invaded Manchuria, and out of a fear that both Japan and Russia would send troops into Korea and divide up the country between them, he made a proposal to the Japanese government of making Korea neutral under the joint guarantee of the Powers.

At the beginning of 1901, Russia proposed Korean neutrality to Japan. The Russians stated that they first wanted to hold negotiations on coordinating with Japan, as both countries had agreements with Korea. However, the Japanese were aiming for sole control of Korea, and they now saw Korean neutrality as disadvantageous, so they re-

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jected the Russian proposal. Pursuing a policy of achieving an alliance with Great Britain and making Korea a protectorate, the Japanese Foreign Ministry now consistently opposed plans for Korean neutrality. As tensions between Japan and Russia increased, any proposals for Korean neutrality in peacetime became more and more unlikely to succeed.

In 1903, in a final effort to maintain independence, the Korean government stepped up military preparations and put forward a proposal to the powers to keep the country neutral in the case of a war. Both Japan and Russia, however, ignored this request when they plunged into a war with each other the following year.

Plans for the neutrality of the Korean peninsula always remained at the mercy of the powers' vested interests in the region, and Korean sovereignty was constantly ignored in this context. As the stakes grew higher, war over Korea became unavoidable.

The Asiatic Humanitarian Brotherhood

In 1907, Zhang Binglin (aka Taiyan), Zhang Ji, Liu Shipei, and He Zhen, Chinese revolutionaries who had all sought exile in Japan, met in Tokyo with the Japanese socialist revolutionaries Kotoku Shusui, Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Osugi Sakae, and announced the establishment of the Asiatic Humanitarian Brotherhood. Revolutionaries from Annam (Vietnam), the Philippines, Korea, Burma (present-day Myanmar), and Malaya quickly joined them, making the Brotherhood an organization for Asian revolutionaries who opposed imperialist invasion and a revolutionary alliance aimed at gaining national independence and freedom for all.

According to studies conducted by Japanese researchers, Jo So-ang, a Korean student who went to study in Japan, was also involved in the activities of the Brotherhood, as he took part in the nationalist independence movement and was in contact with Chinese revolutionaries. The "Charter of the Asiatic Humanitarian Brotherhood" drafted by Zhang Binglin was published in Chinese and English and declared: "The objective of the society is to fight against imperialism and to

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achieve the independence of Asian people who have lost their sovereignty." The charter also stated that "[a]ll Asians, except those who advocate imperialism, shall be admitted regardless of whether they are 'Nationalists,' 'Republicans,' 'Socialists,' or 'Anarchists.'" The society's headquarters were established in Tokyo, with branches to be set up in China, India, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Great Britain. The society had no president or officials, as the members were all to be equal. The charter prescribed that meetings were to be held regularly each month, and that the members would keep in contact with one another, foster closer relationships, and exchange information. Zhang also used the *Minbao* (The People's Journal), which was the bulletin of the Zhongguo Tongmenhui (China United League), to actively publicize the ideals of the Brotherhood.

After less than a year, however, the Asiatic Humanitarian Brotherhood was unable to continue its activities, mainly due to suppression by the Japanese government and police. Nonetheless, its significance as a space for people seeking independence and freedom to meet and strengthen their solidarity was considerable.

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Timeline

1896 Founding of the Independence Club (Korea).
1897 German troops occupy Jiaozhou Bay. The name of Joseon Korea is changed to The Great Korean Empire.
1898 Germany establishes concessions in Jiaozhou Bay, Russia in Lushun and Dalian, Great Britain in Weihaiwei and the Kowloon New Territories in Hong Kong, and France in Guangzhou Bay. Hundred Days' Reform movement and Coup of 1898 (China). Spanish-American War.
1899 Boxer Movement emerges in Shandong Province (China). The US declares open-door policy for China.
1900 The Eight-Nation Alliance occupies Beijing in order to suppress the Boxer Uprising (Boxer War).
1901 The Qing sign the Beijing Protocol with eleven powers.
1902 Formation of the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
1904 Japan-Korea Treaty of 1904. Russo-Japanese War. Japan-Korea Agreement of 1904.
1905 Taft-Katsura Agreement (secret agreement). Signing of the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth between Japan and Russia. Sun Yat-sen forms the Chinese United League (Tongmenhui).
1906 Japan establishes the office of Resident-General in Korea. Japan establishes the Kwantung Government and the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu).
1907 Japan-Korea Treaty of 1907. The first Russo-Japanese Agreement is signed. "Righteous Militias" spread across Korea to resist the Japanese.
1908 The Qing court issues the "Outline of an Imperial Constitution."
1909 Japan's Cabinet agrees on a policy for the annexation of Korea. The Japanese military launches the Great Korean Militia Roundup Campaign. An Jung-geun assassinates Ito Hirobumi.
1910 Japan coerces Korea into signing the Japan-Korea Treaty of Annexation. High Treason Incident (Japan).
1911 Revolution of 1911 in China (also known as Xinhai Revolution).
1912 Founding of the Republic of China.

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Chapter 4:
The First World War and the Washington System

After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan's influence in East Asia expanded even more due to its control of the Korean peninsula. The external factor of the First World War also played a major part in this development. In 1915, in the midst of the war, Japan imposed the so-called Twenty-One Demands on China and sought to establish a system of control in East Asia with itself at the center. Additionally, the international order based on cooperation between the Great Powers had to be reorganized due to the socialist revolution in Russia of 1917, the March First Independence Movement of 1919 in Korea, and the May Fourth Movement in China in the same year. When the Great War ended, the imperialist Great Powers once again readjusted their mutual interests in East Asia at the Washington Conference in 1921.

The era of the "Washington System," an international system of cooperation in East Asia, was relatively stable compared to the preceding period, but cracks gradually appeared in the system due to new activity by the people of East Asia under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Part of this process was the Northern Expedition in China (1926), which emerged as nationalist revolution. The Korean nationalist movement saw the Northern Expedition as an opportunity and briefly prepared for an anti-Japanese war of independence. Japan, for its part, obstructed the Northern Expedition in order to maintain and expand its influence in China.

With increasing numbers of cracks becoming visible, the Washington System finally collapsed in 1931 when Japan invaded Manchuria in order to secure further rights there and in Inner Mongolia. This chapter looks mainly at the First World War, the Russian Revolution, the Siberian Intervention, the March First and May Fourth Movements, the Washington Conference,

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and the Northern Expedition in relation to international developments and political transformations in East Asia in the period from the early 1910s to the Manchurian Incident of 1931.

1. The First World War and the Twenty-One Demands

Japan Enters the First World War

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe was divided into the opposing forces of the Entente (France, Great Britain, and Russia) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy). The two sides, which under the banner of imperialism controlled the greater part of the world in the form of either colonies or dependencies, clashed head-on in the Balkan Peninsula, sometimes called the powder keg of Europe. Beginning on July 28, 1914, when Austria declared war on Serbia, the First World War continued until the surrender of Germany on November 11, 1918, after more than four years of fighting.

The Japanese elder statesman (*genro*) Inoue Kaoru welcomed the outbreak of the war, stating that "this great upheaval in Europe is a divine provenance for the advancement of Japan's destiny in the reign of our new Taisho Emperor." He felt that a chance to raise Japan's international standing had come about due to a war that had occurred in another part of the world. Indeed, just three days after the outbreak of hostilities, Great Britain asked Japan to protect its merchant ships in East Asia from the German military threat. As Japan wanted to participate in the war by any means necessary, there was no way it would refuse this request. Using the pretext that it shared its fate with Great Britain as an ally on the basis of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, Japan took steps to declare war on Germany.

Due to Japan displaying such a strong desire to join the war, Great Britain panicked and temporarily withdrew its request because it feared that Japan was actually attempting to increase its influence in China and the Pacific. The Netherlands was concerned that its own colonies would be invaded, and America, too, was wary that Japan was trying to expand its territory. Therefore, on the same day that Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany, it also

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announced to the ambassadors and ministers of the US, France, Russia, the Netherlands, and China that it had absolutely no ambitions with regard to territorial expansion. It also accepted Britain's demand to limit its zones of combat to the seas off China and the area around Singapore. Forceful restraint by the US also played a role in Japan's declaration of its position. As mentioned, Japan sent Germany an ultimatum demanding that it immediately withdraw its ships from Japanese and Chinese territorial waters, and hand over the German concession in Jiaozhou Bay (Kiautschou) to Japan before returning it to China. This was a demand that Germany would never accept. On August 23, 1914, one month after war had broken out in Europe, Japan declared war on Germany and entered the Great War.

Leading Japan's entry into the war was the second cabinet of Okuma Shigenobu from the governing Rikken Doshikai (Constitutional Association of Comrades) party. Hara Takashi of the opposition Rikken Seiyukai (Constitutional Association of Friends of Politics) party and others were critical of Japan's participation in the war, and even within the ruling party there were people, such as Ozaki Yukio, who opposed it. The socialists, who had forcefully argued the anti-war cause during the Russo-Japanese War, had been silenced by the crackdowns after the High Treason Incident,[66] but the weekly *Toyo Keizai Shinpo* (The Oriental Economist) published editorials opposing Japan's entry into the war and the acquisition of the German leased territory in China, the city of Qingdao (Tsingtao).

Many Japanese supported Japan's participation in the war because they were aggrieved at the fact that Germany had been part of the Triple Intervention after the Russo-Japanese War (1895) and tried to secure rights in the Shandong peninsula. There was also a growing expectation that the economy would grow under the stimulus of a munitions boom. Indeed, Japan had suffered a chronic economic downturn after the Russo-Japanese War, but when the First World War broke out and the European countries were no longer able to pay attention to their Asian trade, it took over from them and welcomed a period of unprecedented prosperity. Japan in 1914 had 1.1 billion yen (550 billion US$) in debts, yet it managed to completely change

66 Twelve socialists and anarchists including Kotoku Shusui were executed in 1911 for an alleged plot to assassinate Emperor Meiji.

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its financial position so that by 1920, it was a creditor nation to which over 2.7 billion yen (1.35 billion dollars) were owed.

Unlike Japan, China declared its neutrality at the start of the First World War. At the time, the country was known as the Republic of China and ruled by President Yuan Shikai and his administration, called the "Beiyang Government."[67] However, Japan ignored the Beiyang Government's neutrality, and in September 1914 it landed troops at Longkou in Shangdong Province, subsequently occupying Qingdao and seizing the German (economic) privileges there. Japan responded to these acts by holding large-scale celebrations. In October, the Japanese Navy occupied the Pacific islands controlled by Germany (those parts north of the Equator). The US felt this could be a threat to their rule over the Philippines and were on the alert, and in Great Britain's dominions of Australia and New Zealand there was a growing sense of crisis over Japan's southward advance.

Japan fought with Germany, but it did not actually expand the war zone beyond East Asia.[68] The Entente Powers requested that Japan send troops to the European front, but the government in Tokyo did not meet these demands. The reason for Japan's involvement in the war was to seize German privileges in East Asia, increase its own interests in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, and strengthen its position among the imperialist powers. The realization of its desire to control China was shown in the "Twenty-One Demands."

The "Twenty-One Demands" as a Prelude to the Japanese Invasion of China

In January 1915, Japan refused the Beiyang Government's demand that it withdraw its troops from Shandong Province. Becoming increasingly confident due to the war with Germany, Japan went one step further: Hioki Eki, who was Japan's Minister in China, ignored official diplomatic procedures

67 "Beiyang Government" refers to the government of the Republic of China in the capital city Beijing, from 1912 to 1927.

68 As the war dragged on and Germany began a strategy of commerce raiding using submarines, Japan, in response to a request from Great Britain, sent its Second Special Squadron to the Mediterranean Sea to protect Allied shipping. It carried out 348 escort missions in the period until the Armistice was signed.

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and submitted a list of twenty-one demands, divided up into five groups, to President Yuan Shikai. This list of demands was drawn up with the agreement of the Japanese Army and Navy, the Office of the Kwantung Government (Kanto totoku), and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. The justification given by the Japanese side for these actions was that they, Japan, had joined the war and shouldered an enormous amount of military expenditure in order to return the German concession to China, so the Chinese should pay equivalent compensation.

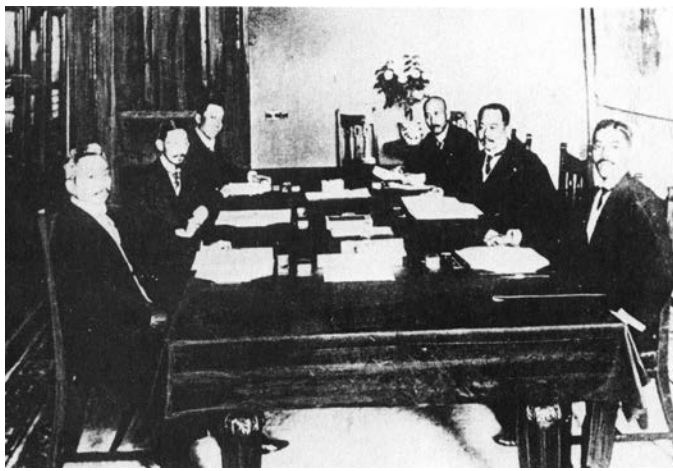

Figure 28: Representatives of China and Japan signing various treaties as a result of the Twenty-One Demands of May 1915. Source: private collection.

The first set of the "Twenty-One Demands" contained four, including the demand for a guarantee to secure Japan's rights and interests in the German concession in Shandong. The second set was made up of seven demands which sought to further strengthen Japan's special position in Southern Manchuria and the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. The third set comprised two demands for joint Sino-Japanese management of the Hanyeping Iron and Steel Company. The fourth set had one demand, that China would not cede or lease the ports, harbors, and islands on the Chinese coast to other foreign countries. The fifth set contained seven demands, including one for the Chinese government to invite Japanese advisors to their political,

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military, and financial departments, one for policing in China to be done jointly by the two countries, and one for Japan to supply China with arms and for munitions factories to be built within a collaborative project.

The content of these demands grossly infringed on China's sovereignty, to the extent that they brought to mind the process by which Japan had invaded and gained control over the Korean Empire (the Great Han Empire). If China had accepted all of them, it may well have ended up as a Japanese colony just like the Korean Empire had. When the Twenty-One Demands were announced, there was a groundswell of anti-Japanese sentiment across China, and there were boycotts of Japanese goods and a campaign to encourage people to save money for the salvation of the nation. Chinese students studying in Japan were also quick to carry out demonstrations. With increasing mistrust toward Japan and a growing sense of crisis, the opposition to the Twenty-One Demands transcended regional differences and social classes and spread into a nationwide movement.

The Twenty-One Demands included a clause guaranteeing Japan's superior position in Eastern Inner Mongolia and Southern Manchuria, which had a profound effect not just on the Chinese living in Manchuria, but also on the Koreans there. When details of the demands became widely known, there was a growing fear that Koreans would be mobilized for a Japanese invasion of Manchuria, leading some Chinese to attack them. As a result, 1916 saw a temporary decline in the number of Koreans migrating to Manchuria.

The response of the Great Powers to Japan's Twenty-One Demands was also negative. The US, Great Britain, and Russia reacted strongly against the demands, claiming that Japan had taken advantage of the fact that their attention was diverted by the war in Europe to try to expand its sovereignty in East Asia. In particular, they declared their strong mistrust of and opposition to the fifth set of demands, which could be regarded as preludes to the invasion and control of China. However, Japan continued to pressure the Yuan Shikai government. Removing the fifth set of demands, which had garnered particularly strong opposition from the powers, Japan sent China an ultimatum, to which Yuan Shikai's Beiyang Government acceded on May 9, 1915.

Today, the Chinese remember this day as a "day of national humiliation." The word for "national humiliation" appeared for the first time in the

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Chinese-language textbooks published in 1916, and schools began to teach patriotism and a sense of responsibility for saving the country. This was when anti-Japanese nationalism first emerged in earnest among the Chinese.

In December 1915, after having guaranteed the Japanese so many rights and interests, Yuan Shikai restored the monarchical system and proclaimed himself Emperor of the Chinese Empire. However, this was met with widespread opposition as people tried to protect the merits of the "Republic," and he was forced to abandon the monarchy. Soon after, he fell ill and died, and Duan Qirui, a pro-Japanese warlord, seized power within the Beiyang Government. After this, a period of free-for-all fighting among different armed factions ("warlords") continued until 1928.

Competition among the Powers and Conflict between the Governments in North China and South China

After the outbreak of the First World War in Europe, the Great Powers confronted one another over East Asia, especially in China, and the lines of conflict were drawn between Great Britain and America on the one hand, and Japan on the other. The Twenty-One Demands aggravated these divisions. Great Britain, which had been upholding an alliance with Japan for many years, now criticized Japan for continuing to import German products through the neutral states Sweden and Norway, thus circumventing Britain's blockade of Germany. Japan responded by breaking off economic ties with Germany in September 1915. The US brought Russia, Great Britain, and France to its side to declare opposition to Japan's Twenty-One Demands. While seeking equal opportunities for trade among all the Great Powers in China under its declaration of an "Open Door Policy," the US had demanded that Japan guarantee China's territorial integrity and administrative sovereignty, expressing strong opposition to Japan's demands. Unlike the other Great Powers, the US did not seek concessions or a sphere of influence in China, and it had been swift to recognize the new Republic of China, and also offered it loans and established an American bank in China. As a result, when feelings in China toward Japan turned sour due to the Twenty-One Demands, the Chinese became friendlier toward the US.

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Russia, too, was displeased by the Twenty-One Demands, but it did not display any real opposition to them out of consideration for its relationship with Japan. Russia was relying on importing arms and other military supplies from Japan, and the possibility also existed that Japan would threaten Russia's interests in Northern Manchuria. It additionally wanted to avoid deterioration of relations with Japan in order to curb attempts by Great Britain, America, and Germany to bolster their influence in China. By the same token, Japan had to cooperate with Russia to restrain the US, which was making serious inroads into the Chinese market. With both countries needing each other, they secretly concluded the Fourth Russo-Japanese Convention in 1916 and promised to cooperate with each other.

The rivalries between the powers on the East Asian stage became fiercer as the end of the First World War drew near. There was a frantic rush among them to form expedient alliances based on their various interests. Japan proposed to Britain that of the former German colonies that it had occupied, it would hold mandates over those north of the equator and Britain would do the same for those south of the equator. In return for this, Britain promised to support Japan at the Paris Peace Conference. In February 1917, the Japanese government asked France and Russia to back its demands at the Paris Peace Conference in return for Japan dispatching its navy to the Mediterranean, and the following month it received secret memoranda from the governments of both countries to the effect that they would support Japan.

Encouraged by America's entry into the war, the Beiyang Government of Duan Qirui also declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary in August 1917 and entered the First World War in an attempt to obtain the support of the Allied powers. The Japanese government saw this as the perfect chance to increase its influence on the Beiyang Government, and actively supported the decision. Duan was confronted by the President, Li Yuanhong, who argued that China should remain neutral, but eventually Duan won this power struggle, establishing tight control over the administration and receiving a loan of 145 million yen from Japan. The offer of the loan was a Japanese measure to prevent the increase of American influence in the Beiyang Government. It was advanced as economic aid for railroad construction and similar projects, but in actual fact it was a political fund to tie Duan more closely to Japan. The loans were called the "Nishihara Loans," as

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they were handed directly to Duan Qirui's administration by Nishihara Kamezo, a secretary to the Japanese Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake. In August 1917, Sun Yat-Sen, who opposed Duan's decision to join the war, established the Guangzhou government and launched a campaign to protect the provisional constitution of the Republic of China. From this point onward, the governments in the north and south of China were pitted against each other.

The US joined the war in April 1917 and desired compromise with Japan so that it could focus on the war in Europe. Japan decided that compromise with the US was necessary in order to maintain its privileges in China. Without consulting the Beiyang Government, the two countries signed the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, by which America agreed to respect Japan's special interests in China, and Japan in turn agreed to respect the principles of the "Open Door" and of equal opportunities in China.

Through a process of mutual recognition of interests, Japan succeeded in securing its own special interests in China *vis-à-vis* the other powers. The secret to this success was simple. Japan declared to the other powers that it had no intention of threatening the existing imperialistic order outside of the East Asian region. During the First World War, the powers' conflicts and struggles in East Asia were realigned around Japan, and the outcomes of all the discussions moved in a direction that bolstered the Japanese position. If the First World War in Europe can be interpreted as a military clash that stemmed from a power struggle among the Western powers, then the war in East Asia can be summarized as a diplomatic battle between the US, China, Japan, Great Britain, and Russia.

The Russian Revolution and the Siberian Intervention

In March 1917 (or February under the Julian calendar used in Russia), at the height of the First World War, revolution broke out in Russia. Tsar Nicolas II abdicated and a provisional government was established. This is known as the February Revolution. In November (October in the Julian calendar), the Bolsheviks led by Lenin launched an armed uprising with the promise of peace and an immediate end to the war, and bread and land for the people.

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They overthrew the provisional government and established government by *Soviets.*[69] This is known as the October Revolution.

Figure 29: Lenin giving a speech during the October Revolution in Russia. Source: private collection.

The Bolshevik government rejected the Allies' plan to deal jointly with the Germans regarding peace talks when the war ended. Instead, issuing the "Decree of Peace," it called for an immediate cessation of hostilities between the warring nations and for peace, without annexations or indemnities, based on the principle of national self-determination. In March 1918, it signed a separate peace treaty with Germany (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk). The Bolsheviks also confiscated land from landowners without compensation, as the peasants had demanded, and formally recognized the territories of all ethnic groups living in Russia. The government declared self-determination for every ethnic group in Russia, and abandoned the demands for com-

69 "Soviet" is a Russian word meaning "Council." Soviets of workers and soldiers, along with peasant soviets, were established all over the country.

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pensation that the imperial government had lodged against many states and ethnic groups.[70]

As the Bolshevik government claimed it would achieve immediate peace with no annexations or indemnities, both its statements and actions led to a wide debate among the belligerents regarding the aims of the war and the way to end it. The "Fourteen Points" issued by US President Woodrow Wilson in February 1918 were profoundly connected to the October Revolution. They clarified the aims of the war as being "that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation" – in other words, an end to the secret diplomacy of imperialism, a reduction in armaments, self-determination, and the establishment of the League of Nations. The Fourth Russo-Japanese Convention, signed in 1916 by Japan and Tsarist Russia, was also voided by the October Revolution.

The after-effects of the revolution soon spread to Siberia, where a Bolshevik Party organization and government by *soviets* were established. In order to resolve the issue of food shortages, the Siberian *soviets* implemented control of surplus produce, and nationalized the land. Just as Tsarist Russia had done, they viewed the northern region of Manchuria as being part of their area of control. Countering this, an anti-*soviet* faction that managed the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) in Harbin led troops from the Beiyang Government in an offensive to disarm the Bolshevik Red Army (Revolutionary Army) units. At the beginning of 1918, the Beiyang Government not only tried to stop the outflow of agricultural produce from Northern Manchuria by closing off the border with Siberia, it also started blocking the CER that went to Omsk from Vladivostok through Manchuria, and prevented the transport of agricultural goods. This led to food shortages in areas under the control of *soviet* administrations, which became particularly severe in Siberia. The measures taken by the Beiyang Government were eventually lifted after Japanese and British forces had landed in the Russian Far East to fight the war known as the Siberian Intervention.

Japan was focusing its attention on the situation in Manchuria and Siberia, and in May 1918, it signed the Sino-Japanese Joint Defensive Agree-

70 It also made public the secret treaties into which the Russian government had previously entered.

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Figure 30: The Siberian Intervention: Japanese troops parading in Vladivostok. Source: private collection.

ment with Duan Qirui's Beiyang Government. The main purpose of this was to jointly protect the peace and security of Northeast Asia in response to the advance of Bolshevik troops into Siberia. The agreement stipulated that, if the Japanese army took military action in the area between Northern Manchuria and the east of Lake Baikal, it would be allowed passage within China, and would also be able to command troops of the Beiyang Government. The agreement, however, also opened up a route by which it could invade East Manchuria, where many Koreans lived. Indeed, the Japanese army proceeded to occupy Northern Manchuria in August 1918, and then, in October 1920, it invaded Eastern Manchuria and massacred a large number of Koreans.

As this complex situation unfolded in Siberia and Northern Manchuria, a civil war was being fought all over Russia between the Red Army, which supported the Bolshevik Revolution, and the "White" armies, which opposed it (and fought for the restoration of the monarchy). The Western powers, which were against the revolution, also intervened, further complicating the Russian Civil War.

The intervention by the powers in Siberia escalated as a result of the

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activities of the so-called Czech Legion[71] in May 1918. When the Eastern Front in Europe collapsed in the wake the October Revolution, a force of over 50,000 Czechs and Slovaks based in Siberia drew up a plan to go to France using ships from Vladivostok and merge with the French army on the Western Front. The "Legion" they formed fought against the Red Army as it moved toward Vladivostok along the Trans-Siberian Railway. The fighting eventually led to the collapse of the local Vladivostok *soviet*, which was the largest base of the *soviet* administration in the region. At the time, there was also growing ill-feeling among the peasant class against the *soviets'* rejection of regional self-rule and against the centralization of control over the food supply. The Allied powers felt a need to reestablish the Eastern Front and stabilize the Siberian region, and the formation of the Czech Legion, alongside the growing discontent among the peasants, provided them with a justification to intervene.

Great Britain and France were the first to back the White Russian forces. A vast amount of military supplies provided by America and Japan had been stockpiled at places like Vladivostok, and the French and British took action to prevent the Bolsheviks from handing over these supplies to the Germans, with whom they were still at war.

Britain and France also wanted to establish control of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which Tsarist Russia had completed in 1916, so they made a proposal to the Japanese that they jointly manage these railways and asked Japan to provide troops for this purpose. Japan had no reason to decline. It decided that this was a welcome opportunity to bring the area stretching from the east side of Lake Baikal to Vladivostok under Japanese control. Furthermore, Japan increasingly saw the need to prevent socialist thought from spreading to its shores, because the revolutionary ideology was seen as a threat to Japan's emperor system. The interests of Great Britain, France, and Japan thus converged. In January 1918, Japan sent two warships to Vladivostok under the pretext of protecting Japanese nationals there. Then,

71 The Czech Legion was made up of units formed from Czech and Slovak soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian Army who had become Russian prisoners of war during the Great War, and Czechs and Slovaks living in Russia. The Legion fought the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the aim of strengthening the Czech/Slovak case for independence after the war.

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in April, after the killing of a Japanese national in this city, Japan landed a force of over 500 marines in Vladivostok.

Although Japan pressed ahead with the protection of Japanese nationals in Siberia, it was still unwilling to join a full-scale intervention in the region due to the fact that the US had not yet decided to join. However, in July, after the Czech Legion was surrounded by Red Army units, America decided to provide troops to help the Czechs. Responding to this, Japan announced in August that it also would send military forces to Siberia. Between August and October, it mobilized a huge fighting force numbering over 70,000 men, an extremely large force compared to those deployed by the US, which sent just over 9,000, Britain, which sent just over 6,000, and China, which sent about 2,000 troops.

2. The End of the Great War, Nationalist Movements in East Asia, and the Continuation of the Siberian Intervention

The Paris Peace Conference: Dealing with the Interests of the Victorious Nations

Beginning in January 1919, the Paris Peace Conference was held in order to establish a postwar order. Even though the Fourteen Points put out by US President Woodrow Wilson were regarded as the fundamental principles behind the conference, it was held in the absence of the defeated nations and the Bolshevik government, and it also decided that the losers, especially Germany, should pay the victors an enormous amount in reparations. It was further agreed that the victors would divide up the colonies of the defeated nations among themselves. The territory of Germany itself was also reduced, and eight republics were established in Eastern Europe. Finally, the delegates agreed to found the League of Nations as an international organization to aim for perpetual peace. The new global order that came thus into being, based on the principle of international cooperation among the powers, was called the "Versailles System."

Japan's high standing in the international community was recognized at the Paris Peace Conference to the extent that it was given the right to attend

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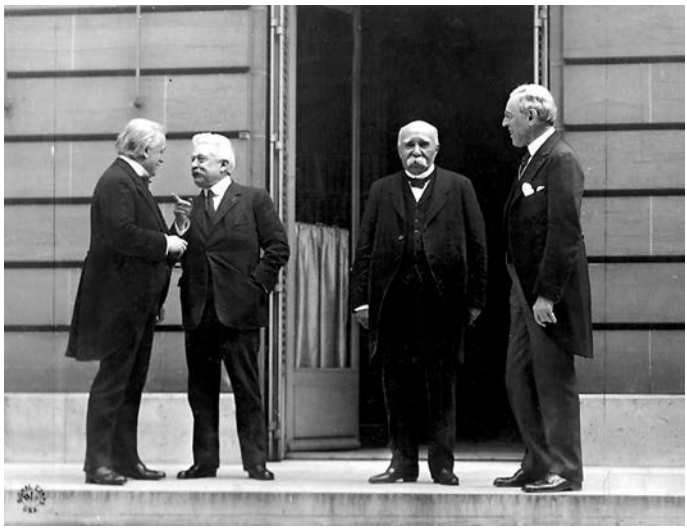

Figure 31: The heads of government of the countries participating in the Paris Peace Conference (from left to right): Lloyd George (Great Britain), Orlando (Italy), Clemenceau (France), Wilson (US). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

all the discussions as a member of the "Big Five," with the US, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Japan engaged in some spirited diplomatic maneuverings in order to secure the mandate rights to German possessions north of the equator, and, on the basis of secret treaties signed with the Duan Qirui administration in September 1918, the interests that Germany had previously held in Shandong Province. The Chinese representatives opposed the Japanese claim to Shandong on the grounds that the Twenty-One Demands had been signed under duress and asserted that the Japanese demands were invalid, emphasizing that the German interests in the province should be restored to China. However, Japan secured the support of the other Great Powers through a series of treaties and agreements and the US also compromised with the Japanese demands because it needed Japan's agreement in order to establish the League of Nations.

Finally, the Treaty of Versailles signed on June 28, 1919, recognized that all German rights in Shandong Province would be transferred to Japan. However, the Chinese people were unable to accept this provision, which had followed the vested interests of the Great Powers. Together with the

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Twenty-One Demands, the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference brought about widespread anger and criticism among the Chinese, and led eventually to the May Fourth Movement.

The March First Movement in Korea

The newly reorganized international order in East Asia seemed to work in Japan's favor, but strong opposition to Japan's policies also emerged, giving rise to the March First Movement in colonial Korea and the May Fourth Movement in China.

The principle of ethnic self-determination emerged as a result of the Russian Revolution, the end of the Great War and the restructuring of the global order. In 1917, at the height of the revolution, Lenin declared that a lasting peace should be established on the basis of ethnic groups' right to self-determination. Woodrow Wilson proclaimed his Fourteen Points, which contained his thoughts on nationalism and permanent peace, in January 1918. In February, he gave a speech to Congress in which he described the principles of self-determination, saying: "Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent." Unlike Lenin's principle of self-determination, Wilson's included the proviso that it was only to be applied to the territories of the defeated nations. Nevertheless, Korean activists both inside and outside Korea took strength from the rise of the idea of self-determination all over the world and from the expectations of the Korean people, and they began laying the groundwork to declare and fight for independence.

At the forefront of this movement were Korean students studying in Japan. In 1919, Korean students in Tokyo announced the "8 February Declaration of Independence." In Korea, student representatives and leaders of various religions including Cheondogyo,[72] Christianity, and Buddhism led a move toward a declaration of independence. On March 1,

72 The successor to the Donghak movement (see chapter 2), which was renamed Cheondogyo by its leader Son Byeong-hee in 1905.

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Figure 32: March First Independence Movement. Citizens gather in front of the Gwanghwa Gate in Seoul. Source: Dong-A Ilbo.

1919, in seven cities across Korea, including Gyeongseong (present-day Seoul), they read out a statement declaring independence and launched anti-Japanese demonstrations.

Beginning in the cities, these mass demonstrations gradually spread to the rural communities. The general populace, such as peasants and workers, as well as merchants and industrialists, made up the majority of the demonstrators, and the scale of the demonstrations was enormous. In the period between March and May 1919 alone, there were over 1,500 gatherings nationwide involving more than 2,000,000 people. Koreans scattered all over the world in places such as China, Russia, and America rose up in the anti-Japanese struggle. Although there was no central leadership, any Korean who was anti-Japanese had no hesitation in taking an active part in the demonstrations, be they in towns or cities, in Korea or overseas. This mass

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spontaneity was the driving force that allowed the March First Movement to engulf the whole country and make the demonstrations into daily events.

The office of the Governor-General of Korea was unable to obtain any information about the March First Movement in advance and completely failed to foresee it. The Governor-General mobilized the troops and the military police (*kenpei*) forces to suppress the movement, and many Koreans fell victim to the violent crackdown. The massacre at Jeam-ri in Suwon is a prominent example of Japanese brutality. The Japanese army shut the villagers in the local church, set fire to it after blocking the exits and sprayed it with gunfire. Countries all around the world, led by Great Britain and the US, criticized Japan's violent suppression of the movement; however, they did not go as far as to reject Japanese rule in Korea.

In Japan, the March First Movement was reported as a "riot" instigated by religious people, and the military suppression of the movement found broad support. The Koreans were condemned as "rioters" or "criminals," and reports regarding damage suffered by Japanese living in Korea were reported in an exaggerated fashion. In fact, not one single Japanese civilian was killed by the Korean demonstrators.

As an anti-Japanese struggle, the March First Movement did not achieve any success, but it did contribute to the mobilization of the Korean people and triggered the foundation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai. Further, it was an impetus for the Korean people to participate in other social movements and to seek to pursue and defend their own rights and interests.

The movement also became a turning point for Japanese rule in Korea. Japan reduced the influence of the military in Korea and changed its method for colonial rule to one which increased the amount of responsibility borne by the cabinet. It modified its policing system in colonial Korea, which until then had been spearheaded by the military police, to one using regular police, and turned away from militarist rule. The Governor-General in Korea allowed the publication of Korean-language newspapers and partially recognized the freedom of Koreans to gather and associate. Finally, a new education system was introduced under which Koreans were able to receive the same education as the Japanese in Japan. This form of colonial rule, which sought to essentially appease the colonized, was known as "Cultural Rule."

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The May Fourth Movement

When the First World War ended with an Allied victory, the Chinese joyously celebrated the event as one of the victorious nations. For China, the victory was a chance to restore its sovereign rights, as it was able to take back the German interests in Shandong Province, which Japan had occupied during the war. However, the Paris Peace Conference decided to transfer the German rights (in Shandong) to Japan. As great as the sense of expectation among the Chinese had been, so, too, was their anger and despair at this decision. Moreover, when it was reported that this unfortunate result was because the Beiyang Government had signed a secret treaty in September 1918 agreeing to Japanese demands over the Shandong question, many Chinese became intensely angry.

On May 3, 1919, attendees at a gathering held by student representatives from universities and vocational schools in Beijing planned a large-scale anti-Japanese demonstration. On May 4, over 3,000 students organized a demonstration in Tiananmen Square and on roads in the city, shouting slogans such as "Refuse to Sign the Peace Treaty," "Fight for Sovereignty Abroad, Punish the Traitors at Home," "Get Back Our Rights and Interests in Shandong," "Annul the Twenty-One Demands," and "Boycott Japanese Goods." On the same day, the "Manifesto of the Beijing Student League" was handed out; it called for the movement to spread across the country and urged workers and storekeepers to rise up.

As it was a Sunday, the students were only able to pass on their letter of protest to the American Embassy, but they did force their way into the home of the pro-Japanese bureaucrat Cao Rulin and set fire to it. He was one of the people involved in negotiations over the Twenty-One Demands and had gained notoriety as the person responsible for signing the secret treaty over Shandong.

When it was reported that the military police had arrested thirty-two students, demonstrations spread all over China demanding their release and the removal of the traitors from office. The Beiyang Government retaliated with a major roundup and crackdown on students and young people. However, the government's hardline measures only provoked the students further. A school strike that had started in Beijing rapidly spread across the whole country. The government once again arrested over 1,000

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Figure 33: May Fourth Movement. A Beijing student gives a speech on the streets. Source: private collection.

students. When this information became known on June 5, 6,000–7,000 workers and storekeepers in Shanghai carried out a huge strike and shut their stores. The protests had truly become an anti-Japanese action involving the whole country.

Over the course of two months, the May Fourth Movement shook the nation as it spread to over 200 cities in twenty-two provinces. Eventually, the government released the incarcerated students, and on June 10 it removed three bureaucrats from their posts, including Cao Rulin, who was seen as pro-Japanese. On June 16, the Student Union of China was formed in Shanghai and campaigned against China becoming a signatory to the peace treaty. Finally, on June 28, the Chinese representatives sent to the Paris Peace Conference declared their refusal to sign the Treaty of Versailles.

The May Fourth Movement was a campaign started by students and joined by the masses; it rejected the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, forced three pro-Japanese government officials out of office, and attempted to restore Chinese sovereignty in Shandong Province. It was a historic event that displayed a dynamic image of the Chinese as a people who would not simply follow the orders of the Great Powers. This movement was a major

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trigger in creating an awareness among the Chinese that they were citizens of the Republic of China.

1919: A Wave of Anti-Imperialism in Asia

At the time of the March First Movement in Korea and the May Fourth Movement in China, independence and liberation movements arose in oppressed states and among people all over the world. In India, Mahatma Gandhi embarked on a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience, and in Turkey, a struggle for national liberation led by Kemal Ataturk was unfolding. The March First and May Fourth Movements in East Asia were struggles against Japanese imperialism. However, their objectives were, of course, different. The Korean movement was a struggle for national liberation that sought to free the country from its colonial status, whereas the Chinese rebellion was part of a fight to save the country and restore its sovereignty. Both developed in the form of mass movements, with the general population taking part in demonstrations on a large scale and over a long period of time. Across both countries, students, storekeepers, workers, and peasants were stirred to action locally. They organized themselves and cooperated with one another, and held demonstrations, strikes, and retailers' boycotts on the sale of Japanese products. Through these grassroots efforts, the people became the main force in the East Asian movements striving to achieve national liberation and save their nations. These experiences also led to a rejuvenation of other mass movements, such as those driven by workers or peasants.

The March First Movement in colonial Korea became a fresh impetus for the Chinese students and intellectuals who were preparing the May Fourth Movement. They compared the various problems that China faced with those of Korea and understood that their movement was on the same lines as the Korean one. The "Manifesto of the Beijing Student League," which was declared on May 4, praised the Korean desire for independence, stating that "Korea aimed for independence and said 'if we cannot be independent, it is better to die.' If, in the face of the death of their nation, cession of their territory, or other critical situation, the people cannot make the momentous decision to rouse themselves one final time, they are inferior as people of the

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twentieth century, and not worthy of being talked of as human beings." The *Weekly Review*, which was published by Chen Duxiu and others, reported the news concerning the Korean uprising in the following way: "The independence movement of the Korean people against Japanese oppression was the greatest event to shake the Chinese people." Sun Yat-sen's Guangzhou Government, too, sent its support to the March First Movement while strongly criticizing Japan's bloody suppression of it. For the Chinese, who feared that the misfortune of the ruined state that was colonial Korea might also very well befall China, the struggle of the Koreans was encouraging news.

As the two movements, which had a common denominator in the fact that they were both struggles against Japanese imperialism, unfolded in this manner, the Chinese and Koreans also cooperated on occasion. During the March First Movement, Chinese workers living in Korea took part in the demonstrations. When the Koreans in Manchuria launched demonstrations, the Chinese in the region supported them. Additionally, some of the students and nationalist activists who had fled colonial Korea for China later took part in the May Fourth Movement.

In Japan, the Korean and Chinese movements were not truly understood at the time. In essays such as "The Best Course of Action in the Korean Riots," "Freedom of Speech in Korea," and "Do not Revile the Actions of the Beijing Students," the liberal thinker Yoshino Sakuzo argued that Japan should ease its militaristic rule in the Korean colony and cooperate with the Chinese people, who were struggling to leave behind the rule of the warlords. However, his arguments were limited in scope. He did not press for an end to colonial rule, but merely argued that Japan should adopt a more rational method of rule.[73]

Japan relentlessly bolstered its position as an imperialist power through the course of the First World War. However, its international reputation

73 Defying public opinion, Yoshino was unsparing in his support for the Chinese and Korean students in Japan, writing, "Trying to restore one's native land is a moral stance that should be approved of by anyone, be they Japanese, Korean, or Chinese." Also, in his defense of the Koreans accused of producing the February 8 declaration of independence that preceded the March First Movement, the lawyer Fuse Tatsuji argued the injustice of Japanese rule in Korea and wrote an essay entitled "With Respect for the Korean Independence Movement."

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suffered from its reaction to the March First and May Fourth Movements, and it stumbled in its plans for a new East Asian order. The events in Korea and China, both of which occurred during the Paris Peace Conference, demonstrated that Japan's aim of suppression of anti-Japanese movements and the establishment of stable rule in Korea and China was no easy objective to achieve.

Japan's Continuation of the Siberian Intervention and Anti-Japanese Resistance

Even at the height of the March First and May Fourth Movements, the Great Powers continued their war of intervention in Siberia. However, with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, a change emerged in the international position surrounding this war. By the time the Great War was over, the victors were no longer able to continue the Siberian Intervention because their justification for so doing was thin and the costs of the war had also become a burden. By January 1920, of the fourteen countries that had taken part in the intervention, all except Japan had withdrawn their troops. As a result, the intervention, which tried to use the civil war between the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik forces to establish the powers' influence there, and which one might also regard as an extension of the First World War, came to a *de facto* end.

However, Japan could not easily remove its troops because withdrawal would mean giving up an opportunity to secure influence over the Siberian region. At the root of this was a calculation that if Japan occupied Siberia, it would not only be advantageous for gaining leverage in Manchuria, but would also be useful for stabilizing Japanese rule in colonial Korea. However, circumstances did not go the way Japan expected. Broadly speaking, there were two obstacles. The first was resistance by Koreans. Since the March First Movement, the Korean Independence Army had been carrying out armed activities, so much so that Japan itself confessed that the Manchuria region had changed from a "Past Paradise" to a "Haven for Rebellious Koreans" – in other words, it had become a gathering point for anti-Japanese activists. This worked as a factor preventing stable rule over Korea.

Japan could no longer ignore the forces of the Korean Independence

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Army, as the Koreans were building up their firepower during the chaos of the Siberian Intervention by procuring ammunition and arms from the Czech Legion before it pulled out. From around October 1920, Japan considered gathering its forces involved in the intervention and its armies stationed in colonial Korea and the Kwantung Leased Territory in the zone around Mt. Baekdu and mopping up the Korean Independence Army.[74] However, the operation met with fierce resistance from the Independence Army at the Battle of Qingshanli and failed. The Japanese forces then carried out the Gando Massacre, in which they indiscriminately attacked Koreans living in Eastern Manchuria and other regions, killing over 5,000 and burning down more than 3,500 homes. To preserve its strength and prevent Japanese attacks, the Korean Independence Army moved to Svobodny in the Russian Maritime Province (Primorsky Krai), cooperating with elements of the Red Army.

The other obstacle to a continued Japanese occupation of Siberia was the growing opposition to this in Japanese public opinion. Before Japan announced its "Siberian Expedition," two newspapers, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Toyo Keizai Shimpo*, had consistently opposed participation in the intervention. There were also voices of opposition from the workers' movement. Further, the price of rice rocketed as rice merchants had foreseen Japan's Siberian Expedition and bought up rice. Consequently, in July 1918 rice riots spread all over the country, with participants demanding the spiraling rice prices be brought under control. Eventually, the Imperial Japanese Army, in addition to police forces, had to be mobilized to quell the disturbances. The repercussions from these Rice Riots led to the cabinet headed by Terauchi Masatake having to step down. It was followed by a government led by Hara Takashi from the Seiyukai party.

The outcry of public opinion against the war was a phenomenon that had not been seen during either the First Sino-Japanese War or the Russo-Japanese War. Moreover, by early 1920 only the Japanese army remained in Siberia; it was under these circumstances that the Nikoloyevsk Massacre occurred, in which over 380 Japanese residents in the region were killed by

74 The Japanese enticed some mounted Chinese bandits to attack the consulate in Hunchun. Calling this the "Hunchun Incident," the government responded by sending troops to Gando (Jiandao).

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Bolshevik partisans.[75] In Japan, this led to even greater public opposition to a continued Japanese military presence in Siberia. Additionally, the Japanese government could not ignore the financial burden it was causing.

Eventually, in April 1921, Japan withdrew from eastern Manchuria. After pulling its troops out, it carried out a major reinforcement of its consulate police. Most of the Korean Independence Army that had moved to Svobodny then returned to Manchuria. However, they were unable to carry guns and operate in Eastern Manchuria as they had before. It was from around this time that the influence of Korean socialists began to grow there, as they worked to spread their message through night classes and reading circles. By the fall of 1922, all the Japanese forces stationed in Siberia with the exception of the troops that occupied Northern Sakhalin (until 1925) had been withdrawn. As the Japanese attempt to secure exclusive influence in Siberia had actually destroyed the cooperative diplomacy which the powers had agreed upon at the Washington Conference (convened from November 1921 onward), it became difficult for Japan to keep its troops there.

3. The Formation and Decline of the Washington System

A Temporary Realignment of the Power Struggle through the Washington Conference

When the Chinese representatives at the Paris Peace Conference learned that the anger of the Chinese masses had exploded with the May Fourth Movement, it refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Further, although Woodrow Wilson had taken a leading role at the conference, the Republican-held Senate refused to ratify the treaty, against the president's will. This meant that the Paris Peace Conference was unable to satisfactorily resolve the problems of East Asia, specifically the issues relating to China. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, the international situation was on the verge of entering a peaceful era; however, the Great Powers then

75 The Japanese government used this incident to incite hatred and enmity toward "extremists," and in July of the same year occupied Northern Sakhalin as a countermeasure.

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engaged in another competitive struggle as the US, Great Britain, and Japan began a naval arms race in an attempt to attain military superiority.

From 1919 onward, the US embarked on a large-scale shipbuilding program and concentrated its naval forces in the Pacific. Japan saw America as a potential enemy and in 1920 announced what it called the "Eight-Eight Fleet" program, a plan to build eight battleships and eight battle cruisers. Great Britain, which had mostly older vessels, was concerned that its capabilities would be inferior to America's, so in 1921 it developed a plan to build four enormous battleships. This naval arms race led to fears that a new war might break out. In Europe and America, public opinion grew in favor of arms reductions. Eventually, in November 1921, America, Great Britain, France, Italy, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Japan gathered in Washington to resolve the issues of China and to discuss how to reduce naval armaments. At the conference, which continued into February of the following year, the US decided to sign treaties relating to each outstanding issue while focusing on reconciling the interests of the participating nations. The result was a series of treaties, the Four-Power Treaty, the Five-Power Treaty (Washington Naval Treaty), and the Nine-Power Treaty, each drawn up and concluded on the basis of the content of the negotiations in each case.

The Four-Power Treaty was signed by the US, Great Britain, France, and Japan as an agreement to maintain and respect the territories each country held in the Pacific at that time, or, in other words, to preserve the status quo. This treaty eventually led to the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Washington Naval Treaty (Five-Power Treaty) was concluded between the US, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy; it set out the ratio of capital ships each country could maintain, with a relation of 5:3 for the US and Britain vis-à-vis Japan. The Nine-Power Treaty concerned China, and the signatories agreed to respect China's sovereignty and independence, preserve the integrity of its territory, deny commercial predominance and exclusive rights for any power in China, and strive for equality of opportunity there. However, the powers did not accept the demands made by representatives of the Beiyang Government for the removal of extraterritorial jurisdiction, the restoration of Chinese tariff autonomy, and the return of foreign concessions. The Nine-Power Treaty therefore did not fundamentally disavow the powers' imperialist interests in China. It was an

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Figure 34: The Washington Conference. The conference was attended by nine countries: the US, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, and China. Source: private collection.

agreement to prevent Japan's further continental advance, but it did not even reject existing Japanese economic privileges in Manchuria or Inner Mongolia. With the conclusion of the Nine-Power Treaty, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement between America and Japan was annulled.

One upshot of the Washington Conference was that competition among the powers in the Pacific region temporarily eased. This state is referred to as the Washington System. At the conference, America achieved its objectives, namely to maintain the status quo in the Pacific, to secure respect for the sovereignty of the Beiyang Government, and to reduce naval armaments. Further, the powers were now able to jointly support China. However, from China's perspective, the Washington System forced it to subordinate itself to the powers' system of collaboration in the Pacific.

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Opposition to the Washington Conference by the First Congress of the Communist and Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East

The Comintern (Communist International), an organization formed in 1919 by Lenin to promote the international cooperation of socialist movements, opposed the Washington Conference. This was called the Third International. The Comintern transmitted the principles of no annexation, no war indemnities, and self-determination, as espoused by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, to socialists in East Asia. In July 1920, the Comintern's Second World Congress adopted the "Thesis on the National and Colonial Question." This resolution clarified the principle of self-determination and gave oppressed people around the world a favorable impression of socialism. In the following September, the Congress of Peoples of the East was held in Baku in Azerbaijan. Over 1,200 delegates attended from countries including Turkey, Iran, India, and China. They discussed the issue of nationalism in the colonies, and expressed support for the nationalist revolution in Turkey. In December, a Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern was set up to take charge of the revolution in East Asia.

In January 1922, the First Congress of the Communist and Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East was held in Moscow, with around 145 Far-Eastern socialists and nationalists in attendance, mainly from colonial Korea, China, and Japan. The congress was something of an alternative or oppositional event to the Washington Conference and viewed revolution in Japan as the key to resolving the East Asian question. Interests between the powers, including America and Japan, had been temporarily adjusted at the Washington Conference, but it was felt that this new arrangement would not last and that war would once again occur in East Asia, arising out of the antagonism between Japan and the US.

At the Congress, the support in evidence for nationalist revolutionary movements and movements opposing imperialism presented a vision that dovetailed with the interests of the working class. The representatives were also of the view that a nationalist revolutionary movement could succeed if there was a democratic revolution before a socialist one. Subsequently, the Second National Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in 1922, decided to put in motion a nationalist revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The Irkutsk branch of the Korean Communist Party, which

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Figure 35: The inaugural issue of the Comintern's bulletin, *The Communist International* (German-language edition). Source: private collection.

along with the Shanghai branch was one of the two main branches of the fledgling Korean socialist movement, changed its position from one of socialist revolution, instead emphasizing that its priority was resolving the problem of the nationalist revolution, which meant independence from Japan.

The Communist Parties in East Asia: A New Element of Change

The experiences of the March First and May Fourth Movements among the Koreans and Chinese, and the major social changes that occurred afterward, played a major role in the spread of socialist thought among the masses. In the wake of both movements, socialist thought was only one of many ideologies that that swept over China and colonial Korea. At the time, many ideas which had been popular in the West over approximately the previous hundred years were introduced in China and colonial Korea; among them were anarchism, syndicalism, American pragmatism, and Marxism-Len-

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inism. Of these, socialist ideology, represented by Marxism-Leninism, came to be viewed by the masses in Korea and China as the one which might save their country and people.

In colonial Korea, socialism gained acceptance as a successor to the March First Movement. As a result of the Government-General's appeasement policy of "cultural rule," the door to the political arena had been opened, albeit in a limited way, and young intellectuals and others were now able to publicly discuss socialism (and other ideas) to a certain extent. In China, the Zhili clique[76] had emerged victorious from a war with the Anfui (Anhui) clique which took place in the summer of 1920, bringing the liberalization of policies and the growth of freedom of opinion. A movement involving writing in the vernacular took root and spread. The basis for these changes was the heightened national and class awareness of the Chinese people after the May Fourth Movement.

The movement toward the adoption and dissemination of socialist thought led to the formation of communist parties in each country. Communist parties in China and Japan were set up with the support of the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai. The Communist Party of Korea was supported by the Comintern's regional office in Vladivostok. The communist parties in China, Japan and Korea were all similar in that they were all established by intellectuals.

In China, the May Fourth Movement was a pivotal point for the growth of a political and cultural space in which socialist ideas could be studied and spread. In particular, the magazine *Xin Qingnian* (New Youth) began publication after moving from Beijing to Shanghai in 1920, becoming a mouthpiece for a group of Shanghai communists, and fulfilled a major role in familiarizing people in China with the experience of the Russian Revolution and socialist Russia. In July 1921, thirteen people, including Mao Zedong, gathered in Shanghai and formed the Chinese Communist Party.

The socialist movement in Japan had been forming since before the First World War,[77] but, spurred by the Russian Revolution and the Rice Riots of

76 The Zhili clique was a warlord faction, which was pro-American and progressive in orientation and competed against the Anfui clique, which was pro-Japanese and conservative.

77 The movement began after the First Sino-Japanese War, but it was the target of a

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1918, it now entered a new phase, as intellectuals and leaders of the workers' unions began to cooperate in order to consolidate the foundation of the movement. This was the process through which the Japanese Communist Party, which aimed to abolish the emperor system, was formed in 1922.

The Communist Party of Korea was formed in April 1925 as intellectuals looking for a new way to escape Japanese control after the March First Movement adopted and spread socialism. Just as in China, the party co-operated with the pro-democracy movement and grew amid the competition. At the time, there were a large number of different groups in the unofficial socialist movement, such as the Shanghai faction and the Tuesday faction, but the party was not an organization that brought these groups together and amalgamated them. In this sense, it was different from the Chinese Communist Party, which was established without opposition among the various political groups.

The First United Front

After the Washington Conference, China and Japan upset East Asian relations, which had up to this point been based on the principle of stability. With regard to the question of China, Japan was in a more geographically advantageous position than the other powers. In order to secure its very own sphere of influence through military force, it was waiting for a chance to expand its interests in China without being bound by the Nine-Power Treaty signed in Washington. In China, the First United Front was formed in 1924, and in 1926 the Northern Expedition was launched to unite China and defeat the warlord factions that had expanded their influence and were acting as tools of the powers in suppressing the Chinese people. At this time, the Anfui clique led by Duan Qirui, the Fengtian clique led by Zhang Zuolin, and the Zhili clique led by Feng Yuxiang were all vying for power, and there was an intense war between these warlord factions, with many large-scale battles taking place. In addition to this, the Guomindang-led "Northern Expedition" joined up with the anti-imperial movement of the masses.

crackdown after the High Treason Incident of 1910 (see above) and lost momentum until it had died out.

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At that time, the Guomindang (GMD, Nationalist Party) was only a small force in the Guangdong region in the south of China. How did it grow into a power that was able to launch the First United Front and the Northern Expedition to eventually unite China? First, there were significant external influences on the Guomindang up to the time at which it began the Northern Expedition; among these, it was the Soviet Union (after 1922) and the Comintern that played the most important roles.

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) did not take part in the Paris Peace Conference, and was also excluded from the Washington Conference. It was able to appear on the diplomatic stage in East Asia after it had made wide-scale interventions in Chinese issues by taking on various warlords and government forces. Through the "Declaration to the Chinese Nation and the Governments of Southern and Northern China," also known as the Karakhan Declaration, the RSFSR announced that it would give up the extraterritorial rights and concessions in Hankou and Tenjian that Imperial Russia had obtained, and also surrendered its mining rights and the Chinese Eastern Railway without compensation. It further declared that it would renounce further receipt from China of Russia's share of the indemnity from the Boxer Rebellion. From 1922 onward, due to its having approached China's government forces while proclaiming the three principles of no indemnities, no annexations, and national self-determination, the Moscow government became involved in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1924, two years after the formation of the Soviet Union (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, USSR), Moscow entered into an agreement with the Beiyang Government to establish diplomatic relations, thereby normalizing Russo-Soviet diplomatic ties with China.

The Soviet Union agreed to jointly manage and administer the Chinese Eastern Railway (in Manchuria) with the Fengtian clique, which at the time was controlling China's northeast, and in January 1923 it issued the "Sun-Joffe Manifesto," in which the Soviet Union promised to cooperate with Sun Yat-sen's government in Guangdong. This meant that the Guomindang publicly declared that it would receive Soviet assistance in order to unite China and achieve the country's full independence. It was from this time onward that Sun Yat-sen's policy of cooperating with the Soviet Union began to take proper shape. Unlike the Beiyang Government, having been

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shut out of the Washington Conference, Sun's Guangdong Government had no choice but to seek closeness with the Soviets. Internally, Chen Jiongming, who had played a decisive role in establishing the Guangdong Government, left the party and was now in opposition to Sun. With the demise of Chen, the Guomindang lost a considerable military force, which it needed for the Northern Expedition. Moreover, Sun abandoned his previous policy which advocated establishing parliamentary government and uniting China and instead began to search for a way to realize an armed nationalist revolution under a strong-party system with the ultimate objective of ending the warlord system and uniting China thereafter.

In January 1924, the Guomindang stated its policies of cooperating with the Soviets and the Chinese Communist Party and of providing aid for the workers and peasants, thus establishing the First United Front. At the strong recommendation of the Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party recognized the GMD's position of leadership in the nationalist revolution, and instructed all its party members to join the GMD as individuals. This position also emerged from the acceptance of the Comintern's theory that nationalist movements in colonies and semi-colonies were part of the proletarian revolution. On the part of the GMD, there was also an expectation that the Communist Party members would strengthen the weak base of the mass movement. In November of that year, Sun Yat-sen went to Beijing to publicize the aims of the nationalist revolution to the whole country.[78]

The Guomindang used the help of Soviet advisors to carry out the nationalist revolution and reorganize the party into a popular force. Like the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, it established a central executive committee and a national representative council as its highest organizations, and operated under the tenet of democratic centralism. The GMD, which had been somewhat like Sun Yat-sen's private party, attempted to transform itself into a modern revolutionary party with public appeal. ItMD also broke away from its system of relying on warlords with their private

78 Sun Yat-sen decided to go to the North and make his declaration after being invited by Feng Yuxiang, a warlord in the Zhili clique, which organized the nationalist forces in the northern region. In the declaration, he called for the convening of a national congress in order to realize the nationalist revolution. He went to Beijing via Kobe, Japan, but he died in March the following year due to cancer.

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armies and instead set up its own military force. In order to develop an officer corps, the GMD sought the assistance of the Comintern and established the Whampoa Military Academy. The running of the military also followed the Red Army's methods, as the Guomindang established a system of political commissars in the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) and emphasized political education.

The Northern Expedition and the Japanese Invasion of Shandong Challenge the Washington System

After the death of Sun Yat-sen, the Guomindang in July 1925 established a nationalist government in Guangzhou in accordance with his wishes. In July 1926, the National Revolutionary Army (NRA), commanded by Chiang Kai-shek, launched the Northern Expedition from Guangzhou with the aim of uniting China. The NRA obtained the support of both the workers' and peasant movements, with which the CCP was also involved, and made a smooth advance north. When the Chinese people tried to take back the British concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang amid a buildup of anti-imperialist fever, Great Britain signed an agreement with the Wuhan National government to return them. From this point on, the Guomindang held the reins in the drive to reclaim China's sovereignty.

The anti-imperialist attitude among the Chinese people came to the fore in March 1927 when the NRA occupied Nanjing. The consulates of Japan, Great Britain, and America were attacked, which gave rise to the Nanjing Incident of 1927, in which British and US naval vessels on the Yangtze River bombarded the city. Directly after this, the NRA took advantage of the armed uprising by workers led by the CCP in Shanghai to occupy the city. Shanghai had been where the anti-imperialist May Thirtieth Movement had begun in 1925, and the new events strengthened the workers' anti-imperialism.

Within the Northern Expedition force, the divide deepened between the left wing of the Guomindang and the Communist Party, which both wanted to press on with the nationalist revolution, and the right wing of the Guomindang, which opposed this. This antipathy had begun to intensify before the NRA entered Shanghai. Fearing that the Guomindang's left wing and the

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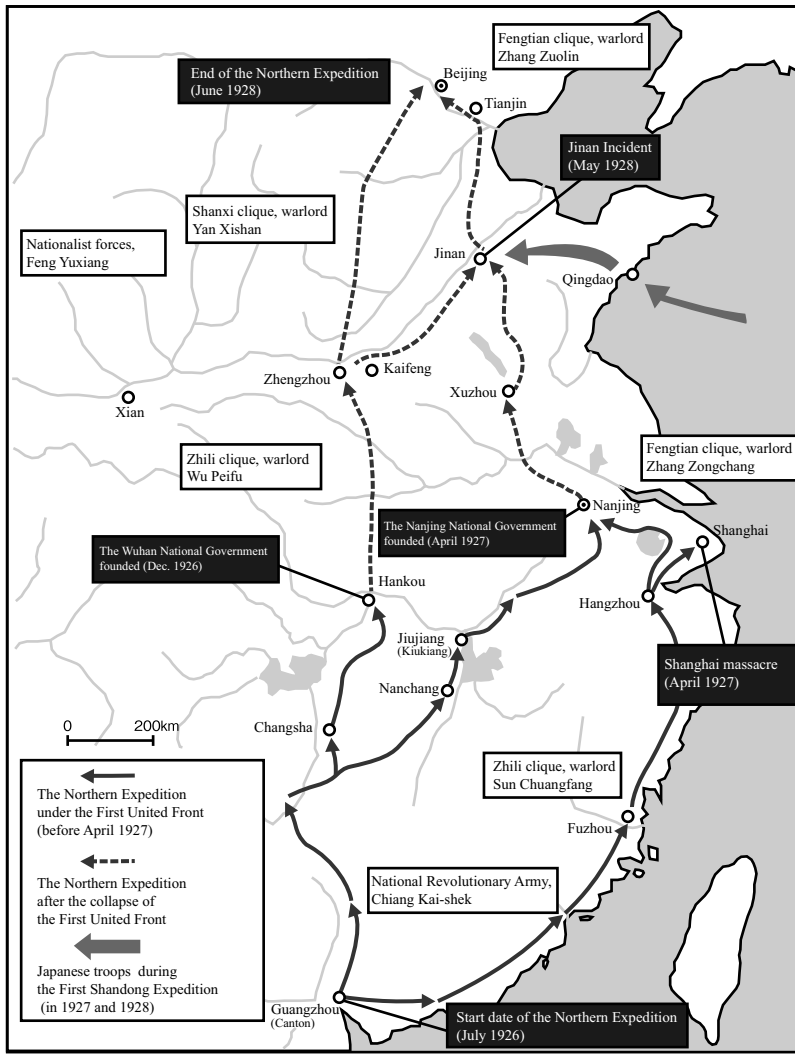

Figure 36: The Northern Expedition.

Communist Party would grow in strength, Chiang Kai-shek and the right wing launched the April 12 Coup (the Shanghai Coup). The forces behind the coup disarmed the workers who had welcomed the NRA, and arrested

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and executed Communist Party members and Guomindang left-wingers. Soon after this, they made Nanjing the capital and established the Nanjing Nationalist government. This led to the collapse of the First United Front. Mao Zedong, who would later become Chiang Kai-shek's rival, withdrew to the Jinggang Mountains on the border between Hunan and Jiangxi 1,500 m above sea level, and there set up a revolutionary base.

When the NRA occupied Shanghai, the Japanese launched the First Shandong Expedition, ostensibly "to protect Japanese residents" there, but in fact to preserve its economic and political interests in the Shandong region. However, the Nanjing Government did not respond head-on to the Japanese invasion, deciding instead that it should prioritize the advance of its Northern Expedition. While continuing to avoid direct confrontation with Japan, the Nanjing Government officially showed that it would not join forces with the Chinese Communist Party, and established itself by purging the Communist Party members and amalgamating with the Wuhan Government, which by then had already lost its revolutionary nature.

Once he had put in place an anti-communist system in his party, the government, and the military, Chiang Kai-shek restarted the Northern Expedition in April 1928. Japan once again used the "protection of [Japanese] nationals" as the justification for the Second Shandong Expedition, and after repeated armed clashes with forces from the Northern Expedition, it provoked the Jinan Incident, in which the Japanese army clashed with Chinese troops and killed several thousand Chinese. Part of the Japanese army stationed in colonial Korea was also mobilized for the Shandong Expedition. Japan's aggressive military action concealed its desire to protect both its interests in Shandong and the Beiyang Government of the pro-Japanese warlord Zhang Zuolin. This desire arose from a fear that Japanese interests in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia would be threatened by the Northern Expedition. Japan dispatched troops to protect its interests, and tried to suppress the Chinese people's nationalist fervor. After being confronted with the Jinan Incident, the Chinese masses concentrated their anti-imperial movement away from Great Britain and on to Japan.

However, Chiang Kai-shek again attempted to avoid a confrontation with Japan, because he felt it was more important to occupy Beijing and complete the Northern Expedition. Japan, too, did not act any more decisively, because this time, in contrast to the time of the First Shandong Expedition in

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1927, the US and Great Britain were openly critical of Japan, and the Japanese were determined that they would not be able to prevent the success of the Northern Expedition. Chiang Kai-shek's NRA was thus able to drive Zhang Zuolin from Beijing and bring an end to the campaign.

Zhang Zuolin fled to Mukden (now Shenyang), but was killed near Mukden Station in an assassination plot by the Japanese Kwantung Army. His son, Zhang Xueliang, took over and held power in the Manchuria region from that point onward. Soon thereafter, however, he switched allegiance from the Beiyang Government, raising the blue-sky and white-sun flag of the Guomindang. Joining up with the Nationalist Government, he made his opposition to the Japanese policy of foreign aggression explicit. The people and states of East Asia had no choice but to change their strategies toward China as a result of the NRA seizing the initiative in continental China. Japan especially had to revise its plan of promoting the Beiyang Government in order to spread its influence in mainland China.

For Japan, it became more important now to maintain peace and stability in the Manchurian region and secure its rights and interests there and in Mongolia. The Korean nationalist movement, on the other hand, gained impetus from the First United Front, and began to overcome internal differences to become a united force. Nationalists who were active in Shanghai and Manchuria moved to form a single party representing the Korean people, which was rather like a secret revolutionary organization. In February 1927, nationalist activists in Korea officially formed a coalition organization of both right and left, known as *Singanhoe* ("New Shoots Society"). Koreans who were leading the movement to unite the nationalist cause wanted to attain independence by commencing an anti-Japanese armed struggle in Manchuria in cooperation with the NRA at the point when the latter would advance into the region. The socialists in particular were energetic in their efforts to formulate a concrete strategy to achieve the goal of independence. However, with Zhang Xueliang switching allegiance to the Guomindang, a military expedition of nationalist government forces into Manchuria was canceled, resulting in another split between the Korean nationalists and Chinese socialists in China, and the vision and preparations all came to nothing.

The relationship between China and the imperialist states once more experienced realignment. In response to efforts by the Nationalist Gov-

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ernment in Nanjing to revise the Unequal Treaties, the powers were no longer able to bring their military might to the fore and demand the treaties be maintained as they had done before. Although the Nationalist Government of the GMD was unable to completely abolish the Unequal Treaties, in July 1928 bilateral negotiations with the US regarding treaty revision were opened. Through a tariff agreement with Japan made in 1930, China broke free from the restrictions of fixed tariffs which had been enforced ever since the Treaty of Nanjing came into being in 1842, and it was able to restore a certain amount of Chinese sovereignty over tariffs.

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Mongolian Independence

After Genghis Khan had established the Great Mongol Empire, Mongolia underwent several divisions, and in 1688 eventually became subordinate to the Qing. However, the decline of the Qing in the early twentieth century helped create the momentum for the building of a new state in the Mongolian region, with the Revolution of 1911 being the pivotal moment.

In November 1911, influential figures in Outer Mongolia established a provisional government and made the eighth Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, a leading figure in Tibetan Buddhism, the emperor of Mongolia. The new Mongolian government worked hard to unify all the Mongolian tribes, but under the terms of the Treaty of Kyakhta[79] of June 1915, "autonomy" was granted by China only for the Outer Mongolian region.

In 1917, the Russian Revolution brought a new dimension to the Mongolian independence movement. Russia, which had been a supporter of independence, disappeared as a power factor, and the Republic of China emerged as a new player. In November 1919, China broke the terms of the Kyakhta Treaty and stripped Outer Mongolia of its autonomy. At the same time, the issue of independence for all of Mongolia surfaced, and in June 1920, the Mongolian People's Party was formed, to be renamed the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1924. In August 1920, the party sent a delegation to the Soviet government of Russia to seek support for Mongolia's independence.

Around this time, military forces of the so-called White Russians (anti-revolutionary forces) that had fled from Russia after being defeated by the Red Army in the civil war occupied Outer Mongolia. They drove out the Beiyang Government's army stationed in Ulaanbaatar (Ulan Bator) and, in February 1921, restored the rule of Jebtsundamba Khutuktu as emperor of Mongolia. The following month, the Mongolian People's Party expelled this foreign army and estab-

79 An agreement signed by China, Russia and the Mongolian government denying Outer Mongolia independence, but recognizing autonomy under Chinese suzerainty.

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lished a provisional people's government as a claim to independence. The beacon for the Mongolian Revolution of 1921 was now lit.

In the same month, the People's Volunteer Army of Mongolia attacked the Chinese army in Kyakhta and defeated it, and then, with the support of the Russian Red Army, went on to capture Ulan Bator in July. On July 11 – which is now celebrated as Independence Day –, after transferring all administrative power to the People's Provisional Government, the volunteer army announced the formation of a people's constitutional government with Jebtsundamba Khutuktu as monarch. The establishment of a republican system, the final hurdle to independence, came about with the death of Khutuktu in May 1924. The highest power in the state now resided with the National Assembly (Duma), which comprised of representatives elected by the people; a constitution was enacted at the first meeting of the Assembly in November of that year. This was the beginning of the Mongolian People's Republic and the birth of the second socialist state in the world after Russia.

Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government of China never recognized the existence of the Mongolian Republic, but it did accept Mongolian independence when it signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance on August 14, 1945.[80]

The March First Independence Movement in Korea and Changes in Japan's Colonial Administration

The March First Movement of 1919 was enormously influential, not only in its effect on the Korean nationalist movement, but also because it changed Japan's methods for managing its colonies. In particular, Hara Takashi, the Japanese prime minister, used the March First Movement as a pretext for the enactment of his own colonial policies.

Having taken office in September 1918, Hara sought to curb the influence of the elder statesmen and to instead strengthen the cabinet's authority, which was in his case based on the political parties. As

80 This was a military alliance based on a secret agreement made at the Yalta Conference in 1945 and signed the day before Japan's surrender.

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part of this plan, he wanted the cabinet to shoulder the responsibility for managing Japan's colonies rather than the army and the navy, which both had major vested interests in the colonies.

In April 1919 Hara announced new governance regulations for the Office of the Kwantung Governor, which managed the South Manchurian Railway Company and administered the Kwantung Province (including Dalian and Lushun) in the south of Manchuria. It was thought that there would be less resistance from the military to the reforms here than in Korea or Taiwan. The upshot was that the Office of the Kwantung Governor was divided up into the Kwantung Agency and the General Headquarters of the Kwantung Army. A civilian bureaucrat was appointed as head of the agency, and the Japanese prime minister was now enabled to oversee colonial administration directly.

However, Hara hesitated to enact similar governmental reforms in Korea and Taiwan due to the anticipation of strong opposition from factions with vested interests, in particular the Imperial Army. It was at this time that the March First Movement occurred. In an entry in his diary dated March 2, 1919, Hara wrote: "Although it is probably true that [the movement] was stimulated by meaningless theories such as national self-determination, other causes beside this may exist." On March 11, he instructed the Governor-General of Korea to "take strict measures and ensure that [such an uprising] does not happen again." One of the "strict measures" he was referring to was the deployment of a large contingent of soldiers and military police to Korea to suppress the demonstrations.

At the same time, Hara also began reforming the system of rule in Korea into a set of practices later called "Cultural Rule." He established a system of administration led mainly by civilian officials, implemented the same education system as in Japan itself, and established a civilian police force in the colony to replace the military police. After the suppression of the March First Movement, Hara reformed the system of governance under the Office of the Governor-General and appointed Saito Makoto, a former admiral now on the reserve list of the navy, to the position of Governor-General of Korea. On arriving in Korea, Saito abolished the military police system, ensured that only

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Figure 37 & Figure 38: The Government-General of Korea (top) and the Government-General of Taiwan (bottom). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

regular police officers would deal with civilians, and ordered that the commander of the military police was not to serve as the chief of the regular police. He also extended education at regular schools to six years, and introduced a coeducation system for Japanese and Korean students so that they could attend the same schools. Further, he permitted previously banned public activities such as the publication of Korean-language magazines and newspapers, albeit with some limitations. The intent behind these measures was to dissipate the grievances felt by the Korean people while driving a wedge into Korean society. Additionally, shocked by the lack of any pro-Japanese elements in Korea that could halt the spread of the March First Move-

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ment, Saito implemented a policy for the encouragement of factions that would be friendly toward Japan.

The reforms in Korea were later replicated in Taiwan. The bureaucrat and politician Den Kenjiro took up the post of Governor-General of Taiwan in October 1919, which began a period of civilian rule, and in 1922 a non-segregated education system was introduced after an amendment was made to the Act on Taiwanese Education.[81]

However, and differently from the situation in Taiwan, the thirty-five years of Japanese control of Korea saw no appointments of a civilian official as Governor-General of Korea. Further, when the Military Police Corps was used as the primary police force, the number of police numbered not more than 12,000 in Korea at any time, but after the military policing system was abolished, the number of police officers increased considerably, to over 20,000. Moreover, even though the education system was supposedly integrated, school records from Korea and Taiwan were not recognized in Japan. Japan did not allow Koreans or Taiwanese to build their own universities, but instead established the Keijo Imperial University in Korea in 1924, and Taihoku Imperial University in Taiwan in 1928.

Looking at the Washington Conference: The Views of the People in China, Japan, and Korea

China, Japan, and Korea responded differently to the Washington Conference (1921/22) and its consequences, in accordance with their respective positions. Japan was at that time following a foreign policy of cooperation with the US, but it was also feeling the financial strain from the unfolding naval armaments race, and Japanese public opinion supported the naval arms reduction treaty concluded in Washington in 1922. In addition to this, in the context of the Taisho Democracy, the power of the political parties, which valued cooperative diplomatic relations, superseded that of the military.

81 On paper, the amendment allowed Taiwanese students to study within the same education system as the Japanese residents of Taiwan, but in reality there were still substantial disparities between the two groups.

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Some Korean nationalist activists predicted that, as the US had started restructuring international relations in East Asia, there might be a war between the two countries if Japan did not respond positively to US demands, and they therefore launched a movement to petition for Korean independence. Beginning with the US, the powers were in agreement over the fact that Korean independence was a condition required for the securing of peace in East Asia, and the Korean nationalists hoped this would result in pressure being put on Japan. However, the majority of nationalist activists had lost faith in the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and the League of Nations and did not have high expectations for the Washington Conference. Indeed, as they had predicted, the Korean issue did not even make it onto the agenda of the Washington Conference. The activists lost faith in the US, Britain, and other Western powers, and began to show a keen interest in international solidarity with Soviet Russia, which at the time was advocating self-determination and supporting the liberation movements of oppressed peoples.

In the case of China, the Beiyang government took part in the Washington Conference, but Sun Yat-sen's Guangzhou government was excluded.[82] It was in this context that public opinion, influenced by the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party and the Comintern, opposed the conference as nothing more than a reorganization of the imperialist structure. In 1923, Sun Yat-sen established the First United Front with the aid of the Soviet government and initiated the nationalist revolution, declaring that opposing the Washington Treaty System was equivalent to opposing imperialism, and opposing the Beiyang Government was equivalent to opposing warlordism.

82 At the time, the Beiyang Government in Beijing was considered the legitimate government of China.

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Timeline

1914 Outbreak of the First World War. Japan declares war on Germany and occupies the Shandong peninsula.
1915 Japan submits the Twenty-One Demands to China.
1916 Signing of the Fourth Russo-Japanese Convention.
1917 The US and China enter the First World War. Sun Yat-sen establishes a military government in Guangzhou. October Revolution in Russia. Lenin issues Decree of Peace. Lansing-Ishii Agreement is signed.
1918 US President Wilson issues "Fourteen Points." Soviet Union concludes a peace treaty with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Japan signs the Shandong Secret Pact with the Beiyang Government. Japan and China take part in the Allied Powers' Siberian Intervention. First World War ends.
1919 Paris Peace Conference begins. March First Movement (Korea). Establishment of the Comintern. May Fourth Movement (China). Soviet government issues Karakhan Declaration.
1920 Birth of the League of Nations. Zhili-Anhui War (China). Nikolayevsk Massacre. Korean Independence Army fights the Japanese at the Battle of Qingshanli. Gando Massacre of Koreans by Japanese military.
1921 Establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (China). Washington Conference begins (until 1922).
1922 First Zhili-Fengtian War (China). Establishment of the Japanese Communist Party. Foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Congress for the People of the Far East held in Moscow.
1923 Sun-Joffe Manifesto announced in Shanghai.
1924 First United Front (China). Foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic. Sun Yat-sen's Northward Declaration.
1925 Establishment of the Communist Party of Korea. May Thirtieth Movement (China).
1926 Launch of the Northern Expedition by the National Revolutionary Army (China).
1927 Formation of the New Shoots Society (*Singanhoe*) (Korea). Chiang Kai-shek carries out anti-communist purge in Shanghai (China). Establishment of the Nanjing Nationalist government (China). Japan launches First Shandong Expedition.
1928 Japan launches Second Shandong Expedition (Jinan Incident). China revises trade tariff agreement with the US. Zhang Zuolin is assassinated. Signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war. In Northeast China, Zhang Xueliang switches allegiance to the Nationalists.
1930 China and Japan sign a trade tariff agreement.

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Chapter 5:
East Asia and Japan's War of Aggression

In the 1930s and 1940s, a large-scale military conflict broke out in East Asia due to Japan's invasion of China and other countries in the region and the resistance that ensued. When the Asia-Pacific War broke out, the conflict in East Asia became part of the global war against fascism. The war not only affected China and Korea, but also destroyed the international order that had existed until then. China, colonial Korea, and the other East Asian countries suffered unprecedented degrees of damage during the war. The outcome was, however, the complete opposite of Japan's expectations. Japan failed to achieve its objective of ruling Asia and collapsed, together with the fascist states of Germany and Italy. After the war, Japan became subject to the judgment of an international war crimes tribunal. China, on the other hand, fought through the war of anti-Japanese resistance as an important participant in the global war against fascism and was victorious in its national war of liberation. Colonial Korea continued its movement for independence and eventually managed to become an independent sovereign state. This chapter focuses on the causes of the war, its course and conclusion, and its effects on the East Asian and global order.

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1. Japan's Invasion of Manchuria and the International Response

From the Anti-War Treaty to the Manchurian Incident

At the Paris Peace Conference following the First World War, the European countries attempted to rearrange their interests to the end of finding a way to divide up the world and deal with the defeated nations. On June 28, 1919, the participating nations signed the Charter of the League of Nations. Its main objectives were arms reduction and providing mediation for international disputes. In order to further balance the powers' interests in East Asia, the Nine-Power Treaty concerning China was signed at the Washington Conference, which was held between 1921 and 1922. China proposed that its right to set tariffs be restored, consular jurisdiction be abolished, all foreign bases in China be removed, and all concessions and leased territories be returned, but these demands were all rejected. The powers approved the principles of the open-door policy and equal opportunity espoused by the US, and Japan was pushed to give up its rights in Shandong Province. America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan also signed the Five-Power Treaty at the conference, thus agreeing to reduce their respective naval strengths. In 1925, the European nations further bolstered their collective security by signing the Treaties of Locarno[83] with the objective of preventing German revenge. Subsequently, in 1928 in Paris, representatives of 15 countries including the US, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Japan signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, or the General Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, which established principles for peaceful solutions to international conflicts; it was, in other words, an anti-war treaty. The treaty stipulated that "[the signatories] condemn recourse to war for the solution of international

83 This is the name given to eight treaties that were agreed on at a conference held in Locarno, Switzerland, from October 5 to 16, 1925, by representatives from Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. After provisional signing, the treaties were formally concluded in London on December 1. Through these treaties, the Allied powers of the First World War and the emerging nations in Central and Eastern Europe were attempting to confirm postwar territorial boundaries and normalize relations with defeated Germany.

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controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another" (Article 1), and that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means" (Article 2). By 1933, sixty-three countries, including China, had ratified the treaty. However, the treaty itself did not touch on how to resolve the inconsistencies between China and Japan, nor those concerning the Japanese and Europeans in East Asia. It was in this context that the national liberation movement in China became noticeably stronger, and a struggle for independence took root in Korea. Both developments would later become crucial factors upsetting the international order in East Asia.

In October 1929, a worldwide economic crisis began; known as the Great Depression, it continued for over four years. Annual productivity in Europe fell by forty percent compared with its peak just prior to the crisis, and the volume of global trade plummeted by sixty-five percent. Due to the recession, the powers brought in austerity policies, and arms reduction became a key topic in every country. In 1930 Great Britain, Japan, the US, France, and Italy convened the London Naval Conference and signed the London Naval Treaty. The main point of this treaty was to limit the number of each country's auxiliary ships and when capital ships were to be replaced.[84] The Japanese government eventually signed the treaty to reduce the hostility affecting its relations with Britain and the US.

The Japanese government also publicly announced its intention to expand overseas into the Chinese regions of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria in order to solve a series of problems it faced, including its dearth of natural resources. Calling these territories Japan's "lifeline," the government in Tokyo claimed that Japan had a "special relationship" with Mongolia and Manchuria. In June 1928, Zhang Zuolin, who was in control of Manchuria (northeast China) at the time, was killed in an assassination plot by the Kwantung army. His son Zhang Xueling declared that he would switch allegiance from the Beiyang Government to the Guomindang's (GMD) Nationalist Government. Under the direction of the Nationalist Government, he took up a position of non-cooperation with the Japanese and

84 The moratorium on the construction of capital ships decided at the Washington Conference was extended to 1936.

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began to build a new railroad that ran parallel to the South Manchuria Railway (Mantetsu), putting the Japanese-run Mantetsu in a difficult position. Ishiwara Kanji and Itagaki Seishiro, officers in the Japanese Kwantung Army, considered a plot to start a war with the objective of stabilizing and expanding Japanese influence in Manchuria. In July 1931, Japanese troops cracked down on Chinese peasants in what is known as the Wanpaoshan Incident,[85] claiming that Korean migrants in Manchuria had been oppressed by the Chinese. When news of this was reported in Korea, it incited a move to drive out the Chinese. The homes of many Chinese merchants were destroyed, 109 Chinese were killed and over 160 injured, and antagonism between Korean and Chinese civilians was exacerbated. Honjo Shigeru, who took up his post as commander of the Kwantung Army on August 20 of that year, carried out a series of military maneuvers soon after taking up his position and announced his determination to improve the current situation saying that "the increasing number of scandals is a matter of regret. I am determined to find a final solution."

On the evening of September 18, 1931, Japanese soldiers from Kwantung Army blew up rail tracks belonging to the Japanese-owned Mantetsu at Liutiaohu on the northern outskirts of Mukden (present-day Shenyang), and blamed the explosion on the Chinese army. Using this explosion as a pretext, the Kwantung Army instigated the "Mukden (Manchurian) Incident" to invade China, attacking Mukden Castle and garrisons of the Chinese Northeastern Army.

In order to implement its previously created occupation plan for the three northeastern provinces of China,[86] the Kwantung Army submitted a request for reinforcements to the higher military authorities. On September 21, the Japanese forces stationed in Korea crossed the border and went to Mukden to provide support without obtaining the approval of the emperor or paying heed to the civilian government's policy of non-intervention in China. The unfolding war soon spread across all three northeastern prov-

85 Some Koreans who had settled near Wanpaoshan on the outskirts of Changchun City dug an irrigation channel while ignoring efforts by the Chinese to stop them, which led to a clash between Chinese and Korean peasants. The Japanese intervened and stirred up emotions among the Koreans to incite them to drive the Chinese out of Korea.

86 This refers to the three provinces of Liaoning (Fengtian), Jilin, and Heilongjiang in Manchuria (China's northeastern region).

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inces, catching worldwide attention and drawing criticism. In December 1931, Wakatsuki Reijiro's cabinet resigned.[87] Two days later a new cabinet led by Inukai Tsuyoshi was formed; it supported the military, and the army further escalated the war, occupying Jinzhou in January 1932. At this stage, the Emperor issued an imperial message to the Kwantung Army praising their actions. Spurred on by this encouragement, the army went on to capture Harbin (in northern Manchuria) on February 5. Within four months, the Kwantung Army had occupied over 1.1 million square kilometers of territory – three times the size of Japan – stretching from the Shanhai Pass to the Heilongjiang River.

After the Manchurian Incident, the Chinese government adopted a policy of negotiating with Japan jointly with other countries. Through the intervention of America and the League of Nations, it hoped to resolve the issue based on the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and it submitted an appeal criticizing Japan to the League of Nations. To divert the attention of the international community away from its intent to establish a puppet state in Manchuria, Japan plotted an incident in which a number of Chinese attacked a group of Japanese monks in Shanghai, and used this as a pretext for the stationing of marines near Japanese concessions on Chinese territory. On January 28, 1932, under the pretext of protecting Japanese nationals living in Shanghai, the Japanese army entered into battle with the Chinese Nineteenth Route Army in what is known as the "Shanghai Incident" or (in China) "January 28 Incident." On May 5 of the same year, representatives from China and Japan signed the Shanghai Ceasefire Agreement following a request from the League of Nations, and the war was halted for the time being. However, under the terms of the agreement, a limit was put on the stationing of Chinese troops in Shanghai, and a series of provisions in it markedly infringed upon Chinese sovereignty, showing that the Chinese government was compromising in its negotiations with Japan.

The Manchurian Incident can be said to have demonstrated that Japan had extended its "Line of Interest" as far as Manchuria and that it had put into effect a policy of separating Manchuria and Mongolia from China. This

87 Wakatsuki had formed a coalition government and was trying to control the military, but he was opposed by some cabinet members and was unable to resolve the conflict, leading to the resignation of the entire cabinet.

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Figure 39: The Lytton Commission. The Commission went to Manchuria in April 1932 and investigated the site at Liutiaohu where the Mantetsu Railway was blown up. Source: private collection.

had already become clear in the policies of the cabinet of Tanaka Giichi (1927–1929). Japan's actions posed a challenge to the system established by the Versailles and Washington treaties, but as the US and Britain did not have any key interests in Manchuria, they did not adopt any specific measures against Japan, such as sanctions. Although the Soviet Union criticized Japan, it did not go any further than explaining that it was in a position of neutrality based first and foremost on the wish to keep the peace.

The Response of the League of Nations and the Establishment of Manchukuo

After the Manchurian Incident, the Council of the League of Nations, receiving an appeal from the Nationalist Government of China, agreed to send an inspection mission to investigate the situation in the Northeast of China. This was called the Lytton Commission, as the leader of the mission was the British Earl of Lytton.

After it had carried out its fact-finding mission in Manchuria and Japan,

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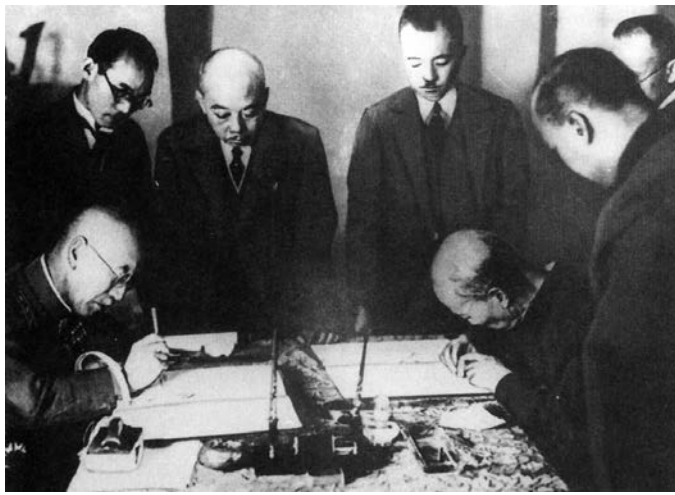

Figure 40: The Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army and a representative of "Manchukuo" sign the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol. Source: private collection.

the Commission submitted its findings, the "Lytton Report," to the League's council in October 1932. It pointed out that the Manchurian Incident had been engineered by Japan following long-term planning, that Japan had illegally occupied Manchuria, and that the "Northeastern Government" was a mere Japanese puppet. The report recognized Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria, but accepted at the same time that Japan had a "special" position and special interests in the region. Regarding a solution to the problem, it opposed a return to the situation prior to the incident and also rejected the continuation of the current state of affairs with the newly-created state of Manchukuo, asserting instead that "the final requisite for a satisfactory solution is temporary international co-operation in the internal reconstruction of China." The General Assembly of the League of Nations then decided that the conflict between China and Japan should be dealt with by the Committee of 19.

On February 24, 1933, the General Assembly adopted the committee's report, which was based on the report of the Lytton Commission, by a vote of forty-two in favor, one against (Japan), and one abstention (Siam, now Thailand). The report clearly stated its position that it recognized China's

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sovereignty in Manchuria, and that it did not accept the newly-founded state of Manchukuo. The Japanese representative to the League of Nations, Matsuoka Yosuke, protested and walked out of the chamber. On March 27, the emperor issued an imperial edict announcing Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. The League had thus failed in its attempts to resolve the conflict between China and Japan.

On March 1, 1932, the Kwantung Army formally announced the establishment of the state of "Manchukuo," established the capital at Changchun (renamed Hsingking, or Shinkyo in Japanese), and made Puyi, the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, who had abdicated in 1912, the new state's "Chief Executive," or the head of an interim regime.[88] On August 8, the Japanese government appointed Muto Nobuyoshi, the commander of the Kwantung Army, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Manchukuo, and on September 15 it formally recognized the state. In March 1934, Manchukuo proclaimed the establishment of an imperial government and Puyi became emperor. Japanese officers dispatched from the Kwantung Army acted as his "bodyguards." It was also stipulated that "the Commander of the Kwantung Army shall be both an advisor and guardian to the emperor on behalf of the Emperor of Japan." The Secretary-General of the General Affairs State Council, which held the reins of power in the Manchukuo government, and the vice-ministers in each ministry were all Japanese. These facts clearly show the puppet-like nature of Manchukuo. Throughout the state's entire existence, the Nationalist Government in China refused to recognize it, and hoped that sanctions would be applied to Japan via the League of Nations.

The administrative priority of the puppet government controlled by Japan was to exploit the economy of the northeast of China. The Kwantung Army made Manchukuo sign the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol, forcing it to confirm Japan's special privileges in Manchuria, and drew up a "Five-Year Industrial Development Plan for Manchuria." When Manchuria was later incorporated into Japan's wartime structure, Japanese control became even stronger. Railroad construction and production in heavy industries such as coal and steel in this period showed a steady increase in terms of quantity,

88 A position equivalent to a prime minister.

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but it could be argued that Japan's true goal was to plunder China's resources.

For fourteen years, the people of northeastern China resisted Japanese imperialism and colonial rule in the puppet state. After the Manchurian Incident, some of the officers and soldiers from the Northeastern Army came together with civilians from all walks of life and launched a guerilla war against the Japanese in the three northeastern provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning. From 1932 onward, the Chinese Communist Party formed over ten anti-Japanese guerilla groups; these gradually expanded to become the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army, which had around 30,000 troops. Among them were many Koreans living in Manchuria, who made an important contribution to the final victory in the Chinese people's war of anti-Japanese resistance and the global war against fascism. Manchukuo ceased to exist on August 15, 1945 as a result of the Japanese surrender.

Japan's North China Buffer State Strategy and the Xi'an Incident

In September 1933, Hirota Koki, who had taken up the position of Japanese Foreign Minister, had become convinced that Japan had to break free from its deepening international isolation after leaving the League of Nations, and he considered more cooperative diplomatic efforts with the US and Great Britain. He also tried to build new Sino-Japanese relations on the same premise of cooperation, but with the prerequisite that Manchukuo continue to exist. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek adopted a policy of "first internal pacification, then external resistance," which meant resisting foreign countries (that is, essentially, Japan) after uniting the country internally, in order to cement the rule of the Nanjing Government. He therefore continued a large-scale encirclement campaign against the CCP-led Red Army in Jiangxi, but this only led to the intensification of the crackdown on the anti-Japanese movement within China. The CCP implemented a policy of anti-Japanese resistance while fighting Chiang Kai-shek at the same time. As the civil war continued, Hirota's diplomatic efforts toward China made some progress, and in May 1935, China and Japan elevated their respective legations to the rank of embassies.

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The goal of Hirota's foreign policy was to make the establishment of Manchukuo a done deal between China and Japan, and to respond peacefully to the changes to the international order that had arisen due to the Mukden Incident engineered by Japan. In the context of its relations with the Western powers, Japan announced at the end of 1934 that it was renouncing and withdrawing from the Five-Power Treaty regarding naval arms reduction, then in January 1936 it also withdrew from the London Naval Treaty, thus attempting to clearly show that it was no longer subordinate to Great Britain and the US.

In response to these developments, America consistently maintained a position advocating containment of Japan, whereas Britain leaned more toward compromising with it, and even hoped that Japan would keep Chinese nationalism in check. One group, led by the Chancellor of the Exchequer Neville Chamberlain, feared that if Japanese expansion into China was held back too much, Japan might in future turn its ambitions to the British colonies in Southeast Asia. This was why Britain hoped in 1934 to sign an Anglo-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact. The British priority was to guarantee its interests and safety in Southeast Asia and the Far East above all else, even if China was sacrificed as a result.

After the founding of Manchukuo, the Kwantung Army began to expand into Jehol Province and along the Great Wall, both of which lay adjacent to the Northeastern provinces. On January 1, 1933, it provoked the Chinese Army at the Shanhai Pass,[89] then sent troops into the passes on the Great Wall and into Jehol Province via three different routes. The Chinese Government adopted a policy of "negotiating while resisting," and fought back along the Great Wall. This is historically called the "Defense of the Great Wall." However, as this policy was subordinate to the overarching policy of "first internal pacification, then external resistance," the Nationalist Government did not have the resolve to start a war with Japan. On May 31 at Tanggu in Tianjin, representatives from both countries – Hsiung Pin from the Military Council of the Nationalist government and Okamura Yasuji, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army – entered into negotiations

89 Located at the eastern end of the Great Wall. Japan kept some troops from its China Garrison Army (under the terms of the Boxer Protocol of 1901) and border guards from the Manchukuo Imperial Army stationed there.

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which culminated in the signing of the Tanggu Truce. Under its terms, the eastern portion of Hebei Province was established as a demilitarized zone from which the Chinese army was forced to withdraw. This was Japan's first step toward extending its influence into North China.

After the truce was concluded, Japan's North China Buffer State Strategy gradually began to take shape. On numerous occasions, the Kwantung Army discussed with the China Expeditionary Army plans to separate North China from the rest of the country, and, making use of the hostility between the central government and leading figures in the region, it tried to obtain interests there. The Nationalist Government, with its policy of prioritizing internal pacification over external resistance, concentrated its efforts on the fight to eradicate the Communist Party in Southern China, and tried as much as possible to avoid a violent clash with the Japanese in North China. As a result, it acceded to the demands of Japan, and all the Central Army and Guomindang's provincial, urban, and party organizations pulled out of the Beijing-Tianjin region. Moreover, the Nationalist Government recognized the formation of the Hebei-Chahar Political Council, which was semi-autonomous in nature and controlled by powerful regional figures.

The year 1935 saw a new climax of Japanese efforts to detach North China from the rest of the country. The issue was given top priority within Japan's continental policy. The Kwantung Army and the China Expeditionary Army applied pressure to the regional authorities in North China to sign "local agreements." They pulled the strings to create a movement for autonomy that would realize the separation of the five Northern provinces (Hebei, Charhar, Suiyuan, Shandong, and Shanxi) from the central government's control and organize them into a Japanese-dominated autonomous area. It was in this context that Japan established a puppet government with administrative control over the demilitarized zone that had been specified in the Tanggu Truce. This administration was called the East Hebei Anti-Communist Autonomous Council, later Government, and was headed by Yin Ju-keng. Japan made the Council recruit Japanese advisors into key positions in the administrative body. At the same time, as part of Hirota's diplomatic strategy, the Japanese government was in negotiations with the Chinese government while also pushing ahead with a policy of invading China in concert with the Imperial Japanese Army, thus putting China face-to-face with a serious national crisis.

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Between 1934 and 1936, Japan withdrew from the obligations of the Naval Arms Limitation Treaties of Washington and London and began to adopt a hostile position towards Britain and the US, instead deepening its ties to Germany and Italy. Germany, where the National Socialist Party had taken over power in 1933, had begun to ignore arms limitations and had occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. Italy had invaded Ethiopia in 1935. The two countries had challenged the international order formed after the First World War (the Versailles System and the Washington System). In November 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, which was an agreement directed against international communism with a secret clause marking the Soviet Union as a potential future enemy. A secret clause of the treaty noted that if one of the signatories was involved in a war against the Soviet Union, the other party would remain neutral. Italy also joined the Anti-Comintern Pact in November of the following year, withdrew from the League of Nations, and announced its recognition of "Manchukuo" in December. It thus joined Japan and Germany in the fascist "Axis" camp to become part of a new international order. Japan recognized Italy's annexation of Ethiopia, and the two countries began to build closer ties.

Japan took advantage of Chiang Kai-shek's policy prioritizing internal pacification to establish the puppet state of Manchukuo as well as driving forward its strategy of separating North China from the rest of the country. Faced with a national crisis, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) made a declaration on August 1, 1935, calling for the formation of a united national front for resistance against Japan. Under the guidance of the CCP, students in Beijing carried out a demonstration on December 9 opposing the separation of North China and demanding that the Nationalist Government stop the civil war and implement a unified policy against the external threat. The fervor to save the nation inspired by this demonstration, and the "December Ninth Movement" to which it gave rise, soon spread across China.

As the pace of Japan's invasion of China gathered speed, the attitude of the Nationalist Government toward Japan became more resolute. At the Fifth National Congress of the Guomindang in November 1935, Chiang Kai-shek declared: "In a period when peace has not become hopeless, then we must not give up on peace. As for sacrifices, until we reach the final point then we must not lightly talk of sacrifice." He began to consider other methods to resist the Japanese besides military force, and encouraged the

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GMD to take the lead in moving away from division in China's politics and progressing instead toward unification. The GMD and the CCP also initiated negotiations with the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Nationalist Government launched a complete reform of the currency system with the backing of Great Britain in an attempt to prevent further economic encroachment by the Japanese yen. Further, it actively sought assistance from Germany for the overhauling of its military organization. After China and Germany signed a trade agreement in April 1936, the latter exported a huge amount of weapons to the former, and even after entering into a joint defense pact with Japan, Hitler gave orders to keep on exporting arms to China.

In December 1936, Zhang Xueliang, who was at the time second-in-command of the "Northwest Bandit Extermination Headquarters," and Yang Hucheng, then commander of the Seventeenth Route Army of the Northwest Army, met with Chiang Kai-shek at Xi'an when he visited to urge on the army to destroy the Communists. They asked him to stop the crackdown on the Communists and instead join forces with the CCP to fight against the Japanese. However, when Chiang turned down their request, they took him into custody and pressed him once more to cease attacks on the Communists and resist the Japanese instead. These events are known as the Xi'an Incident. The CCP then came up with a peaceful solution, which was proposed to Zhang and Yang by a delegation to Xi'an led by Zhou Enlai. Zhou conferred with Zhang and Yang and put forward the CCP's peaceful solution. Chiang's wife, Soong May-Ling, and his brother-in-law, Soong Tse-Ven (T. V. Soong), flew to Xi'an, met with Zhang, Yang, and the representatives from the CCP, and discussed the reorganization of the GMD and CCP, the expulsion of pro-Japanese factions, the admittance of anti-Japanese elements, the release of the leader of the Shanghai Patriotic Movement, the release of all political prisoners, guarantees for the people's rights, and joint anti-Japanese resistance with the CCP (the United Front of the GMD and the CCP). After this, Zhang escorted Chiang from Xi'an by airplane, and thus the incident ended peacefully.

The Xi'an Incident advanced the second collaboration between the GMD and CCP and allowed the two parties to resist the Japanese together. They formed a united national front against the Japanese, as a result of which

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China saw a suspension in its civil war and a shift to consensus in its foreign policy.

2. All-Out War between Japan and China

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident and All-Out War between Japan and China

On July 7, 1937, troops from the Japanese Garrison Army in China carried out maneuvers near the Wanping Fortress on the east bank of the Yongding River north of the Marco Polo Bridge in Beiping (present-day Beijing). That night, the Japanese demanded permission to search for a missing soldier within the Chinese Wanping Fortress, but the Chinese authorities denied the request. While the soldier in question had in fact already returned to his squadron before the negotiations had begun, an incident occurred in which troops from one side – whether it was the Chinese or Japanese is not clear – opened fire. The incident escalated when the battalion heard of the missing soldier and mobilized its troops at the Marco Polo Bridge. Before dawn on July 8, the Japanese army shelled the Wanping Fortress, thus sparking off the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Shortly thereafter, both sides entered into brief negotiations. A ceasefire was signed by both armies in the field on July 11, but the Konoe government decided to send further troops to North China. On July 28, the Japanese army launched an all-out assault on the Chinese forces in Beiping, and swiftly occupied both Beiping and Tianjin. The Japanese army then expanded the war throughout North China along the railroad lines between Beiping and Baotou, Beiping and Hankou, and Tianjin and Pukou.

Soon after the incident, the CCP circulated the following call by telegram: "Comrades, governments, and armies all over China! Join together and let's build a strong Great Wall under a united national front and resist the invasion by the Japanese aggressors!" On July 17, Chiang Kai-shek made an address in Lushan, in which he stated: "If hostilities break out once more, everyone – regardless of whether you are in the North or South, whether you are young or old – no matter who you are, you will all bear a responsibility to resist and protect the homeland, and you should all be prepared to sacrifice everything." (Lushan Declaration)

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At the time, the Japanese military called this war the "North China Incident." Its policy was to place operations for attacking the Chinese forces in North China under the control of the Japanese army, and operations in Central and Southern China under the command of the Japanese navy. Therefore, when the army invaded North China, the navy also began preparations to expand the war in its own theater of operations. On August 9, Lieutenant Oyama Isao, commander of the Western Detachment of the Shanghai Special Naval Landing Force, went to reconnoiter a Chinese airfield, but he was shot and killed by members of the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps as he tried to force his way into the airbase. This event, known as the Oyama Incident, triggered intense fighting between the Japanese navy, which had been preparing for war, and the Chinese military (Battle of Shanghai).

On August 14, Japanese naval planes, which were already preparing to sortie, left their base in Taipei and bombed Hangzhou and Guangde. That same day, the Chinese Government issued a "Proclamation of Self-Defense and War of Resistance," announcing to the world that "China will not give up any of its territory. Even though it has been invaded, it will deal with this only under its inherent right of self-defense."

The following day, August 15, the Konoe Government in Japan issued a statement saying that it was "now forced to [take] resolute action to bring sense to the Nanjing Government by punishing the atrocious Chinese army." The same day, long-distance navy bombers set off from Taipei and Nagasaki to bomb the Chinese capital of Nanjing. Japan's act of unleashing sudden air raids against the Chinese capital without even declaring war was in breach of the "Convention Relative to the Opening of Hostilities" signed at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, which both China and Japan had ratified. The Japanese continued air raids on Nanjing for four months until it occupied the city in December 1937, and Japan also indiscriminately bombed over sixty other Chinese towns and cities, including Shanghai, Hankou, Hangzhou, and Guangzhou.

The bombing of cities by warplanes of the Japanese navy aroused criticism from all over the world. The Assembly of the League of Nations on September 28 unanimously passed a resolution criticizing Japan for bombing urban centers. On October 5, US President Roosevelt made a speech in which he criticized Japan, saying, "Without a declaration of war

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and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air." The Battle of Shanghai lasted three months. During this time, the Chinese mobilized 700,000 troops, while the Japanese military strength mounted to 300,000. The Japanese eventually succeeded in occupying Shanghai, but due to the dogged resistance of the Chinese forces, Japan was unable to realize its plan of a swift victory in the early stages of the war.

Soon after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, China called upon the international community to put a stop to the Japanese invasion. In September 1937, V. K. Wellington Koo, China's representative at the League of Nations, made an appeal to censure Japan's aggression. According to him, Japan's invasion of China trampled on the Nine-Power Treaty system and also had an impact on the interests of the other powers in the Far East. On October 6, two reports were approved by the Eighteenth Assembly of the League of Nations. The first one found that Japan had contravened its duties as described by the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the second urged the signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty to hold a conference to resolve the confrontation between China and Japan.

At the same time, tension was growing day by day in Europe due to the emergence and actions of Nazi Germany. Britain and France therefore maintained a passive stance toward the Japanese aggression in East Asia. On November 3, 1937, a Nine-Power conference was convened in Brussels, Belgium, but Japan refused to take part. On November 15, the conference issued a declaration indicating that Japan's actions contravened both the 1922 Nine-Power Treaty and the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, and certified that Japan's actions were "[bringing] to all the world feelings of uncertainty and apprehension." However, the conference did not clearly identify Japan as an aggressor nation, nor did it resolve to impose any sanctions on Japan.

Japan was victorious in the Battle of Shanghai, but the strong resistance of the Chinese indicated that Japan would not be able to make China surrender quickly. Japan therefore requested peace talks mediated by Nazi Germany, and in November 1937, the German ambassador in China, Oskar Trautmann, held talks with Chiang Kai-shek in Nanjing and passed on Japan's conditions for peace with China. The gist of these demands was autonomy for Inner Mongolia, the establishment of a demilitarized zone in North

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China, expansion of Shanghai's demilitarized zone, an end to China's anti-Japanese policies, and joint action against the Communists. However, after Nanjing fell, Japan proposed even harsher conditions. Among them were demands that China officially recognize the state of Manchukuo and pay Japan a war indemnity. To this, Chiang stated: "I can in no way accept conditions like these, since they would lead China into ruin." This declaration announced the failure of Trautmann's attempts to mediate peace.

Figure 41: Tanks of the Imperial Japanese Army enter Nanjing. Source: private collection.

After seizing Shanghai, the Japanese continued to push further inland. In December 1937, they surrounded and attacked Nanjing from three different directions and eventually captured the city. Over the following six weeks the Japanese army carried out slaughter, rape, looting, and arson on a massive scale. This event, which shocked the world, is referred to as the Nanjing Massacre. According to the verdict reached by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East that was held in Tokyo after the war, "approximately 20,000 cases of rape occurred within the city during the first month of the occupation"; it was established that "estimates made at a later date indicate that the total number of civilians and prisoners of war murdered in

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Nanking and its vicinity during the first six weeks of the Japanese occupations was over 200,000." The Nanjing War Crimes Tribunal set up by China also found that in addition to the mass slaughter of 190,000 people, another 150,000 bodies had been buried by charity organizations, so that the total number of victims was acknowledged to be over 300,000. Additionally, according to a survey carried out by Westerners who were in Nanjing at the time, twenty-four percent of homes in the city had been burned down and destroyed, and seventy-three percent were looted. Looking at the way in which the massacre was carried out and the number of victims, it can be said that the Nanjing Massacre was an organized act by the Japanese military.

The Formation of the Second United Front and the Prolongation of the Sino-Japanese War

In September 1937, the Guomindang's Central News Agency announced the "Declaration of the United Front with the Chinese Communist Party" and Chiang Kai-shek's "Comments on the Declaration of the United Front with the Chinese Communist Party," which served to signal the official launch of the National Salvation League.

One month earlier, the National Defense Council of China had been held in Nanjing. Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Ye Jianying, who had been invited to the conference as representatives of the CCP, proposed that China's basic strategic policy should be for a protracted struggle, that the basic principle of its military operations should be mobile warfare,[90] and that guerrilla warfare should also be widely used. Chiang Kai-shek also argued for a drawn-out struggle and war of attrition, stating that the basic policy should be "exchanging time for space (placing more value on maintaining a protracted struggle than defending territory)," and that "collecting small victories would lead to a great victory." Following this meeting, China fundamentally stuck to its policy of a drawn-out conflict as it pursued its war against Japan.

On the basis of discussions regarding collaboration between the Guo-

90 This means fighting while moving one's forces around. It is a military term opposite in meaning to position warfare.

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mindang and the Communist Party, the CCP reorganized over 40,000 troops in its Shanbei Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which it continued to lead, thus forming the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Later, the Nationalist Government's Military Committee renamed the Eighth Route Army the Eighteenth Army Group in accordance with nationally standardized battle positions. The Red Army units commanded by the CCP in central and southern China were reorganized into the newly formed Fourth Army of the NRA, composed of over 10,000 troops. The Guomindang Army was mainly in charge of operations at the battlefront with the Japanese, and the CCP principally covered operations at the areas occupied by Japan, so they split responsibilities for battle zones.

Figure 42: The Battle at the Pingxingguan Pass (September 25, 1937). Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

After the Japanese army occupied Nanjing, celebratory events were held all over Japan, with civilians holding lantern processions as they reveled in the victory. The general public was not informed of the events that took place in the Nanjing Massacre. Hardliners in the Japanese government and military had thought that China would surrender if its capital Nanjing were captured. However, when operations in Nanjing were going badly, the Nationalist Government announced that it would move the capital to Chongqing, and called on the soldiers and people of China to join together and continue their anti-Japanese resistance. Konoe Fumimaro, the prime minister of

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Japan, requested that the Nationalist Government surrender, but this came to nothing, and on January 16, 1938, he released a government statement (known as the First Konoe Declaration) announcing that "the Imperial Government will henceforth no longer deal with the Nationalist Government of China." As Japan continued to escalate the conflict, the war fell into stalemate.

The Eighth Route Army led by the CCP carried out operations in Shanxi Province. On September 25, 1937, it ambushed the transportation unit of the Japanese Fifth Division at Pingxingguan Pass and marked its first victory over a force of over 500 enemy troops. In March 1938, a detachment from the Japanese Tenth Division led by Seya Hiraku advanced on its own toward Taierzhuang at the southern tip of Shandong Province, where it was on the receiving end of a fierce counterattack by the Chinese Army. After over two weeks of bitter fighting, the Japanese casualties increased and the detachment was forced to retreat. The battle at Taierzhuang was the biggest victory the Chinese military had achieved since the start of the War of Anti-Japanese Resistance.

In April 1938, the Japanese Army decided to launch its Xuzhou campaign in order to push through and join up the northern and southern battle zones.[91] In mid-May, the Japanese forces occupied Xuzhou, but the Chinese army succeeded in breaking through the Japanese siege line, reaching the mountainous areas of Henan and Anhui, and the Japanese plan to annihilate the main strength of the Chinese army ended in failure.

Following this, the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters launched an offensive aiming at occupying Wuhan, as the Nationalist Government had temporarily transferred the functions of the capital city there in the process of moving to Chongqing, and mobilized fourteen divisions of the Central China Expeditionary Army, numbering over 300,000 soldiers in total. The number of troops on the Chinese side who engaged in the defense of Wuhan reached almost 1,000,000. The battle began in June 1938 and lasted for four and a half months until October 24, when Chiang Kai-shek gave the order to

91 Xuzhou in Jiangsu Province was in a strategic position linking North and Central China. Japan attacked from two sides, using its North China Area Army from above and the Central China Area Army from the south in an attempt to encircle and destroy the Chinese army which was gathering there.

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abandon the city. The Chinese engaged in vigorous mobile warfare during this campaign, and gradually wore down the Japanese forces. Even though the Japanese army was eventually able to capture the city, it was not able to destroy their opponent's main force. Japan's military also grossly violated international law when it made use of chemical weapons.[92] During the Battle of Wuhan, it used poisonous gases over 375 times and fired more than 40,000 poison gas shells on the city. While the Wuhan campaign was in progress, the Japanese military also attacked Guangdong, occupying the city of Guangzhou (Canton) in October.

With the victories in the battles of Wuhan and Guangdong, the Japanese military had occupied the main cities on China's southeastern seaboard, but its ability to mobilize troops was reaching its limit. By the end of the Wuhan campaign, the Japanese Army had stationed twenty-four divisions on the Chinese mainland and nine divisions in Manchuria and Korea, and only had the Imperial Guards Divisions left in Japan. However, the Chinese government moved the capital to Chongqing and continued to fight, and the CCP engaged in a guerrilla war fought behind the front lines. At this point, the Konoe-led government and military enacted the National Mobilization Law, which coordinated human and material resources and established a Japanese-style system of fascism based on a number of laws. On the basis of the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, the Japanese people were placed under strict surveillance which rendered them unable to criticize the government or prevent the expansion of the Sino-Japanese War. The war with China turned into a protracted conflict.

The Sino-Japanese War Becomes a Global Matter

China identified Japan as an aggressor nation and demanded that sanctions be put in place against it. A report by the chairman of the Council of the League of Nations dated September 30, 1938, stated that individual member states could implement sanctions against Japan. This conclusion, reached amid growing tension in Europe, was a result of Great Britain wanting to

92 The usage of poisonous gases in war was banned in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions and in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, all of which Japan had signed and ratified.

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avoid imposing sanctions on Japan while at the same time making a superficial response to China's demands. However, it was also extremely significant in the sense that it indicated the world's effective recognition of Japan as an aggressor nation.

As Japan expanded its occupation of China, the war gradually developed into a deadlock. In November 1938, the Konoe Cabinet declared that Japan's war aim was the establishment of a new order in East Asia (this was the Declaration of a New Order in East Asia, also known as the Second Konoe Declaration), which cooled Britain and America's feelings toward Japan further. In Japan itself, opinion was growing that China was not giving in because Britain, the US, and France were supporting it, so the Sino-Japanese conflict could never be resolved until these enemies backing China were defeated. Both public opinion and political circles asserted that Japan should form a military alliance with Germany and deal with Britain and America. In February 1938, Germany recognized the state of Manchukuo, and in April it ordered a ban on exports of arms and military equipment to China. In July it recalled its ambassador and the military advisors it had previously sent to China. The rift between Japan and Britain, France, and America over the Second Sino-Japanese War deepened in 1938, and the war itself became more of an international matter.

The Soviet Union wanted China to resist the Japanese because of its potential to delay or prevent Japan from advancing north. As a result, the USSR was the country that provided China with the most tangible support during this time. On August 21, 1938, the two countries signed a mutual non-aggression treaty, and in March and July the Soviet Union advanced loans to China as well as providing large quantities of military equipment. It sent volunteer squadrons of warplanes, supporting the war of anti-Japanese resistance in the air. In opposition to the declaration of a new order in East Asia, the US also decided to start supporting China by advancing loans at the end of 1938; Britain too began sending loans from March 1939 onwards. The amount of aid provided by each country up to April 1941 was $250 million from the USSR, £68.5 million ($274 million) from Great Britain, and $247 million from the US.

In June 1939, Japan blockaded France's and Britain's leased territories in Tianjin, and used this as leverage to demand that the latter close off the Burma Route, through which support was provided to China. In July, Britain

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announced a policy of not engaging in any acts that would hinder the Japanese military. On July 26, uneasy at Britain's submission to Japan over the issue of China, the US informed the Japanese of the termination of the 1911 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the two countries, thus showing its readiness to restrain Japan.

It was also at this time that military tensions flared up between Japan and the Soviet Union. The first clash, which occurred on the border between Manchukuo and the USSR, was in July 1938 at the Changkufeng Heights near Lake Khasan (known as the Battle of Lake Khasan), and another took place in the summer of 1939 at Nomonhan on the border between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia (Battle of Nomonhan). Japan committed an enormous number of troops to the two battles, but lost both badly. The Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with the Nazis on August 23, 1939, with the intent of alleviating the pressure to which it was subject as Germany tried to extend its influence deeper into Eastern Europe. Hitler then invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and the Second World War broke out. After suffering a substantive defeat at the Battle of Nomonhan, Japan opened negotiations with the Soviets to end the ongoing conflict, and an armistice was signed on September 15.

The Sino-Japanese War and Korea

In the 1930s, Japan implemented a policy of assimilation in the Korean peninsula to make all Koreans true Japanese subjects[93]. In 1937, it forced the Koreans to memorize the "Pledge of the Emperor's Subjects," making them swear loyalty and devotion to Imperial Japan, and compelled them to worship at Shinto shrines that it had built all over the colony. The use of the Korean language was forbidden in school education and in all public places, and schoolchildren had to use Japanese instead.

After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japan pressed ahead with establishing a system of national mobilization in Korea. In July 1938, the Governor-General instituted the Korean League for the Total Mobilization of the National Spirit. Pro-Japanese individuals and groups

93 Legally, Koreans had been Japanese subjects since the Annexation of Korea in 1910.

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made up the membership of this organization, which played a central role in promoting and agitating for cooperation in the war, as well as campaigning for the institution of Japanese-language study courses and national defense training and promoting the collection of recyclable items for military goods, the contribution of money and supplies for the war, and the implementation of the order requiring Koreans to adopt Japanese names (*soshi kaimei* in Japanese and *changssi gaemyeong* in Korean). In October 1940, the movement was reorganized into the Korean League for National Mobilization, and all residents were put into Patriotic Neighborhood Associations, each one made up of ten households.

After the outbreak of the war with China, Japan saw Korea as a logistical base for expanding its war of aggression. It plundered resources, levied more taxes, and coerced people to provide goods and money to support the war and comfort soldiers on the battlefield as well as paying contributions toward building up the national defenses. In the latter period of the war, the Japanese forced the Koreans to make "metal contributions" in order to provide raw materials for weapons and other war supplies.

Figure 43: The Korean Liberation Army, founded in Chongqing in 1940. Supported by the Nationalist Government of China, it entered in the anti-Japanese war of resistance in 1941. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

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Korea's national independence movement and the anti-Japanese resistance in China were closely linked, and cooperation between the two against the Japanese had already commenced after the Manchurian Incident (1931). With Kim Il-sung playing a central role, Koreans took part in the Anti-Japanese United Army in Manchuria and also organized the Korean Anti-Japanese Front, the goal of which was to liberate Korea. After full-scale war broke out between China and Japan, China and Korea collaborated even more closely. The main Korean resistance organizations that carried out anti-Japanese activities in China during this time were the Korean Nationalist Revolutionary Party, headed by Kim Yak-san (also known as Kim Won-bong), and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, which was led by Kim Gu and others. In 1938, the Korean Nationalist Revolutionary Party formed the Korean Volunteer Army, which grew to three detachments in 1940, fighting alongside the Chinese army in the war of anti-Japanese resistance. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, which had been established in Shanghai in 1919, moved several times before arriving in Chongqing in 1940, where it founded the Korean Liberation Army. Three subunits set up within this army were dispatched to fight the Japanese in the provinces of Shanxi, Suiyuan, and Shandong respectively. In November 1945, after the end of the war, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was at last able to return to its homeland.

3. The Second World War and the Asia-Pacific War

The Outbreak of the Second World War and Its Effect on the Second Sino-Japanese War

At the same time that Japan was expanding its sphere of influence in Asia, Nazi Germany was also beginning to change the international order in Europe through military force. In March 1938, Germany annexed Austria. At the Munich Conference in September 1938, Britain and France, following a policy of "appeasement," agreed to the cession of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland region to Germany; in March 1939, Germany invaded and occupied the western part of Czechoslovakia, turning it into the Protectorate

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of Bohemia and Moravia, while the eastern part was turned into the puppet state Slovakia. On September 1, 1939, Germany launched a *blitzkrieg* invasion of Poland, and two days later, on September 3, Britain and France declared war on Germany. This is considered the beginning of the Second World War. Beginning in April 1940, Nazi Germany invaded Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg in quick succession, and by June, France had fallen.

In the spring of 1940, a large-scale restructuring of Japan's political scene was underway, and the pro-German faction was gradually gaining the upper hand. Britain, which was now under the threat of a German invasion, was exposed to pressure from Japan, and closed the Burma Route for three months from July 1940. The second Konoe Cabinet, which had formed around the same time, advocated the establishment of a "New Order" in East Asia. Furthermore, in March 1940, Japan had recruited the GMD defector Wang Jingwei and made him the head of a puppet government in Nanjing, which opposed the National Government in Chongqing. It was also building up its relationship with Germany and Italy and planning to use the opportunity of the Second World War to divide up the world anew.

In September 1940, Japan invaded the northern region of French Indochina, and signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. At the end of the same month, the US issued a total ban on exports of scrap iron to Japan, and between November and December, it approved loans and military assistance to China. Britain also reopened the Burma Route in October, and in December it announced it would extend a loan to the Nationalist Government.

The state of the anti-Japanese war of resistance in China during this time was grim. In the summer of 1940, the Eighth Route Army launched the Hundred Regiments Offensive in North China, and damaged the Japanese military's transportation network in Hebei and Shanxi Provinces. The Japanese, however, then adopted a strategy that would wreak a devastating blow to the bases of anti-Japanese resistance. In order to eradicate the opposition, the Japanese military massacred large numbers of Chinese civilians, burned down villages in areas where the Eighth Army often appeared, and plundered all their resources. In China, this strategy was called the "Three Alls Strategy," meaning "Burn all, kill all, loot all." Further, to make the Nationalist Government in Chongqing surrender, the Japanese

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Figure 44: Children in bases of anti-Japanese resistance in Northern China. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

military carried out repeated indiscriminate bombings of the city between the spring of 1939 and the summer of 1941, forcing the Chinese people to make enormous sacrifices. However, this strategy was still unable to break the spirit of anti-Japanese resistance in China.

The Beginning of the Asia-Pacific War and Its Effect on the Sino-Japanese War

On July 27, 1940, the Imperial General Headquarters-Government Liaison Conference in Japan passed the "Outline of [a] Strategy to Deal with the Current State of Affairs Following Changes in the Global Situation," and proposed that "along with promoting a solution to the incident in China

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[the Sino-Japanese War], [Japan should] seize this golden opportunity[94] and resolve the problem in the South." Japan thus made the decision to "advance south," that is, into Southeast Asia. Its main strategic aims were twofold: first, to plunder the natural resources which Japan was lacking, such as rubber, tin, and rice from Southeast Asia, oil from the Dutch East Indies, and wool, wheat, coal, and iron ore from Australia; and second, to occupy areas like Burma through its operations in South Asia, completely cutting off traffic on the Burma Road (the main route linking China and Southeast Asia) and thus blocking the route for military assistance into southern China. Exploiting the new conflict, Japan tried to break the deadlock on the Chinese front.

In order to achieve these objectives, it hoped to form a four-nation alliance, bringing the Soviet Union together with Germany, Italy, and itself, and through that added pressure to stop America from intervening in the war with China. However, this plan did not come to fruition, as by the end of 1940 Germany was already preparing to attack the USSR. Nevertheless, to secure its northern flank while advancing southward, Japan had to at least temporarily avoid war with the Soviet Union. It was for this reason that the Japanese foreign minister, Matsuoka Yosuke, visited the Soviet Union and Germany in the spring of 1941 and concluded a neutrality treaty with the Soviets in April of that year.

After the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, the US shifted the main focus of its politics there. A lend-lease law for military hardware was signed with Britain in March 1941, and the US began stepping up the supply of arms to that country. As the US was now actively involved in the war in Europe, avoiding a war with Japan became a political necessity and US-Japanese negotiations began in April 1941. Concerning the Sino-Japanese conflict, America expressed four principles to Japan, namely respect for territorial sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equal opportunity, and maintenance of the status quo, all of which were based on the Nine-Power Treaty signed at the Washington Conference of 1922. However, Japan could not agree to the demand to withdraw its troops from China.

When war broke out between Germany and the USSR in June 1941,

94 Referring to the outbreak of war in Europe, as described in the last section.

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Foreign Minister Matsuoka argued for prioritization of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. Ignoring the neutrality treaty he himself had signed with the Soviets, he declared that Japan should go to war against the Soviet Union. However, an Imperial Conference held on July 2 decided that Japan would "continue to make advance[s] southwards, and resolve the northern issue according to changes in circumstances." The Conference further resolved that, in order to realize the southern advance, Japan should not give up the idea of "going to war with Great Britain and the US." Disguised as the "Kwantung Army Special Maneuvers to Prepare for War Against the Soviet Union," mass troop mobilization began in preparation to strike in the South. At the end of July, Japan invaded the southern part of French Indochina. The US response was to place a total ban on the export of oil to Japan and to freeze Japanese assets in America.

As tensions rose between Japan and the US and, likewise, between Japan and the Soviet Union, advances were made towards an alliance between the US, Britain, China, and the USSR. When the war between Germany and the Soviet Union began in June 1941, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced a policy of support for the USSR as an ally. America, too, began to offer the USSR economic assistance in early August. In China, meanwhile, various matters, including military collaboration between the Chinese, British, and Americans in Burma, were discussed at a meeting held in Chongqing at the end of July. On August 14, the leaders of America and Britain, Roosevelt and Churchill, issued a joint declaration called the Atlantic Charter, which stated that their aim was the liberation of all people under occupation by the Axis Powers and disarmament of those powers. The following month, fifteen further countries, including the Soviet Union, added their names to the Charter. The confrontation between the fascist Axis Powers and the anti-fascist Allies was becoming more clearcut.

Faced with an American oil embargo, the Japanese Imperial Navy argued for entering into war with the US sooner rather than later, but the Konoe Cabinet asserted that it could not start a war without the prospect of victory. A new cabinet led by General Tojo Hideki drew up a revised military strategy. At an Imperial Conference in November, it was decided that if negotiations with the foreign powers did not succeed by December 1, Japan would go to war with America, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. When that day did come, another Imperial Conference saw the emperor give his

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approval for the military to attack in the south, or, in other words, the territories controlled by Britain, the Netherlands, and the US in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Before dawn on December 7 (December 8 in Japan's time zone), Japan's Combined Fleet launched a surprise attack on the base of America's Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, and wrought widespread damage on the US forces. On the same day, the Japanese Southern Expeditionary Army Group landed at Kota Baru on the Malaysian peninsula, territory controlled by Britain. The Japanese emperor issued an imperial edict declaring war on Great Britain and the US. The following day, these two countries declared war on Japan. Over twenty other countries followed with declarations of war on Japan, including the Government of Free France under Charles de Gaulle, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the Netherlands, and thus the Asia-Pacific War began. On December 9, China also declared war on Japan. After the outbreak of war in the Asia-Pacific region, the Japanese military quickly invaded and occupied the American possession of the Philippines, British-controlled Burma, and the Dutch East Indies (present Indonesia).

On January 1, 1942, a "Declaration by the United Nations," signed by 26 countries led by the US, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, was formally proclaimed. As China was the nation that had resisted Japanese invasion first, it was the first signatory. The Declaration signified the formation of a united international anti-fascist front and also demonstrated that China's war of anti-Japanese resistance was now part of the global war against fascism. On January 3, the Allied nations announced the establishment of the China theater of war (which included Indochina, Thailand, and Burma), with Chiang Kai-shek as its supreme commander, and combined operations with America, Britain, and China commenced.

In order to join up with China and fight against the Japanese forces, Britain and America informed the Chinese government in October 1942 that they would renounce their privileges of extraterritoriality in China, which were based on the Unequal Treaties dating from the nineteenth century. In January 1943, a new Sino-American treaty was signed in Washington and a new Sino-British treaty in Chongqing. Both were equal treaties. After this, several European countries including the Netherlands and Belgium also declared that they would give up their privileges in China. We can see here

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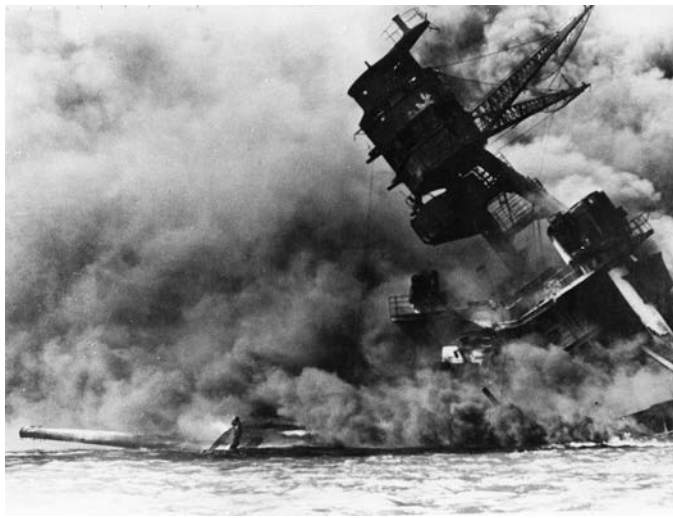

Figure 45: The surprise attack by the Japanese Navy's air force on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, the base for America's Pacific Fleet. The battleship USS Arizona is on fire. Courtesy of Mainichi Shinbun.

that China's long-term war of resistance had improved its international standing remarkably.

Following the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea also issued a declaration of war against Japan, and at the same time the Chinese Nationalist government announced its support for the Korean independence movement. Members of the Korean Volunteer Army that had been formed in 1938 moved to North China, merging with the Korean Independence League and engaging in joint operations with the Eighth Route Army. Kim Won-bong, who had been active in the Korean Volunteer Army, joined the provisional government's Liberation Army, taking a number of its members with him. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Independence League tried to establish a joint national liberation front.

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The Formation of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere

On December 10, 1941, the second day after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War, Japan's Imperial General Headquarters-Government Liaison Conference decided that it would "call the current war with America and Great Britain […] 'The Greater East Asia War,' which includes the incident in China." Japan emphasized that this "Greater East Asia War" was a "holy war" aiming at liberating Asia from colonial rule by the Western powers and building a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

In the early stages of the Asia-Pacific War, after the Japanese military had occupied the regions of Southeast Asia in rapid succession, some among the people and leaders of the national liberation movements who were dissatisfied with Western colonial rule displayed a desire to collaborate with the Japanese. However, when Japan became the new master in these regions, not only did it fail to make good on its initial promises, but in November 1942 it set up a Ministry of Greater East Asia and began to treat the occupied territories as dependent territories and colonies. In May 1943, when Japan went on the defensive in the Pacific, the Imperial Conference, in order to obtain the cooperation of the Southeast Asian countries, agreed on an "Outline of Political Strategy and Leadership in Greater East Asia" and decided to formally recognize the independence of Burma and the Philippines – at least superficially – and sign a treaty of alliance with Wang Jingwei's administration in Nanjing. At the same time, however, it incorporated Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes (now Sulawesi) into the territory of Japan. In November of the same year, Prime Minister Tojo Hideki called the leaders from Manchukuo, China (the Nanjing administration), and the governments of Burma and the Philippines to Tokyo, along with representatives of the Thai Prime Minister and leaders of the Provisional Government of Free India, to convene the Greater East Asian Conference, which ended with the proclamation of the "Greater East Asia Joint Declaration." In this, Japan officially announced to the world that the conference had led to the political unification of "Greater East Asia" through the establishment of a "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

At the same time, Britain and the US formed a global anti-fascist alliance with China and the USSR in order to oppose the Axis Powers, and also, as described above, renounced their unequal treaties with China. These events

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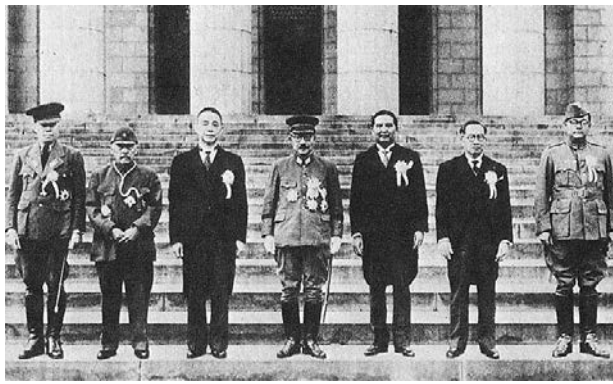

Figure 46: Delegates at the Greater East Asian Conference held in November 1943. From left to right: Prime Minister Ba Maw (Burma), Prime Minister Zhang Jinghui (Manchukuo), President Wang Jingwei (representing the Reorganized National Government of China in Nanjing), Prime Minister Tojo Hideki (Japan), Wan Waithayakon (Thailand) as representative of the Thai Prime Minister, President José Laurel (Philippines), Subhas Chandra Bose (Head of State of the Provisional Government of Free India). Courtesy of Mainichi Shinbun.

all showed that the national liberation movements in China and the Southeast Asian countries were deeply involved in the ongoing war.

Korea and Taiwan as Military Supply Bases for Japan

As the war continued to spread, Korea and Taiwan were turned into supply bases for the Japanese military, and all their material and human resources were plundered at will so that Japan could continue the war. In Korea, organizations promoting the assimilation of the population and aiming at turning Koreans into "imperial subjects" were further strengthened and more and more Koreans were mobilized for the war. Around the time the war began, Japan compelled its subjects to work in the munitions industry under the National Mobilization Law. In 1939, Japan promulgated the National Service Draft Ordinance, also enforcing it in Korea. As a result, large numbers of Koreans were forcibly recruited to work in coal and gold mines, civil engineering and construction sites, or for slave labor in munitions factories. Many of them lost their lives in the process. Large numbers of

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those who were forcibly recruited from Korea were taken to the Japanese mainland, Okinawa, or occupied Japanese territories in Manchuria and Sakhalin to work for mining and engineering companies or the military. The number of Koreans mobilized in this way reached well over 800,000.

Women were also forcibly mobilized during the war, with many of them being sent to munitions factories in Japan and Korea as forced laborers. Some Korean women were sent to the war zones as sex slaves for the Japanese military (so-called "comfort women"). As the front lines of Japan's war spread, more and more women were abducted to Southeast Asia and islands in the Pacific, and many became casualties of war. In 1944, the military draft was also introduced in Korea, and in the period up to Japan's defeat around 200,000 Koreans were drafted to the Imperial Army and Navy.

Conditions in Taiwan were almost identical to those in Korea. A policy of Japanization was promoted, which included the spread of the Japanese language and the enforcement of worship at Shinto shrines. In April 1941, the Komin Hokokai ("Association for Service of Imperial Subjects") was formed as an organization for the mobilization of the population. Many young Taiwanese were organized into the Special Taiwanese Labor Service Corps and forced to serve in the military in Malaya and the Philippines. Japan also formed the Takasago Volunteer Corps from indigenous Taiwanese and sent it to the front line in the Asia-Pacific theater of war. From 1942 to 1943, the army and navy enacted a special volunteer soldier system, and in January 1945 the military draft was introduced in Taiwan. Around 36,000 Taiwanese were mobilized for military service until the time of Japan's surrender in August 1945, thus becoming victims – and simultaneously perpetrators – in Japan's war of aggression.

4. East Asia at the End of the Asia-Pacific War

Allied Resistance and Postwar Plans for East Asia

Commencing in 1943, the tide turned in the global war against fascism and the Allies' strategic counteroffensive began. The victory of the Soviet army at the Battle of Stalingrad in February 1943 was a turning point in the war between the USSR and Germany. In May 1943, the Allies defeated the Axis

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troops in North Africa, and in September they landed in Italy, forcing its surrender.

In October 1943, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt put forward a global strategy to guarantee postwar security. Representatives from the US, Britain, China, and the USSR met in Moscow and signed the "Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security" (also called the "Moscow Declaration"). As a signatory nation, China was able to elevate its global status and secure its position as a permanent member on the United Nations Security Council, which was to be founded after the war.

After the signing of the Moscow Declaration, America, which now had the strategic initiative in the Pacific theater, planned a four-party summit at which it aimed to discuss both how to bring the war to a swift conclusion and the postwar international political order. The Soviet Union had at this point not yet declared war on Japan, which was an obstacle to its participation in a conference regarding the war strategy against Japan. The leaders of America, Britain, and China thus held a conference in Cairo in November 1943 to discuss the war against Japan. The leaders of the US, Britain, and the USSR met in Tehran for another conference to discuss the European theater and other issues.

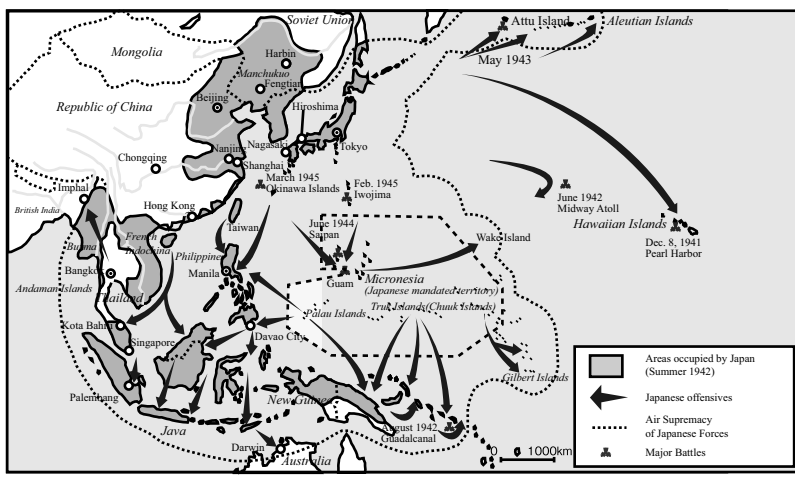

Figure 47: The Theater of the Asia-Pacific War.

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At the Cairo Conference, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek discussed military cooperation and the progress on the Japanese front in the war against fascism. The issue of what to do with Japan after the war was discussed mainly between Roosevelt and Chiang, who found common ground on the following three objectives: 1) Japan must return the Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria), Taiwan, and the Penghu Islands, which it had taken from China by military force; 2) regarding the postwar position of the Japanese Emperor, Chiang stated that the free will of the Japanese people should be respected and they should be able to choose their own government, 3) Korea was to become a free, independent country after Japan was defeated.

Later, however, Great Britain opposed the independence proposal for Korea because it was pondering on how to deal with India after the war. Britain wanted to change the proposed version to "after Japan's defeat, Korea shall be no longer under Japanese control," rather than referring to Korea's independence. China strongly objected to this, and gained the support of the US. The Cairo Declaration was officially issued on December 1, 1943, and stated that "the Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air" until Japan surrendered. After the conclusion of the war, all territories that Japan had invaded and occupied in China would be returned, and "the […] three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent." This declaration provided international backing for the Chinese people in their aim to recover their lost territories, and for the activities of the Koreans seeking independence.

In 1944, the Soviet Red Army began a counteroffensive on the Eastern front, and in June of that year a combined force led by Great Britain and America landed in Normandy in northern France. In July 1944, in the Pacific theater, American troops captured Saipan in the Mariana Islands. In Southeast Asia, the Japanese army launched the Imphal Offensive in order to attack India from Burma, but it failed, and it became evident that Japan would lose the war. In November, America began launching air raids on the Japanese mainland from the Mariana Islands. On the China front, the Chinese and Allied forces gained victories in Yunnan and Northern Burma.

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Large-scale counteroffensives against the Japanese also took place in various strongholds of anti-Japanese resistance in China.

By February 1945, Allied victory in the European theater was drawing near. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin convened a conference at Yalta in the Soviet Union and discussed the USSR's entry into the war against Japan and the postwar order. So, they could obtain a Soviet promise to join the fight against Japan within two or three months after the end of the conflict in the European theater, Britain and America used Chinese sovereignty as a bargaining chip – without first obtaining the agreement of China – and accepted Stalin's demands for rights and interests in China's northeastern region. A decision was also made to transfer Japan's Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union, sowing the seeds of a postwar dispute.

China and the Soviet Union began negotiations in June 1945 around the implementation of the Yalta Agreement. With American involvement, the two countries finally signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance on August 14. Under the terms of this treaty, China agreed to the following: 1) independence for Outer Mongolia; 2) joint Chinese and Soviet control of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchuria Railway (Mantetsu); 3) joint use by China and the USSR of Lushun Naval Port; and 4) the principle that the civilian port of Dalian would be part of the Lushun military zone in wartime, but a free port under Chinese administration in peacetime. The Soviet Union guaranteed the following: 1) the Soviet government would give complete moral and military support to the Chinese government; 2) the Soviet Union would respect the sovereignty, territory, and administrative integrity of China in the three Northwestern Provinces; and 3) the Soviet Union had no intention of interfering in the internal matters of China's Xinjiang Province. Just as China was about to defeat Japan after extended fighting, the Soviet Union and the US again forced China into unequal treaties that violated its sovereignty.

Japan's Defeat and the Establishment of a New International Order

On 8/9 May 1945, Germany surrendered to the Allies, and Japan was thus completely isolated. The American, British, and Soviet leaders held a conference in Potsdam on the outskirts of Berlin in July 1945, at which they

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announced the Potsdam Declaration. The declaration, which was drafted by America and to which China added its name after British approval, called for the unconditional surrender of Japan. On July 27, when the Japanese Supreme War Leadership Council reviewed the declaration, it planned to end the war by having the Soviets mediate in peace negotiations that would be favorable to Japan, hoping that the USSR would maintain its state of friendly neutrality. On July 28, Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki Kantaro stated at a press conference that the Potsdam Declaration was no more than a reiteration of the Cairo Declaration and that Japan would ignore it. In practice, his statement amounted to a rejection of the Potsdam Declaration.

Because the inevitability of Japan's defeat was at this time almost an established fact, the US, keen on bringing the war to a swift conclusion and establishing global hegemony in the postwar order, decided to drop the atomic bomb on Japan before the Soviet Union could enter the war. On August 6, an atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima, which led to the deaths of around 140,000 people by the end of 1945. On August 8, the Soviet Union announced it was joining the fight and entered into a state of war with Japan at midnight on August 9. A Soviet army of over 170,000 troops split into three groups attacked the Kwantung Army and the Japanese troops in Manchuria, and also struck at the northern part of the Korean peninsula, Sakhalin Island, and the Kurile Islands.

Japan held another Supreme War Leadership Council on the same day. At the meeting, Prime Minister Suzuki suggested accepting the Potsdam Declaration. The other attendees agreed in principle, with War Minister Anami Korechika and Chief of General Staff of the Imperial Army Umezu Yoshijiro putting forward four conditions: the preservation of the *kokutai* (national polity), in other words, the position of the emperor; punishment of war criminals by Japanese courts (rather than Allied courts); independent disarmament of the Japanese military; no occupation of Japan by Allied troops. As the debate in Tokyo did not reach a conclusion, America dropped a second atomic bomb, this time on Nagasaki, which resulted in the deaths of around 70,000 people by the end of 1945. Before dawn on August 10, Emperor Hirohito agreed to accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, with "the single condition of the preservation of the *kokutai*," that is, the preservation of the monarchy. That morning, the Japanese government transmitted its acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration through the gov-

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ernments of Sweden and Switzerland to China, America, Britain, and the USSR. On August 14, Japan determined that America was considering allowing it to keep the emperor after the war, and Hirohito convened an extraordinary Imperial Conference, which made the final decision to accept the Potsdam Declaration. On August 15, the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War, read out by the emperor himself, was broadcast across Japan on radio (the *Gyokuon* Broadcast). Japan's war of aggression and expansion had ended in failure.

Figure 48: The mushroom cloud from the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. Courtesy of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum.

On September 2, the signing ceremony for the Japanese Instrument of Surrender was held on the deck of the battleship USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Shigemitsu Mamoru, and the Chief of the Army General Staff, Umezu Yoshijiro, signed the surrender on behalf of the

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"Emperor of Japan and the Japanese Government" and the "Japanese Imperial General Headquarters" respectively. This brought the Second World War to an end with victory for the Allies. The signing ceremony for the Instrument of Surrender of the Japanese Army that had invaded China was held in Nanjing on September 9; here, the General Commander of the Chinese Military Area, He Yingqin, accepted the surrender from Okamura Yasuji, the commander-in-chief of the China Expeditionary Army.

The Japanese surrender brought the period in which the three Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan had tried to change the world order by military force to an end. At the same time, anti-colonial movements against Western imperialism and colonialism that had intensified after the First World War, interrupted by the Second World War, now reemerged all over the world. In order to build a new world order, people across the globe began to focus on cooperation between states. Between April and June 1945, fifty states participated in conferences whose purpose was to draw up and enact the United Nations Charter with its objective of world peace. In January 1946, the first General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) convened in London, formally establishing the UN and the related system of international cooperation.

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Different Names for the War

Different names are used to describe the war between China and Japan in the 1930s and 1940s, depending on the time and place of the observer or writer.

The most commonly used name in China literally translates to "War of Resistance against Japan." It refers to the fact that from July 7, 1937 to August 15, 1945 the Chinese people resisted the aggression of Japanese militarism. The war is also referred to as the "War of Total Resistance." Anti-Japanese resistance from the Manchurian Incident (or "September 18 Incident" in Chinese) of 1931 to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (or "July 7 Incident" in Chinese) of 1937 is referred to as the "Regional War of Resistance against Japan." Over approximately the last decade, academic societies in China have been referring to the all-out war of resistance and the regional war of resistance together as the "The War of Resistance against Japan," and the period it covers stretches from September 18, 1931, to August 15, 1945.

In wartime Japan, this armed conflict was called the "China Incident." Terms often used after the war were "Sino-Japanese War" or "15-Year Sino-Japanese War," which cover the period from the "Manchurian Incident" of September 18, 1931 to the end of the war on August 15, 1945.

The term "Pacific War" refers to the conflict after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (in American Standard Time), that is, after Japan's declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain, and the following declaration of war of Germany and Italy on the US and the Chinese declaration of war on Japan, Germany, and Italy. As a result of this conflict, the US, Great Britain, China, and their allies formed the "Alliance of United Nations." After the war, academics in China, Europe, and America regarded the "Pacific War" as part of the Second World War and also as the East Asian theater of the "global war against fascism."

The "Greater East Asia War" was the term used in Japan during the war, employed in distinction from the term "Pacific War." The declaration on "the Terminology for the War" announced by the Cabinet

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Information Board on December 12, 1941, after formal approval from the cabinet under Prime Minister Tojo Hideki, went as follows:

"The present war against America and Great Britain will be called the 'Greater East Asia War,' and this includes the China Incident. It is called the 'Greater East Asia War' because it means that it is a war to create a new order in East Asia, and it does not mean that the area of conflict will be limited to Greater East Asia."

In Japan after the war, the "Great East Asia War" came to be also called the "Pacific War," but in recent years, the term "Asia-Pacific War" has gained prominence.

The Inevitability of the Second Sino-Japanese War

There are still various interpretations within Chinese and Japanese academia regarding the historical causes of the war between China and Japan.

In Chinese academia, it is widely acknowledged that Japan's continental policy, which was gradually laid out after the emperor was restored to the throne in 1868, became the foundation for the continuous escalation of modern Japan's war of aggression in East Asia. In particular, after the formation of Tanaka Giichi's cabinet in 1927, Japan sent troops to Shandong Province twice, obstructing Chinese efforts at national unification in the Northern Expedition. Later, Japan engineered the Manchurian Incident and occupied Manchuria; it then continued to implement its North China Buffer State Strategy and it tried to occupy all of China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 1937. There was both inevitability and planning in evidence in Japan's war of aggression in China.

However, Japanese historians emphasize the contingency of the incidents mentioned above and do not accept that the Japanese government had a clear plan. Further, there is a widely-held view that the escalation of events was brought about by the arbitrary actions of the military, particularly the local garrisons (stationed in China), and all-out war with China occurred because the Japanese government was forced to accept the aggressive expansion policies of the military.

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Jeong Yul-seong

Jeong Yul-seong's real name was Jeong Bu-eun, but because of his love of music he changed his given name to Yul-seong, meaning "melodious." He was born in 1914 in Yanglin Village, Gwanju, in Korea's South Jeolla Province. His father, Jeong Hae-eop, was a patriot who came from a *yangban* family. Dissatisfied with Japan's colonial rule over his home country, he gave up his official position in the government and returned to his village to take up farming. Jeong Yul-seong's eldest and second-eldest brothers later took part in the March First Movement, but they were detained by the Japanese authorities and subsequently fled to China, where they became involved with the Chinese Communist Party. In his youth, Jeong saw the Japanese colonial rulers browbeating his Korean comrades, and, influenced by his father, he also harbored bitterness towards Japanese imperialism from a young age and was determined to help liberate his homeland. When he was 15 and studying at Jeonju Shinheung Middle School, he joined a student movement that had started in Gwangju. It was put down by the Japanese colonizers, and although Jeong was not arrested due to his youth, his experiences at this time nevertheless made him want to go to China and join the anti-Japanese movement there. In 1933, encouraged by his third-eldest brother, he left Korea for China and studied at the Joseon Revolutionary and Political Leaders' School which had been founded in Nanjing by Kim Won-bong[95] to train future military and political leaders for the Korean revolutionary cause.

After graduating in 1934, Jeong was sent to the Nanjing Telephone Exchange and tasked with monitoring the telephones of Japanese residents. After a short time there, Kim Won-bong encouraged him to learn music in Shanghai, so he began traveling between Shanghai and Nanjing to study while also serving secretly in the anti-Japanese movement.

95 Kim Won-bong (also called Kim Yak-san) was a Korean independence activist who participated in the armed struggle against Japan. He fought in the anti-Japanese war in Central China and recruited and trained fellow revolutionaries.

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In July 1937, all-out war between Japan and China began. In September, as the war reached Shanghai, Jeong joined a battlefield service unit, where he composed anti-Japanese songs and visited troops who were fighting the invaders to boost their spirits. At the same time, he contacted the Chinese Communist Party and their Shanghai organization. At the invitation of the Eighth Route Army's office in Shanghai, he went to Yan'an in October and entered the Shaanbei Public Academy. After graduating, he went on to enroll at the Lu Xun Academy of Art and Literature and the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University, where he spent his time both working and studying. In January 1939, he joined the Chinese Communist Party.

In Yan'an, Zheng composed many songs, including *Ode to Yan'an*, *The Song of the Yanshui River, The Great Defence of Wuhan*, *Song of Production*, *A Message for My Father, March of the October Revolution*, and the *Chorus of the Eighth Route Army.* These songs were very popular with the soldiers in the Eighth Route Army, and they spread throughout Yan'an. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the *March of the Eighth Route Army*, which is part of the *Chorus of the Eighth Route Army*, became the military anthem of the People's Liberation Army. During the Second World War, *Ode to Yan'an* was introduced to American listeners along with the anthem *March of the Volunteers.* In 1941 in Yan'an, Jeong married a Chinese woman named Ding Xuesong, who after the establishment of the People's Republic became its first overseas female ambassador, and in 1942 he went to Shanxi to become the educational director of the Korean Revolutionary Military and Political School.

After the conclusion of the War of Japanese Resistance, Jeong followed the alliance for Korean independence and volunteer armies and returned to Korea in December with his wife. On his way home, he poured his passion into composing the *3.1 March* and *Korean Liberation March.*

Upon returning to his native land, Jeong went from being a member of the Chinese Communist Party to membership of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), and he became the WPK's head of propaganda for Kangwon Province and the director of the Korean Security Forces

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Club. He composed *March of the Korean People's Army*, which became the military anthem of the Korean People's Army. This made him the only musician in the world to have composed the anthems for the armies of two different countries. However, he was reported for being unsuitable to work with the People's Army because his wife and children were Chinese, so he was redeployed and appointed Director of the Department of Composing at the Korean National Music University. In 1950, Zhou Enlai wrote a letter to Kim Il-sung demanding that he returns Jeong to China. With Kim's agreement, Jeong took his family back to China, took Chinese nationality, and lived in Beijing. He worked in various places including the Beijing People's Art Theater, the Society of Chinese Musicians, and the Central Philharmonic Orchestra, and wrote many outstanding pieces of music. He died on December 7, 1976, leaving behind over 300 well-known songs.

Different Perspectives on the Use of the Atomic Bombs

The first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, but until the beginning of the 1950s, it was difficult for many Japanese to learn of the terrible extent of the damage wrought by the bomb because the GHQ and the Japanese government censored the media. However, some survivors' accounts were published, such as *Natsu no Hana* ("Summer Flowers") in 1947, and *Genbaku no Ko* ("Children of the Atom Bomb") in 1951, and people began to slowly learn about the reality of the damage.

Amid fears that war might break out once more as the Cold War intensified on a global scale, the Japanese began to appeal for the abolition of nuclear weapons and call for world peace, adopting the cry of "No more Hiroshimas." As people who had directly suffered the devastation caused by the use of atomic bombs, many Japanese were completely opposed to war itself, and they became more disposed to value peace. However, this pacifist attitude that all wars are bad had not necessarily entailed any profound reflection regarding the invasions and war that Japan itself had caused. Furthermore, there was no examination in Japan of the accountability of the US as the country

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that had dropped the atomic bombs. Without questioning who was responsible for perpetrating the war, the Japanese people were reborn as citizens of a "peaceful nation" from a shared consciousness of victimhood.

In contrast to this, there is a strong tendency among the people of the US as the country that dropped the atomic bombs, and those of China and South Korea, which were both invaded by Japan, to see the use of the bomb as an inevitable means to quickly end the war – albeit not necessarily the best plan. A South Korean history textbook describes the use of atomic weapons as follows:

"In order to end the war quickly, America dropped nuclear bombs on both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and then on August 15, 1945, the Japanese Empire declared its surrender. With this, the Second World War, which had taken the lives of tens of millions of people, came to an end. Our country was liberated from the harsh colonial rule of the Japanese empire and saw independence." (from *Modern South Korean History*, Daehan Textbooks, 2002, p. 246)

In order for Hiroshima to become a symbolic space with which the people of East Asia and indeed the whole world can sympathize, there needs to be greater reflection by the Japanese themselves on Japan's responsibility for the war, and the rest of the world needs to face the horror of the suffering caused by the atomic bombs and hold the value of peace in better regard.

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Timeline

1928 Signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war.
1929 Start of the Great Depression.
1930 Signing of the London Naval Treaty.
1931 Liutiaohu Incident (beginning of the Mukden Incident).
1932 First Shanghai Incident. Kwantung Army establishes the state of Manchukuo.
1933 Japan leaves the League of Nations.
1935 Japan's North China Buffer State Strategy launched. Chinese Communist Party's August First Declaration (China).
1936 Japan and Germany sign the Anti-Comintern Pact. Xi'an Incident (China).
1937 Marco Polo Bridge Incident (outbreak of all-out war between China and Japan). China and the USSR sign a non-aggression treaty. Second United Front (China). Korean Governor-General enacts the "Pledge of the Emperor's Subjects." Nanjing Massacre (China).
1938 Promulgation of National Mobilization Law (Japan). In Korea, policy is enacted to make all Koreans subjects of the Japanese emperor; foundation of the Korean League of the National Spiritualization Movement.
1939 Battle of Nomonhan (Japan). Germany and USSR sign Pact of Non-Aggression. Outbreak of the Second World War. Japan begins recruitment of forced labor of Koreans under the National Service Draft Ordinance.
1940 Wing Jingwei's government established in Nanjing. Japan invades northern region of French Indochina. Formation of the Korean Liberation Army of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea.
1941 Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact signed. Japan invades southern French Indochina. War breaks out between Germany and the Soviet Union. Japanese invades Malay peninsula and attacks Pearl Harbor in Hawaii (start of the Asia-Pacific War).
1942 Allies make "Declaration by the United Nations" in Washington. Formation of the Korean Independence League in Northern China.
1943 Leaders of US, Great Britain and China meet at Cairo Conference. Japan revises its Military Draft Act to enable the draft system to be implemented in Korea.
1945 Leaders of US, USSR, and Great Britain meet at Yalta Conference. Germany surrenders. Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. USSR enters war against Japan. Japan surrenders. Birth of the United Nations.

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Chapter 6:
The Formation of the Cold War System and its Influence on East Asia

After the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union were the leaders of the new world order. At first, they showed signs of mutual cooperation, but they soon progressed down a path of mutual hostility. The two "superpowers" with their differing ideologies – capitalism and communism – pulled the world into two camps, maintaining their spheres of hegemony as they threatened each other implicitly or, on occasion, explicitly with nuclear weapons and made use of international tensions for their interests. This "adversarial coexistence" was the basis of what is known as the "Cold War" system of international relations – a state marked by mutual hostility, but "cold" as it never tipped over into overt violent conflict between the two superpower states.

East Asia was strongly affected by the Cold War. After Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, a vigorous movement emerged across the region to wash away the scars of the war and build new nations and societies. Because the attempts of the US and the USSR to expand their influence also extended to East Asia, antagonism amplified as the two powers intertwined their interests with the region's revolutionary and anti-revolutionary movements. Amid the storm of conflict between the democratic-capitalist camp and the communist camp, war finally broke out on the Korean peninsula. This further aggravated hostility between the two sides, but at the same time, the demands of East Asian peoples for peace and autonomy also gained traction.

This chapter looks at how East Asia's Cold War structure was formed under the influence of the US and USSR. It also details how each of the three

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East Asian countries that are the focus of this book came to create a new society.

1. US and USSR Postwar Policies in East Asia and Changes in Japan

How Did the Cold War Differ in East Asia and Europe?

In February 1945, when the Second World War was entering its final stages, the leaders of the US, Britain, and the Soviet Union gathered at Yalta and drew up plans for the postwar world order. From this meeting emerged the "Yalta System," an idea of global peace and a stable world order founded on the strength and mutual cooperation of the Allies. However, in the process of reorganizing the international order, the two superpowers began to clash severely as a result of ideological differences. The emerging tensions picked up momentum after 1947, spread all over the world, and eventually led to the conflict called the "Cold War." This state of hostility was to last until 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed.

The Cold War unfolded most acutely in Europe, which soon found itself split into two camps, the capitalist nations of Western Europe and the socialist nations of Eastern Europe. These divisions notwithstanding, the Cold War system also brought about a power equilibrium and the region remained relatively stable under the leadership of the US and the USSR. The US established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and supervised the military forces of Western European countries. In response, the USSR led the countries of Eastern Europe into the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact), which was set up in 1955. With the start of a nuclear arms race, the escalating confrontation between the two sides had the potential to bring about the destruction of mankind if things went wrong. Having already experienced two world wars, the European people hoped that there would be no more conflict and worked toward peaceful integration of states in Europe.

By comparison, the Cold War in East Asia was in a far more unstable state, at times developing into an actual "hot war." East Asia did not have a

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strong system of collective security based on a balance of power between the US and the USSR. In the formative stages of the Cold War, the only states in Northeast Asia with which the Soviet Union could form an alliance were the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea), China and Mongolia, so circumstances did not allow a system of collective security among multiple countries to develop in East Asia. In 1949, the Soviet Union signed an agreement with North Korea covering cultural and economic cooperation, and in February 1950, before the Korean War, China and the USSR signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Conversely, after the outbreak of the Korean War, America hurried to form alliances in Northeast Asia with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan under the banner of fighting communism. However, these alliances did not take the form of a collective security system, but rather were bilateral security treaties between two individual states. In 1951, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States and Japan was concluded, and in 1953, after the end of the Korean War, the Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea was signed. The year 1954 saw the conclusion of the Mutual Defense Treaty Between the US and Republic of China (Taiwan). There was a strong sense of disapproval in South Korea and Taiwan toward the idea of forming a collective security system with Japan, as it had ruled them both as colonies, so the development of such a system in the Northeast Asian region was fraught with difficulties from the very beginning.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in 1954, followed by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967, but neither of these was able to develop into a strong collective security system like those in Europe. The US and Britain took the initiative in setting up SEATO in order to prevent the expansion of communism, but Indonesia and other states adopted a position of non-alignment and did not participate. ASEAN was a loose federation that began with its focus more on economic cooperation than on security, and only after the end of the Cold War did it begin to show signs of developing into a regional community.

In the absence of a system of collective security, "hot," albeit local wars, such as the Korean War and the Vietnam War, did occur in East Asia during the the "Cold War" Era. During the Korean War, the US considered the use of nuclear weapons and there was a danger that the conflict might escalate

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into a world war. In other words, in contrast to Europe, where the Cold War was managed under US and Soviet hegemony with a certain degree of stability, in East Asia the influence of these powers was limited and thus the situation during the Cold War was highly volatile. Understanding the origins and nature of this difference between East Asia and Europe is the key to understanding the essence of postwar international relations in East Asia – and to finding a way to peace and stability in the region today.

The instability of the Cold War system in Asia can be further explained by the emergence of nationalist and social movements aiming at the independence of nations from imperialist control, with the establishment of independent states and the attainment of socioeconomic changes within these new states, such as land reforms. The nationalist movements evolved rapidly while also integrating socialist ideas into their ideologies. Alongside these, strong anti-revolutionary currents also emerged. These internal circumstances in East Asia were further exacerbated, rather than being resolved, by the intervention of the US and the USSR. Without waiting for the people in East Asian countries to deal with their problems on their own, the US and the USSR intervened in internal disputes in a way that was advantageous to their own national interests and the ideologies they represented. In this way, the two superpowers deepened rather than relieved the hostilities and divisions in East Asia, supporting the forces that backed their particular interests.

These tendencies gave rise to the emergence of two separate governments on the Korean peninsula, leading to the division of Korea. Further, although a people's government was formed in mainland China in 1949 (People's Republic of China, PRC), unification with Taiwan was not accomplished. After a French attempt to return to Vietnam as colonial master failed, the US intervened and Vietnam was divided into two countries as well. Eventually, wars broke out in the divided states of Korea and Vietnam. In Europe, Germany was likewise divided in consequence of its defeat in war and subsequent occupation. In East Asia, by contrast, defeated Japan managed to avoid a split, while Korea and Vietnam experienced the tragedy of being divided and related episodes of war.

The problems did not stop there. In Europe, the US and USSR jointly carried out the military occupation and disarming of Nazi Germany, the country that had started the Second World War. Together, they promoted a

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process of coming to terms with the past in Germany, on the basis of which democratization processes commenced in postwar Europe. In contrast, in postwar East Asia, the US occupied Japan and rebuilt the country as a base in the fight against communism. Under the protection of the US, Japan once again emerged on the world stage, without having to deeply reflect on its past as a nation that had previously invaded its neighbors. This acted as a hindrance to the development of relationships of trust within East Asia.

American and Soviet Plans for Postwar East Asia

The US's initial conception for the three East Asian states after the war were, for China, unification by the Nationalist government of the Guomindang; for Japan, demilitarization and democratization; and for Korea, independence after a period of trusteeship. The US had high hopes for the role of the Nationalist Government in China in realizing this design. It expected that the Guomindang would unite and rule China after the end of the war, and that it would also be involved in the trusteeship of Korea. It also hoped that China would be able to play a certain role in the occupation of Japan. In fact, China did participate as one of the Allied nations in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal. There was also a plan for the Nationalist government to send an occupation force of 15,000 troops to Japan, but this plan did not come to fruition as civil war broke out in China directly after the end of the war between China and Japan. Just as the US saw Great Britain and France as its main partners in Europe, it tried to make the Nationalist Government of China its principal partner in East Asia.

In America's early postwar design for East Asia, its consideration for the Soviet Union was limited. At the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt proposed that in return for the USSR entering the war against Japan, the former Russian privileges in Manchuria would be returned, South Sakhalin and neighboring islands would be transferred to the USSR from Japan, and the USSR would take over the Kuril Islands. However, that was as far as the offer went; the US had no intention of letting the Soviets take a role in the occupation of Japan or in Korea's trusteeship. The Soviet role in postwar East Asia was to be no more than ancillary. Moreover, US President Truman, who took over after the death of Roosevelt in April 1945, tended to be extremely negative re-

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garding cooperation with the USSR. When America succeeded in developing the atomic bomb in July of that year, the US government tried to pare down the Soviets' military role in East Asia so that it would have sole control there.

When Japan surrendered soon after the dropping of two atomic bombs, America rejected the Soviet request to occupy northern Hokkaido, and carried through its plan of occupying Japan alone. With regard to China, it pursued unification of the country under the Nationalist government; in order to bring this about, it encouraged the Soviet Union to form an alliance with the Nationalists. In Korea, the US proposed to split the peninsula into two occupation areas divided by the thirty-eighth parallel in order to prevent the Soviet military from seizing control of the whole peninsula, and it managed to obtain the USSR's agreement on this.

America thus followed an aggressive military and diplomatic policy in East Asia. In contrast, the Soviet Union went on the defensive. Whereas the US was able to station troops in Japan and on the Korean peninsula, the Soviet Union could only send troops to the northeastern region of China, where Japan's Kwantung Army had been garrisoned, and to the north of the Korean peninsula. Moreover, it was not long before it had to transfer control of China's northeast to the Chinese government. On the back foot in East Asia, the Soviet Union worked toward securing influence in the region while recognizing and cooperating with America's leadership. The core aim of the Soviets' postwar plans for East Asia was to guarantee its own security. To achieve this, it promoted policies that supported the establishment of friendly powers in the surrounding regions.

However, it cannot be said that the Soviet Union had only minor influence in East Asia. Even if its military and economic power was inferior to that of the US, the power of the socialist thought it promoted exerted considerable influence in the region. The Soviets hoped that the East Asian people, who were passionate about reform and independence, would become friendly toward the USSR as it advocated socialism. America intended to stop this development at all costs. This was the context in which the two superpowers' mutual hostility developed in East Asia in spite of the imbalance between them in terms of their strength.

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America's Occupation of Japan and Postwar Reforms

The US established the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) in Japan and implemented an occupation administration. GHQ was manned by several thousand military personnel and civilian bureaucrats and was divided up into departments including the Government Section (GS), the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), and the Economic and Scientific Section (EIS). The highest authority for policy during the occupation was the Far Eastern Commission, which comprised representatives from the 11 Allied countries that had fought in the Pacific War. The Allied Council for Japan was made up of representatives from the US, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China and oversaw the execution of policy. In practice, however, it was General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who held all the power.

Figure 49: Mamoru Shigemitsu, the Japanese foreign minister, signing the surrender instrument aboard the American battleship USS Missouri, Tokyo Bay, on September 2, 1945. Source: World War II Database/United States National Archives.

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As America did not have the reserves to throw huge amounts of resources and troops behind its occupation of Japan, it adopted a method of indirect rule, preserving the basic framework of government and bureaucracy. In September 1945, General MacArthur held his first meeting with Emperor Hirohito. This meeting was a mutual reconfirmation of the emperor's full cooperation with the occupation's authority and of the utilization of the emperor's power by MacArthur. On January 1, 1946, the emperor publicly declared that he was human and not a divine being (the so-called "Humanity Declaration"), but he remained the "symbol" of the Japanese nation – a status confirmed in the new Constitution promulgated in late 1946 – and was granted immunity at the war crimes trial. This arrangement allowed MacArthur to continuously use the emperor in the business of postwar administration of Japan.

What was America's and MacArthur's vision for postwar Japan? The basic political aims in the early days of the occupation were to prevent the reemergence of Japanese militarism and to establish democratic government. GHQ ordered the dismantling of the army and navy and prohibited production of military goods. It also quickly ordered the arrest of those suspected of war crimes and demanded the disbanding of militarist organizations. Further, it issued the "Directive on the Right of Civil Liberties," announced the "Five Great Reforms" (emancipation of women, promotion of the formation of labor unions, educational freedom, abolition of the system of secret trials, and the democratization or decentralization of the economy), requested a liberalization of the constitution, and ordered the abolition of "State Shinto," the separation of Shinto from the state, and the removal of militarists from all public positions ("purge"). The expulsion of militarists was targeted at the "Thought Police," educators, military personnel, and politicians; during the occupation period, a total of over 210,000 people were purged from their positions, including over 163,600 servicemen and 34,900 politicians.

A new constitution was promulgated in November 1946 and came into effect in May of the following year. It had three basic principles: popular sovereignty, pacifism and the renunciation of war, and respect for fundamental human rights. Article 9, which provided for the renunciation of war, proclaimed a pacifist ideal in a quite unprecedented way. The constitution defined the emperor as the symbolic center of the Japanese state. Fur-

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thermore, it guaranteed the right of women to participate in politics, and with the paternalistic family structure also rejected in civil law, the rights of women were therefore improved. Educational reforms were implemented, the *zaibatsu* conglomerates were dissolved, and the workers were encouraged to form labor unions.

Japanese conservatives at first showed a negative reaction to the radical reforms, and demonstrated their opposition and anger. However, after they realized that the revised constitution would not entirely change the national polity – for example, it allowed the emperor to remain, albeit as a symbol – and could in fact become a means to protect the state from socialists, who were hostile to the conservatives, the conservatives began to cooperate with the US military. Progressive elements, meanwhile, welcomed GHQ's reform policies in their early stages. The Japanese Communist Party adopted a policy of cooperating with America in order to end militarism and the imperial system. However, as GHQ's reform policies became gradually more conservative, the divide between the progressives and the US military widened.

Japan emerged as a democratic state through its new constitution, but not all its residents were endowed with the rights and obligations of citizens of a democracy. In an early draft of the constitution made by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, there was a clause that said, "Aliens shall be entitled to the equal protection of the law." However, the Japanese government deleted this and inserted a nationality clause based on Article 18 of the old Imperial Constitution into Article 10 of the new constitution; it thus stated: "The conditions necessary for being a Japanese national shall be determined by law." Then, on the day before the constitution came into force, the Japanese government proclaimed the "Alien Registration Order," which was the final "Potsdam order" (an order based on the command of GHQ). As a result of this ordinance, people from the former Japanese colonies, such as Koreans and Taiwanese, came to be regarded as foreigners. This meant that the guarantees of fundamental human rights as provided for in the new constitution would not be applied to groups such as Koreans residing in Japan, who were now "aliens." In the first "alien registration" exercise, which was conducted in 1947, the nationality of Koreans living in Japan had to be shown as "Korean." Koreans in Japan, who had been subsumed and forced to assimilate as "imperial subjects" under the Japanese

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Empire, were now suddenly targeted for exclusion and discrimination under the new constitution.

America's Changing Policies in Japan during the Cold War

There is no doubt that GHQ dismantled Japanese militarism, created a constitution with an emphasis on peace, and implemented many democratic reforms. Nevertheless, not all its occupation policies were positively received. There were also strongly negative views, particularly when less favorable aspects of occupation policies began to emerge as they shifted focus from democratization to anti-communism. With the Cold War escalating worldwide and the potential for a communist revolution in China, America changed direction toward building up Japan as a strong anti-communist state. This policy switch, which started to become evident in 1948, is known as the "Reverse Course."

The conservative faction in Japan, led by Yoshida Shigeru, used this shift to secure political control. Yoshida believed that the era of militarism was an aberration of Japan's otherwise "normal" trajectory and thought that Japan should now return to its original path, which he identified in the Japan of the Meiji period that was allied to Great Britain, only with strong cooperation with the US now taking the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. He closely cooperated with MacArthur to create the framework for postwar Japan.

It was in these circumstances that the conservatives gained the upper hand in their standoff with reformist parties. Demilitarization and democratization policies, including those regarding the breakup of the *zaibatsu* conglomerates, the removal of economic concentration, the collection of reparations, and the approval of the Labor Standards Act, were halted or twisted. Instead, policies were adopted aiming at fast economic recovery, the suspension of reparations payments, the reinforcement of police powers, and a rejection of the rights to collective bargaining and strikes for national and local civil servants. The removal of people from public office over their wartime responsibility also slowed down. As former militarists and collaborators made comebacks, prewar interpersonal relationships in political, bureaucratic, and economic circles were reestablished. Further, the issue of reparations between the US and Japan was settled and a system for

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Japanese political cooperation with America was firmly established. When anti-communist policies were expanded, labor unions and socialist movements came under increasing pressure.

In order to make Japan into an anti-communist stronghold, the US also prepared various military policies. The course it took was to first let Japan rearm, then to freely use Japanese territory for US military bases, and finally to separate Okinawa from the rest of Japan and govern it as a base for its military strategy in East Asia. This policy, worked out between 1948 and 1949, began to materialize after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950.

As the US's occupation policy underwent fundamental change, only the reform of agricultural land was promoted with relative consistency. The intent of the reform was to dismantle the landlord class in small agricultural communities, because they had been a key support base for militarism, and also because America had decided that unless it made Japan transition in a stable manner from tenant farming to independent farming, communism would take root. By 1950, the agrarian reforms were almost complete and tenant-held farmland had shrunk to ten percent of the country's total farmed land area. After these reforms, agricultural cooperatives were promoted to revitalize agrarian communities.

This was how Japan was reshaped into an anti-communist base under the American occupation without properly taking responsibility for its actions in the war. As a result, the path to regional reconciliation and settlement for aggression and war within East Asia was blocked off. Japan embarked upon a route of postwar reconstruction that ignored Asia, looking only to America. This prevented the development of East Asian integration.

2. The Chinese Revolution and the Escalation of the Cold War

Victory in the War and the Road to Civil War in China

After victoriously concluding its long war of anti-Japanese resistance, China began preparing for a new future. However, civil war between the Nationalist Party (Guomindang, or GMD) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had already broken out. What were the reasons for the civil war, and how did the Chinese people overcome it to found a new state?

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After the common enemy of Japanese militarism had disappeared from China, the civil war between the CCP, which sought a revolution, and the GMD, which wished to suppress it, intensified. Intellectuals and moderates from all over China, seeking to end this crisis, issued appeals for peace talks. In late August 1945, Chiang Kai-shek invited Mao Zedong to Chongqing for peace negotiations. At the end of the talks, which lasted until October, both leaders declared that they had agreed on the necessity of bringing about a political democracy, merging their military forces, and giving all political parties the same legal status. However, a rift soon appeared in their accord. The CCP asserted that it would maintain the legal status obtained previously for its liberated areas,[96] but the Guomindang rejected this and launched an offensive, and the military conflict escalated once again.

In January 1946, the first Political Consultative Conference was held through the mediation of General George Marshall of the US, attended by the GMD, CCP, and prodemocracy parties. The conference did produce some results, such as a decision to convene a National Assembly in order to draw up a constitution, but it ultimately ended in failure because the Guomindang rejected the decisions reached at the conference. Keeping the threat of civil war at bay was difficult due to Chiang Kai-shek's intransigence and his strong anti-communism.

Eventually, armed clashes between the GMD and CCP spread. A Guomindang victory was predicted in the early stages of the civil war, because the GMD armed forces were far better equipped. However, the situation in fact developed in a different direction. What was the reason for this reversal? In spite of the fact that the Nationalist Government demonstrated its superiority both in China and to the outside world, internally it was suffering from considerable problems. It was losing support among the general population due to widespread bureaucratic corruption, serious inflation, poverty, alienation of the educated elite, and the remnants of warlordism. On top of this, its grasp on the Chinese coastal region was slipping away as a result of the capital having been moved in the face of the Japanese invasion to Chongqing in the west. By comparison, the CCP had made the peasants

96 When the GMD and the CCP founded the United Front in the Second Sino-Japanese War, the GMD Government legally sanctioned the organization of local governments in areas controlled by the CCP.

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and workers its main base of support, was widely active behind the battle lines, had implemented a united people's front policy, and was working hard to gain the support of other social classes as well. The Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army, which the CCP commanded, had played important parts in the war of resistance against the Japanese army and had forged deep bonds with the civilian anti-Japanese resistance movement. Moreover, in the Northeast, the CCP was rapidly expanding its strength with Soviet support. The Soviet military withdrew in 1946, but by then the influence of the CCP had already taken root in the region, and the Soviet army had passed large numbers of captured Japanese weapons on to it.

In the early stages of the Cold War, the Guomindang had an overwhelming advantage in terms of military equipment and weapons, and, starting with the occupation of Yan'an, it brought most of the major cities in North and Northeast China under its control. Nevertheless, as the civil war continued, the economies of the areas under Guomindang control deteriorated. With military expenditure increasing, the nation's coffers went bankrupt and inflation grew. Students and intellectuals led a battle against the civil war, autocracy, and starvation, and Chinese capitalists also turned their backs on the Guomindang. America, too, began to consider the Nationalist government corrupt and useless and incapable of solving China's problems. It was thus hesitant to intervene too deeply in Chinese affairs.

The Soviet Union's Double Standard and America's Dilemma

What sort of policies did the US and the USSR pursue as the civil war in China spread and dominance shifted from the Nationalist Government to the Communist Party? What sort of position did they take? It is generally assumed that the US supported the Guomindang and the USSR supported the Chinese Communist Party. However, the actual historical developments were more complex than this.

On August 14, 1945, the USSR signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with the Nationalist Government of the GMD and obtained a guarantee relating to former Russian interests in Manchuria (northeastern China) from Chiang Kai-shek. While recognizing and cooperating with the Nationalist Government as the legal government of China, the Soviet Union

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also provided support to the CCP, particularly in Manchuria. After the Soviet army stationed in Northwestern China accepted Japan's surrender there and made Puyi abdicate as emperor of "Manchukuo," it passed on a huge amount of weapons and equipment that it had confiscated from the Japanese military to the CCP. It thus clearly operated according to a "double standard" in its policy vis-à-vis China.

However, while the Soviet Union's recognition of the Nationalist Government was somewhat reluctant, America's support was far more resolute. Having conceived the Yalta system, US President Roosevelt hoped that after Japan's defeat China would take the lead in East Asia. Of course, this meant a China ruled by the Guomindang.

After the war, the Chinese Communist Party became a cause of concern for America. When the CCP became more powerful and began to threaten the Nationalist Government, the US provided the GMD with financial and military support. However, there was a limit to the effectiveness of American aid, and it was also difficult for the US to carry out a direct military intervention. As it had to support its enormous military force, which was spread all over the world, including Europe, Japan, and the southern portion of the Korean peninsula, military intervention in mainland China was no simple matter. The US adopted a policy of allowing the Nationalist Government to amass power while also pressuring it to hold peace talks with the CCP. Eventually, US support did not have any effect due to the corruption widespread in the Nationalist Government and its incompetence. Further, Chiang Kai-shek's actions in steamrolling ahead with his policy of armed suppression of the CCP revealed the limits of America's diplomacy, which became caught up in Chiang's policy.

Unification of Mainland China under the Chinese Communist Party

After July 1947, the Chinese Communist Party launched a general counteroffensive in the Chinese Civil War. By 1949, it controlled most of China. On October 1, 1949, it proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC), with Mao Zedong as Chairman and Zhou Enlai as Prime Minister, and Beijing was made the capital. Mao declared: "The workers and peasants are at the heart of the People's Republic of China, and all classes

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and nationalities will join together to build a new society that puts an end to imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism." Indeed, not only peasants and workers but people from many different social ranks, including intellectuals and Chinese capitalists, became part of the PRC, and it also had a diverse ethnic makeup. At the center of power was the CCP. Party members went on to penetrate every government body, mass organization, military unit, and school.

The Chinese government prescribed equal rights for men and women by law, and enacted a marriage law to prohibit the practice of forced marriages. Women's participation in politics was also legalized. The priority issue for the new China was to revitalize the economy, which had been ruined by the civil war. The CCP adopted a policy of allowing private enterprises while making the state-run economy the main base; in other words, it took the path of a New Democracy Revolution in the economy as well as in political matters. In June 1950, the government promulgated a land reform law, which was completed by the end of 1952.

In December 1949, Mao Zedong visited Moscow with a delegation. In February of the following year, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed. With Soviet support, China set about building up the new country's economy, and it followed a pro-Soviet foreign policy up until the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1953.

The civil war in mainland China also affected Taiwan, which had been under Japanese colonial control for fifty years since the end of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. After China regained sovereignty over Taiwan, the island's politics and society became extremely unstable due to factors that included a sharp rise in prices, a contraction in agricultural and industrial production, a sudden increase in the number of unemployed people, and food shortages. Due to the misgovernment of the governor Chen Yi, who had been sent to the island by the Nationalist Government, dissatisfaction and resentment among the residents of Taiwan reached a tipping point. A mass uprising in Taipei in 1947 was an expression of the islanders' discontent with corruption and autocracy and of their demands to "get rid of greedy, corrupt officials and carry out political reform" in the province. However, the Nationalist Government sent troops to Taiwan and suppressed the uprising through force in what is known as the February 26 Incident. In December 1949, after losing the civil war to the Communists,

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the Nationalist Government took its remaining forces and moved to Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek, who had resigned the position of President of China in January of that year, regained the post of "President" in March 1950, and continued autocratic rule by the Guomindang (though limited to Taiwan).

The Chinese Revolution, which came to an end with the victory of the CCP, provided a huge stimulus to the communist movement in East Asia. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) hoped that the reverberations of the Chinese Revolution would extend to the Korean peninsula. As the Korean Volunteer Armies that had fought in the war of anti-Japanese resistance entered North Korea, bolstering the North's army, the military antagonism between North and South deepened. Then the storm clouds of revolution began to spread across the whole peninsula.

Japan Reconstructed as an Anti-Communist Stronghold

The establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) meant that America's early postwar plan for East Asia had to be revised, as it had been predicated on the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek unifying China. From the latter half of 1948, the US predicted that the CCP would ultimately gain victory in the civil war. From then on, it began to demonstrate its policy of rebuilding Japan as a base against communism instead of China more clearly than before.

In December 1948, the US put pressure on the government of Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru in an attempt to advance the "Nine Principles for Economic Stability." This policy mainly pushed for a balanced budget with a surplus and the improvement of an export system through the strengthening of foreign exchange control and the promotion of exports. President Truman sent Joseph M. Dodge, president of the Bank of Detroit, to Japan and appointed him as the GHQ's financial advisor.

Dodge pointed out that the Japanese government subsidies and US material assistance were like a pair of stilts that prevented Japan from maintaining itself, and he asserted that those two legs had to be amputated. As his plan, known as the "Dodge Line," would reduce inflation, bringing with it drastic fiscal restraint and unemployment, a prediction was made of a spike in public uncertainty and opposition from the workers. In July 1949,

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Yoshida's administration used the opportunity of making large-scale redundancies among civil servants and employees of public enterprises due to the new economic circumstances to remove Communist Party members from their jobs (the "Red Purge"). In September of the same year, a resolution to purge "red" educators was passed. This was a process aimed at making Japan into a powerful anti-communist state by backtracking away from democratization polices and building, in their place, an economically independent state with a politically and economically conservative, right-wing core.

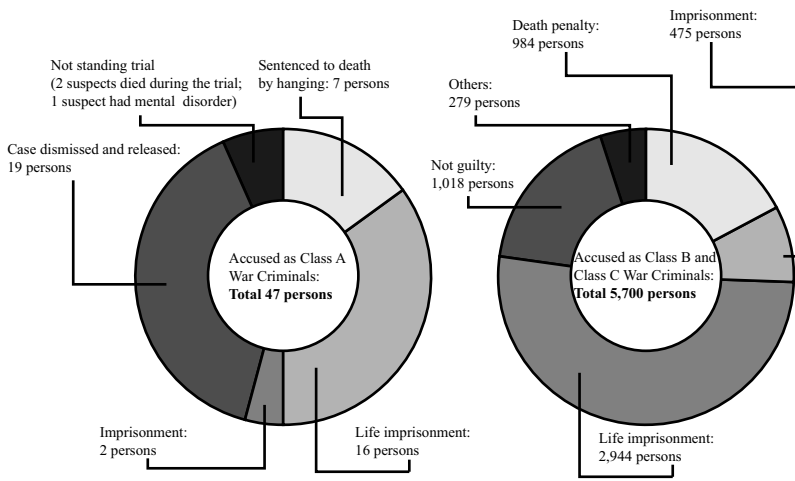

Figure 50: The outcomes of the war crimes trials for Class A, B, and C war criminals.

The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, which began in May 1946, was also affected by the Cold War as the prosecution began to change its course, not fully pursuing Japan's war responsibility. The judges from the eleven Allied nations heard the cases of twenty-five Class A war criminals accused of "crimes against peace." The tribunal concluded with seven people handed a death sentence, including Tojo Hideki, the prime minister and army minister at the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War, and Matsui Iwane, the commander of Japanese troops during the Nanjing Massacre. Eighteen further defendants, including Minami Jiro, a former army minister who also served as Governor-General of Korea, were sentenced to imprisonment.

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However, the war responsibility of Emperor Hirohito, who was the Supreme Commander of the Army and Navy during the war, was not examined. Nor was the responsibility of the bureaucrats and the *zaibatsu* leaders questioned. The tribunal was almost entirely devoted to pursuing the war guilt of the Japanese military. But even the military personnel were not always prosecuted. For example, Dr. Ishii Shiro of the Imperial Military Army's Unit 731, which performed experiments using biological weapons and used them in actual warfare in Manchuria, was granted immunity in exchange for handing over the unit's research data to the US. Further trials of Class B and C war criminals were carried out in various parts of the Asia-Pacific region, and around 1,000 of the defendants received the death penalty, including some Koreans and Taiwanese found guilty of actions amounting to war crimes. The Soviet Union executed around 3,000 war criminals after summary trials.

After the fall of 1949, the US promoted a peace treaty with Japan in order to let it return to the world stage. When this was revealed in Japan, a discussion emerged regarding the question of whether a future peace treaty should be signed only with the so-called Western powers like America, Britain, and France, or whether it should include states from the socialist bloc, like the USSR or the PRC. Due to the realities of the Cold War, the Japanese government adopted the position that there was no option available other than a separate peace with the Western powers only. However, the Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ) voted for a general peace treaty, steadfast maintenance of Japan's neutrality, and opposition to foreign military bases on Japanese soil. The "Group to Discuss the Question of the Peace Treaty," which was composed of progressive academics and intellectuals, also insisted on a general peace treaty, on the grounds of concerns that if Japan took sides in the Cold War, it would eventually be dragged into armed conflict.

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3. Partition and War on the Korean Peninsula

Liberation, Partition on the Thirty-Eighth Parallel, and Occupation by the US and the USSR

On August 15, 1945, Korea broke away from Japanese colonial rule. At noon, the emperor's voice, announcing the acceptance of the Allied terms of unconditional surrender, was broadcast on radio (the *gyokuon* broadcast). The content was very difficult to catch, and there were not many Koreans who knew at that moment that the speech meant they were liberated. However, as a result of Japan's defeat in the Second World War and the Korean people's dogged war of anti-Japanese resistance, the news that Japan's imperialist colonial rule had ended after thirty-five years soon spread across the whole country. Crowds of people thronged the streets waving the national flag, which they had not been able to make or raise without risk during the colonial period.

The Governor-General of Korea made maintaining public order a matter of top priority so that Japanese residents in the colony would be able to return safely to Japan. The Japanese authorities entered into talks with Yo Un-hyung (also known as Lyuh Woon-hyung), a leader of the Korean independence movement who had participated in the foundation of the Provisional Government in Shanghai in 1919, and decided to cooperate with the Governor-General on condition that the authorities release all political prisoners immediately, secure food supplies for the people, and help with maintaining public order. Lyuh formed the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of an Independent Korea, which included representatives from both the left and right of the political spectrum. Joy over independence and passion for the founding of a new state was mounting, and by the end of August, branches of the committee were set up in 145 locations all over Korea.

However, at the same time rumors spread that America and the Soviet Union would divide up and occupy the peninsula, rumors that would soon be confirmed as fact. By the end of August, Soviet forces had occupied the north of the peninsula. American forces dropped leaflets from planes announcing that they would soon land on the peninsula, which they did in early September. The Korean people were generally friendly to the Ameri-

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Figure 51: Prisoners freed from Sodaemon Prison in Seoul celebrate on Liberation Day. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

can and Soviet troops because they saw them as liberating armies, and expected that with the help of both countries they would be able to establish a united, independent state.

Shortly before the end of the war, the US and the USSR had agreed that the Soviet army would march through Manchuria into the Korean peninsula in order to disarm the Japanese forces. However, the American plan was to place the peninsula under a trusteeship, a course of action based on the principle that it must not become part of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. The Soviets, on the other hand, wanted to establish a regime that was friendly to the USSR. Neither country cared much about the Korean perspective, nor did they pay any heed to the Korean people's wishes or demands. Following the agreement with the US, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and marched into the peninsula in early August 1945. Just when an attack on Gyeongseong (later Seoul) was imminent, Japan agreed to the Allies' demand for unconditional surrender. In order to prevent the Soviets from occupying the whole of Korea, the US proposed to divide the

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peninsula up for joint occupation along a line identical to the thirty-eighth parallel. As the Soviet Union had envisaged occupying Manchuria and securing the peninsula as a bridgehead, it agreed to the American proposal. This was how the line at the thirty-eighth parallel was drawn; it was a tragedy that became a symbol of the partition of the Korean people.

The Korean people were unable to learn of the agreement between America and the Soviet Union in which they decided to split up and separately occupy the peninsula. They were ecstatic with the joy of liberation, and no one thought that this demarcation line would produce two countries, and eventually lead to a war in which people from the same ethnic group would aim guns at one another. The line at the thirty-eighth parallel, drawn by the US and the USSR without regard for the desires of the Korean people, marked the beginning of the division of the Korean peninsula. As the peninsula developed into a place for both cooperation and conflict between the Soviet and American camps, the locus of a cold war and a hot war, the thirty-eighth parallel became the front line of the Cold War in East Asia.

The Failure to Create a Unified State and the Establishment of Separate Governments

In 1945, America and the Soviet Union divided up the Korean peninsula at the thirty-eighth parallel and occupied their respective halves as agreed. The USSR stationed its troops in the northern region and established its influence there until 1948, and the Americans did the same in the southern part up to 1949. As the political powers in both the North and South engaged in their various activities, they sometimes cooperated and sometimes caused conflict with the superpowers. As a result of political dissatisfaction due to the long colonial exploitation of Korea under Japanese imperialism, society was in chaos and there were chronic shortages of food and other daily necessities. However, awareness among Koreans that they could independently establish their own state, freely use their political rights and become workers building up a new economy had never been stronger.

Korean affairs were discussed by the Allied nations in December 1945 at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the US, Britain, and the USSR in Moscow. One outcome of these talks was the decision of the Allies to establish a

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provisional government in Korea and set up a joint commission led by the US and the USSR to assist it. A decision was also made to submit a proposal for a four-power trusteeship with the agreement of the provisional government of Korea. The main focus of the meeting was how to establish a provisional government, but when this was communicated to Korea, only the "trusteeship" part was brought to the fore, and distorted information was circulated stating that the Americans were arguing for the immediate independence of Korea, but the Soviets had proposed trusteeship. The Korean people were furious at the news that the superpowers seemed intent on ignoring Korea's desire and capacity for self-rule. Awareness quickly spread that the trusteeship proposal was a manifestation of Soviet expansionism, and the issue soon grew into a conflict between political ideals on the left and right, with those in favor of the trusteeship being considered pro-communist and pro-Soviet, and those against it being considered anti-communist and pro-American. Thus, a lid was put on the problem of clarifying the responsibilities of the pro-Japanese faction and pro-Japanese remnants in Korea. Instead, the right wing launched an offensive, claiming that those opposed to the trusteeship were patriots and those in favor of it were traitors to their country. Just like the occupation and division of the country at the thirty-eighth parallel, which was carried out without reference to the desires of the Korean people, the trusteeship issue was an outcome that reflected initial agreement and subsequently emergent conflict between the US and the USSR.

Following the agreement reached at the Moscow conference, the joint US-Soviet commission met twice, once in March 1946 and once in May 1947, to discuss Korean trusteeship and the question of establishing a provisional government. The talks ended in failure, because neither side was prepared to make any concessions and the foreign powers only aimed at maintaining their influence in the peninsula. In March 1947, in order to prevent the spread of communist power, President Truman announced the "Truman Doctrine," which offered military and economic aid to any state facing a communist threat. This brought the political and military standoff between the two superpowers out into the open. Then, in September, the US transferred responsibility for the Korean question to the UN, and thus any attempt to resolve the problem through joint US-Soviet cooperation was finally abandoned. The USSR was opposed to UN involvement and proposed

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the simultaneous withdrawal of both US and Soviet troops, after which the Koreans would be able to resolve the issue themselves. However, the UN General Assembly agreed to the US proposal of Korean independence without a period of trusteeship and unification through a general election held in both North and South under the supervision of the UN.

When the system of cooperation between the US and the USSR collapsed, the political forces in both the northern and southern parts of Korea put out various political statements, proposing, to name some examples, independent elections in southern Korea only and the establishment of an independent government in the South, the establishment of a unified nation through a coalition of moderate forces from the left and the right and a North-South entente, or the establishment of a socialist state. However, no one was eventually able to prevent the formation of two separate governments. In February 1948, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution agreeing to elections in the southern part of Korea only, and a general election was held there on May 10 of that year. This resulted in Rhee Syngman being elected as the first president and the establishment of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) on August 15. Northern Korea appointed Kim Il-sung prime minister, and on September 9, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) was founded. America and the Soviet Union clashed again at the UN over the legitimacy of the two Korean regimes. Eventually, on December 12, 1948, the General Assembly of the UN recognized the Republic of Korea as the sole lawful government, as it had been established through free elections held under the supervision of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea.

The Korean War: A "Hot War" during the Cold War

On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army attacked the South and the Korean War broke out. North Korea had determined that there was only a small chance of America entering the war, and believed that even if the US did intervene, the war could be ended before it could fully deploy its forces. However, this was an error of judgment. America immediately decided to join the conflict, because it believed that the loss of South Korea would directly tarnish its political and psychological prestige.

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Figure 52: Artillery attack by the UN army during the Korean War. Source: private collection.

On the same day, the US requested that the UN Security Council be immediately convened. The council defined North Korea as an aggressor and adopted a resolution demanding the restoration of the thirty-eighth parallel as the demarcation line between the North and the South. As the Soviet Union was not present at the adoption of the resolution, it did not make any sort of response to the UN decision to send military forces to the peninsula, but many scholars and journalists expressed doubts about the attitude of the Soviet Union. After sending in its navy and air force, the US landed ground troops in South Korea, leading a force composed of troops from twenty-one UN member nations.[97] Further, US President Truman sent the US Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Straits and declared that the US would use military force to prevent China from occupying Taiwan. China responded by saying that Taiwan was a part of China that could not be separated from the mainland, and that America's measure amounted to interference in its internal affairs. The outbreak of the Korean War thus brought about a rise in military tensions in East Asia.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Korean War, the South Korean army and the UN Command were hard pressed by the offensive of North Korea's army and retreated to the southern tip of the peninsula. On Sep-

97 This force consisted of troops from the US, Britain, Canada, Turkey, Australia, the Philippines, New Zealand, Thailand, Ethiopia, Greece, France, and other nations.

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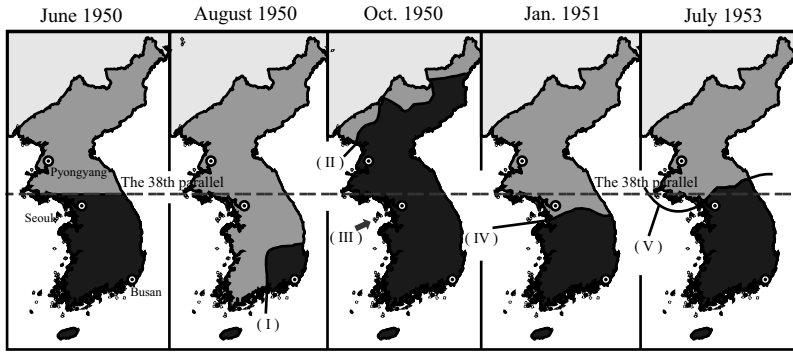

Notes:
(I): North Korean Army's southernmost front line
(II): The UN Command's northernmost front line
(III): Location of The UN Command and the South Korean Army's "landing operation of Incheon"
(IV): The Chinese People's Volunteer Army's southernmost front line
(V): Final Military Demarcation Line

Figure 53: The Development of the Korean War.

tember 15, the eightieth day after the start of the conflict, the UN armies managed to reverse the tide of the war with a successful landing at Incheon, and they restored the thirty-eighth parallel, the starting point of the invasion, as the demarcation line between north and south. Taking encouragement from this, the UN Command then pushed north over the thirty-eighth parallel. But the situation was soon to change again. On October 25, China received a request for assistance from North Korea and joined the conflict, proclaiming that the Chinese would "resist American aggression in the guise of the UN and support Korea in its defense of its families and the state." The UN Command then suffered a defeat against a sweeping offensive by the joint North Korean and Chinese forces and had to pull back. As a result of this back-and-forth struggle, by June 1951, one year after the outbreak of the war, the front line was once again deadlocked near the thirty-eighth parallel.

With China's entry, the war clearly showed its characteristics as a global conflict between the capitalist and socialist camps, and there was a serious danger that the "hot war" between both camps would escalate into a Third World War. The US began to search for a political solution, deciding that unification of the Korean peninsula through victory in the war was difficult to achieve. It was also necessary for it to reduce the enormous military

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expenditure and loss of life. Britain and France also argued for an armistice to restore the peninsula to the situation before the outbreak of the war, out of concern that if the conflict developed into an all-out war with China, a Third World War might begin with all of its consequences. China did not oppose an armistice, as it wanted to avoid drawing out the war and instead to concentrate on developing and revitalizing its domestic economy. The Soviet Union also agreed that its only choice at this stage was an armistice. It was in this context that armistice talks were held between the UN Command and North Korea and China from July 1951 onward. However, disputes between the two sides continued over problems such as the return of prisoners of war, and the talks made very slow progress. With fighting continuing on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel, the talks continued for two years, as the conflict continued to wreak a huge amount of damage. Finally, on July 27, 1953, the Korean War ended in an armistice without victory to either side, and without any real cessation of hostilities.

The Legacy of the Korean War

The Korean War was a terrible, unforgettable tragedy for the Korean people. Above all else, the enormous human loss was the most immediate result brought about by the madness of this war. It has been impossible to exactly tally up the casualties of this war, and debate among the parties involved over the number of lives lost still continues to this day. According to statistics on the South Korean side, its army suffered 620,000 casualties, and the UN Command had 150,000 casualties, which figures include those killed, missing, injured, or captured. Official North Korean figures are unknown, but it is thought that the North Korean Army also suffered around 620,000 casualties. China calculates that 180,000 of its troops died in the war. However, the civilian casualties in both North and South Korea were far higher. According to data issued by the South Korean Ministry of Home Affairs in 1955, civilians killed, injured, abducted, or missing during the course of the war numbered around 990,000. (The total population of South Korea in March 1952 was around twenty million.) Adding to this the civilian casualties on the North Korean side and the many millions of war refugees, the Korean War resulted in a vast amount of civilian suffering. These high

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civilian casualties were a result of a vicious cycle of suspicion, false accusations, and revenge. As the front line moved north and south, communists and left-wingers, or anti-communists and right-wingers depending on who was in control at the time, were punished along with those who had cooperated with the enemy.

After the war, South Korean sympathizers were purged in the North and Kim Il-sung's power structure was further bolstered. In South Korea, the anti-communist regime made the fight against communism its top priority. North Korea developed into a state that emphasized military power above all else, and in South Korea the military emerged as an organization that would wield a powerful influence. In order to preserve their respective military strength, structural preconditions were put in place in both North and South Korea, which would later give rise to a strict bureaucracy and authoritarianism. However, the greatest change was that the Koreans' identity as an ethnic community was destroyed, the awareness that they were divided took firm root, and the partition itself became deeply ingrained in Koreans' minds.

The effects of the war did not end in North and South Korea. The outbreak of the war spurred America to speed up reconciliation with Japan, and in 1951 the two countries signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States and Japan. Putting their previous enmity behind them, they built an alliance. The US then implemented a policy of containment using mainly military means, formularized as the "Domino Theory," which argued that if even one country turned communist, it would produce serious economic, political, and psychological consequences, so unless the US took effective and assertive countermeasures, communism would spread like a chain reaction.

The Korean War played a key role in Japan's economic reconstruction. During the three years of the conflict, Japan benefited from the emergency demand for weapons repairs and by producing and providing all manner of supplies and equipment. Through its role as a military supply base for the UN troops, Japan was able to make a rapid economic recovery, so much so that in financial circles the war was called "divine providence." The conflict also provided an opportunity for Japan to reinforce its anti-communism. Around the time of the outbreak of the war, MacArthur ordered a purge of "reds" from Japan's mass media organizations. In September 1950, it was

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formally decided in a cabinet meeting to expel "red elements" from the ranks of civil servants, a policy which then spread to private companies. Moreover, the formation of the National Police Reserve and the personnel increase in the Japan National Coastguard, which were both carried out directly after the outbreak of hostilities, acted as a springboard for Japan's rearmament. The Korean War was therefore a turning point for Japan, which made it develop in a strongly anti-communist and pro-capitalist direction under US influence.

In entering the war, China now stood in the very center of the Cold War. As America had increased its military and economic support for Taiwan, military tension across the Taiwan Strait became a routine matter. In spite of the loss of manpower and material resources that came with joining the war in Korea, there was an enormous political effect: on the basis of the "Resist America, Help Korea" movement which spread over large parts of the country, China sped up its construction of a socialist economy. Further, it reinforced its national defenses in order to counter long-term American military pressure, and began to build a heavy industry base. Not only was its political platform strengthened domestically; the fact that it had fought a full-scale war with the US – which boasted the greatest military might in the world – greatly bolstered China's political standing in Asia.

The Korean War was a decisive turning point in which, through a "hot war," the Cold War expanded into a global conflict and became a highly critical situation. In particular, as it was a direct clash that took the form of real warfare, it served to raise the importance of the military in both camps, and brought about competitive increases in military expenditure and ideological enmity between them. The war also created a new international order in East Asia. The US signed a security treaty with Japan in 1951 and mutual defense treaties with South Korea and Taiwan in 1953 and 1954 respectively. A system of bilateral military alliances was formed, with America at its apex. By comparison, the Soviet Union did not show the resolve or ability to execute a war and its leadership was weakened, whereas the alliance between North Korea and China was strengthened.

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4. Intensification of the Cold War and the Non-Aligned Movement

The Signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Formation of Japan's "1955 System"

In September 1951, a peace treaty was signed in San Francisco between the Allied nations and defeated Japan; this is known as the San Francisco Peace Treaty, and it signaled the formal end of the Second World War. The details of the treaty were heavily influenced by the changes in the East Asian situation that had taken place shortly before its conclusion, such as the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the outbreak of the Korean War. America went through with its policy of restoring and rebuilding Japan politically, militarily, and economically in order to turn it into an anti-communist partner in Asia, and it did not stringently pursue the question of Japan's wartime responsibility. Of the fifty-five countries invited to the peace talks, India, Yugoslavia, and Burma (Myanmar) did not attend out of opposition to the fact that there were no specific provisions in the treaty relating to the issue of reparations to be paid by Japan and that the treaty allowed for the stationing of foreign troops in Japan. Additionally, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia did not sign the treaty, as they were against the American-led policy of strengthening Japan.

The treaty was so generous to the defeated nation that even Japan itself expressed satisfaction with it. It was a "peace treaty" in which the spirit of peace and reconciliation was fulfilled. But one major problem with the treaty was that China, South Korea, and North Korea – the greatest victims of Japan's wars and colonialism – were not even invited to the conference. The US and Britain compromised over whether to invite the People's Republic of China or Taiwan (the Republic of China) by not inviting either. The US decided to invite South Korea in order to bring stability to East Asia and assert its authority, having been a supporter of the South, but it withdrew its invitation upon the objections of both Britain and Japan. Britain asserted that even though Korea (the Korean government-in-exile) had declared war on Japan, South Korea did not meet the eligibility requirement to be counted as an Allied nation in the Second World War, as only nations who

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Figure 54: The signing ceremony for the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Signing for Japan is Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru (September 8, 1951). Courtesy of Kyodo News Agency.

had actually fought in the war could be considered as such. Japan also strongly opposed South Korea's participation on the grounds that it was not one of the belligerents in the war, and argued that social upheaval would ensue if the Koreans residing in Japan were given the status and rights of people of an Allied nation. Ultimately, China, South Korea, and North Korea, the victims of Japan's war of aggression, were excluded from the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the issue of Japanese war responsibility toward Asian countries remained unresolved. It may thus be doubted whether the San Francisco Peace Treaty was indeed a true "peace treaty" in the full sense.

In April 1952, with the coming into effect of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan reemerged as a sovereign state. When the signing of the treaty was drawing near, a debate regarding two core elements of the treaty arose in Japan. The first issue concerned the character of the treaty, and the second was the question of Japan's defense once sovereignty was restored. There was a split between those arguing for a separate peace with the Western powers only and those in support of a general peace treaty. It was

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primarily right-wing elements that advocated a peace treaty with the Western powers in order to achieve the restoration of sovereignty. Those on the left of the political spectrum argued for a peace treaty with all former enemy nations including the Soviet Union and China. Rather than emphasizing the restoration of sovereignty, they advocated the idea of an unarmed and peaceful Japan. In the end, the treaty that was signed took the form of a separate peace. Another aspect closely related to the issue of Japan's defense was the difference of opinion on rearming the country between the political left, which argued for unarmed neutrality, and the right, which pushed for security through the US-Japan alliance, autonomous revision of the constitution, and rearmament. The security treaty that was finally signed with America was exactly what the right had argued for. The outbreak of the Korean War had added extra impetus for the peace talks to be concluded as this faction had wished.

After Japan had received a guarantee of security through its alliance with the US, the divisions between the conservative and the reform camps in the country became more marked. The conservative political parties argued for revising Article 9 of the constitution and establishing a military. The socialist parties opposed rearmament, backed by twenty-five to thirty percent of the public. In the fall of 1955, the socialist parties were expected to unite, but their plan for unity gave rise to a conservative alliance between the Japan Democratic Party and the Liberal Party. In particular, the business world, which was aiming to achieve postwar recovery, sensed a danger in the socialist parties uniting and demanded the conservative parties do likewise. As a result, the Japan Democratic Party and the Liberal Party merged in November 1955 to form the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The party platform of the LDP included autonomous revision of the constitution, expansion of Japan's self-defense capabilities under a collective security arrangement, and the establishment of a system for cooperation between unions and the management of companies. The union of Japan's conservative political forces made possible the establishment of a stable system of rule with the conservative parties on top. Further, the conservatives were able through this to institutionalize factional politics within the LDP and consistently promote economic policies geared toward growth. In October 1955, just before the LDP was formed, the socialist parties held a conference and unified as expected. This brought about the formation of the "1955

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system," a political system with a dominant conservative party, the LDP, and a smaller Socialist Party, representing the antagonism of conservative and reformist forces.

China's Advocacy of Peaceful Coexistence

After the Korean War, China actively pursued a diplomatic policy of peaceful coexistence with countries in Asia and Africa. The Korean War had led to the formation of a Cold War structure in Asia, and although the framework necessary for the maintenance of the status quo was in place, the region constantly faced the threat of war. China's peaceful coexistence policy was an attempt to create a peaceful international environment in order to allow the country to focus on the development of its domestic economy. In 1954, as part of its efforts to realize this goal, China negotiated a ceasefire in Indochina through the Geneva Accords and reached an agreement with India on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The latter was an arrangement intended to settle unresolved border issues between India and China on the basis of mutual respect of sovereignty and territory, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit and equality, and peaceful coexistence. It came about during a time when there was a growing tendency toward non-alignment, meaning that nations would not enter into treaties or alliances that supported the Cold War system. In order to promote cooperation in the so-called "Third World," China asserted that Third World nations needed to get over their differences in ideologies and systems and coexist peacefully with one another.

However, tensions in global relations rose over China. China took a critical attitude to calls made by the Soviet Union's leader Nikita Khrushchev for peaceful coexistence with the US. It felt that the USSR was showing revisionist tendencies and that it had undermined the unity of the socialist bloc, as shown by events in Poland and Hungary, where uprisings had threatened the socialist regimes. Relations between China and the USSR began to show severe strain when the latter annulled an agreement offering China nuclear technology. In addition to this, tensions with the US were heightened in 1958, when China began a massive bombardment of the

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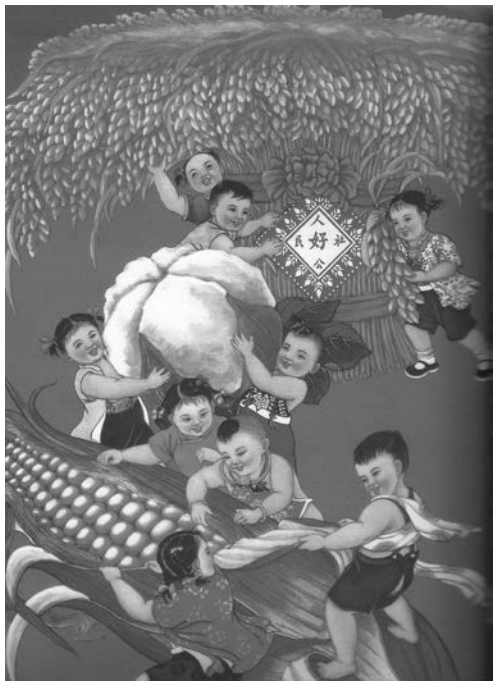

Figure 55: Propaganda poster advertising the Great Leap Forward in China. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu island groups (controlled by Taiwan, but located just off the southeastern coast of mainland China) and the US sent its Seventh Fleet as a countermeasure.

At the second session of the Eighth National Congress in May 1958, the CCP adopted a "General Line of Socialist Construction," which marked the start of the "Great Leap Forward," a Chinese-style drive for industrial progress. With the goal of a rapid increase in production, the "Great Leap Forward" adopted labor-intensive methods for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture. However, as it was being promoted without the right material and systematic conditions being in place, the "Great Leap Forward" was unable to achieve the desired effect and a huge famine ensued across China.

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North and South Korea Working toward Postwar Recovery and Bolstering their Domestic Systems

After the end of the Korean War, both North and South Korea launched recovery efforts. First, South Korea started to rebuild its economy using American financial assistance, but a difference of opinion emerged with the US over the direction of economic policy. Whereas the US tried to achieve economic stability in South Korea through supplying consumer goods, foodstuffs and financial assistance, the South Korean government insisted that it had to rebuild the economy by investing the US financial assistance into infrastructure and the development of domestic industry. When the US tried to accelerate Japan's economic recovery even after the Korean War by purchasing supplies there and providing them to South Korea, the latter responded angrily, claiming that America was trying to reorganize East Asia around Japan. With the legacies of the past still not settled between Japan and South Korea, and postwar recovery and reconstruction a pressing issue, South Korea found it difficult to accept that it had to assist, albeit indirectly, with the development of the Japanese economy. Tied to the anti-Japanese sentiment emerging at this time was the issue of establishing South Korea's political and economic position in East Asia. A plan for building an independent economic system began to emerge in the latter half of the 1950s as South Korea actively pursued and promoted economic development. Certain global factors worked to assist their endeavors, including America's economic troubles that had accompanied its massive assistance policy, the Soviet Union's economic growth, and the expansion of Soviet influence through the provision of assistance to "Third World" nations. The growth of North Korea's economy also acted as a stimulus to South Korea. The US decided that the way to achieve the political and economic stability of its allies was to change its method of support from providing assistance to offering loans to help build independent economies.

A political clash and confrontation also occurred during this time as the South Korean president, Rhee Syngman, sought to extend his power through constitutional reform and the consolidation of his power base. In spite of objections from the opposition parties and the US, he passed an amendment to allow presidential elections based on a direct popular vote. In 1954, he passed another amendment abolishing limits to presidential

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terms of office, thus creating the basis for his presidency to become a long-term regime. This damaged the legitimacy of the government and led to a loss of popular support.

North Korea also focused at this time on postwar economic recovery and the strengthening of its internal power structure. It devised a strategy which entailed developing its heavy industry as a priority in order to achieve a swift economic recovery and build the foundations for an independent economy, and simultaneously expanding its light industry and agriculture. By 1956 it had reattained its prewar economic level. Economic assistance from the Soviet Union, which was trying to maintain its influence in East Asia, and support from the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe in the form of raw materials and equipment were major driving forces behind this recovery. However, there was no improvement to the rationing situation and other daily hardships in spite of the economic growth. Politically, authority was consolidated around Kim Il-sung. There existed a faction that, influenced by criticism of Stalin in the Soviet Union, argued for a system of collective leadership, but it was purged in August 1956 in the so-called "August Factional Incident." North Korea also maintained a position of neutrality between China and the USSR. This was possible only because the hostility between the two major communist powers had not become even more acute, so neither of them demanded that North Korea choose a side.

The Emergence of a "Third World" Calling for Non-Alignment and Neutrality

When the Second World War came to an end, a large number of newly independent countries emerged in Africa and Asia. Due to their long experience as colonies, they had strong nationalist tendencies and enormous antipathy toward the imperialist and capitalist powers that had been their colonial rulers. Rather than choose a side under the Cold War system, these new nations began to search for a new way forward. On April 18, 1955, representatives from twenty-three Asian countries and six African nations met in Bandung, Indonesia, and held the Asian-African Conference Summit (also known as the Bandung Conference). The conference's objectives were to establish closer relations between African and Asian countries, maintain neutrality under the Cold War system, and put an end to colonialism. As a

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result of the conference, a new political force known as the "Third World" emerged. The twenty-nine countries that took part in the Bandung Conference represented 1.4 billion people, nearly half the world's population at the time. However, North Korea and South Korea, Taiwan, South Africa, and Israel did not receive invitations because they were either too much inclined to one side or the other in the Cold War, or were countries that practiced racial discrimination.

The nations that did attend sought ways to have their independence guaranteed and overcome economic difficulties through mutual solidarity. To this end, a resolution was passed advocating positive neutralism, in accordance with which a nation need not choose between or be subordinate to either America or the Soviet Union. Consequently, the conference ended with the proclamation of the "Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation," or the "Ten Principles of Bandung," which included human rights and respect for the UN Charter, equality for all races and nations, and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Beside this, agreements were reached concerning trade, economic assistance, and culture. However, the neutralism proclaimed by the conference was not something that totally rejected or ignored the reality of the Cold War. It also had the connotation of an independent, active diplomacy by which a nation could, if necessary for the protection of its national interests and world peace, put pressure on one or both of the Cold War camps, or temporarily cooperate with them.

Bandung was the first conference to confirm solidarity among African and Asian nations. The spirit of Bandung – neutralism and cooperation – is worthy of high praise as the most significant aspect of the meeting. As nations that had always been left out by international politics and never recognized as independent were now starting to comment on and criticize global politics, a transformation began in the bipolar international order focused on America and the Soviet Union.

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Figure 56: The Bandung Conference. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

East Asia Awakens to the Pacifist Movement and the Protection of Human Rights

The emergence of the "Third World" raised interest in the possibility of change in the Cold War system, as well as in pacifist movements and peaceful coexistence in Asia, and human rights issues. The Progressive Party founded in South Korea in 1956 argued for peaceful unification of the country through the leadership of the Korean people themselves in order to prevent the sort of internecine conflict that had occurred with the Korean War. In concert with the contemporary global move toward peaceful coexistence, the party put forward a social-democratic proposal that combined a planned economy with a market economy as a third way forward to overcome the problems inherent in capitalism and socialism. The Progressive Party's argument for peaceful reunification was also seen as being

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in accord with the spirit of the non-alignment movement established at the Bandung Conference.

In Japan, interest was growing in the peace movement by way of the debate taking place over the shape of the peace treaty. In 1949, intellectuals in Japan announced a public declaration of peace, which encompassed the demand for a general peace treaty (rather than a separate peace with the Western powers only), neutrality, and demilitarization. This evoked a positive response from society, in which a strong peace movement was then to develop. When the Stockholm Appeal, which demanded an unconditional ban on nuclear weapons, was announced in March 1950, 6,450,000 people in Japan signed petitions in support. It is said that 500 million people declared their support worldwide.

Mass movements to protect peace and democracy in Japan took the shape of movements calling for a ban on nuclear weapons and opposing American military bases and the stationing of nuclear weapons in Japan. These movements were catalyzed by an incident on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean on March 1, 1954, during which the crew of the tuna-fishing boat *Daigo Fukuryu Maru* was exposed to a large amount of radiation from the fallout of an American nuclear weapons test, although the trawler had operated outside of the designated danger zone. This incident was the impetus for a campaign for a ban on nuclear weapons. In this campaign, thirty-two million people signed a petition in support of a ban, transcending divisions between conservatives and progressives. The campaign then merged with the movement opposing US military bases in Japan and developed into a movement against the stationing of nuclear weapons there.

Another issue which emerged during the intensification of the Cold War in the 1950s in Japan was interest in human rights. Examples of this are the movement criticizing trials based on false charges against the defendants, the campaign for *buraku* liberation, and the discussion surrounding the return of Koreans residing in Japan to North Korea.

In December 1950, members of the Japanese Communist Party who had been arrested in August 1949 on suspicion of derailing a train (this is known as the Matsukawa Incident) were all found guilty at their first trial, with some of them being sentenced to death. However, many people criticized the decision, saying that a guilty verdict had been handed down in spite of

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the lack of objective evidence. This criticism spread and developed into a movement which sought to protect the human rights of innocent defendants. It produced a remarkable victory when all the accused were found innocent by the Supreme Court in September 1963.

A further movement which grew in strength from 1951 onward was the campaign for *buraku* liberation. This campaign pushed for protection of the human rights of so-called "outcasts" who lived in certain communities, called *buraku.* Although an emancipation edict had been issued, abolishing their status as "untouchables," they still continued to be discriminated against by the rest of society. Campaigners demanded an improvement to the quality of life of those affected, and the movement developed into a struggle against the Japanese administration, which was held responsible for the continuing discrimination.

From December 1959 to 1984, over 93,000 Koreans residing in Japan – about a sixth of the total Korean population in the country – migrated to North Korea. The US and the Soviet Union, South and North Korea, the Japanese government and the Red Cross, and the International Committee of the Red Cross all became involved in this matter. After the Peace Treaty of San Francisco came into effect, Koreans who remained in Japan were stripped of their Japanese nationality and left without any nationality at all, unable to claim political or economic rights, with the exception of eligibility for welfare benefits. The escalation of the Cold War and the effects of the division of the Korean peninsula did not give Koreans in Japan any opportunity to make a choice.

North Korea implemented a policy defining the Koreans in Japan as "Overseas Citizens" as part of its plan to strengthen the legitimacy of its system by restoring its postwar economy and building a socialist state. The Japanese government and the Japanese Red Cross advocated the return of Koreans, presenting it as a humanitarian enterprise and a project in accordance with the principle of an individual's freedom to choose where to live. However, Japan attempted to evade its historical responsibility for the Koreans in Japan and its actions amounted to an attempt to "purge" Koreans from Japan. After appeals from Japan, the International Committee of the Red Cross intervened, supporting the return of Koreans residing in Japan to North Korea from a humanitarian point of view. However, the Red Cross was not aware of the scheme's political background, which was related

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to Japan's discriminatory policies toward the Korean residents and the conservative government's objective of ridding Japan of its Korean population. South Korea, too, criticized the plan to send Koreans living in Japan to North Korea, calling it an act which ultimately strengthened the communist bloc; however, its own policy toward the Koreans in Japan was not far from one of abandonment.

Koreans residing in Japan had to live unstable lives for reasons that can be traced back to the history between Joseon Korea and Japan and which were then amplified by the partition of the Korean peninsula. Such were the preconditions to the large-scale migration from capitalist Japan to the communist bloc which began in 1959. But although the plan was wrapped up in humanitarianism, in fact no-one was truly interested in the human rights of the Koreans concerned.

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Turning Okinawa into an American Military Base

As Japan achieved postwar economic growth under the nuclear umbrella of the US, it is often called the greatest beneficiary of the Cold War in East Asia. However, this only became possible through a close focus of military facilities and infrastructure on Okinawa (which reverted to Japan in 1972).

Today, seventy-five percent of American bases in Japan are located in Okinawa, including Kadena Air Base, the largest military air base in East Asia. This situation was not an immediate result of the Battle of Okinawa in 1945, but rather developed gradually in response to the needs arising from postwar US-Japanese relations. In particular, Okinawa's strategic importance skyrocketed during the Korean War, when it became a key base for aerial firepower, and it was regarded as an important link in the anti-communist military network in East Asia connecting South Korea, the Japanese mainland, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

Under the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951, which laid the groundwork for Japan to regain its independence, "all and any powers" in Okinawa were given to America. The US military took this opportunity to begin building new bases, and requisitioned large swathes of land in the central and southern portions of Okinawa's main island, as well as on outlying islands such as Iejima. The US military threatened people, destroyed houses and farmland with bulldozers, and forced land purchases without the agreement of the local residents. The local farmers' opposition movement, which began with tenacious non-violent resistance, eventually grew into an "island-wide struggle" covering the whole Okinawan archipelago. It managed to prevent the forced purchasing of land, but the struggle of "landlords" forced to *lease* their land to the US military at cut-price rates (called "military landlords") to win back their rights continues to this day, now entailing fighting the Japanese government as well as the American military.

Land requisition increased throughout the 1950s in the mountainous regions of the northern part of mainland Okinawa. When these areas were turned into land for military exercises, the US military forces on

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the Japanese mainland (particularly the Marines), the character and name of which was changed from an occupation force to "military forces stationed in Japan," moved to the newly acquired land in Okinawa and used it for maneuvers. This was the result of fears in the US government that opposition to US bases, which had been growing all over Japan, would escalate. As the US continued reorganization and reduced bases on the mainland, the total land area occupied by US bases in Okinawa exceeded that of US bases on the mainland by the second half of the 1960s. In tandem with this, human rights violations, which often took the form of sexual assaults by US troops on the local population, also became more concentrated in Okinawa.

The people who were driven from land that had been passed down from their ancestors had to live in the little land left around the bases. They earned a living by working for the US military as wage laborers or by "volunteering" to cultivate outlying Okinawan islands. Some also migrated to South America. Even if they remained in Okinawa, they became like refugees, only able to see their homeland through a wire fence. At the same time, the service industry for American troops and their families flourished around the bases and there was rapid urbanization in some areas. With the emergence of a social stratum of people who worked in the local entertainment district, which depended heavily on the American military, the movement that opposed the bases was split. The violent reality that had torn apart local communities, and the economic structure that was dependent on the bases, continued to exist even after Okinawa was returned to Japan, and still causes disputes today. This situation may well be described as a reflection of the fact that ever since the Battle for Okinawa, the Japanese state and society has sacrificed the islands for the sake of stability in its relations with the US.

Different Perspectives on the Korean War

The Korean War was a key event in the second half of the twentieth century, one that has had enormous influence not only on the Korean peninsula, but also on East Asia and the rest of the world. Scholars

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around the world continue to show a lot of interest in the war, and have researched it in relation to various aspects, including its origins, proceedings, and outcome. However, question marks still remain over many issues related to the Korean War. The governments of the nations that were involved in the war have avoided releasing information that might potentially cause an outcry or be disadvantageous to them. The North and South Korean people, who experienced the war, and the soldiers of nations that fought in the war have been unable to heal their deep psychological scars. The Korean peninsula, which was the war's battleground, is still only under an armistice, and as the North and South still engage in military confrontation, it has not been possible to create an enduring peace system there. Politically and academically, the Korean War is still not over, nor has it ended in the minds of the Korean people.

During the Cold War era, the biggest point of disagreement among Korean War scholars was over who caused the war. Two theories continued to exist side-by-side throughout the Cold War, one that the North invaded the South and the other that the South invaded the North. However, Soviet diplomatic documents released after the USSR's collapse in 1989 gave authority to the argument that the North invaded the South first. The explanation was that Kim Il-sung's regime hastened preparations for war, and the Soviet Union authorized these actions. However, this does not mean that all the arguments concerning the outbreak of the war have come to an end. The claim that the US "induced" the North's invasion of the South has become a point of discussion, and other questions that require more research remain, such as the questions of whether Stalin gave his permission for the war, the purpose behind his decision, and the Chinese leadership's view of the outbreak of the war. Rather than historical research helping to cure the war's aftereffects, the fixation on the issue of who was responsible for starting the war has contributed to memories of the conflict on both sides escalating into mutual hatred.

The atmosphere surrounding research obsessed with responsibility for the war was completely changed by the emergence of studies into the "origins" of the war. Academics who focus on this topic do not

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regard the question of who started the war on June 25, 1950, as significant. They hold the view that before the war broke out on that day the peninsula was already just one step away from civil war, and that consequently it is more important to discover the deeper roots of what made the situation so serious in the first place. They believe that under colonial rule, Korean society had already been stratified and ideologically divided. In this interpretation, these divisions intensified as a split between the left and the right because the US, which led the partition and occupation of the peninsula after its liberation from Japanese rule, had rejected demands for social reform, leading to the establishment of two separate governments in conflict with each other, which prepared the ground for the civil war. These studies, however, have been criticized as lacking balance because they only raise an issue with America's intervention, even though both the US and USSR partitioned and occupied the peninsula.

After the debates over who started the war and its causes, the next area of research to receive attention related to the war's effects. The conflict turned into an opportunity for both North and South Korea to cement their respective systems. In North Korea, factions that resisted the regime were suppressed or fled to the South during the course of the war, and all but disappeared. The North Korean government mobilized and brought the people together through anti-Americanism, and rapidly established a socialist system with assistance from China and the Soviet Union. The experience of wartime mobilization was also advantageous for building a socialist system. South Korea, too, was able to remove factions opposed to the existing regime, and mobilized and united the people through anti-communism, thereby laying the foundations for a capitalist system with American support. The North and South Korean governments unilaterally emphasized anti-Americanism and anti-communism respectively, and demands for democracy and diversity were suppressed. In South Korea, however, the downward leveling of social classes, the sudden movement of people during the war, and the agricultural land reform that was implemented around the time of the conflict had the effect of a sort of modern socioeconomic revolution.

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International attention has focused on the formation of the global Cold War system, ideological conflict between the East and the West, arms proliferation, and the opposition between military blocs. The Korean War exacerbated the Cold War, but it also produced an unintended result, namely long-term stability brought about through the emergence of a shared awareness that local wars had to be contained in order to prevent them from sparking a world war. Concerns over the struggle for global hegemony between America and the Soviet Union also spread, and the emergence of the pacifist movement and the "Third World" in the 1950s may be regarded as other unintended results of the Korean War. As for its effects in North East Asia, scholars are now researching Japan's reemergence on the world stage and its economic recovery through emergency arms procurements for the Korean War, as well as the outright hostility between China and America and the loss of an opportunity to unite Taiwan with mainland China.

Following these macroscopic studies of the outbreak of the war and its origins and effects, there is a recent trend toward microscopic research into the experiences of the general population during the war. The greatest victims of the war were not political or military leaders, but the people. Efforts to shed light on their wartime experiences and heal their wounds are also part of the process of laying the foundations for peace in East Asia at grassroots level.

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Timeline

1945 China's Nationalist Government and the USSR sign Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. Liberation of Korea and partition along the thirty-eighth parallel. General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) established in Tokyo. General MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, announces the Five Great Reforms.

1946 New Japanese Constitution promulgated.

1947 US President Truman announces Truman Doctrine. Decision reached by UN General Assembly to establish Korean government through general election in both the North and the South.

1948 Republic of Korea (South Korea) founded. Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) founded. Verdicts given in International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal).

1949 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established. People's Republic of China founded.

1950 US and Korea sign Mutual Defense and Assistance Pact. Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Outbreak of Korean War.

1951 San Francisco Peace Conference opens. Security Treaty between the US and Japan signed.

1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty comes into effect; Japanese sovereignty restored. Japan and Taiwan conclude peace treaty.

1953 Armistice signed in Korean War. Mutual Defense Treaty signed between US and South Korea.

1954 Zhou Enlai and Jawaharlal Nehru announce Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) established.

1955 African-Asian Conference adopts the Ten Principles of Bandung. Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) established. Postwar "1955 system" commences (Japan).

1958 Great Leap Forward begins in China.

1959 Koreans residing in Japan return to North Korea.

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Chapter 7:
Transformations in the Cold War System in East Asia

The political structure of the Cold War era in East Asia showed certain differences to that in Europe, the central stage of the Cold War, where the new order was based on the dominance of the US and the Soviet Union (USSR). The two superpowers established their hegemony among allied countries and friends, leading to the emergence of a bipolar structure. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), led by the US, and the Warsaw Pact, led by the USSR, exemplified the political structure of the Cold War period as consisting in a confrontation between the military organizations of the East and West. The treaty organizations and the guarantees of security they delivered for the nations they covered ensured the stability of the European situation, and for the 40 years of the Cold War era, no "hot" war was fought between the two superpowers in Europe.

In contrast to this, in East Asia "hot wars," such as the Korean War and the Vietnam War, were fought as part of the East-West conflict. After the Korean War, the confrontation between the US and China formed the cornerstone of the Cold War structure in the region. However, antagonism between China and the USSR intensified when America and the USSR moved toward detente, and this escalated into a Sino-Soviet conflict. China went as far as to assert that the Soviet Union was its "main enemy," and thus the Cold War structure in East Asia fundamentally shifted. America aimed to forge closer ties with China in an attempt to break the deadlock in the Vietnam War, which meant, to all intents and purposes, the dismantling of the Cold War structure in East Asia.

This chapter looks at the process through which the Cold War system in

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East Asia transformed before later so doing in Europe; it also pays attention to the mass social movements that arose in the region during this period.

1. Deepening of Sino-Soviet Hostility and Transformations in the East Asian Cold War

From the Sino-Soviet Debate to the Sino-Soviet Split

After the death of Joseph Stalin, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev was appointed as the party's First Secretary. At the twentieth Party Congress, held in February 1956, he gave a speech which for the first time contained criticism of Stalin. He attacked the excesses of Stalin's Great Purge and the excessive personality cult around him. He also stated that peaceful coexistence was both possible and indeed necessary between countries with different social systems, thus revising the communist concept of world revolution, which until then had asserted that war was unavoidable as long as imperialism existed. Furthermore, he emphasized that transition from capitalism to socialism could be achieved peacefully without armed revolution if socialist parties were to secure a majority through a parliamentary system.

Within the international communist movement and communist parties around the world, Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin gave rise to enormous confusion, as well as divisions and hostility. The ruling circle in the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Zedong countered Khrushchev's speech by saying that although Stalin had made mistakes, he remained a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. China poured on further criticism, asserting that a theory that claimed peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries and peaceful transition to socialism to be possible, as did the ideas the Soviet Communist Party was now espousing, was a deviation from and corruption of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union refuted this criticism and the "Sino-Soviet Debate" (also known as the Great Debate) over revolutionary theory unfolded. (This would later lead to the so-called Sino-Soviet Split)

The Soviet Union and China also clashed over the response to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. When Fidel Castro's government tried to

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install Russian-made missiles in Cuba out of fear of American attempts to subvert the revolution, President Kennedy ordered the US army, navy, and air force to prepare for war, and demanded the removal of the missiles with the warning that if Cuba were to use them against America, he would respond immediately with an all-out revenge strike against the Soviet Union. If the Soviets had not complied with the American demands, nuclear war might have broken out between the two superpowers.

The Cuban Missile Crisis brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. After it was over, the US and Soviet leaders quickly drew closer to each other and toward peaceful coexistence in an effort to avoid the danger of military confrontation between their two countries in the future. As a result of the development of thermonuclear bombs (H-bombs) that had nearly 1,000 times the destructive power of the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, if a nuclear war had started, both America and the Soviet Union would have been destroyed. It was fear of this that led the US, the USSR, and the UK to sign the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in August 1968 (Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water). However, China and France refused to sign, claiming that the aim of the treaty was to allow the three nations to maintain a monopoly on nuclear weapons, and they both expedited development of their own nuclear weapons.

In October 1964, China successfully carried out an atomic bomb test in Xinjiang, and a thermonuclear bomb test in June 1967, thereby joining the ranks of states with nuclear weapons. China declared that it hoped that African and Asian nations would manufacture nuclear weapons by themselves and many countries would possess them, and asserted that it was manufacturing nuclear weapons itself in order to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Sino-Soviet Split escalated from a debate over ideology to political confrontation. In the international communist movement, a deep conflict arose between the pro-Soviet faction, which supported the Soviet Union Communist Party's argument for peaceful coexistence, and the pro-China faction, which supported Mao Zedong and the CCP's argument for worldwide revolution. The Sino-Soviet Split also produced divisions in the anti-nuclear peace movement in Japan, which advocated its aims globally due to Japan being the only country to have been attacked with nuclear weapons.

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Disagreements emerged in the movement over the assessment of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. One side praised the treaty as a step toward a reduction in nuclear arms, whereas the other side opposed it on the grounds that the signatories were trying to monopolize nuclear weapons by banning the conduction of tests by countries that had had a late start in developing them. As the Soviet Union was one of the signatories and China opposed the treaty, the two different appraisals of the treaty were tied to support for one or the other of those two countries. Before the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, held in Hiroshima in August 1963, the Japanese Socialist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo), which supported the treaty, clashed with the Japanese Communist Party, which was opposed to it. The former eventually boycotted the conference and left the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) to form the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikin). This resulted in a split in the Japanese movement campaigning for the banning of nuclear weapons.

The Asian-African Conference, which demonstrated to the world the emergence of the "Third World," was due to hold its second meeting in Algeria in 1965, ten years after the Bandung Conference. However, China opposed Soviet participation on the grounds that it had adopted a policy of peaceful coexistence with America. Zhou Enlai, the Chinese prime minister, stated that unless there was clear support for the Vietnamese people's fight against America, there was no point in holding the conference. In addition to this, the Chinese foreign minister, Chen Yi, put forward three preconditions for holding the conference as planned: 1) public censure of America, 2) no interference from the UN, and 3) rejection of Soviet participation in the conference by non-Asian countries. He clearly stated his position that the event should be postponed if these preconditions were not met. The host country, Algeria, responded by stating that it would hold the conference even if there were objections, but as China boycotted it, and North Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia, and Pakistan backed China's position, an Asian-African summit meeting took the decision to postpone it. Before these discussions, in 1962, China and India had also engaged in a border dispute over Tibet. In other words, the spirit of cooperation inspired at the Bandung Conference was evidently waning.

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China's Cultural Revolution

From 1958 onward, Mao Zedong forcibly drove the implementation of the "Great Leap Forward" and the establishment of the "People's Communes" on the basis of his mistaken assessment of the country's situation. Following this, a series of natural disasters occurred over the three years from 1959, leaving the whole of China faced with severe food shortages which led to the deaths of a large number of people from starvation. In 1959, Mao did not seek reelection as President of the PRC, and Liu Shaoqi, the new head of state, and Deng Xiaoping tried to realign and mend the socialist economy by allowing private production and free markets. From around 1963, the economy began to show signs of recovery. However, Mao, who was still Chairman of the CCP, criticized those around Liu who were in favor of private production and free markets as the faction of the "capitalist roaders" and labeled them as "revisionists" and "leaders of bourgeois forces."

Figure 57: Red Guards from all over the country assemble on Tiananmen Square in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution to see Mao Zedong. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

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Mao criticized the Soviet Union for its "modern revisionism" which, in his view, deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory of world revolution. He redefined the USSR as "imperialist" and announced his intention to bring down the "revisionists" in China in order "to prevent China from becoming a second Soviet Union." "Revisionists" in China meant first and foremost Liu Shaoqi, the president at the time, as well as leaders of the Chinese government and the CCP such as Deng Xiaoping, all of whom were called the faction of the "capitalist roaders." Mao believed that the Soviet Union was an external enemy that threatened the stability of the state, but that greater danger resided in the internal forces aligning with the USSR and the supposed plan of these revisionists to overthrow the revolutionary government. He therefore strengthened his resolve to remove the revisionists before a showdown with the other external enemy, which was American imperialism. His method of so doing was the launch in 1966 of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

During the course of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" (Mao's wife Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunquiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen) used Mao's authority to achieve their personal ambitions, and fiercely criticized the leaders of the CCP and government of the time as "anti-revolutionary revisionists walking the path of capitalism." Next, they incited the younger generation, which was unfamiliar with the revolution, to organize a movement of Red Guards, and unleashed a nationwide struggle in which the "Revolutionaries" strove to seize authority from the faction of the "capitalist roaders." President Liu Shaoqi was targeted for particularly heavy persecution, being denounced in rallies and dragged through the streets by the Red Guards. During the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CCP, held in October 1968, he was charged with being "a renegade, traitor and scab (a traitor to the working classes)," and it was announced that he had been purged from the party rolls and permanently removed from office. The following year, he met a miserable end in prison in Henan Province.

Beginning in 1966 and continuing for ten years, chaos and tragedy unfolded all over the country in the course of the Cultural Revolution, which is now summed up in China as the "decade of upheaval." The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," which was adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session

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of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in June 1981, amounted to an outright rejection of the Cultural Revolution: "The cultural revolution, initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the Party, the state and the whole people." The resolution added that the faction of the "capitalist roaders" brought down by the Cultural Revolution actually consisted of leading cadres of the party and state who had formed the core force of the socialist cause. It concluded that Mao Zedong's thesis for the revolution "gave an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the Party and state," and that "the Cultural Revolution did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense."

This "historic resolution" was drawn up under the direct instruction of Deng Xiaoping, who was part of the eventually victorious reformist faction, to counter conservatives who were still trying to adhere to Mao-era policies. It is important because through it the CCP rejected the Cultural Revolution and announced its historical judgment on the revolution's leader, Mao Zedong. As a result, it was successful in overcoming political and ideological confusion after the revolution came to an end.

China's Perception of the Soviet Union as its "Main Enemy"

Nikita Khrushchev's reputation deteriorated both in the Soviet Union and overseas due to his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and after problems over internal political matters were added to this, he was ousted from office and replaced as First Secretary by Leonard Brezhnev, while Alexei Kosygin became prime minister.

In 1968 in Czechoslovakia, a series of liberalization policies were implemented under the reformist First Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, Alexander Dubcek. Called "socialism with a human face," these new policies allowed, for instance, freedom of speech, publishing, and the media. This reformist movement was called the "Prague Spring" after an annual music festival. The Soviet response was to stage a military intervention, invading the country with the armies of four Eastern European states and crushing the reformist movement. Brezhnev then

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proclaimed the "Brezhnev Doctrine," which stated that the USSR could intervene with force in the internal politics of an allied state if it tried to break away from Soviet-style socialism, and that the overall interests of the socialist bloc had priority over the individual interests of the countries within it.

This declaration led China to fear the possibility that the USSR might carry out an armed invasion, so it prepared for a Soviet attack by constructing huge numbers of underground bunkers near the border. In major cities such as Beijing and Tianjin, nuclear shelters and underground bunkers were created at universities, factories, public buildings, and railway stations in readiness for a Russian nuclear strike. Tensions rose on the Sino-Soviet border, which stretched for thousands of kilometers; the Soviet army deployed between half a million and a million troops there, and the Chinese two million. This resulted in a number of armed clashes on the border between 1968 and 1969.

The intentions of Mao, Zhou Enlai, and other Chinese leaders in increasing hostility toward the USSR and isolating it internationally overlapped with those of US President Richard Nixon, who wanted to use the Sino-Soviet Split to put a stop to the decline in US hegemony that had resulted from the deadlock in the Vietnam War. The US and China drew closer in 1972; this had a major effect on East Asia, as the US-China stand-off had been the cornerstone of the international order in the region.

At the Tenth National Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in August 1973, Zhou Enlai delivered a report in which he stated: "[We] must maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared [for] any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly [for] a surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism." At this point, Mao, Zhou, and other Chinese leaders had come round to the position that the Soviet Union was China's main enemy. While relations between the two socialist states of China and the USSR deteriorated into enmity, America and China moved closer together, thus greatly transforming the Cold War structure in East Asia.

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North Korea's Unique Path

As the Sino-Soviet Split became more fractious, it had a profound influence on North Korea. The country was in need of support from other countries in the socialist bloc, such as China, in its policy of confrontation with the US and South Korea and resistance toward Japan. It therefore began to pursue its own direction, leaning toward neither the USSR nor China, while emphasizing solidarity within the socialist camp. As the Soviet Union had bowed to American pressure after the Cuban Missile Crisis and refused North Korean requests for military aid, North Korea concentrated its efforts on building up its national defenses in spite of economic difficulties. It also criticized the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence (with the US), saying that it constituted revisionism in the service of imperialism and that it must be rejected in order to achieve revolution in South Korea.

With regard to North Korea's relations with China, representatives from both countries made official visits to each other in 1963, emphasizing the strength of their relationship, but after Khrushchev was ousted in 1964, North Korea tried to restore its relationship with Brezhnev, Kosygin, and the new Soviet leaders, as it needed Russian economic aid. However, as China stuck steadfastly to its anti-Soviet position, criticizing the new leadership as "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev," a division developed between China and North Korea. As it had to develop its own independent diplomatic policy externally while internally building an independent, nationalist state, North Korea created a new system of ideology called *Juche*. Kim Il-sung described *Juche* as "self-reliance in thought," "political independence," "economic independence," and "self-reliance in defense," a set of ideals to which every Korean worker should adhere. North Korea then emphasized its own unique way forward based upon this philosophy of *Juche*, applying it even to its international relations. It began to show greater interest in non-aligned foreign relations with Third World nations rather than China or the Soviet Union; working with non-aligned countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it tried to strengthen its struggle against American imperialism.

From the second half of the 1960s, North Korea made efforts to establish diplomatic relations with other countries and join international organizations in order to avoid isolation on the world stage and compete with South Korea. By 1970, it had established consular-general relations with

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twenty-five newly independent African and Asian nations in addition to other socialist states, entered into trade and commerce relations with over eighty countries, including six capitalist nations, among which was France, and joined 106 international bodies. To counter this, from the latter half of the 1960s the Park Chung-hee regime in South Korea also stepped up its diplomacy with non-aligned states. The diplomatic competition between North and South Korea on the international stage, in settings such as the UN, reached its peak in the mid-1970s. South Korea began to gain the upper hand in the late 1970s, aided by its economic growth.

2. Revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty and the Conclusion of the Japan-South Korea Treaty on Basic Relations

Riots against the Security Treaty in Japan

At the end of the 1950s, the US brought a new direction to its Asian foreign policy, moving away from its strategy of massive retaliation and its military emphasis on assistance to its allies, including demands for rearmament. The new approach was advocated by the economist W.W. Rostow, who was an advisor to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The theory was that socialist states such as China and Vietnam were economically less advanced, so if these less-developed countries were allowed to grow economically and transition into modern states through American capital investment, the poor masses in Asia would no longer support socialism, and thus the ground from which guerrilla wars and revolutionary struggle sprang up would vanish. Japan was seen as a key element in this approach. A Productivity Center was set up using US capital and loans were given by the World Bank. This brought about a period of high economic growth in Japan. However, the US was also wary of the possibility of the pacifism and desire for unarmed neutrality that had taken root in postwar Japan turning into anti-Americanism. It therefore tried to readjust the US-Japan security treaty so that it could use Japan's bases freely, while avoiding for the time being the issue of increasing Japan's defensive capabilities and constitutional reform.

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To lower its military burden, America wanted to reduce the 700 bases it had in Japan by a quarter while doubling the number of US bases in Okinawa, which at the time was under American military administration.

In October 1958, the US and Japan held a first round of talks concerning a revision of the 1951 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. Negotiations were based on an American draft of a revised treaty. The new security treaty was signed in the US in January 1960 by Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke and US President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The original 1951 treaty, signed when Japan had not yet rearmed, contained a strong element of Japanese dependency on the US, as it placed the country under an obligation to host American bases. By the time the new treaty was signed, Japan had its Self-Defense Forces, so the new situation was more like a military alliance in which both Japan and the US had mutual obligations. The official title of the new agreement was the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan." It allowed for the continuation of the American military deployment in Japan and granted certain privileges that had been agreed on under the original version of the treaty and the Japan-US Administrative Agreement, while also strengthening the military role of the Self Defense Force (the Japanese military) in America's global and Asian strategies.

Japanese citizens were concerned that the revised treaty contravened the constitution, which enshrined Japan's non-armament and renunciation of war, and feared that it would lead the country down the path to becoming a military state once more. Fearing for democracy and peace, they launched a protest campaign against the new treaty. At what became known as the "Security Treaty Diet" that opened in February 1960, there was fierce debate over the ratification of the new treaty. Around the same time, the protest campaign spread all over the country and intensified. From the end of April into May, while deliberations in the Diet continued, and protest demonstrations were held daily outside the Diet. On May 14, the Diet building was surrounded by a demonstration of over 100,000 people organized by the People's Council to Stop the Revised Security Treaty, a gathering of over 100 organizations including the Japan Socialist Party, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and the National Federation to Uphold the Constitution; the Jap-

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Figure 58: Anti-Security Treaty demonstrations surround the Japanese Diet. On June 18, 1960, the day before the new US-Japan Security Treaty would be automatically enacted, 330,000 demonstrators surrounded the National Diet building. Courtesy of Asahi Shinbun.

anese Communist Party took part in the organizers' group conference as an observer.

On May 19, 1960, the LDP-led government put a stop to further questions at the special Diet committee that had been convened to discuss the security treaty, and the Speaker of the Lower House brought in 500 police officers to remove Socialist Party Diet members before opening the plenary session. In the small hours of May 20, the ratification bill was passed, solely with the votes of the LDP.

This steamrollering of the bill through the Diet just served to pour oil on the already blazing opposition movement, and the Diet's business later stalled as tens of thousands of demonstrators continued to surround the building each day. On June 18, 5.8 million people across the country took

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part in the eighteenth "United Action," which was a general strike organized by the People's Council to Stop the Revised Security Treaty whose aim was to block the revised treaty. In Tokyo, right-wingers attacked a line of protesters made up of progressive-minded cinema and stage actors and sixty people were injured. A group of protesters led by the National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations (Zengakuren) stormed the Diet building and clashed violently with heavily-armed riot police; Kanba Michiko, a University of Tokyo student, was killed during this incident.

At midnight on June 19, as 330,000 people surrounded the National Diet building, but the new treaty was automatically enacted on the basis of a provision stipulating a period of one month after ratification in the Lower House to automatic enactment. On June 23, when the instruments of ratification were exchanged in secret with the US administration, Prime Minister Kishi announced he would leave office. On July 15, his entire cabinet resigned and the Security Treaty riots of 1960 began to settle.

Support and solidarity for the struggle against the Security Treaty came from the "Third World" group of nations that supported non-alignment. In China, the treaty was denounced as a military alliance between Japan and the US; protest rallies were held all over the country starting with Beijing, and the Chinese people declared their solidarity with the Japanese people.

The demonstrations against the revised security treaty became the largest civic movement in Japan since the Second World War and were both a precursor of and a boost to the pacifist movement of the 1960s. This later movement was a convergence of various trends, including the movement against nuclear weapons, the campaign against US military bases in Japan, a campaign against the implementation of performance evaluations for teachers, and the movement for the protection of democratic rights. Labor unions also went on strike over political issues. The conflict over the revised security treaty was also significant because the Japanese Socialist Party and the Communist Party were united in this struggle. Other new developments seen during the protests include the spread of the movement at grassroots level, the creation of mass campaign groupings made up of local groups and other organizations, and the formation of united fronts comprising reformist parties, labor unions, farmers' unions, and teachers' unions outside the capital. The campaign against the security treaty revisions also produced many students and young people who would go on to take an active role in

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the peace movement and in drives for social change. These people were known collectively as the "Anti-Security Treaty Movement Generation."

The government led by Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato, which succeeded Kishi's administration, introduced a plan to double incomes and transfer the people's interest away from politics and on to the economy. In other words, it attempted to distract the population from political and social dissatisfaction by advancing huge economic growth as a national policy and raising the people's standard of living. This was a policy aimed at preventing the recurrence of an event like the demonstrations of 1960. Looking to repair relations with Japan, the US appointed Edwin O. Reischauer as ambassador to Japan in April 1961. He was a Harvard University professor and scholar of Japan who had been born in Tokyo, and was said to be pro-Japanese. Reischauer proclaimed the superiority of modernization through capitalist economic growth, and actively courted labor union chiefs and intellectuals. The LDP and Japanese business community also set about countering the media, setting up rightwing magazines such as *Shokun!* (Gentlemen!) in 1969 and *Seiron* (Sound Opinion) in 1973, in order to reduce the dominance of progressive intellectuals in public discourse. These magazines mobilized establishment intellectuals and began to criticize Japan's postwar democracy.

As a result of these political, economic, and cultural measures carried out by the government, big business, and the US, the LDP scored a massive victory in the general elections of December 1969, and the Socialist Party suffered a severe defeat, losing fifty seats. In June 1970, the US-Japan Security Treaty was extended by the LDP administration led by Sato Eisaku (the younger brother of Kishi Nobusuke), without a recurrence of the demonstrations of 1960.

The 1960 April Revolution in South Korea

In South Korea in 1960, the ruling Liberal Party government announced that in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections held in March of that year, Rhee Syngman and Lee Kibung – both of whom were Liberal Party candidates – had won with huge majorities, each polling in excess of eighty percent of votes. However, it was clear that these were the results of election

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fraud perpetrated by Rhee, who had made full use of his government power. On March 15 in the city of Masan, students and citizens called for the elections to be declared invalid, and a street protest developed. When the police tried to break up the demonstration using force, the protestors hurled rocks at them, and the police responded by opening fire, killing eight people, and arresting and detaining many others. Furious students and citizens then attacked police boxes and official police residences, as well as the homes of the city's chief of police and members of the National Assembly. The Masan protests denounced the rigged elections and acted as the fuse for a campaign against the Rhee administration that spread across the whole country.

By April, student demonstrations in Seoul had become more violent. On March 18, over 3,000 students from Korea University staged a sit-in protest in front of the National Assembly building. On their way back to the university, they were attacked on behalf of the ruling Liberal Party, and over fifty of them were injured. The following day, April 19, most of the students of Seoul rose up in anger over this event, and over 100,000 students and citizens filled Gwanghwamun Square. When the protesters drew near to the Blue House (the seat of the President), police opened fire on them. A bloodbath ensued that came to be known as "Bloody Tuesday." Protests broke out all over the country that same day, leaving over 100 dead in Seoul, and 186 dead nationwide. Martial law was declared in the capital as well as in Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, and Daejeon, and the authorities tried to suppress the movement by sending in the military. Unlike the police, the South Korean army played an important role in the maintenance of order, since it had avoided an organized intervention in the March 15 election fraud protests and had also refrained from shooting at the people after the April 19 incident.

Rhee Syngman switched from a hardline approach to acts of attempted appeasement such as annulling the Vice-President's election victory and releasing imprisoned students, but on April 25, professors from 27 universities convened a meeting at Seoul University which developed into a demonstration in support of the students. When the protests spread to every social class, even the US counseled Rhee to leave office. After another mass protest took place on April 26, Rhee announced his decision to step down the following day, bringing an end to twelve years of authoritarian rule. As

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this was the first time in South Korean history that students and citizens had succeeded in bringing down a government, it is called the April Revolution.

The April Revolution not only brought about the fall of the government, it also spurred campaigns for democracy in all parts of society, as well as leading to the growth of student and workers' movements and energizing the united progressive social movement. With the revolution acting as a turning point, national self-reliance, democracy, and the rejection of corruption and dictatorship became the values of the time and later the starting point for the promotion of the South Korean democracy movement.

The Emergence of Military Rule in South Korea

The ruling Liberal Party also crumbled with the fall of Rhee Syngman's regime in South Korea. In a general election held in July 1960, the Democratic Party emerged as the victor and implemented a system of cabinet government. This marked the beginning of the Second Republic. In order to settle the legacy of Rhee's administration, the new government, led by Prime Minister Chang Myon (Jang Myeon), set about punishing the people who were responsible for the fraudulent elections and anyone who had amassed a fortune through corruption. However, under financial pressure, and in the face of splits within the political organizations formed during the April Revolution, he was unable to achieve any success in this endeavor. Further, Chang tried to bolster the alliance with the US and stabilize the political system in South Korea while following a policy that put the economy first. However, before this could produce any results, the Chang government was overthrown on May 16, 1961, in a *coup d'état* carried out by a force of 3,500 troops led by young officers of the South Korean army under Brigadier-General Park Chung-hee. They cited the "incompetence of the Chang administration" and the social unrest it had caused as the justification for their actions, but in fact they had also previously demonstrated a strong desire to become involved in political matters. An additional factor was that they harbored huge dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunities for promotion in the military. Immediately after the successful coup, they declared "anti-communism" a national policy and put restraints on the reformists' activities. Through public broadcast, coup forces announced a revolutionary

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pledge in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee and declared martial law. The pledge included promises that the new regime would rebuild South Korea's anti-communist system, cooperate with America, eliminate corruption and social malaise, and put in place an autonomous national economy.

The Military Revolutionary Committee took control of all three branches of government and proclaimed its first edict, which prohibited both indoor and outdoor assemblies, banned foreign travel, implemented censorship of the media, and extended the hours of the nighttime curfew to 7:00pm–5:00am. The committee soon changed its name to the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction and became the country's highest authority, ultimately putting in place the system for a military dictatorship. It ordered the exposure of "procommunist elements" through revolutionary courts and prosecutors' offices and stepped up suppression of the democracy movement by forcibly dissolving mass-media groups and labor unions as well as the pro-democracy parties and social organizations that had emerged after the April Revolution. Further, it also carried out wholesale arrests among members of the reformist movement.

Under pressure from America to transfer power to a civilian government, Park himself stood in presidential elections held in 1963 and defeated Yun Bo-seon. Having gained legitimacy through this election, his regime set about trying to prove its right to rule by achieving economic growth. Besides South Korea, other dictatorships that made developmentalism their ultimate goal also emerged from the East Asian and Southeast Asian states that had experienced "hot wars" under the Cold War system. In Taiwan, the one-party rule by the Guomindang that began in 1949 continued into the 1960s. In Singapore, the People's Action Party led by Lee Kuan Yew took power after gaining independence from the Malaysian Federation in 1965, and Suharto's rule was established in Indonesia in the same year. These pro-developmentalism dictatorships implemented policies prioritizing economic growth above all, and received aid from the US in order to counter ethnic conflicts and internal challenges from communists.

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The Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea

Immediately after the *coup d'état*, Park Chung-hee's military government in Korea showed keenness to improve relations with Japan. This was because it had to bring in sustained aid from America by reconfirming its value as a bastion in the fight against communism, as well as solving the serious economic problems that the country faced, in order to legitimatize the military coup. Providing an injection of foreign capital was essential to resolving the economic issues. To obtain Japanese investment, South Korea had to sign a basic treaty with Japan establishing relations between the two countries. Political and financial interests in Japan were also pushing for this in order to secure a new export market to sustain Japanese economic growth.

The South Korean people, on the other hand, felt that relations with Japan could be improved only on the precondition that the latter show sincere regret for its colonial rule. However, the Park regime pressed ahead with concluding the Treaty on Basic Relations for economic and anti-communist security reasons alone. In the end, citizens all over the country protested the slapdash treaty after it was signed by the Park regime against the wishes of the people.

In Japan, too, there was a campaign against the treaty, claiming that it added permanency to the North-South split in the peninsula, strengthened the anti-communist military system in Japan, America, South Korea, and Taiwan, and might lead to a rearmament of Japan. This campaign merged with the protest movements against the US-Japan security treaty, the detrimental revisions to the constitution, and America's war of aggression in Vietnam, giving rise to a broad multiple-issue movement opposing US policy in the Far East and pressing for change in East Asia's Cold War structure.

The Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea was signed in June 1965 and ratified in December of that year. South Korean students fought to prevent the ratification, but the police and army shut their protests down. The treaty's wording did not include any apology for Japan's colonial rule, and its second article stipulated that treaties and agreements that had been signed going back to the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910 were considered "already null and void." The South Koreans

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interpreted this as implying that the 1910 treaty was illegal and invalid from the very beginning, but the Japanese side saw it as saying that it was effective at the time it was signed and was only nullified after South Korea became independent.

South Korea came to the treaty talks with the fundamental expectation of resolving issues of the past, whereas Japan came with the assumption that there was no past that needed to be resolved, so after the treaty was signed the two countries' interpretations of Korea's colonial past continued to be very different. There was also a difference in how they viewed the five hundred million dollars that Japan had offered in the form of loans and grants. In particular, South Korea stipulated that the grants were money with a "compensatory nature," while Japan saw them as "congratulatory money for independence" and as support for "economic cooperation." A further unclear issue, which later emerged as a problem, was that of whether or not the unresolved matter of the Liancourt Rocks (*Dokdo* in Korean, *Takeshima* in Japanese[98]) was covered by the "Exchange of Notes Concerning the Settlement of Disputes." The position of the South Korean government from the beginning was that its possession of "*Dokdo*" was not in dispute, so it was not an issue for the bilateral talks, and consequently it was not covered by the exchange of notes. The Japanese government, on the other hand, claimed that the "*Takeshima*" dispute was the only issue that had not been resolved between the two countries and that it was therefore in fact covered by the exchange of notes.

The American government was concerned about rising military expenditures due to the escalation of the Vietnam War, and as the American economy was so hard-pressed, the US government had to reduce its overseas assistance. Nevertheless, it still had to strengthen the anti-communist camp in Asia if it wanted to prevail in the Cold War in the region, so it pressed Japan and South Korea to mend their relations. It made Japan, which was its military ally, shoulder some of the assistance for South Korea in an attempt to stabilize the latter both politically and economically. Large Japanese corporations also provided economic assistance instead of

98 A group of small islets in the sea between Japan and Korea that is controlled by South Korea, but Japan claims sovereignty to the group.

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America, as they pursued profits by making economic inroads into South Korea while supporting the military regime.

3. The Vietnam War and East Asia

America's Vietnam War

In 1954, Vietnam was divided into North and South under the terms of the Geneva Agreements. The Vietnam War was fought between America, which was trying to prop up the pro-US regime in South Vietnam as part of the free world, and revolutionary forces consisting mostly of Vietnamese communists whose aim was to bring down the pro-US government in the south and unite the country. It spread to the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia, which together with Vietnam had formerly been part of French Indochina, so it is also known as the Second Indochina War.

When the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam was founded in 1960 and the weakness of the Republic of Vietnam (the South Vietnamese government) was revealed, the US sent a large group of military advisors to try and bolster the South Vietnamese government forces. In August 1964, the US State Department declared that a US destroyer had been attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). US President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered retaliatory bombing attacks by carrier-borne aircraft. Today it is known that the Gulf of Tonkin Incident was fabricated by the US. The following February, the US began large-scale bombing operations against the North. Then, in March, vast numbers of US combat units were sent to Vietnam, beginning with a landing by US Marines at Da Nang in the South. The Vietnam War subsequently escalated and became the largest "hot war" to take place in the Cold War era. The North Vietnamese capital Hanoi was bombed in June 1966 along with Haiphong, and six months later, in December, residential areas in the capital were bombed.

Revolutionary forces in Vietnam looked at the experiences of the Korean War, in which North Korea's regular army drew a response from an UN army made up mostly of US troops after it openly crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, leading to enormous sacrifice and cementing the division between

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North and South Korea. Therefore, the regular North Vietnamese army (NVA) avoided overtly crossing the seventeenth parallel and entering South Vietnam, instead adopting a strategy by which only the citizens of South Vietnam would put pressure on the pro-US regime. The National Liberation Front for South Vietnam was thus formed, which emphasized the struggle as one for the South.

America also regretted the fact that in the Korean War its expeditionary force had advanced north beyond the thirty-eighth parallel and thrown the North Korean regime into crisis, which had brought about Chinese intervention and led to a large-scale land war that caused heavy losses to the US military. Therefore, in the Vietnam War, it limited the commitment of its ground forces to the area south of the seventeenth parallel. Its attacks on North Vietnam were limited to aerial bombardment. Further, there was a tacit understanding between the US and China, formed from their experiences in the Korean War and the lessons learned, that as long as American ground forces did not go north beyond the seventeenth parallel, China would not send in troops.

An unspoken agreement thus came about that the war would be restricted to Vietnam and the neighboring countries that used to be part of Indochina, and the superpowers would not turn it into a war in which they competed directly on the battlefield. In this way, each of the East Asian countries came to be involved in the Vietnam War, albeit with different motives, without any fear that the conflict would spread to them. Then, the following year, the Cultural Revolution started in China.

South Korea's Deployment of Troops to Vietnam and North Korea's Infiltration of South Korea

As one of the countries sending its military to support the South Vietnamese government, South Korea surpassed, by about four times, the total number of troops committed by SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization) countries such as Australia and New Zealand, and occupied a position second only to the US in terms of troops sent to the conflict zone. Between 1965 and 1973, South Korea deployed around 50,000 combat troops in South Vietnam at any given time, or 325,517 in total, and suffered around 5,000

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deaths. At first, South Korea was more enthusiastic about sending its troops than the US. After having seized power, when Park Chung-hee visited America for the first time in November 1961, he proposed to President Kennedy the idea of sending South Korean troops. Later, too, the South Korean government clearly signaled to American officials its intention to deploy troops. In May 1964, after America became deeply involved in the Vietnam War, President Johnson sent letters to twenty-five countries, including South Korea, urging them to support the South Vietnamese government. In particular, America promised to give South Korea loans necessary for economic development and the expansion of the South Korean military as a reward for its troop deployment. By sending troops, the Park regime was attempting to stabilize and strengthen itself, both internally by diverting domestic dissatisfaction away from the government and externally by raising South Korea's international prestige.

(Unit: persons)

Nations, Areas / Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
U.S.A	17,200	l61,110	388,568	497,498	548,383	475,678	344,674	156,975	29,655
South Korea	140	20,540	45,605	48,839	49,869	49,755	48,512	45,694	37,438
Thailand	0	16	244	2,205	6,005	11,568	11,586	6,265	38
Philippines	17	72	2,061	2,020	1,576	189	71	57	49
Australia	200	1,557	4,525	6,818	7,661	7,672	6,763	1,816	128
New Zealand	30	119	155	534	516	552	441	60	53
Taiwan	20	20	23	31	29	29	31	31	31
Spain	0	0	13	13	12	10	7	0	0
Total	17,607	183,425	441,194	557,958	614,051	545,453	412,088	210,898	67,392

Source: Kukpangbu Kunsa P'yŏnch'an Yŏn'guso, *Statistics of the Vietnam War & ROK armed forces*, Seoul, 2007 [in Korean].

Figure 59: Troop strength of nations involved in the Vietnam War.

Due to the troop deployment, the war brought about a boom in economic demand in South Korea as local corporations received orders for road and port construction projects and military materials and services required by the US and South Korean forces stationed in Vietnam, and Korean workers sent on these projects sent money back home. Hyundai in the construction industry and Hanjin in the shipping business are leading examples of conglomerates that achieved rapid growth through this war-based boom. From 1965 to 1972, special demand amounting to five billion dollars resulting from the Vietnam War and a war-related increase in exports to the

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US brought high economic growth to South Korea, and its export-orientated industrialization was well under way.

However, the price it paid was huge; alongside the loss of many of the young soldiers sent to fight, the aftereffects of US use of defoliants among South Korean soldiers deployed in Vietnam are still a serious problem today. Furthermore, civilian massacres committed by the South Korean forces created ill feeling among the Vietnamese people, and within South Korean society there are those who question the country's responsibility for its actions in the war and have pressed for greater reflection on its role.

When South Korea sent medical squads and a team of Taekwondo instructors to South Vietnam in 1964, North Korea promoted a movement within the country in support of North Vietnam, and in 1965 it announced that it would send auxiliaries if a request came from the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam. That same year, it also signed an agreement to provide economic and technical assistance to North Vietnam.

When South Korea sent combat units to South Vietnam in 1965, North Korea hoped that there would be greater potential for a revolution in South Korea, as with the US struggling in Vietnam, its base in South Korea would be weakened, and the strength of the South Korean military would be dissipated by the deployment to Vietnam. It then began to contemplate how to create conditions for revolution in South Korea similar to those that existed in South Vietnam. Its plan was to send armed guerrillas into the south and persuade revolutionary parties in South Korea to incite localized revolutions there. The socialist forces in the North would then merge with this movement and unite the peninsula.

In January 1968, thirty-one North Korean commandoes under orders to attack the South Korean President's residence and assassinate key government figures donned South Korean army uniforms and succeeded in crossing over the ceasefire line and entering Seoul. However, when they were stopped and questioned by police, their true identities were revealed, and a firefight with the South Korean army and police ensued in which most of the commandos were killed. This incident raised the South Koreans' awareness of the military crisis and led to the establishment of the Homeland Reserve Forces and the implementation of military training for students.

Incidents also occurred between North Korea and the US, first in January

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1968, when the former seized an American data-gathering ship called the USS Pueblo, and then in April 1969, when it shot down an American spy plane on the grounds that it had invaded North Korean airspace. These were hardline policies in opposition to the signing of the Basic Treaty between Japan and the South Korea engineered by the US in 1965, the sending of South Korean combat units to the Vietnam War that same year, and the strengthening of the US-Japan military alliance. Having pursued this policy of military adventurism, North Korea backed down from infiltrating South Korea in the latter half of the 1960s due to the crushing burden of its defense costs.

Japanese Involvement in the Vietnam War

In Japan, Okinawa, which was still under US military administration, became a frontline base for the B-52 strategic bombers that were attacking Vietnam. With their black fuselages, the B-52s were also known as "Black Killers," and day after day at a certain time they set out on bombing sorties from Kadena Air Base to bomb North Vietnam with such regularity that they were called the "Regular Vietnam Air Service." In addition, the forested mountainous region in northern Okinawa was used for training US troops in the anti-guerrilla warfare they would be expected to conduct in the Vietnamese jungle. Okinawa became such a key supply base for America's war in Vietnam that the Commander of the US Pacific Forces said in an interview in November 1965: "Without Okinawa, we couldn't continue fighting the Vietnam War."

The Japanese port cities of Yokosuka, Sasebo, and Naha were bases for the US Seventh Fleet, which comprised six aircraft carriers, including the USS Enterprise, which attacked Vietnam from the sea, 160 other vessels, and 700 ship-borne aircraft. US units returned to these bases, replenished their weapons, ammunition, food supplies, and fuel, and the soldiers would relax and recuperate in the entertainment districts before returning to the war zone. US bases in Japan such as Tachikawa, Yokota, and Atsugi also became used for resupplying and repairing bombers flying to Vietnam, as well as for training and communications.

However, in Japan, anti-Vietnam War movements heated up through

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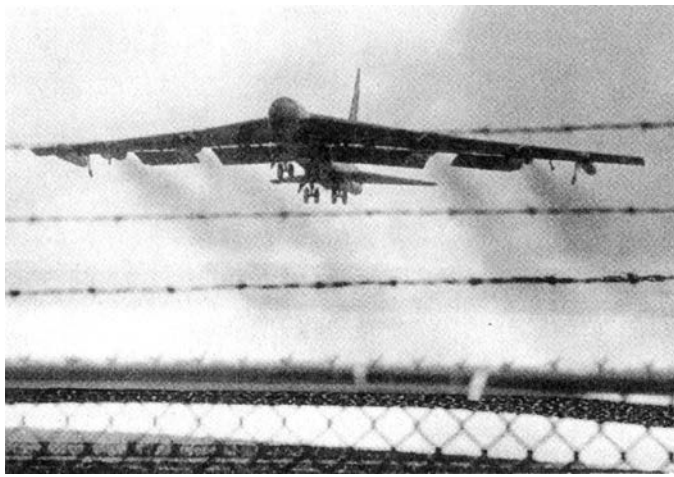

Figure 60: American B-52s taking off from Kadena Airbase in Okinawa, the largest US military base in the Far East. Courtesy of Mainichi Shinbun.

student campaigns organized by the Zengakuren, citizens' movements such as the Beheiren (Peace for Vietnam! Citizens' Alliance), and labor unions including Sohyo and Churitsu Roren (Federation of Independent Labor Unions). There was also a strong current of public opinion arguing that the Japanese Constitution did not allow Japan to have even Self-Defense Forces. It was at exactly this time that the US-Japan Security Treaty was nearing the end of its 10-year period of effect in 1970, and there was growing confrontation between the ruling LDP, which wanted to extend the treaty, and the opposition parties, which were against an extension. Labor unions and student and citizens' movements demanding the termination of the treaty received increasing support. In addition, in Okinawa the campaign for the return of the prefecture to Japan joined hands with the anti-security treaty and anti-Vietnam War movements and thus reached its zenith. Fearing further build-up of these movements, the Japanese government did not send the Self-Defense Forces to Vietnam in spite of strong requests from America to do so.

At this time, the Japanese economy was buoyant due to the upsurge in war-related demand. There was direct demand, such as the purchase of materials from Japan by the US military and personal consumption by US

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troops in Japan including those over from Vietnam on "R&R," and indirect demand in the form of an increase in exports due to demand stimulated by the increased US defense costs and overseas assistance provisions that came about with the escalation of the Vietnam War. In 1965, there was a surplus in Japan's exports to the US, and exports to South Korea increased by nearly sixty-six percent on the previous year due to the conclusion of the Basic Treaty between the two countries. At the time, South Korea was also seeing special demand for wartime procurements, and so imports of raw materials from Japan rose.

Later, amid the national surge in the campaign for the return of Okinawa, there was extensive dialogue between the US and Japanese governments, and after talks in November 1967 between Prime Minister Sato Eisaku and President Lyndon B. Johnson, the two leaders confirmed that Okinawa would return to Japan soon. Finally, after a joint communiqué issued by Sato and Nixon in November 1969, Okinawa's reversion to Japan was realized in 1972. However, this was only a reversion of administrative rights on condition that the functions of the US bases would not be compromised.

The Vietnam War and Sino-Soviet Relations

The existence of the socialist bloc led by the Soviet Union and China acted to a degree as a brake on US action in foreign policy following the establishment of the Cold War structure. However, when the Vietnam War was heating up in the 1960s, the Sino-Soviet Split intensified to the point that the socialist camp was unable to take any unified action. Furthermore, both the Soviet Union and China displaced the risk of direct confrontation with America onto Vietnam, and carefully kept their own support of the latter to a limit that would keep them out of the flames of war.

In 1965, China proposed to provide North Vietnam with full support if it rejected aid from the USSR, and from June that year it secretly supplied rear echelon support units, for the most part air defense, railroad, and combat engineering units. These troops engaged mainly in defending and repairing transportation and defense facilities in the region neighboring China. By 1968, the number of Chinese troops sent to North Vietnam reached 320,000, of which, over the whole Vietnam War period, more than 1,100 were killed

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and over 4,200 wounded. Starting in April 1965 and continuing up to the end of 1974, the Soviet Union sent a total of 6,359 troops, who were mainly operators for surface-to-air missile systems; of these, thirteen were killed.

However, North Vietnam took a position of neutrality in the Sino-Soviet Split. China was displeased over the fact that North Vietnam continued to receive Soviet assistance, and declared that it would not act jointly with the USSR in providing support to the North Vietnamese. After the Vietnamese Chairman Ho Chi Minh died in 1969, relations between China and North Vietnam began to change. In 1970, China began to withdraw its troops from Vietnam and also started to look for ways to improve ties with America in order to shut out the Soviet Union, with which it had been involved in border clashes. In order to somehow escape from the Vietnam quagmire, US President Richard Nixon continued to send signals to China over easing trade regulations. China accepted the US advances, and in 1971 the presidential advisor Henry Kissinger went to Beijing in secret and reached an agreement that President Nixon would visit China the following year. Rapprochement thus began, and would soon lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The North Vietnamese Government regarded this as "a turning point that betray[ed] the Vietnamese revolution, the Indochinese revolution, and the global revolution," and became suspicious that China "had sold out Vietnam to America." China, on the other hand, continued to supply arms and food to the Vietnamese to allay their mistrust.

The End of the Vietnam War

Even though they paid a heavy price for it, North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front continued to resist the US military, with the 1968 Tet Offensive being a prime example. The offensive was a huge shock to the Americans. The American people began to harbor enormous distrust toward their own government, which had up to that point been optimistic regarding the outcome of the war, and a majority swung round to the view that the US should withdraw if it was an unwinnable war. The anti-war movement began to swell, and the American people lost the will to continue fighting the war.

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In June 1969, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was established by, for the most part, the National Liberation Front and the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces. The year prior to this, peace negotiations attended by all parties involved in the war had opened in Paris. There was also an upsurge in the international campaign against the Vietnam War, and the anti-war movement in America intensified, demanding the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam. In January 1973, the Paris Peace Accords were concluded between representatives of the US and South Vietnamese governments on the one hand and the North Vietnamese government and Provisional Revolutionary Government on the other. In March of the same year, President Nixon once again declared that he would end US involvement in the Vietnam War, and soon announced that the withdrawal of all US troops stationed in South Vietnam was complete.

The government of South Vietnam fell in the spring of 1975 in the face of a military offensive by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, and on April 30 the war came to an end. North and South Vietnam were united, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was founded in 1976. In 1975, socialist governments had been likewise established in Cambodia and Laos, which had both been dragged into Vietnam War.

The total number of American troops mobilized for the war numbered three million, and the number of US war dead exceeded 58,000. However, even among those who returned alive, there were many who suffered from the aftereffects of their wounds or toxic chemicals such as "Agent Orange," which was deployed as part of the US herbicidal warfare program, or had incurred mental trauma. Above all, though, it was Vietnam that bore the brunt of the devastation caused by the war. Except for nuclear weapons, the US poured all its latest weaponry and firepower into the Vietnam battleground, causing damage and loss on a vast scale. In the North Vietnamese army and Viet Cong, the number of dead combatants numbered around 1.1 million; the figure for the South Vietnamese army was around 220,000. Taken civilian victims into account, the total number of dead amounts to nearly three million. Even for the victors, the Vietnam War was a ghastly conflict.

As the war had put America's prestige as a dominant power on the line, the defeat severely damaged its hegemony. The massive expenditure on the

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war and the decline in the US economy's international competitiveness, coinciding with the rise of Europe and Japan, also plunged the dollar into acute crisis. In 1971, in order to protect the dollar, the US announced an end to conversion of the dollar into gold, but this led to a global crisis of the dollar which in 1973 brought about the end of the IMF's fixed exchange rate system and a transition to a floating exchange rate system in its place.

4. Detente and Changes in Relations between China, Japan, and South Korea

US-Soviet Detente and Sino-US Reconciliation

In his inaugural address after taking office as US President in January 1969, Richard Nixon emphasized that the US was entering an "era of negotiations" with the Soviet Union. In this period, America faced a crisis of its currency and dealt with the financial burden stemming from its provision of overseas development assistance as well as from the cost of continuing the Vietnam War. Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger, a professor at Harvard University, as Special National Security Advisor to the President, and undertook a review of America's stalled foreign policy. In order to achieve an "honorable peace" with Vietnam, which was America's most pressing foreign policy concern, Nixon felt it was necessary to revise US policy toward China and the Soviet Union, and he attempted to build new relations with each of them.

As a result of the deepening Sino-Soviet Split and a deterioration in the Soviet economy, the Soviet Union was also proactive in trying to remedy its relations with the US. In November 1969, the two superpowers began preliminary discussions for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), and both countries ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that same month. In May 1972, SALT I (the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) was signed after Nixon went to Moscow and held talks with Brezhnev. These were the first arms limitation treaties signed between the US and USSR, and they were symbolic of the developing detente.

Nixon carried out a staggered withdrawal of US forces from South Vietnam on the basis of the Nixon Doctrine, which consisted in strength-

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ening the independent defense capabilities of Asian countries and reducing the US defense burden by decreasing troop strength in Asia. At the same time, he was also actively positioning himself in an attempt to improve relations with China. He first discussed the issue, mainly with Henry Kissinger, then used him to begin making top-secret approaches to China. In July 1971, as mentioned above, Kissinger secretly went via Pakistan to China, where it was decided that Nixon would visit the following year. Kissinger went to China again in October, and discussed how to end the Vietnam War, as well as raising the issue of Taiwan and the question of China's rights of representation at the UN. He also demonstrated the US position of cooperation with China by handing over satellite photographs showing the state of the Soviet military deployed on the Chinese border.

Figure 61: Meeting between Nixon and Mao Zedong. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

America's rapprochement with China was a complete reversal of the "containment policy," a strategy seeking to limit China's economic and political significance, that had been a linchpin of its Cold War structure in East Asia. Until then, the capitalist countries, led by the US, had not recognized the People's Republic of China, and the Taiwanese (GMD) government had instead been made a member of the UN. The containment policy had also been implemented at the UN; in 1955, it was decided to not even consider the issue of the PRC's representation at the UN. As it became harder after 1961 to keep stalling on this matter, the question of China's

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entry into the UN was designated as an important issue under Article 18 of the UN Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority to pass. Japan mounted a campaign with America against the PRC's entry into the UN as a permanent member of the Security Council.

However, by the 1970s, the PRC's presence on the world stage had grown, and the body of opinion in favor of recognizing its entry into the UN had strengthened; even the US had abandoned its policy of isolating the PRC. At the Twenty-Sixth Session of the UN General Assembly in October 1971, held just as Kissinger was visiting China, a motion submitted by Albania was passed (Resolution 2758), which amounted to a recognition of the PRC as the only "legitimate representative of China to the United Nations" and the concomitant expulsion of the Republic of China (Taiwan). The result of this was the admission of the PRC and the removal of Taiwan from the UN.

After visits by Kissinger had laid the groundwork, President Nixon visited China in February 1972, and held talks with the Chinese leaders including Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. Agreement was reached on trying to normalize diplomatic relations, and the two nations also achieved reconciliation. The Joint Communiqué (also known as the Shanghai Communiqué) that they issued provided for an "anti-hegemony" clause to keep the expansion of Soviet influence in check. This reconciliation shifted the Cold War structure of hostility between capitalist and socialist countries in East Asia.

Restoration of Sino-Japanese Relations

Because Sino-American antagonism had been a given in international relations in East Asia, reconciliation between the two countries in 1972 was such a surprise to the other East Asian countries that it was called the "Nixon shock." In Japan, the government led by Sato Eisaku had pushed through a policy of supporting Taiwan in accordance with the American approach of viewing the PRC as an enemy. As it had therefore cut itself off from mainland China, it was unable to cope with the swift change in American policy and was left floundering. In financial circles, too, there was growing uncertainty toward the anti-China Sato-led government, as businesses now eyed up the huge Chinese market. In December 1972, the All-Party Alliance

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of Diet Members for the Restoration of Sino-Japanese Relations (led by Fujiyama Aiichiro, with 379 Diet representatives as members) issued severe criticism of the Sato administration's China policy. In May 1972, the Sato cabinet resigned amid the triumph of the return of Okinawa to Japan.

Starting in July 1972, Tanaka Kakuei's government made the restoration of relations with China a priority issue. For China, too, improving its relations with Japan would speed up its entry into international society, so it responded positively to overtures to restore relations. In September of the same year, Prime Minister Tanaka visited Beijing and signed the Joint Communiqué between Japan and China, which meant that the state of war between the two countries came to an end. The 1952 Treaty of Taipei was nullified, foreign relations between Japan and Taiwan ceased, and relations between Japan and China were restored.

Preamble to the Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China (outline)

The peoples of the two countries earnestly desire to put an end to the abnormal state of affairs that has hitherto existed between the two countries. The realization of the aspiration of the two peoples for the termination of the state of war and the normalization of relations between Japan and China will add a new page to the annals of relations between the two countries.

The Japanese side is keenly conscious of [its] responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself. Further, the Japanese side reaffirms its position that it intends to realize the normalization of relations between the two countries from the [position] of fully understanding "the three principles for the restoration of relations" put forward by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese side expresses its welcome for this.*

In spite of the differences in their social systems existing between the two countries, the two countries should, and can, establish relations of peace and friendship. The normalization of relations and development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two countries are in the interests of the two peoples and will contribute to the relaxation of tension in Asia and peace in the world.

** "The three principles for the restoration of relations" are mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territory, mutual non-aggression and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual respect, and peaceful coexistence.*

The communiqué declared that "the Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself." On the basis of this formula, the Chinese government relinquished any right it had as a state

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to claim compensation from Japan. The reasons Zhou Enlai gave to the Chinese people for this were that 1) Chiang Kai-shek's government in Taiwan had abandoned its claim for compensation, and the CCP could not be less broadminded than Chiang; 2) even if China demanded compensation from Japan, the burden would ultimately fall on the Japanese citizens. This would not be in line with the wishes espoused by the Chinese government, which aspired to friendship with the Japanese people.

In August 1978, both countries formally signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China, on the basis of which both governments issued a Joint Declaration in November 1998. The basic principles confirmed in the three official documents – the Joint Communiqué, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and the Joint Declaration – were to become the foundations of amicable relations between China and Japan. The normalization of diplomatic relations also made an important contribution to both the prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region and global peace, and after diplomatic relations were restored, economic and cultural exchange between the two countries improved, as did interactions among their people. Sino-Japanese relations entered a period of new development, and both countries recognized that Japan would give assistance and China would receive assistance, something that the Japanese economy was able to support. From 1979 onward, the Japanese government offered Official Development Assistance (ODA) to China and supported energy development, infrastructure maintenance and environmental protection in China through low-interest yen loans, free assistance grants, and technology transfer. This played a role in helping China progress with its policy of reform and opening up and build up its economy. Japanese corporations, too, opened and entered the Chinese market via direct investments of capital and technology, and the subsequent increase in trade volume with China strengthened the countries' relationship of mutual dependency.

After relations were restored, Japanese people's feelings toward China improved, and in a public opinion survey carried out by the Japanese Cabinet Office in 1978, 62.1 percent of people stated that they had "friendly feelings toward China" and only 25.6 percent claimed to "not have friendly feelings toward China." In 1980, the former figure rose as high as 78.6 percent, whereas the latter dropped to just 14.7 percent. While relations were being normalized, the fact that the Chinese government had given up

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its rights to claim compensation and taken a position of approval toward the US-Japan Security Treaty (as it opposed Soviet hegemony and also restrained Japan's military power) were also reasons for the favorable feelings towards China not only in Japanese governmental and financial circles, but also among the wider Japanese population. However, from the 1990s onward, criticism and dissatisfaction rose among the Chinese people toward the Chinese government's renunciation of its right to claim compensation from Japan, as they said it had been done without obtaining their consent. The Chinese government then began to express the opinion that what it had relinquished was the right of the state to demand compensation, and that the rights of individual citizens to claim compensation against Japan for harm inflicted in the war had not been given up.

North-South Relations on the Korean Peninsula and the Yushin System in South Korea

In February 1972, US President Nixon submitted a report to Congress titled "A New Strategy for Peace," which elaborated on the "Nixon Doctrine" he had outlined in Guam in 1969. While America was considering withdrawal from the Vietnam War, it was simultaneously seeking to promote Cold War detente in East Asia. Seeing a need to relieve the military tension between North and South Korea so that it could reduce its own military presence in South Korea, the US encouraged the Park Chung-hee regime to improve relations with North Korea.

On July 4, 1972, a joint North-South statement was issued simultaneously in Seoul and Pyongyang, declaring that both countries would try to resolve the conflict between North and South and unite peacefully without reliance on external forces. This marked the first occasion since the partition that both sides had expressed agreement on the issue of unification. On the basis of this statement, three principles of unification were established: that it should be achieved independently without foreign interference, peacefully, and with the creation of complete national unity. In November, the North-South Coordinating Committee was set up with the goal of promoting the points agreed on in the joint statement and cooperating on the issues of North-South relations and unification.

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The joint statement was decided upon after Lee Hu-rak, the director of South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency, and Park Song-chol, the second deputy premier of North Korea, made top secret visits to each other in first Seoul and then Pyongyang. As the statement was prepared in secret between officials in both governments, it had the limitation of only dealing with the unification issue on a superficial level, on the basis of the political will of the power-holders in North and South Korea and of their attempts to use the unification controversy to strengthen their respective power bases. However, these actions were induced by internal needs on both sides of the border and by changes in the international environment, including the easing of tensions on the Korean peninsula. South Korea had to accept the new international situation, which had changed with the US-Soviet detente and the withdrawal of some US troops stationed in South Korea, and deal with the reduced tensions between North and South Korea. In addition, North Korea was also affected by international circumstances, including divisions in the international communist movement as a result of the Sino-Soviet Split, the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, and the improvement in Sino-US relations. It was also necessary to reconcile the internal controversy over the establishment of a replacement system in North Korea by encouraging the struggle against Park Chung-hee's regime. In the end, while both North and South Korea had to deal with changes in the international situation, they turned to dialogue and negotiation with each other due to internal exigencies.

However, on October 17, 1972, South Korean President Park Chung-hee declared emergency martial law issued a special presidential announcement declaring the National Assembly to be dissolved, banned political activity, and suspended the constitution. Park gave the following reasons for his actions: "We must proceed with systemic reform that best suits our situation in order to cope with the constructive developments in the dialogue with North Korea and [the] rapidly changing circumstances around us." Stating that "major restorative reforms for a new system" were necessary, he called the new course the "*Yushin* (Restoration) System." Park instrumentalized US pressure for an easing of tensions in North-South relations and declared that the *Yushin* System was necessary for the creation of a nationalist force for peaceful unification.

The *Yushin* System in fact stripped people of their right to political

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choice, and destroyed the constitutional system in order to allow Park to seize power for life. This aim was embodied by the *Yushin* Constitution, adopted in October 1972 and confirmed in a referendum in November of the same year, which was incompatible with principles such as public voting, the separation of powers between the executive, legislature, and judiciary, and parliamentary democracy. Under the new constitution, the president was elected through indirect election at the National Conference for Unification, and not directly by the people; the presidential term of office was extended from four to six years; the restriction on the number of terms a president could serve was abolished; and the president was given the authority to dissolve the National Assembly.

While the *Yushin* System was being established, dissenting opinions were not allowed under martial law, and free speech was restricted, so barely any resistance to the changes was reported. However, an anti-*Yushin* movement did emerge that combined the struggle against the system by students, intellectuals, opposition-party politicians, and religious figures with a campaign mounted by workers demanding the right to a certain standard of living, which had emerged with industrialization. In the 1970s, the campaign against the *Yushin* System became the driving force behind the democratization movement in South Korea, and paved the way for the Gwangju Democratization Movement of 1980 and the June Democratic Uprising of 1987.

The Fight for Democracy in South Korea

The fuse for resistance to the *Yushin* System was lit in August 1973 by the abduction in Tokyo of Kim Dae-jung, one of the leaders of the opposition against the South Korean government and a powerful political rival of Park Chung-hee. The fight against the dictatorship took the form of protest marches by students, and, amid the issuance of a succession of demands for guarantees for freedom of speech and campus freedom, a "campaign by one million people petitioning for a revision of the constitution" emerged, which won broad support among the general public. The Park regime considered completely shutting down the pro-democracy movement, but in addition to this domestic issue it was also facing external problems, including a crisis in

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its relations with America. In 1977, Jimmy Carter took office as US president, emphasizing human rights and the withdrawal of US troops stationed in South Korea, and he opposed the suppression of human rights by the Park regime.

Activists and intellectuals in Japan and South Korea also played an important role in the democratization movement as they cooperated with one another and criticized military rule in South Korea and the collusion between their governments. For example, the monthly journal *Sekai* (The World) ran a regular column from its May 1973 issue on, called "Letters from South Korea." These "letters" were written by Ji Myeong-gwan (Chi Myong-kwan), a visiting professor at Tokyo Woman's Christian University from 1972 to 1993, under the pseudonym "T.K." They vividly described the state of oppression in South Korea and laid bare the power of the Park regime, while also describing the citizens, students, and intellectuals who were fighting for democratization in the face of great risk to their lives. The letters also uncovered the South Korea policy of the Japanese government, which was in a relationship of mutual dependency with the Park regime and supported it economically in particular. The letters brought about the growth of a movement in Japan, predominantly among intellectuals, denouncing the violent oppression carried out by the South Korean regime and the collusion of the Japanese government. The letters were later published in three paperback volumes and additionally in English translation, drawing a strong response from the international community.

Intellectuals in Japan supported the South Korean opposition primarily because they sympathized with the democratization movement, but there was also a desire, stemming from regret for Japan's colonial rule, to see South Korea become a democracy and the peninsula be peacefully united. Additionally, among the leaders of the Christian churches in Japan, some supported democratization as an atonement for the violent compulsion of Korean Christians to worship the emperor during the colonial period.

During the campaign against the *Yushin* System in the latter half of the 1970s, a campaign for the right to a decent standard of living started to form among workers, farmers, and the urban poor. It protested daily hardships, low wages and the dependence of the country's economic system on Japan. The collapse of the Park regime began in August 1979, when female workers at YH Trading visited the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) and

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staged a sit-in protest. They were violently dispersed by the police, but in the confusion one of the women died, and many National Assembly members from the NDP and journalists were also injured. The Park regime then expelled Kim Young-sam, the leader of the NDP, from the National Assembly, as he had actively supported the workers' protest. When demonstrations protesting this move broke out in Busan and Masan, the regime again declared emergency martial law and suspended the Constitution, but it was already too late to prevent the protests from spreading. On October 26, the curtain came down on the *Yushin* System when President Park Chung-hee was assassinated by the head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) at a dinner party.

The 1980s proved to be the tipping point for the authoritarian system that had been cemented in place via the developmentalist dictatorship following the partition and war, and South Korea eventually emerged as a democratic system. The decisive moments were the Gwangju Democratization Movement (the Gwangju Uprising) of May 18, 1980, and the June Democratic Uprising of 1987. The reason why the struggle took place in the provincial city of Gwangju and not in Seoul was because the new military had mercilessly suppressed the pro-democracy protests in the capital. This brutal suppression led to spontaneous resistance by the people of Gwangju and surrounding regions, spurring them on to rise up in an armed struggle. The response of the military was to carry out a bloody suppression of the protests with American cooperation.

A new military leadership headed by Chun Doo-hwan took power in South Korea after the suppression of the Gwangju Democratization Movement and preserved the existing authoritarian system, although it did pass a constitutional reform bill concerned mainly with a system of indirect presidential election. The Chun regime forcibly disbanded the People's Movement Coalition for Democracy and Reunification and tried to quell the zeal for democratization using torture and violence. When the student activist Park Jong-chul died under torture in January 1987, people all over the country became even more incensed.

On April 13, 1987, Chun Doo-hwan gave an address in which he declared: "In order to ensure the peaceful transfer of political power and the success of the huge state undertaking that is the Seoul Olympics, I am temporarily suspending debate on constitutional reform, which only serves to consume

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and dissipate our national resources." He also made clear that presidential elections would be held within the year through electoral colleges (indirect elections) in accordance with the constitution, and that power would be transferred to the new president in February 1988. This address came to be known as the "April 13 Measures to Defend the Constitution," but it openly rejected the democratization movement's large-scale campaign for reform of the constitution to permit direct presidential elections. As a result, opposition grew against the Chun regime's April 13 Measures, and pro-democracy demonstrations calling for the "overthrow of the dictatorship and repeal of the measures to defend the constitution" spread across the country. This is known as the 1987 June Democratic Uprising. Finally, on June 29, Roh Tae-woo, the ruling party's presidential candidate, had no choice but to make an announcement in which he gave his full approval to a system of direct presidential election. That there was no bloodshed this time was down to the role of the US, which had reflected on its experiences in the Gwangju uprising. With South Korea due to hold the Olympic Games the following year, the Chun regime was also wary of national and international public opinion. Although the 1987 June Democratic Uprising was unable to bring about the creation of a new government due to splits within the movement, it was another victory achieved by the people of South Korea seven years after the Gwangju Democratization Movement.

The "Four Dragons" of East Asia

Another factor that changed the Cold War structure in East Asia was the success of the export-oriented industrialization undertaken by South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore in the 1970s and 80s, which was called the "Asian miracle" by the World Bank. The rapid economic development as industrialized nations demonstrated by these four East Asian countries was compared to a rising dragon, hence their collective name of the "four Asian dragons." Economically, they were called Asia's Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs); however, in consideration of the point that calling Taiwan and Hong Kong "countries" was problematic for foreign relations with China, the term Newly Industrializing Economies (NIEs) established itself.

Exports of industrial goods from these economies increased, the share of

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manufacturing in GDP rose, and the countries achieved sustained growth in national per-capita income. We might consider the following aspects of the Cold War structure in East Asia to be as common factors in the success of the four Asian dragons in achieving industrialization: 1) In an attempt to prevent the spread of socialism, America provided huge amounts of development capital to East Asian countries that were on the front line of Cold War confrontation; 2) in partitioned states and regions, there was an awareness of the need for rapid modernization in order to avoid being swallowed up by powerful neighbors.

The industrial leap made by the "four dragons" had a profound global influence, in particular giving a jolt to China and Vietnam, which had adopted socialist economic systems. It spurred China to accelerate its policy of reform and openness and Vietnam to press ahead with its similar *Doi Moi* policy.

In the East Asian Cold War structure there were divisions within the socialist bloc that escalated into hostile relations, such as the Sino-Soviet Split, following which both sides sought to repair their respective relations with America. This did not happen in Europe. As a result, transformations in the Cold War structure began earlier in East Asia than in Europe. Along with changes in the East Asian system, authoritarian state systems began to slowly crumble and citizens' movements emerged in each country; the movement of opposition to the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and South Korea and the anti-Vietnam War protest movement in China, Japan, and South Korea played joint, albeit indirect, roles in this transformation.

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China's Cultural Revolution and East Asia

The Impact of the Cultural Revolution in Japan

During China's Cultural Revolution, the thought of Mao Zedong was declared to be a new stage of Marxist-Leninist thinking and the highest form of modern ideology, and all over the world, calls emerged for the initiation of similar revolutionary movements. Overseas Chinese all over the world responded to this call and groups advocating Mao Zedong's thought (Maoism) formed Red Guards organizations in support of the Cultural Revolution. Although on a different scale to those to China, they began a "fight for the seizure of power."

The Cultural Revolution had a shocking effect on Japan. During the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) tended toward support for the Soviet Union, whereas the Japan Communist Party (JCP) backed China. However, as the JCP openly opposed and criticized the Cultural Revolution, Chinese revolutionary leaders put the JCP in the same category as American imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and Japanese reactionaries as one of its "four enemies," calling for a movement to "seize power." Leading members of the JCP and journalists from the party newspaper *Akahata* (Red Flag) residing in China at that time were attacked and the JCP cut off all ties with the Chinese Communist Party.

The Cultural Revolution overlapped with the rise of the student movement in Japan. In this context, a student faction emerged that agreed with Mao's idea of "justified rebellion." Its members carried the *Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong* (also known as the *Little Red Book*) with them, and in an imitation of the armed struggle of the Red Guards, they armed themselves and attacked opposition organizations within the student movement with iron pipes or wooden clubs. This turn to violence led to the student movement losing the support of the Japanese people.

The Cultural Revolution also influenced the Japanese peace movement, the cultural movement, the trade union movement, and the youth movement, causing divisions and antagonisms. In particular, the peace movement and Sino-Japanese friendship and foreign

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trade organizations, which had particularly strong ties with China, suffered divisions due to debates on whether or not to support the Cultural Revolution.

The Impact of the Cultural Revolution in South Korea

The media in South Korea generally reported that the Cultural Revolution had been launched by Mao to reverse his fortunes as he feared the loss of power due to the failures of the "Great Leap Forward" and the "People's Commune." The general tenor of the argument was that the Cultural Revolution was a power struggle between Mao and (reformist forces around) Deng Xiaoping, and that Mao "let the Red Guards, made up of naïve children, lead the Revolution […] and they made it become a scene of carnage." (from an editorial in *Chosun Ilbo*, February 11, 1967) Other critical comments on the Cultural Revolution appeared in the press, where it was variously called "a power struggle that is heading at full speed toward bloodshed," "a barbaric, inhuman Red Guard movement," and "a modern version of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms.*"[99] The debate in South Korea predicted that China, having started the revolution, would launch an aggressive communist movement across the globe, and this heightened South Korea's wariness of China.

Not all views of the Cultural Revolution in South Korea were negative. For instance, Rhee Yeung-hui, a journalist and scholar, praised it as a "third revolution" that sought to defeat not only Western capitalism, but also Soviet socialism. He argued that it was a radical revolution in a different dimension to that pursued by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Its characteristic was that it was a "human revolution" and not one about "systems." In 1974, Rhee published a book called *The Theory of Times of Transformation*, in which he laid out his claims. The book had an enormous impact on intellectuals and students in South Korea; it gave them a fresh perspective on China's revolution and the socialist revolution while going beyond the con-

99 Referring to one of the bloodiest eras in Chinese history, during which the three states of Wei, Shu, and Wu fought a decade-long violent civil war for supremacy.

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fines of anti-communism and Cold War theory, and it was particularly widely read during the 1980s democracy movement.[100]

The Impact of the Cultural Revolution in North Korea

Soon after Nikita Khrushchev was removed from power in the USSR in the autumn of 1964 and Leonid Brezhnev took over control in Moscow, North Korea restored relations with the Soviet Union. However, China was not at all happy with North Korea being on good terms with the USSR. From 1966 onward, the leaders of the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards began to criticize North Korea's Kim Il-sung as a "revisionist." North Korea's response to this was to attack China's leadership as "dogmatists and sectarians." Relations between the two grew so bad that they recalled their respective ambassadors. The Red Guards even persecuted the head of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region, Zhu Dehai, under the pretext that at the time when the border between North Korea and China had been negotiated, he had favored the former through his agreement to that country's demand to control a larger share of Heaven Lake near Mt. Baekdu (North Korea now controls 54.5 percent of the lake). He was also accused of promoting Kim Il-sung over Mao. Eventually he was hounded to death by the Red Guards. As the dispute between the two states heated up, the North Korean leadership called for unity and a collective focus on its head of state in order enable the state to deal with "internal and external enemies." It also placed even more emphasis on *Juche* as North Korea's own unique doctrine counteracting Maoist thought. With the personality cult around Mao growing in China, North Korea decided to face this head on by bolstering Kim Il-sung's personality cult. North Korea was critical of the Cultural Revolution, but there were certain similarities between its actions and the efforts of China's ruling faction to emphasize its original doctrine through the Cultural Revolution and strengthen its key cult of personality.[101]

100 Cf. Jeong Mun-Seong, "The South Korean People's Perceptions of China during the Cold War Era: Focusing on their Understanding of the Cultural Revolution," *Asian Cultural Studies* 13 (2007).

101 Cf. Lee Jong-Seok, *Sino-North Korean Relations: 1945–2000*, Joongshim, 2000.

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Anti-Vietnam War Movements in East Asia

Japan

Six days after the US bombed North Vietnamese naval bases on August 4, 1964 under the pretext of retaliation for the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, 137 Japanese organizations, including the Socialist Party (JSP), the Communist Party (JCP), and the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo), protested the Japanese government's support for America's military intervention and held an assembly to oppose the war in Vietnam. Following that, in April 1965, the Peace for Vietnam! Citizens' Alliance (Beheiren) was formed upon the initiative of thirty-eight intellectuals including the writers Oda Makoto and Kaiko Takeshi and the critic Tsurumi Shunsuke. Beheiren was a citizens' movement that broke new ground in Japan and revitalized the peace movement through spontaneous action against the ongoing Vietnam War.

America's bombing of the North Vietnamese capital Hanoi and the city of Haiphong in June 1966 turned the anti-Vietnam War movement into a national campaign. A regular meeting of Sohyo in July of that year passed a resolution announcing "opposition to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong" and including plans for a strike scheduled for mid-October. At an extraordinary meeting held in October, it was decided to carry out a general strike in protest against the war on October 21. On that day, 2,106,000 people from unions in ninety-one separate industries, as well as Sohyo and the Federation of Independent Labor Unions, went on strike. This was the first time that Japanese workers had carried out a general strike in protest against an ongoing war, and it stands out in the history of the anti-war activities of the global labor movement. Sohyo also called for an international campaign, which meant that October 21 evolved into a worldwide day of action against the war, and the date has since become an international day to protest war.

Behind the campaign against the Vietnam War conducted by reformist parties, unions, and other bodies that had opposed the revisions to the US-Japan Security Treaty, and likewise behind the

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protests made by organizations in the now more evolved citizens' movement, was a fear that the US-Japan military alliance might lead Japan to once again become embroiled in a war. There were still memories in Japan of the dreadful suffering and sacrifice caused by war, and public opinion was strongly against America's war in Vietnam.

China

In 1965, when America launched its full-scale war in Vietnam, 500 representatives from youth and student groups in Japan visited China, a country with which Japan did not have diplomatic relations at the time. The delegates participated in two Sino-Japanese Youth Friendship exchange events, one in August/September and one in November. The first group of Japanese representatives took part in a protest march against the Vietnam War with 100,000 Chinese students and young people in Shanghai on September 12 and chanted slogans such as "The Youth of China and Japan, come together in solidarity and oppose America's imperialist invasion of Vietnam." The Japanese government blocked the visas of the second group scheduled to visit China. The delegates were only able to leave Japan for China after a battle with the authorities. The Japanese representatives joined over 10,000 young Chinese people at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on November 16, and participated in a mass rally opposing the US's war of aggression in Vietnam as well as the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and South Korea. At the event, Hu Qili, the vice-president of the All-China Student Federation, called on young people in China, Japan, North and South Korea, and the rest of Asia to join together against the treaty between Japan and South Korea, as it had been signed as a measure to allow American and Japanese reactionaries to continue their war of aggression in Vietnam (as reported by the *People's Daily*, November 17, 1965).

At the time, the leaders of the Chinese government feared that the conflict in Vietnam might escalate, like the Korean War, to a war between the US and China. While analyzing the information available in order to ascertain America's ultimate intentions, the government

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also ramped up its criticism and hardened its stance of confrontation with the US. Domestically, it declared that "the Chinese people will do their utmost to support the resistance against America and struggle for national salvation by the Vietnamese people," and it made an appeal to the international community demanding resolute "backing [for] the armed struggle of the people of Vietnam and Indochina against the US."

South Korea

In South Korea, a fierce debate in political and media circles about the issue of sending ROK troops to Vietnam emerged in late 1964. Many journalists critically argued that the deployment of troops would create serious problems in South Korea, but not a single newspaper had the courage to openly oppose the deployment. Only occasionally would statements from foreign intellectuals who were opposed to America's war in Vietnam appear in newspapers' foreign news columns. It was even impossible to find voices of dissent against the war among students and opposition parties. Infused with a spirit of anti-communism, South Korea accepted the Vietnam War as a fight against communist elements for the protection of freedom. The sending of ROK troops to Vietnam was also regarded as a way for the country to repay its debt to the free world from the time of the Korean War, and the military expedition was described as a "Crusade for Freedom."

In contrast, North Korea started to show strong opposition to America's war in Vietnam from 1964 onward. The North Korean Foreign Ministry issued a statement in June that year censuring the war as an imperialist invasion. In March 1965, a mass rally attended by around 150,000 workers was held in Pyongyang to show support for the Vietnamese people's struggle and opposition to America's war. In 1967 alone, North Korea held over sixty such rallies.

The governments and people of North and South Korea thus had completely contrasting attitudes to the Vietnam War. This was a result of the Korean War, which had planted the roots of anti-communism in South Korea and anti-Americanism in North Korea. It was only from the 1980s onward that the people in South Korea began to look crit-

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ically at the Vietnam War, and issues such as massacres committed in Vietnam by South Korean troops were only raised after diplomatic relations with Vietnam were restored in 1992.

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Timeline

1956 Khrushchev makes speech criticizing Stalin (at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party).
1960 April Revolution in South Korea. Revision of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, with protests against the treaty. National Liberation Front for South Vietnam formed.
1961 Military coup led by Park Chung-hee in South Korea.
1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.
1963 Sino-Soviet split intensifies. US, UK, and USSR sign Treaty on the Partial Ban of Nuclear Weapons Tests.
1964 Tokyo Olympics. China successfully carries out atom bomb test (successful hydrogen bomb test in 1967).
1965 US begins bombing North Vietnam. Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea signed.
1966 "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" commences in China (until 1976).
1967 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) formed.
1968 Special forces from North Korea launch surprise attack on the Blue House. North Korea seizes American data-gathering ship, USS Pueblo.
1969 US President Nixon formulates Nixon Doctrine (announced to the world in 1970).
1971 Agreement between Japan and the United States of America Concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands signed. People's Republic of China joins the UN.
1972 President Nixon visits China. North and South Korea issue joint statement. Japan and China normalize relations. President Park Chung-hee announces October Restoration in South Korea. Chairman Kim Il-sung of North Korea proclaims socialist constitution.
1973 Paris Peace Accords signed by US, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.
1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) signed. Socialist Republic of Vietnam founded.
1978 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China signed. US and China normalize diplomatic relations. CCP approves "Reform and Opening Up" policy aimed at "Four Modernizations." Second Oil Shock (until 1979).
1980 May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement in South Korea.
1987 June Democratic Uprising in South Korea.
1988 Seoul Olympics.

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Chapter 8:
East Asia after the End of the Cold War

The Cold War ended as a result of the collapse of the socialist systems in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991. The end of the Cold War seemed to herald an era of American global hegemony, with the United States as the only remaining economic, military, and political superpower. On the other hand, globalization advanced rapidly due to the end of the confrontation between East and West, leading to the emergence of regional communities that transcended national boundaries, such as the European Union (EU). In East Asia, where signs of change in the Cold War structure had been visible before the ruptures of 1989–1991, the Cold War ended in a different way from the process in Europe; in other words, it did not see the collapse of the socialist states. With the era of globalization also beginning in East Asia, the influence of the United States in the region further increased.

Economic relations between the East Asian countries continue to deepen from year to year and the formation of an economic zone in the region has become a reality. However, the situation is different from that of Europe. The Korean peninsula remains divided into North and South, and relations between mainland China and Taiwan have still not been normalized. Furthermore, relations between Japan, China, and Korea are different from the close relationships between Britain, Germany, and France in the EU. One of the reasons for Japan's lack of success in establishing relations of trust with China and Korea is its failure to sufficiently "come to terms with its past" of wars of aggression and colonial rule.

In this chapter, we consider the issues we face if we are to overcome the

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legacies of East Asia's twentieth-century history of war and Cold War in order to create an East Asian community and bring peace to the region.

1. East Asia and the End of the Cold War

The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern European Socialism and the End of the Cold War

In 1989, the Eastern European countries were hit by a wave of revolutions. In the socialist states that had formed under the guidance of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Communist one-party rule, systems of unity between party and state, centralized planned economies, and militarized state structures all disintegrated at varying speeds. The background to this collapse was the loss of popular support for Soviet-style socialist state structures due to the neglect of the consumers in the Soviet-style socialist economy and the inflation of the military economy due to the arms race with the United States. The socialist countries were unable to adapt to structural changes in the global economy that occurred with increased computerization and they did not respond to the diversification of their citizens' lifestyles. Many of the socialist states had been created as a result of the Second World War and had to continue the system of wartime communism – with its unity of communist parties and the military, introduced with the objective of mobilizing the masses in the war against fascism – even into the era of the Cold War. This eventually resulted in their collapse.

The most symbolic event of this process of collapse was the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. The checkpoints at the wall, which had been built in August 1961 by the East German government to prevent the drain of its citizens to the West, were opened after the pro-democracy movement had swelled, and East Germans poured through to the West. Young people from both sides climbed on top of the thick wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate and shook hands, hugged each other, and cheered. The Wall, with all its Cold War symbolism, was dismantled, and in October 1990, East and West Germany were unified.

The collapse of the Eastern European socialist states as a result of these revolutions also affected the Soviet Union (USSR). In February 1990, in a

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Figure 62: Demonstrations by citizens of East Germany demanding democracy in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall (Alexanderplatz, Berlin, November 19, 1989). Courtesy of Yomiuri Shinbun.

plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the article concerning "The Leadership Role of the Communist Party" was removed from the constitution, and the introduction of a presidential system was approved, bringing an end to one-party rule. In place of the party as the central force managing politics, a president would now take on the role of the representative of the state. Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, took up the position of the first president. After taking office, he tried to break through the deadlock in Soviet society that was a consequence of "reforms from above" by allowing changes that he had previously begun to introduce, called perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (transparency, openness, publicness), a policy weakening the authority of the state censorship bureau to the end of

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permitting criticism of the government and promoting openness and transparency. Next, he reformed the Communist Party's monopoly and control of information, promoted a reexamination of the past in order to set straight the previous mistakes of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, and hammered out a series of political reforms, including a multiple-candidate system and the secret ballot. However, the wave of reforms went further than Gorbachev had intended. In August 1991, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dissolved, and between then and December of that year, fifteen republics that were part of the Union of Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union) declared independence. In December, the Russian Federation was created and the Soviet Union disbanded.

In June 1991, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, established in 1949), which was made up of the Soviet Union and Eastern European states, broke up. The following month, the Warsaw Pact, the mutual defense organization of the USSR and Eastern Europe, was also dismantled. The socialist systems of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe finally came to an end with the breakup of the USSR. With the demise of the Eastern bloc, the Cold War in Europe was over.

America's New Global Strategy and Japan

The collapse of the Cold War system was the beginning of a new era. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only global superpower, and it set out to pursue a global strategy reinforcing unipolar structures. During the Cold War, America had tried to maintain its hegemony in the "Free World" by opposing the threat of the Soviet Union and communism through advocacy of freedom and democracy. In order to achieve this, it established a network of military bases around the world. With the Soviet Union disbanding and the US emerging victorious from the Cold War, it seemed as though a time of unilateral American hegemony had arrived. The US then began to perceive the European Union (EU) as a latent challenger to its supremacy and the rising China as a "potential threat."

Military strategy and planning cannot exist without an "enemy." The threat symbolized by the Soviet Union had now been replaced by a perceived threat posed by regional conflicts – in other words, the threat of

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invasion by "rogue states" of their neighboring states. Defining Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, and North Korea as "rogue states," the US used these new threat scenarios to justify its continued state of preparedness. America asserted that it had to act as "the world's policeman" in order to control unlawful acts by "rogue states," to which purpose it needed to maintain an enormous military deployed around the world.

The Gulf War of 1991 was an opportunity for the US to call attention to the need for – and effectiveness of – the American military as the world's policeman. In response to the invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990 by Iraq's President Saddam Hussein, a multinational army was formed under American leadership, and in January 1991 the Gulf War began as bombing missions were carried out over Iraq. In February, a multinational force, numbering over 500,000 troops, was sent in, resulting in the Iraqi army's withdrawal from Kuwait and the end of the conflict. France and the UK shared some of the military burden in the Gulf War, and Japan, Germany, and the Gulf states shouldered the costs. For Japan, the act of taking on some of the financial burden of the war was a new step toward strengthening its military alliance with the US. The American military was able to display its enormous offensive power due to the fact that it had obtained financial contributions and material assistance for the war from its allies.

Having become a military superpower, America was forced to reduce its military costs due to a large budget deficit and a trade deficit, so that it was no longer able to carry out large-scale, long-term military actions on its own. Therefore, as a new post-Cold War policy, it planned to make up for the deficiencies in its global military strength by fostering the military capabilities of its allies and making them share some of the burden. With the Soviet threat now no more, the US military in Europe was reduced to about a third of its former strength, but there were no changes to US military capabilities or the number of troops stationed in the Asia-Pacific region. The large-scale wars that occurred after the Second World War had all taken place in Asia – the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Gulf War – so for the US it was extremely important region in military terms.

In 1991, the Senate of the Philippines refused to ratify the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Security with the US, and the American military had to carry out a complete withdrawal of its forces from the

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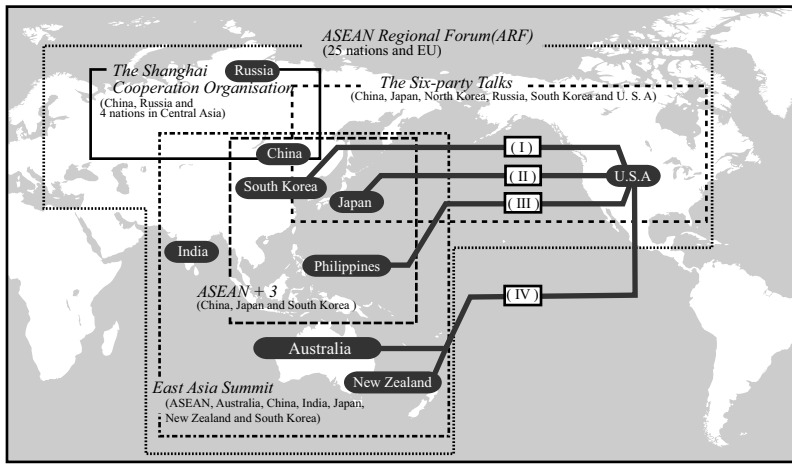

Notes:
(I): Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea
(II): Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan
(III): Mutual Defense Treaty Between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America
(IV): Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty

Figure 63: Military alliances and security in East Asia.

country one year later. The US now concentrated its military forces in Japan and South Korea under the banner of the United States Pacific Command. US military forces stationed in Japan are those specializing in strategic mobility over a wide area, namely the US Seventh Fleet, the Third Marine Expeditionary Force, and the Fifth Air Force. This signifies that the US-Japanese security system has become a central pillar of America's strategy for hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region.

At a summit meeting held in 1992 between US President George H. W. Bush and Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi, the keyword was "global partnership." The "Tokyo Declaration On Global Partnership with the US," made after the meeting, included the passage, "As countries with vital interests in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan and the United States recognize the continuing importance of [their] defense relationship to the peace and stability of this vast and diverse region." The declaration thus characterized the region as one in which Japan and the US had "vital interests" and confirmed the two states' military cooperation within the region. It therefore became necessary to reexamine US-Japanese military

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cooperation, which up to that point had supposedly been for the defense of Japan.

In a speech at the UN in September 1993, US President Bill Clinton declared: "In a new era of peril and opportunity, our overriding purpose must be to expand and strengthen the world's community of market-based democracies." He emphasized that America would switch to "extension strategies" in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then, the US has made the transition to this offensive strategy and has followed this practice of aggressive preemptive tactics and unilateral intervention in internal conflicts around the world when it has deemed it necessary. The US-Japan Security Treaty has thus evolved into a military alliance based on the idea of preemptive offensive strategy for the whole Asia-Pacific region, not just the Far East.

The US-Japan summit meeting held in April 1994 between President Clinton and Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro produced the "Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security," subtitled an "Alliance for the Twenty-First Century." The declaration confirmed that both sides were aware that "the engagement of the United States in the region, supported by the Japan-US security relationship," was necessary for the attainment of a more peaceful and stable security environment in the region. Both governments stated their intention to coordinate their relations with China, South Korea, North Korea, and Russia on the basis of the US-Japan security system. The declaration also proclaimed "bilateral cooperation on global issues," and Japan promised that it would cooperate with America's strategy worldwide on issues that extended even to the peace processes in the Middle East and former Yugoslavia.

As the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan thus went beyond the bounds of defense for Japan and expanded into an agreement on support for America's unipolar global strategy, the 1978 "Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation" were revised, and in September 1997 new guidelines were agreed on. In addition to the phrase "in case of an armed attack against Japan," the new guidelines also referred to "[emergency] situations in areas surrounding Japan." As the guidelines defined "the concept [of emergency] situations in areas surrounding Japan" as "not geographic but situational," they meant that Japan was now to actively support American strategy on a global level. The Jap-

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anese government pushed through several laws related to the new guidelines in May 1999, enabling it to mobilize local authorities and civilians in Japan in order to provide military assistance to America.

Strengthening the US-Japanese Alliance and Japan's Rightward Drift

Under the new guidelines, the US-Japan security treaty was redefined and Japan was integrated into the global network for America's preemptive strike strategy. However, as there are a number of constraints to Japan's military capabilities under the Japanese constitution, which renounces war and does not recognize Japan's right to wage war, the country's ruling party sped up plans to revise the constitution. In May 1995, when the new guidelines were agreed upon, an organization advocating a revision of the constitution called Nihon o Mamoru Kokumin Kaigi (People's Conference to Protect Japan) and a right-wing religious group called Nihon o Mamoru Kai (Society for the Protection of Japan) joined together to form the Nippon Kaigi (Japan Conference), which is Japan's largest right-wing organization, with the fundamental objective of revising the constitution. Coordination with this was the formation of the parliamentary group Nihon Kaigi Kokkai Giin Kondankai (Discussion Group of Nippon Kaigi Diet Members, hereafter referred to as the Discussion Group), which was joined by over half the Liberal Democrat Party's representatives in the Diet. Further, the Kenpo Chosa Iinkai Setchi Suishin Giin Renmei (Union of Ministers Promoting the Establishment of a Constitutional Research Committee) was also formed to push for constitutional reform on a larger scale.

At the same time, political circles began to espouse Japanese nationalist ideology, advocating ideas such as "Japan is a Beautiful Country," "Japanese Pride," and the "Superiority of Japanese Culture." In pursuit of the aim to change history education in Japan and also alter the Japanese people's awareness of the war and the country's history so that they would romanticize the war and affirm the war as a war of self-defense, the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform was established in January 1997, and the Nihon no Zento to Rekishi Kyoiku o Kangaeru Wakate Giin no Kai (Society of Young Diet Members for the Discussion of the Future of Japan and History Education), made up of LDP Diet members, in February 1997. A

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new wave of attacks on existing textbooks commenced, aiming at the deletion from history textbooks of references to the "comfort women" and of mentions of the Nanjing Massacre (which is commonly referred to as the "Nanjing Incident" in Japan). Visits to Yasukuni Shrine by Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro, who took office in April 2001, were also supposed to be flag-waving moment for the constitutional reform movement.

However, having already bolstered its alliance with the US, Japan's attempt to expand its influence in the Asia-Pacific region with the backing of its economic might raised the concern of China and South Korea over the issue of historical awareness. The rise of historical revisionism in Japan thus excited strong opposition.

On September 11, 2001, after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, symbols of America's economic and military power, President George W. Bush made the "war on terrorism" the US's main national objective. Arguing for "preemptive strikes," he adopted a strategy of overturning "terrorist-aiding states" through military means. This was a policy that went beyond the bounds of wars of self-defense that are recognized by international society. President Bush declared that the terrorist attacks were an act of war against America and thus prepared for a war of revenge against Afghanistan. Following this, an invasion of Iraq was carried out and the "war on terror" escalated. American military bases in Japan were used to launch attacks by the US's "Expeditionary Forces" and to provide rear-line logistical support, and were also used as staging bases linking America with the war zone. In October 2010, the Japanese government enacted the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law, which made possible the dispatch of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) to support the US military's war of revenge. The government sent the JSDF to the Indian Ocean, marking the first time since the end of the Second World War that Japanese military forces had been deployed to provide assistance to another country's military in a time of war.

In July 2003, the Japanese government had enacted the Special Measures concerning Humanitarian Relief and Reconstruction Work and Security Assistance in Iraq in support of America's war there and sent the JSDF into the Iraq war zone for rear-line support for the US military. Since then, the US has effected fundamental changes in its military forces stationed overseas, and the American bases in Japan have taken on the command function for

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all of Asia, from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. The merging of the JSDF and US military commands is underway, with the aim of making Japan an "advance base," and "US-Japan unification" on the military level is proceeding. Opinion has grown stronger within the US government that Article 9 of the Japanese constitution is an "obstacle for the US-Japan Alliance" and that the constitution's rejection of the right to collective defense is "a restriction for the alliance." The purpose of such comments is to put pressure on Japan to amend the constitution. This strengthening of the alliance is one factor driving a swing to the right in current Japanese politics and society. In view of these developments, China has taken an attitude of confrontation toward the international system dominated by the US-Japanese Alliance, seeking to build a framework for an international security system through close cooperation with Islamic countries such as Iran and the Arab states, but also with Russia.

Transformations in the US-South Korean Alliance

In a report issued in April 1990, the US Department of Defense revealed a planned policy of gradually pulling its military out of the Asia-Pacific region, and by December 1992 it had withdrawn 6,987 troops from Korea. However, the emergence of North Korea's development of nuclear weapons reconfirmed to the US that the forward deployment of its military had a serious bearing on its security interests, and it put off the second stage of the troop withdrawal from South Korea. Later, the Clinton administration deployed around 100,000 troops in East Asia – half of them in Japan and a further forty percent in South Korea – in order to fulfill its core role as a guarantor of security and regional balance in that part of the world.

In South Korea, Roh Tae-woo, who had been a presidential candidate in 1987 during the country's transition to democracy, weighed up anti-American public opinion and issued a manifesto promising to move the US base in Yongsan, Seoul, out to the provinces. America accepted this demand and agreed to talks in order to ensure stable conditions for stationing its troops there and preserve its alliance with South Korea. The Cold War structure in the peninsula was eased in 1998 with the emergence in South Korea of President Kim Dae-jung's administration, which pursued what was

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known as the "Sunshine Policy" toward North Korea, an attempt to encourage interaction between the two Koreas including the provision of economic assistance for the North. The nuclear issue and the launch of a missile in 1998 had raised tensions on the peninsula, but these lessened after the historical inter-Korean summit of June 2000 and the issuing of the North-South Joint Declaration on June 15. This document had landmark status because both sides agreed in it to seek areas of common ground and points on which they could both agree with regard to national unification. The Declaration meant that there was no way back in terms of reconciliation between North and South and a period of conciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas began.

However, problems between South Korea and the US that had been glossed over due to the importance of their alliance now began to emerge. These included the question of revision of the US-South Korea Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), which regulates matters of jurisdiction over US military personnel stationed in South Korea; problems faced by residents in Mae Hyang Li near the Kooni Fire Range; the question of a public statement on the No Gun Ri Massacre; and environmental pollution caused by the US forces stationed in South Korea.

After the terrorist attacks on the US of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush named North Korea as part of an "Axis of Evil" along with Iran and Iraq, and announced a hardline policy vis-à-vis North Korea. Due to North Korean brinkmanship in response, relations between the two countries deteriorated further, and differences in opinion emerged between America and South Korea over how to deal with North Korea. Unlike the Bush administration, which promoted a hawkish policy strongly demanding disarmament from North Korea, South Korea's president Kim Dae-jung pursued a policy of reconciliation and cooperation. His successor Roh Moo-hyun continued this course and drafted a plan to turn the Korean peninsula into a region of peace and prosperity and make it the center of the East Asian economy by providing the North with large-scale assistance. This policy clashed with America's hardline approach.

President Roh wanted South Korea to free itself from its one-sided dependency on the US in order to achieve an equal alliance, and indeed to go beyond that to play the role of a balancer in East Asia that did not lean toward either side of the lines of conflict. Roh's plan for North East Asia can

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be summarized as South Korea acting as a hub during the formation process of an East Asian community, on the basis of its central location in East Asia with links to the mainland as well as the ocean. President Roh aimed to achieve a self-sufficient national defense capability while also seeking to build a collective security system and maintain the US-Korean alliance.

The Roh administration pushed ahead with trying to merge or close some of the American bases that were scattered around the country in order to create a few large-scale "hub" bases. The US also was in the middle of drawing up plans to reduce the number of troops stationed abroad and move its military away from the frontlines and further from the firing range of potential enemies while preserving its long-range strike capabilities. Because of this, it was relatively easy for the two countries to reach an agreement. However, concern arose in South Korea that the country would have to bear too much of the cost of relocation due to the government's haste. Moreover, the decision to send the South Korean military to support the US's invasion of Iraq also drew stinging rebukes from the public, partly because it had not been uncontroversial in South Korea and elsewhere due to doubts as to whether the aims and procedures of the Iraq war were legitimate, but also because the government had been unable to secure a sufficient reward for the deployment of troops.

Then, in 2006, in spite of fierce opposition from conservatives, the Roh administration decided to reclaim the right of Wartime Military Command, which South Korea had transferred to America during the Korean War. Thus, from the 1990s onward, the US and South Korea began to move away from a relationship in which the importance of the alliance outranked fairness and legitimacy. A shift in the South Korean people's perceptions regarding America also played a role here. First, there was increasing awareness that they could no longer tacitly accept the environmental pollution from the US military bases and crimes committed by American troops stationed there, which were all taking place protected by the overarching principle of the anti-communist alliance. There was also a growing belief that North and South Korea could bring peace to the peninsula by taking the initiative themselves. The conviction that South Korea could, and should seek to, achieve a true alliance with the US on an equal footing thus strongly took root.

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2. Globalization and Political Transformation in East Asia

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union and South Korea and China; Resolution of the Sino-Soviet Split

The end of the Cold War and the demise of the socialist economic zone led to an acceleration in the economic globalization of capitalist markets. Due to advances in information, communication and transportation technologies, capital, labor, and currency could all be now transferred easily across national borders, leading to a globalization of all kinds of markets. Transcending national boundaries, economies became interrelated and a unified global system of trade, investment, and finance formed. For a state to grow economically and improve its economic efficiency, it had to become a part of this development of globalization.

In East Asia, the end of the Cold War and the advance of globalization brought changes to the confrontation between South Korea and the Soviet Union, as well as to that between South Korea and China. This was due to the fact that the Soviet Union (or, from 1991 onward, Russia) and China had now joined the same global capitalist market economy as South Korea in order to develop their respective economies. So they could adopt the principles of the market economy and achieve economic growth, they had to commit to policies of deregulation and economic freedom, and expand their economic zones to neighboring countries. The fact that diplomatic relations between China, South Korea, and the Soviet Union (Russia) had been broken off was an obstacle to that goal.

South Korea was the first to respond to the transformations resulting from the end of the Cold War and actively developed its foreign relations. The Roh Tae-woo administration, which took power in February 1988, came up with what was called a "Northern Policy," which aimed to diversify the country's existing trade structure with the (Cold War-era) Western camp through improved relations with socialist states to its north, including North Korea, and to secure peace and stability in the peninsula. At the same time, it put pressure on the north to achieve reconciliation by establishing diplomatic relations with China, the Soviet Union, and several Eastern European countries, without directly negotiating with North Korea. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and German unification gave the South Koreans

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encouragement. In the same way that the Cold War had come to an end in Europe, they hoped that peace and reconciliation might also be realized on the Korean peninsula and in East Asia.

In February 1989, South Korea established diplomatic relations with Hungary, then with Poland in November, and in December it reached an agreement with the Soviet Union to set up consulates in each country. The USSR, ever since it had signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with North Korea in 1961, had viewed the country as an allied nation and the only legitimate government on the Korean peninsula. However, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev cautiously embarked on improving relations with South Korea as part of his foreign policy of "New Thinking," believing that it was necessary to improve relations with capitalist states in order to regenerate the crisis-ridden Soviet economy. Another factor in this decision was the fact that Japan, which was fixated on the dispute over the Kuril Islands, was not offering any large-scale economic aid to the USSR, so Gorbachev made approaches to South Korea instead. America also encouraged South Korea's attempts at normalizing relations with the Soviet Union because it thought it would be useful in expanding and stabilizing the global capitalist system in the Far East.

In June 1990, a historic summit was held between President Gorbachev and President Roh Tae-woo, the first ever between leaders of the Soviet Union and South Korea. It took place in San Francisco in order to avoid a backlash from North Korea. Following this, on September 30 of that year at the UN Headquarters in New York, the South Korean and Soviet foreign ministers signed a diplomatic note establishing foreign relations.

China responded cautiously to this new development, concerned that the establishment of relations with South Korea would further isolate North Korea and destabilize East Asia. However, it was important for China's economic growth to implement economic cooperation and trade relations with South Korea, which was advancing export-orientated industrialization policies and achieving rapid economic growth as one of the "Four Asian Tigers." In August 1992, China and South Korea put past hostilities behind them and normalized diplomatic relations. At the time, the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that its friendly relations with North Korea would continue and that there were no changes to existing treaties and agreements.

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The economies of both China and South Korea developed at an unprecedented pace as a result of the establishment of diplomatic relations, and reciprocal visits between their respective leaders were actively pursued. In December 1992, South Korea also established diplomatic relations with Vietnam and promoted economic cooperation. Vietnam at the time was seeking to open up more in order to introduce free market principles and develop its economy.

As the Cold War came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, both China and the USSR abandoned their ideologies and accepted the economic ideas of capitalism. The grounds for the political and ideological split that had previously developed between them over predominance in the socialist camp had already disappeared. Their former enmity and the breakdown in relations between them were becoming obstacles to their objectives of opening up their economies and joining the global economy. In May 1989, Gorbachev went to Beijing and held talks with Deng Xiaoping, who was at that point Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and they exchanged a historic handshake to show that the two nations were on the road toward reconciliation. This also marked the first visit to China by a Soviet leader in thirty years. It brought an end to the long-standing Sino-Soviet Split and confirmed the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Sino-Soviet border disputes were resolved by the signing of the Agreement on Guiding Principles for the Mutual Reduction of Military Forces Along the Sino-Soviet Border and [on] Building Trust in April 1990, and the Eastern Region Border Agreement in May 1991. Then, in December 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin visited Beijing to reconfirm the stability of Sino-Soviet relations. In September 1994, Jiang Zemin, the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, visited Moscow and in a joint declaration with Yeltsin called for a "constructive partnership." Due to the fall of the Soviet Union and Chinese reform and open-door policies, towns on the border between the two countries that had previously feared armed clashes during the years of the Sino-Soviet Split now experienced unprecedented activity as sites of trade between Chinese and Russian merchants and citizens.

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Reform, Opening-Up, and Globalization in China

After the Cultural Revolution, China pushed ahead with policies of reform and opening up which had been advocated by Deng Xiaoping. Deng revised orthodox socialist theory, stating that a socialist society could continue to exist even if it did not maintain a planned economy, and declared that China would aim to build a socialist market economy. He prioritized increasing productive capacity, and set out to raise standards of living through economic growth. After the Third Plenary of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP, which was held at the end of 1978, approved the Reform and Opening-Up policy, China set about bringing in foreign investment from capitalist countries, something it had previously rejected, and actively tried to attract advanced Western technology and equipment, capital, and economic management to China. To achieve this, it placed great importance on steadily developing friendly, cooperative relations with other countries, be they capitalist or socialist. This matched the current of the times, in which economic globalization was rapidly advancing and the transnational movement of capital, labor, and technology was flourishing, the global economy was taking shape as trade and production became more internationalized, and an emphasis was emerging on mutually dependent relations on the world stage.

The Thirteenth National Congress in the fall of 1987 adopted a plan for the reform of China's political structure. It outlined reforms to the socialist democratic system, including the separation of party and government and independence from the Communist Party for mass organizations, a distinction between government officials (politicians) and civil servants, and the establishment of a system for cooperation and dialogue between the masses and the party, government, and related interest groups. As the Reform and Opening-Up policy took root in China, a movement spread among students and intellectuals that sought reforms not just to the economic, but also to the political system, including the democratization of the system around the CCP. Disputes intensified due to the antagonism created by these reformist figures' demands for democracy. From April to June 1989, the Chinese government was shaken as political disturbances broke out across the country. It was during this time that the Tiananmen Square incident occurred.

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Western countries responded to the incident by adopting sanctions against China, but Japan took a different approach. While requesting that China reflect on the state of affairs, it continued to adhere to the principle of full cooperation with the Reform and Opening-Up policies, including economic collaboration. The political reforms in China lost their impetus due to the Tiananmen Square incident, and the Chinese economy also temporarily stagnated. However, in January and February 1992 Deng Xiaoping embarked on a "Southern Tour" in which he undertook an inspection of cities in the south of the country and urged that China boldly accelerate its economic reforms and open up to the outside. This was the point at which the tide of globalization began to reach China's shores: China became a major market for exports and investment, and new information and technology arrived in the country, while it began to make inroads into the global economy and its own economy entered a period of rapid growth.

The fact that the socialist powers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had collapsed largely peacefully – albeit shockingly – had an enormous impact on China. In response to the events, China's central leadership sped up economic reforms and aimed to improve the people's standard of living and advance culture, while also rallying the people by introducing patriotic education. In September 1994, an "Outline on Implementing Patriotic Education" was issued by the Publicity Department of the CCP. Its aim was to bring the people together by "boosting the nation's spirit, enhancing cohesion, fostering national self-esteem and pride, and consolidating a wider patriotic united front" with the objective of unifying, modernizing, and ultimately strengthening the nation.

After this, China continued to grow economically and also began to expand its influence on the international stage through a foreign policy focusing on cooperation with its neighbors. According to an evaluation conducted by the World Bank in 1994–95, in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), China's economic might was second only to that of the US. China encouraged marketization and globalization through further reforms. Commencing in 1999, in the run-up to its accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), China implemented structural reforms of its State Council and overhauled its economy and legal system; it also signed the International Bill of Human Rights. After completing this process, China joined the WTO in December 2001.

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In 1997, the currency of Thailand, the baht, plummeted when the Thai government devalued it, and this in turn caused other currencies in Southeast Asia to drop sharply. Spreading to Northeast Asia and Russia, the resulting Asian currency crisis shook the financial markets and became a turning point for China, impelling it to pay greater attention to the regional economy and to inner-Asian diplomacy. In 2002, it began taking a greater role in international organizations: in October of that year, President Jiang Zemin attended an unofficial Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit held in Mexico and signed a declaration issued by APEC leaders calling for the enhancement and liberalization of trade and investment. In November, Premier Zhu Rongji attended the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) summit in Cambodia and signed both a framework agreement for comprehensive economic cooperation, incorporating the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between China and ASEAN, and the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, which aimed to prevent conflict over the possession of the Spratly Islands. From this point on, China showed its complete support for greater ASEAN unity, and began to place more value on diverse forms of economic and trade cooperation in the region. At the sixteenth National Congress of the CCP, held in November of that year, a decision was reached to step up China's involvement with the global community, divide its foreign relations into three layers – relations with developed nations, neighboring states, and developing nations – and prioritize foreign relations with its neighbor states in the East Asian region.

In response to the social disparities that came with high economic growth, such as gaps between rich and poor, cities and rural communities, and coastal and inland regions, the CCP announced that it would aim to create a balanced social structure, summed up by the slogans "A Scientific Outlook on Development" and "Building a Harmonious Society." In 2006, China's economy and trade entered the global top five in terms of scale, and by 2010 it had become the world's second largest economy. It is also evolving into a global power, exercising its influence in attempts to resolve international disputes. As a permanent member of the Security Council, it has sent large numbers of personnel on peacekeeping activities, and it has also taken on the role of chairing the six-party talks around North Korea's nuclear development.

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In Taiwan, meanwhile, freedom of speech, association, and the press had been restricted ever since the declaration of martial law by Chiang Kai-shek's regime. In July 1987, Chiang Kai-shek's son and successor, President Chiang Ching-kuo, announced an end to martial law and removed the ban on the formation of political parties and the publication of newspapers. After his death in 1988, Lee Teng-hui took over the office of president and put in place a series of democratization reforms, including direct election of the president and vice-president, and a revision of the constitution, so that in 1996 Taiwan's president was elected directly by the people for the first time. Lee, who had been born and brought up in Taiwan, proposed his "two-state theory," which asserted that relations between Taiwan and mainland China were those of two separate states and which went against the "One China" principle to which the Guomindang had until then adhered so tenaciously. When Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) emerged victorious from the 2000 presidential elections, the Taiwanese independence movement grew in strength. In the 2008 presidential elections, the GMD once again became the ruling party, but in early 2016, the DPP returned to power.

With regard to relations with China across the straits, Taiwan adopted the Guidelines for National Unification in 1991, expressing its desire for peaceful unification on the basis of reciprocal cultural exchange, mutual gain, trust, and cooperation. The CCP advocated peaceful unification with Taiwan in accordance with the principle of "One Country, Two Systems," and made efforts to first restore economic relations with Taiwan. Some developments are now taking place in interactions between mainland China and Taiwan. In line with the "One Country, Two Systems" principle, Britain returned Hong Kong to China in 1997 and Portugal Macau in 1999.

Democratization of South Korean Politics and the Impact of Globalization on South Korea

After the democratic uprisings of June 1987, democratization began to establish itself as the main political force in South Korea. Roh Tae-woo's administration had no choice but to accede to demands to hold a hearing regarding the Fifth Republic, and began to reveal the truth about the May 18

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Gwangju Democratization Movement and the media blackout of the period. The South Korean people's attitude towards America also began to change. There was a growing awareness that the US was responsible for the military suppression of the Gwangju uprising, as it had authority over military strategy in South Korea. This led to the formation of an anti-American consciousness, and a social movement emerged that aimed to correct the relationship between South Korea and the US.

Student movements established their basic aims as being autonomy, democracy, and unification. Workers' and farmers' movements transformed from regional groupings that had sprung up organically all over the country to organized campaigns. Kim Young-sam, who was elected president in December 1992, established a civilian government the following year. Under his administration, Korean society achieved a certain level of procedural democracy. People had more freedoms and rights, guaranteed by the constitution, and workers and women were no longer consigned to the category of the "socially vulnerable." The democratization movement diversified, and many different citizens' organizations were formed. There was also a flurry of lawsuits initiated by victims of the war and colonial rule as they sought compensation from the Japanese government.

During the course of the democratization campaign, another phenomenon that gained widespread attention was the resurgence of the unification movement. Under anti-communist ideology and backed by the National Security Act, discussion of Korean unification by members of the public was regarded as taboo, and the debate was monopolized by the regime. During the democratization process, many people began to realize that the achievement of democracy in South Korea could ultimately bring about peace on the peninsula. There was a shared awareness among people involved in the process of the fact that they had to overcome foreign interference and tackle the issue of national unification themselves. The visits made to North Korea in March 1989 by the pastor Moon Ik-hwan and in June by the student representative Lim Su-kyung made a strong impression on the Korean people, and indeed the whole world, to the extent that they became a pivotal point in the unification movement. When the "Peace in Asia and the Role of Women" conference was held in Seoul in November 1991, fifteen delegates from North Korea attended, led by Lyuh Yeon-gu (the daughter of Lyuh Woon-hyung), the Vice-Chairperson of the Supreme People's Assembly.

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This was the first time since the division of the country that female representatives from North and South had interacted. The conference, which was also attended by delegates from Japan, discussed the origins of inequality between men and women in East Asia and ways of tackling it. When Pyongyang hosted the conference the following September, an agreement was reached to work together to resolve the issue of the Japanese military's so-called "comfort women." After the establishment of Kim Dae-jung's government in 1998, interest in relations with the North and the unification issue increased, leading to a positive transformation in North-South relations.

In 1995, the per-capita national income in South Korea passed the $10,000 mark, and the following year it fulfilled its long-held ambition of joining the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). It seemed that South Korea's globalization policy had succeeded and the country had joined the ranks of the so-called developed nations. However, in 1997 the South Koreans faced a crisis, as many corporations went into insolvency and the bad debt held by financial institutions increased. At the same time, the country was hit by the Asian financial crisis, which had begun when the economic bubble in Thailand burst and the Thai currency plummeted.

In the 1997 South Korean presidential elections, held as the country plunged into economic crisis, Kim Dae-jung emerged victorious. With a huge amount of financial support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), he began the work of overcoming the pressing crisis. While pushing through four major structural reforms (financial, corporate, administrative, and labor), he also sought to drive forward liberalization policies for the global capital markets, such as the removal of restrictions on investments by foreigners. There was also a move to find a way out of the crunch through the combined power of the people, exemplified by the "collect gold campaign." The economic crisis abated and by 1999, the economy had recovered and the balance of trade was back in the black.

In his inaugural speech in February 1998, Kim Dae-jung outlined the three principles of his policy, later called the "Sunshine Policy," toward North Korea as: 1) not tolerating any armed provocation on the Korean peninsula, 2) not seeking to unify the peninsula by absorbing North Korea, 3) promoting cooperation and reconciliation with North Korea.

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Figure 64: Meeting between Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-il in Pyongyang (2000). Courtesy of Kyodo News Agency.

In June 2000, South Korean President Kim visited Pyongyang and held summit talks with Chairman Kim Jong-il. These were the first talks between the leaders of North and South Korea since the beginning of the peninsula's division, and they resulted in a joint North-South declaration in which the two leaders agreed on the principles for North-South reunification through peaceful measures shared by the South's concept of a confederation and the North's formula for a loose federation, exchange visits for families separated as a result of the partition, wide-ranging exchange between North and South, and the conduction of talks between cabinet-level officials.

The declaration was the culmination of the efforts and sacrifices made since the Korean War to overcome the state of partition. For his efforts in trying to progress beyond the mutual hatred caused by the fifty years of separation and give momentum to the process of ameliorating the tensions in the peninsula, Kim Dae-jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000. At the same time, America was emphasizing the danger on the peninsula, in particular raising doubts over North Korea's work on nuclear arms, and even went as far as to anticipate a second Korean War. The US applied pressure for the strengthening of the US-Japan security alliance, which led to

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the Japan-US Joint Declaration on Security of 1996 and the new Japan-US Defense Guidelines of 1997, and sought deeper military integration between the South Korean military and US military stationed both there and in Japan. The South Korean Sunshine Policy, meanwhile, urged a re-examination of these strategic measures.

With regard to relations between Japan and South Korea, President Kim Dae-jung visited Japan in October 1998 in a bold move for historical reconciliation. This led to the announcement of the Japan-South Korea Declaration, which proclaimed the basic principle of "A New Partnership for the Twenty-First Century." Concerning historical issues, Japan confirmed: "Looking back on the relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea during this century, [the government of Japan] regarded in a spirit of humility the fact of history that Japan caused, during a certain period in the past, tremendous damage and suffering to the people of the Republic of Korea through its colonial rule, and expressed [its] deep remorse and heartfelt apology for this fact." The South Korean government accepted Japan's statement of recognition of the abuses of the colonial period with sincerity, saying, "With the announcement of the Joint Declaration, a new era of friendly relations has been opened." The existing ban on the import to South Korea of products of Japanese popular culture was consequently lifted.

Having gone through the crisis of IMF bailouts, the South Korean economy once again gained momentum through the growth of its export industry and the revitalization of its real estate market. By 2008, its manufacturing industry was at world-class level, leading in shipbuilding and semiconductor manufacturing, ranking second in mobile phone production, fifth in automobile manufacturing, and sixth in steel production, and its GDP was the thirteenth largest in the world. However, the social distortions caused by this economic growth led to imbalances, as profits were mainly divided up among a few key shareholders in large export companies and foreign investors; further, wage disparity between social classes in South Korea also deepened due to factors such as an increase in temporary jobs.

In 2009, the number of foreign nationals who had come to South Korea exceeded one million. The increase in numbers of foreign laborers and

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foreign women marrying single males in rural communities is seeing South Korea develop into a multicultural society.

Continuing Tensions over North Korea

For North Korea, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist states in Eastern Europe meant the breakdown of the "friendly" economic exchange and trade that it had established with them, which was subsequently a direct cause of the decline of its economy. In particular, it suffered a severe energy shortage as its supply of crude oil from post-Soviet Russia was cut off. On top of this, as South Korea entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union (1990) and China (1992), North Korea's alliances with these countries began to fade in real terms. After losing the support of the socialist countries, North Korea faced the pressure of the capitalist bloc.

On the other hand, South Korea and North Korea managed to join the United Nations simultaneously in September 1991. South Korea had been seeking simultaneous membership, but North Korea had opposed this on the grounds that such a move would recognize the fact there were two Koreas. When the South pressed ahead with unilateral membership in spite of the North's opposition, the latter had no choice but to change its stance. The tense relations between the two countries eased around that time, and in December 1991, North and South Korea agreed on a joint communiqué regarding a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and entered into an agreement concerning reconciliation, non-aggression, and cooperation and social and cultural exchange.

In 1994, North Korean leader Kim Il-sung died. In the three years following his death, the country was hit by a spate of severe natural disasters; its agricultural industry suffered extensive damage, and there was a serious food shortage. This period of economic hardship between 1995 and 1998 is called the "Arduous March" in North Korea. As a result, the number of people escaping from the North to the Yanbian region in China increased dramatically.

During this period, Kim Il-sung's son and successor Kim Jong-il did not appear in public, as he was said to be in mourning. In October 1997, he took up the post of General-Secretary of the North Korean Workers' Party. The

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following year, the constitution was amended and the position of State President and the Central People's Committee were abolished, and in its place a system was established in which the National Defense Commission became the ruling organ of the state. As chairman of this commission, Kim Jong-il became the supreme leader of the country. This development was called the Son'gun, or Military-First, policy. It is believed that Kim, who had seen the Soviet Union and socialist bloc collapse in just a few years between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, chose the Military-First policy because he believed that if he did not keep close control of the military he would not be able to neutralize "anti-socialist scheming by Imperialists and Reactionaries" and suppress a counter-revolution.

At the end of August 1998, North Korea launched a three-stage rocket that entered Japanese airspace. North Korea declared that it had launched a manmade satellite, but other countries claimed that it was a test of a Taepodong long-range missile. The Japanese government applied economic sanctions, and the US administration stepped up its vigilance. In November, suspicions arose that the underground facility at Kum Chang-ri (Geumchang-ri) was being used for nuclear development, and the US demanded to inspect the site. America raised doubts about North Korea's nuclear weapons development as often as it could in order to isolate it in the global community. The US also made clear that it would establish a missile interceptor defense system to counter a North Korean ballistic missile attack against Japan and US military bases in Japan.

As detailed above, after the "9/11" terror attack on the US in 2001, the Bush administration had included North Korea in its "Axis of Evil" along with Iraq and Iran and referred to it as a state sponsor of terrorism. It took a highly adversarial stance, calling upon the world to join its "War on Terror." In September 2002, however, Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro visited Pyongyang without consulting with the US beforehand, signed the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration, and promised to quickly establish diplomatic relations between the two countries. In the declaration, Koizumi expressed "deep remorse and heartfelt apology" for Japan's colonial rule in Korea, while North Korea recognized that there had been "issues of concern related to the lives and security of Japanese nationals" and promised to prevent a recurrence of such incidents, which was a cryptic acknowledgment of its abduction of civilians from Japan. North Korea returned five

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abductees to Japan. It also stated that it would withdraw demands for compensation for Japan's colonial rule and give up its right to claim such compensation, while declaring its readiness to accept economic assistance.

However, the US held serious misgivings over these summit talks, and used the issue of North Korea's nuclear weapons development to rein in Japan. Further, there was an attempt in Japan to stir up the feelings of the people over the abduction issue. Arguments for sanctions against North Korea intensified, and negotiations between the two countries were broken off. In contrast, the South Korean government and people pressed hard for a resolution to the North Korean nuclear issue using peaceful means.

The Iraq War was a huge shock for North Korea. The fact that from the beginning of the war, the US made Saddam Hussein himself a target of their attacks and destroyed his system of government demonstrated that, should it ever open hostilities with North Korea, there was a strong possibility that America would aim at the destruction of Kim Jong-il's regime itself. Another reason for concern was that Iraq was attacked by America in spite of the fact that it had admitted international inspectors over the issue of its weapons of mass destruction.

Kim Jong-il was intent on convincing America to abandon its hostile policy toward North Korea, and to that end he sought direct negotiations and a mutual non-aggression treaty with the US using brinkmanship diplomacy and leveraging the nuclear issue. However, for the Bush administration, overthrowing the "Axis of Evil" was desirable from an ideological standpoint for the sake of American "justice." There was no way in which a stable US-North Korea relationship would emerge from direct negotiations. North Korea played the "nuclear card" as its last resort to counter the US's hardline policies and tried to use it as a means of staving off the American threats to make them change their policy. In response, China encouraged North Korea to conduct economic reforms by giving energy assistance and financial aid. It also became the chair nation of the six-party talks among China, South Korea, North Korea, Japan, America, and Russia, and tried to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons development while asking America to stop labeling North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism. In terms of both policy and strategy, the US needed Chinese cooperation on the North Korean issue, so superficially Sino-US relations were cordial.

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3. Economic Cooperation and Civil Interaction in East Asia

Toward the Establishment of a Free-Trade Zone in East Asia

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, as the course of history continued to move toward increased regional integration around the world, as exemplified by the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Organization (NAFTA), this development at long last also began to stir in East Asia, even as military tensions continued, particularly over North Korea. Regional integration among East Asian economies has been ongoing since the 1980s, with half the region's trade being carried out within East Asia. Japan has invested large amounts of capital in East Asia and played a key role in the region's production industries. In addition to this, negotiations have been ongoing since the 1990s between East Asian countries at government level over an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) on the basis of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA). An FTA is an agreement between two countries or a region to remove investment restrictions and barriers to trade, such as tariffs and limits on imports and exports, and thus to deregulate trade and investment. In this era of globalization, which still does not have satisfactory global governance by the UN, there is no other way for neighboring nations to cooperate and deal with transnational issues than to build up regional governance. Even with the increasing authority of the WTO regarding trade rules, FTAs in specific regions are the best choice for each country when it comes to promoting trade.

Since the 1990s, economic relations between China, Japan, South Korea, and the ASEAN nations have become closer, and the concept of East Asia as a broad region of governance including Northeast and Southeast Asia has become internationally established. The FTA in East Asia came about as a result of the Asian financial crisis, which began in Thailand. In October 1998, at the height of the crisis, President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea made an official visit to Japan and proposed a joint study of economic cooperation, and in November it was agreed that a joint study should be made concerning an FTA between South Korea and Japan. This was a watershed for Japan's trade policy, and from then on it switched to embracing FTAs between two countries or among multiple countries. In December of the same year, ASEAN invited China, Japan, and South Korea to the ASEAN

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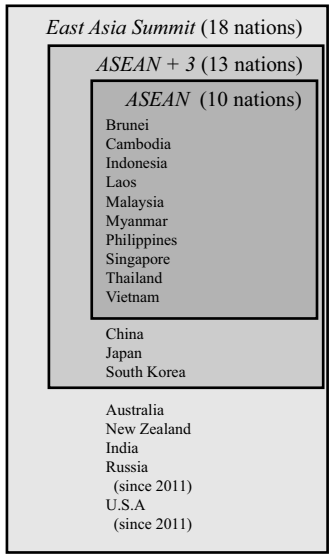

Figure 65: Regional organizations in East Asia.

+3 (ASEAN plus Three) conference. This was a major landmark in the formation of a large-scale East Asian economic region combining both Northeast and Southeast Asia.

When the ASEAN+3 leaders met in 1998, they decided to make the conference a regular event. At the 1998 conference, President Kim made a proposal to establish the East Asia Vision Group (EAVG) for exploring the potential and direction of future cooperation in East Asia. At a summit meeting in 1999, the leaders issued a "Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation," the first ever such statement to come out of the region. With China fully participating in the setting up of an agreement, an FTA that encompassed all of East Asia was agreed upon. China proposed an FTA at a summit conference with ASEAN held in November 2000, and in November 2002, after it had joined the WTO, it signed a framework agreement with the ASEAN countries concerning economic cooperation which promised to conclude an FTA within ten years, putting it ahead of Japan. Thus ahead of schedule, China began deregulating designated agricultural products in 2003, and in January 2006 it agreed to remove tariffs on designated agri-

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cultural goods. At the same time, it proposed FTAs to Japan and South Korea. The fourth ASEAN+3 conference in 2000 saw the establishment of the East Asia Study Group (EASG). The EASG submitted its final report to the summit meeting in November 2002, proposing the creation of an East Asian FTA and the future evolution of the ASEAN+3 summit into an East Asian summit.

Following these recommendations, in September 2003, the Network of East Asian Think Tanks (NEAT) was established in Beijing as a federation of think tanks from ASEAN+3, and it began working toward realizing a plan for an East Asian community. In November 2003, South Korea also issued a joint declaration at a summit meeting with the ASEAN nations. It stated that by 2009 it would make at least eighty percent of manufactured goods traded with the original members of ASEAN tariff-free. In December 2005, Australia, New Zealand, and India were also added to ASEAN+3, and the first East Asian Summit (EAS) was held. A framework agreement for an FTA was signed, and a vow was made to work toward establishing an East Asian Community.

America responded to this by proposing an FTA plan to include the members of the APEC Conference, but the East Asian countries did not show much enthusiasm for the proposal. Established in 1989, APEC had the aims of maintaining the growth and development of the economic interests of the Asian and Pacific countries starting with America, encouraging the movement of goods, services, capital, and technology while conforming to the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in order to contribute to the growth and development of the global economy, and promoting and strengthening the diverse trade system that this would enable. The US, which was the largest export market for many East Asian countries, showed its displeasure with an East Asian FTA from which it was excluded and was wary of it. Because of the basis of its military and diplomatic strategy in the US-Japan alliance, Japan also did not commit itself to the move toward regional integration in East Asia. In order to set up an East Asian FTA, political decisions backed by mutual trust were essential for each country, but a major hurdle for Japan was the fact that its government had stopped making sincere efforts to overcome the historical legacies of colonial rule and wars of aggression.

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Encouragement of Popular Cultural Exchange

Entering the new millennium, economic relations in East Asia became closer and deeper, and with increased corporate and investment activity, more and more people began to move around the region for business, increasing interaction among the people of East Asia. In 2007, around 3,980,000 Japanese people visited China, and approximately 1,140,000 Chinese people visited Japan. The number of Chinese students studying in Japan climbed to around 100,000. Further, by 2007, the number of ethnic Chinese and overseas Chinese (the former being people with Chinese heritage who have adopted the nationality of their new country of residence; the latter retain their Chinese nationality) in Japan reached 606,889, or 28.2 percent of registered foreigners in Japan. Similarly, in 2007 the number of Japanese and Koreans traveling between the two countries reached 4,840,000 people, and it was in this year that the number of Koreans visiting Japan first exceeded the number of Japanese visiting Korea. The number of Japanese living in Korea was 23,217, and the number of Koreans in Japan was 598,129 (number of registered foreigners, 2006). Today, over half the non-Japanese nationals residing permanently in Japan are ethnic Chinese, Chinese nationals, or ethnic Koreans. Reflecting the surge in Chinese and Korean visitors to Japan, many Japanese cities now include Chinese and Korean scripts on information boards and station and traffic signs.

In the year of the summit meeting between North and South Korea in 2000, just 7,986 people visited the North, but five years later in 2005 this figure had increased more than eleven-fold to 88,341. In June 2005, the number of tourists visiting Mt. Kumgang in North Korea hit the one million mark, and fifteen South Korean companies also set up the Kaesong Industrial Region northwest of Panmunjom and commenced production activities.

In the twenty-first century, the mutual opening up and sharing of popular culture between China, Japan, and South Korea has rapidly advanced, especially among young people. After the hit South Korean movie Shiri was broadcast on Japanese television in 2000, South Korean films began to gain attention in Japan. The joint hosting of the World Cup by South Korea and Japan in 2002 also made young people in Japan more interested in their neighbor, and the following year the South Korean television drama series

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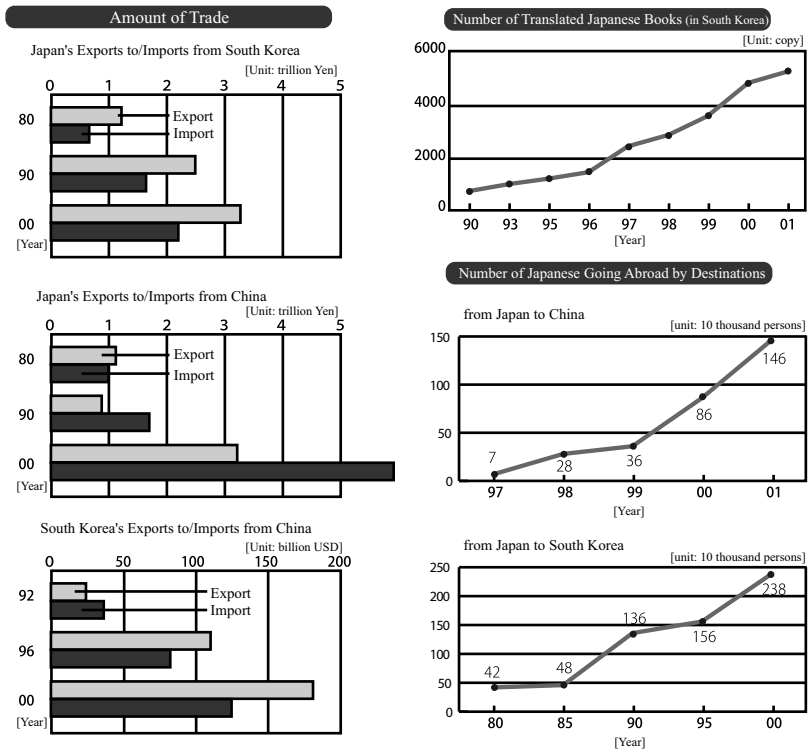

Figure 66: Expanding Sino-Japanese-Korean Exchange.

Winter Sonata was a smash hit in Japan. The DVD and novelization of the series sold extremely well, and the lead actor, Bae Yong-joon, became so popular that he sparked the "Yong-sama" ("Prince Yong") craze. When he visited Japan in 2004, 5,000 fans flocked to Haneda Airport to greet him. Japanese people also went to South Korea to see the places used as locations in the drama. After Winter Sonata, a succession of South Korean television dramas and movies were shown in Japan, such as *Dae Jang-geum* (The Great Jang-geum, also known as A Jewel in the Palace). These movies were so well received that they solidified the boom in Korean culture in Japan (dubbed the "Korean Wave"). In music, too, "Korean pop," or "K-pop," became fashionable among young Japanese, and Korean pop singers made efforts to

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learn Japanese and started to come to Japan and make a name for themselves there.

In South Korea, Japanese manga, anime, and novels spread mainly among young people as part of a "Japan Wave," and Korean movies based on Japanese comics also found popularity. The two countries' mutual embracing of the other's pop culture is continuing among China, Japan, and South Korea, with joint Japanese-South Korean anime productions of popular online games being made. "Korean Wave" television programs are becoming hits in both Japan and China. When a Chinese rock band found popularity after performing in Japan, the Japanese rock band GLAY went to China and drove its Chinese fans wild. However, the "Korean Wave" in China is even bigger than that in Japan, and Korean music is more popular there than Japanese music. This is partly a response by young Chinese people to the fact that there is still a problem over Japan's historical awareness.

4. Tasks for Peacebuilding in East Asia

Remains of the Cold War Structure in East Asia

With the end of the Cold War, large regional communities based on peaceful international cooperation, such as the European Union (EU), emerged in a number of world regions. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) likewise advocated the establishment of a large, peaceful regional community in a charter signed at a summit in 2008. At the Latin American and Caribbean Community Unity Summit held in Mexico in February 2010, attended by the leaders of all thirty-three Central and South American and Caribbean nations, the delegates announced the establishment of a peaceful community in the region. In East Asia, too, globalization made rapid progress, as we have seen above. An East Asian economic zone was formed and economic, educational, cultural, and artistic exchange has flourished among the people.

The people and governments of China, Japan, and South Korea are starting to talk about the prospect of forming an "East Asian Community" or a "Common House of Northeast Asia." However, achieving this in reality

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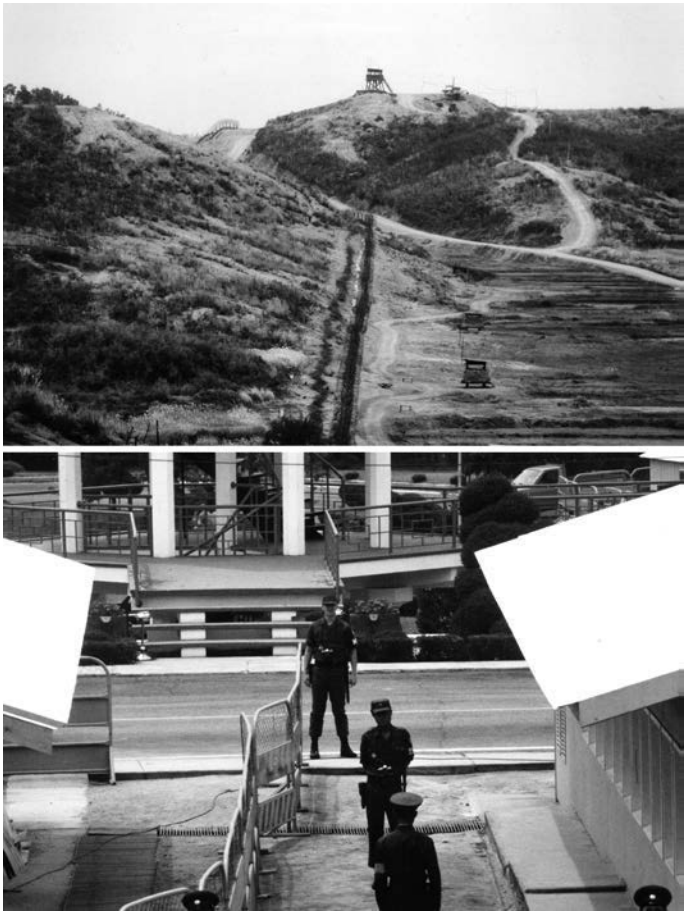

Figure 67: The border between North Korea and South Korea at Panmunjom. Courtesy of Ishikawa Bunyo.

is no easy matter. This is because even though the Cold War has come to an end, in the Korean peninsula the old structure of opposition – socialist North Korea versus capitalist South Korea – still remains. Efforts are being made on the diplomatic front to overcome North-South hostility and the division of the peninsula, but the reality is that they are locked in a deep dispute that resembles a quasi-war situation. In East Asia during the Cold

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War, the socialist bloc countries of China and North Korea became the targets of a containment policy pursued by South Korea and Japan under the leadership of the US in the capitalist bloc. After the transformation of the Cold War system as a result of Sino-American reconciliation and the normalization of relations between China and South Korea, North Korea came to be isolated in international society. Even now, it is boxed in politically, militarily, and economically by the capitalist states. In Europe, the end of the Cold War was caused by the failure of the socialist states, but in East Asia the situation differed.

Japan, South Korea, and America did not normalize their relations with North Korea, nor did they sign a peace accord. Japan therefore has yet to draw a line under its history of colonial rule with regard to North Korea. South Korea, too, has not completely put an end to the state of hostility with the North which has been in existence since the Korean War. During the Cold War, the US formed military alliances with Japan and South Korea and laid down a network of bases in the region, including Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand, in order to contain the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea. With the end of the Cold War, America reduced its bases around the world and reorganized and consolidated them. While on the one hand it withdrew its military forces from Thailand and the Philippines, it also designated North Korea as one of the countries of the proclaimed "Axis of Evil" and used the "war on terror" as a pretext to reinforce its links with intelligence organizations and police agencies in the region and enhance its military connections with South Korea and Japan. America, with its overwhelming military superiority, contained North Korea by bolstering its bases in South Korea and Japan, a situation that was really no different from that which prevailed under the old Cold War system.

However, just as war in Europe was avoided through the Cold War balance of military force, especially nuclear weapons, international relations in East Asia are also in a state of temporary stability as a result of a Cold War-like system in which the US-Japan and US-South Korean alliances contain North Korea militarily and economically. Regarding the issues of North Korea and anti-terror policies, China has advanced a policy of collaboration with its major military rival, America, and cooperated with the US on foreign policy, as evinced by the six-party talks. Further, with regard to the US-Japan security treaty, which was reinforced by America incorporating Japan

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into its global strategy, China hopes that, as the treaty is not directly aimed at it and as Sino-US relations are currently stable, the US will instead use the treaty to restrain Japan from unilateral military action. Japan, on the other hand, hopes for cooperation with the US to oppose China, which it sees as a latent threat.

Consequently, countries surrounding the Korean peninsula, including America, Japan, and China, are still seeking to maintain the state of partition rather than support North-South unification, and there are few countries willing to take the initiative to form a new security framework to supersedes this. Thus, the military tension that accompanies the Cold War-like structure in East Asia, centered around the US, remains. The current US-led formula for security, namely the countering of common threats through military force and reinforced alliances, is based on an old concept of security unchanged from the Cold War era. America and the Northeast Asian countries (China, South Korea, Japan, and Russia) are responding to the problem of North Korea's nuclear program by cooperating, but as the US and Russia are both nuclear superpowers, and China also has nuclear weapons, there is a paradox because of the hidden danger that there is at least the potential for them to carry out a nuclear strike on one another. Furthermore, the system based on the six-party talks changes according to what North Korea does, and changes in the American administration and adjustments in US Far Eastern policies also influence the development of this framework. The six-party talks thus are not a system that can guarantee peacebuilding in East Asia.

Peacebuilding in East Asia

The search for a new regional order after the Cold War era and the trend toward regionalization, as exemplified by the EU and NAFTA, has also had an effect on East Asia. Dialogue around the idea of an East Asian community, which first emerged in the 1990s, came to be explored seriously at policy level after the Asian financial crisis. The systematization of cooperative ties between the East Asian states progressed, particularly regarding economic issues, as demonstrated by APEC starting up in 1989, followed by the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) in 1993, then involvement by China, Japan,

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and South Korea in ASEAN+3 in 1997, and the establishment of the East Asian Summit (EAS) in 2005.

The framework for the creation of a security system in East Asia first appeared as the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) at the first ASEAN summit, which was attended by five countries in 1976. The treaty provided for the preservation of sovereignty and territory, non-intervention in internal matters, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and economic, social, and cultural cooperation. After it became possible for non-ASEAN countries to join the treaty in 1998, China signed in 2003, followed in 2004 by Japan, which until then had put off doing so out of consideration for its relationship with the US, but now did so to stop China alone further strengthening its relations with ASEAN. After this, fifty-four nations became signatories, including South Korea in 2004, North Korea in 2008, and America in 2009, so that the treaty expanded to cover seventy percent of the world's population. America especially disliked TAC's non-intervention clause and had held off from signing, but as China rapidly improved its relations with the ASEAN nations, it joined in order to keep this trend in check.

The vision of an "East Asian Community" has its roots in the concept for the East Asian Economic Group (EAEG) that was floated in 1991 by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad. The US strongly opposed it on the grounds that it would divide up Asia and the Pacific Ocean, and Japan actively aligned itself with the US position. South Korea did not make its official stance clear, but its fundamental policy was to discuss issues of economic cooperation within the framework of APEC, and it did not commit to full participation in the EAEG. The EAEG subsequently changed to become an initiative for the East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC), which was a looser federation proposed by Indonesia, but as a result of being reduced to a grouping that would only be convened irregularly within the confines of APEC, it came to an end without ever meeting. After this, as collaboration progressed within the ASEAN zone, regional cooperation was promoted in the areas of politics and security as well, leading to the establishment of the ARF in 1994. ARF is becoming a locus for dialogue among government officials relating to issues of Asia-Pacific regional security. The ASEAN nations form the core of ARF, but it also includes Japan, China, South Korea, and North Korea, as well as America, Russia, and the EU. It is

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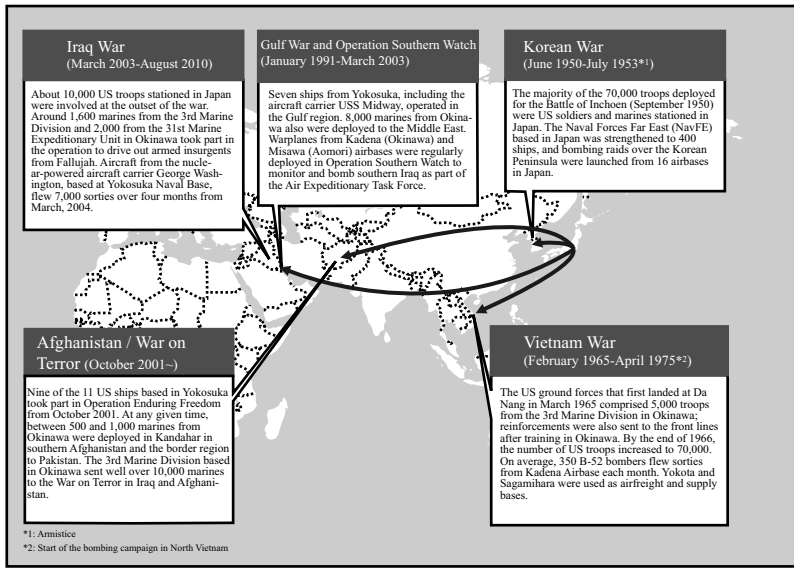

Figure 68: Deployment of U.S. troops stationed in East Asia to Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

drawing attention as a space for multilateral discussions on security in the post-Cold War Asia-Pacific region, and it marks a shift from the old arguments for security based mainly on military power to a new non-militaristic theory of security by cooperation.

Inherent in the circumstances in which TAC and ARF emerged is their potential to give rise to a security system across the entire region – non-belligerent community – that might serve as a model for peacebuilding in East Asia. Bodies such as TAC and ARF have the attribute of being able to weaken US involvement in East Asia's regional security. However, Japan's security policy is dependent on a military alliance with America, a military superpower that follows the nuclear deterrence theory and is the largest possessor of nuclear weapons, and it attempts to maintain the international status quo in East Asia by relying on US hegemony and leadership.

Since the 1990s, China has stipulated that deterrence by military power and alliances was its old security theory, and has formulated a new one, the core concepts of which are mutual security and the renunciation of wars of

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aggression and military action. It has also enhanced its cooperation with ASEAN. Japan has instead put emphasis on its alliance with the US and adopted a passive stance toward China's new approach to security. On the other hand, the six-party talks comprising Japan, China, South Korea, North Korea, America, and Russia were launched in 2003, and though originally held to resolve the North Korean issue, they have gradually shifted to provide a framework for the discussion of regional security issues.

The various visions for cooperative economic and security entities in East Asia show a strong element of recognition of what needs to be done, but the process of realizing them is not predicted to be easy. China and Japan are now competing for the initiative in the East Asian region through their different strategies for the community. China perceives the region as primarily resting on the geographical concept of East Asia. Wary of expanding its boundaries to include America and Russia, its goal is to establish a community made up only of East Asian states, in other words Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. To put it another way, China's strategy is to obtain a balance of power within the East Asian region by curbing US hegemony, while securing markets and creating an environment that is advantageous to trade with neighboring nations. Japan, on the other hand, envisions an East Asia that brings together Northeast and Southeast Asia, and is expanded to include parts of Oceania. This comes from a Japanese perception that an expanded East Asia would be beneficial for reining in China and achieving a regional balance of power. Japan and China are thus vying to lead the future East Asian community. South Korea, on the other hand, is not ready to reach a political consensus on the composition of such a community. Seeing itself in the role of a balancer that arbitrates over the interests of the various concerned parties in East Asia, the South Korean government has tried to actively meet the formation of a community in the region head-on, but on the other hand it has also taken a defensive stance in which it places great value on the security guarantee it receives through its alliance with America, so its position is fluid.

With huge differences in their political systems and national power, as well as in their historical awareness and the basic directions of their foreign policy, it will surely not be easy for China, Japan, and South Korea to reach an agreement over the establishment of an East Asian community. Today, East Asia will not accept an order which recognizes the superiority of one

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state, as had been the case in the past; however, a balanced community in which states with relatively small differences are equal with one another, as exists in Europe or ASEAN, is similarly unthinkable. Nevertheless, within the context of the trend toward globalization, relations between the East Asian countries are deepening day by day, and on this basis the road is opening to a flexible, multifaceted East Asian community whose members seek mutual respect and benefit while recognizing their differences.

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From Conflict to Trade: Islands on the Sino-Russian Border

The Sino-Soviet Split of the 1960s escalated into conflicts over border territories between China and the Soviet Union. At the end of the 1960s, around 660,000 Soviet troops and 800,000 Chinese troops faced each other along their 4,380 km-long border. There were frequent shooting incidents and clashes that led to a rise in tensions, eventually peaking in the Zhenbao Island Incident (or Demansky Island Incident), a large-scale military confrontation in March 1969.

Zhenbao Island (Damansky in Russian) is a sedimentary island in the Ussuri River, which marks the eastern section of the border between the Soviet Union (today's Russia) and China, and is located roughly equidistant from Vladivostok and Khabarovsk.

On March 2, 1969, Soviet border troops and PLA soldiers clashed, leaving many dead and wounded on both sides. Two days later, the Chinese People's Daily published an editorial entitled "Let's Put an End to the New Tsarism" (in other words, Russian imperialism), in which it pointed the finger of criticism at the USSR, claiming that "a group of Soviet revisionists is trying to invade and occupy Chinese territory." On March 15, another armed clash occurred when Soviets troops landed on the disputed island. Both sides suffered a substantial number of casualties.

With the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the USSR in 1989, a comprehensive review of the two countries' borders began. In May 1991, shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Sino-Soviet Border Agreement was signed, in which both sides agreed that Zhenbao Island would belong to the People's Republic of China.

Heixiazi Island (Bolshoi Ussuriysky in Russian) is a sedimentary island at the confluence of the Heilongjiang (Amur in Russian) and Ussuri rivers, and the total land area combined with neighboring Yinlong Island (Tarabarov in Russian) is 335 km^2. When the Sino-Soviet conflict intensified, the USSR deployed a large military force to Heixiazi Island to defend the city of Khabarovsk, located on the eastern bank of the river, and there was a continued standoff with the PLA troops that were stationed on the west bank of the island. In the

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post-Cold War process of revisiting the border, negotiations over the possession of this island were fraught with difficulty right up to the end. Finally, China and Russia agreed to resolve the issue in accordance with the "fifty-fifty" principle, and in 2008 the island was split almost perfectly in half between the two countries.

A straight border was drawn up running north to south through the center of Heixiazi, and the western side was designated as a Trade and Economic Development Zone (EEZ) by the Chinese government. There is also a Russian plan to build a trade center on the opposite bank in Khabarovsk. Once the frontline in the Sino-Soviet split, Heixiazi Island is now reemerging as a place for economic exchange between Russia and China and for trade-based interaction between the Russian and Chinese people.

The fact that the territorial dispute, which developed into an armed conflict, was concluded peacefully through bilateral diplomacy with the drawing up of a new border is significant as a pioneering example for the settlement of unresolved territorial issues in East Asia.

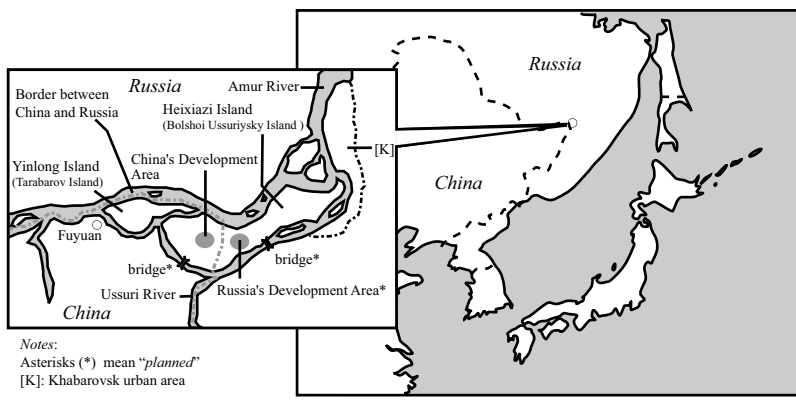

Figure 69: Heixiazi Island in the Heilongjiang (Amur River) on the Sino-Russian border.

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The Age of the Tokyo, Seoul, and Beijing Olympics

The Tokyo Olympics

The Tokyo Olympics were held between October 10 and 24, 1964, with 5,558 athletes from ninety-four countries participating, which at the time was the largest number ever. In the twenty years since Japan's defeat in the Second World War, Japan's business community and the government had achieved an economic recovery backed by US assistance, and the country had returned to the international stage, on the basis of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and due to its policy of "Casting off Asia, Joining Europe" while subordinating itself to Euro-American dominance. Japan's leaders initiated the bid for the Olympics with an eye to raising Japan's national spirit as well as its international image, improving social infrastructure through spending on public works, and obtaining foreign currency from tourists attending the games. The nation's goal for the Tokyo Olympics was to show that Japan had joined the ranks of the developed nations, but the event was also the point at which the lives of ordinary citizens entered a period of "internationalization."

The LDP administration led by Ikeda Hayato (1960–64), which had taken over from the cabinet under Kishi Nobusuke as a result of the escalation of the demonstrations against the latter's policy of renewing the Japan-US Security Treaty, promoted an income-doubling plan and pressed ahead with a high economic growth strategy. The US supported Japan's rapid economic growth policy in the belief that it would help prevent the spread of communism in Asia. This notion was based on a theory put forward by Walt Rostow, who served an aide to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

The Japanese government treated projects related to the Olympics as a national matter and tried to turn the event into a catalyst for rapid economic growth. Construction projects were undertaken in Tokyo, including the building of the Shinkansen express railway line, urban expressways, and expansion of the subway system. As there were no existing large athletics facilities in the center of the city, Japan persuaded the US to hand back the centrally-located Washington Heights

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military base, which had been constructed on the site of the former Yoyogi military drill and parade ground of the Imperial Japanese Army, and built major facilities for the Olympics there.

The Seoul Olympics

The Seoul Olympics were held from September 17 to October 2, 1988, with 8,465 athletes participating from 159 different countries, which was a record at the time. The Moscow Olympics in 1980 and the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984 had both been held amid Cold War tensions, with only one half the of global village in attendance at either. However, in the late 1980s, these tensions began to ease. Calling for fresh thinking in foreign policy, the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was working toward detente with the US, reconciliation with China, and improvement in its relations with Japan, changing the atmosphere in the East Asian region to one of rapprochement and cooperation. At the same time as these changes in the international situation, the administration of Roh Tae-woo also sought conciliation and cooperation in the Korean peninsula between the North and South, issuing the 1988 "July 7 Declaration" ("Special Declaration for National Self-Esteem, Unification, and Prosperity"), which aimed to improve relations with socialist states like China and the Soviet Union. With this emergence of an atmosphere that saw Cold War tensions relaxed, the Seoul Olympics became a festival of sport for all humankind, attended by almost every nation from both East and West.

The Olympics also turned the attention of South Koreans away from criticism of the Roh administration to the sports events taking place and played a role in letting the world know of South Korea's economic growth, opening up the way to even more growth. Industries involved in leisure, culture, food and drink, accommodation, tourism, sports, and travel equipment expanded rapidly around the time of the Olympics, and in Seoul, urban development projects were forced through in the name of ensuring a successful Games. The flipside to the glittering Seoul Olympics was the infringement of citizens' rights and the abuse of the taxes they had paid.

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The Beijing Olympics

The Beijing Olympics were held from August 8 to 24, 2008, with 11,000 athletes from 204 countries competing, again a record high. As China was maintaining its rapid economic growth, the Beijing Olympics demonstrated to the world the results of thirty years of reform and opening-up. The metropolis pushed ahead with large-scale urban renewal, such as expansion of the airport, expressways, and the subway system, as well as creating green spaces and implementing projects to improve the environment, revitalizing the lives of Beijing's residents. A volunteer spirit emerged among the citizens, and it is said that several million Beijing residents engaged in volunteer work during the Games.

According to the statistics, the Olympics provided China with 2,100,000 new jobs. A high-speed rail link between Beijing and Tianjin capable of speeds up to 350kph, the fastest in China, was also opened in conjunction with the event. This was the first dedicated high-speed passenger route in the country. With this rail connection, China not only promoted its independent technological development, but also produced huge economic benefits, as it enhanced links between Beijing and the port city of Tianjin. However, certain issues still remained, including environmental problems, the question of sustainable economic development, and how to effectively use the Olympic facilities after the event had finished.

The Tokyo, Seoul, and Beijing Olympics share several characteristics: they were each held about twenty years apart, the hosting countries treated them as national events in order to boost economic growth, the hosts succeeded in promoting internationalization, and, in the domestic context, the Games had a certain strengthening impact on national and ethnic identities.

The Path to the Formation of ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded in 1967 in order to "strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South-East Asian Nations" (from the ASEAN

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Declaration). All ten states in Southeast Asia are now ASEAN members.

Before the Second World War, all of Southeast Asia, with the exception of Siam (Thailand), was under the colonial rule of the US or European powers, and during the Asia-Pacific War, every country apart from Thailand was invaded by Japan and placed under military occupation. Even after the war, each country experienced various calamities, including struggles for independence from their colonial rulers and America's war in Vietnam, as well as civil wars and conflicts between states over territorial rights. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which was created with the signing of the Manila Pact in 1954, came into being through the initiative of the US as a cooperative body for military defense with the purpose of preventing the spread of communism in the region. With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, it was decided to gradually disband the organization, and it was finally dissolved in 1977.

The aims behind the establishment of ASEAN were to form a group of states to avoid war, and to achieve economic growth by bolstering the system of regional economic cooperation and establishing a free trade zone (the ASEAN Free Trade Area, or AFTA), and thus to free Southeast Asia from its history of wars and the prevailing military atmosphere. For the ASEAN members, the withdrawal of the US as a result of the implementation of the Nixon (Guam) Doctrine and conciliation with China was an enormous shock, as domestically all members were facing resistance from communist forces. To fill the void, they had no choice but to build up their political cooperation. The ASEAN member states experienced numerous clashes and conflicts, including territorial disputes between members, but the organization maintained its resolve to hold conferences of foreign ministers in order to build up relationships of trust, thus promoting cooperation in the region which eventually led to the formation of a regional organization.

ASEAN held its first summit conference in 1976 and concluded the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South East Asia (TAC). It has hosted the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) since 1994, and in 1995 the

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ASEAN members signed the Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty. As a nuclear power, America hindered the implementation of this treaty, but after the withdrawal of US military bases, which were thought to be holding nuclear weapons, from the Philippines, conditions for the treaty's realization became more favorable. Although the five major nuclear powers have yet to sign the treaty, ASEAN member states are advocating actively at the UN and elsewhere for the abolition of nuclear arms.

In November 2008, the ASEAN Charter, signed at a summit conference in the previous year, came into effect. ASEAN's aim in this was to establish a community based on common security and on economic, social and cultural needs, and the charter signified that the foundations for regional integration had been laid.

Figure 70: The East Asia Summit Conference held in Bali, Indonesia, in November 2011. Courtesy of the Cabinet Office (Japan). The USA and Russia attended this conference for the first time on this occasion, and representatives from eleven countries are shown in the photograph.

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Timeline

1989	Revolutions in Eastern Europe. After talks in Beijing, Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping end Sino-Soviet split. Tiananmen Square incident (China). Fall of the Berlin Wall.
1990	South Korea establishes diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Unification of East and West Germany.
1991	First Gulf War. Dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. North and South Korea both join UN simultaneously. Breakup of the Soviet Union.
1992	Deng Xiaoping announces his "Southern Tour." China and South Korea establish diplomatic relations.
1993	European Union (EU) established.
1994	North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) enacted. ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) established.
1995	Birth of the World Trade Organization (WTO).
1997	Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation (New Guidelines) agreed upon.
1998	President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea promotes "Sunshine Policy." North Korea launches Taepodong-1 missile. Japan-South Korea Declaration. Japan-China Joint Declaration. ASEAN+3 (with China, Japan, and South Korea) summit meeting.
2000	North-South Korea summit meeting between Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-il and Joint North-South Declaration.
2001	September 11 terror attacks on targets in the US. China joins WTO.
2002	Japan and South Korea jointly hold FIFA soccer World Cup.
2003	Six-party talks over North Korea nuclear problem.
2005	East Asian Summit (EAS) established.
2008	Beijing Olympics (China).

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With 69 figures

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Chapter 1:
The Constitution: The Structure of the State and its People

A constitution is the fundamental law that determines the basic elements of a state's governing structure. Constitutions emerged in the West to counter the despotic powers of monarchs by limiting their authority. The roots of modern constitutions go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when popular revolutions occurred in Western countries. In addition to stipulating the relationship between the state and the people, introducing popular sovereignty and guaranteeing basic human rights, they also determined how authority would be constituted, by establishing, for example, the separation of powers and a parliamentary system. Although differences existed in the degree to which a monarch's powers were limited or the range of basic human rights provided for, the existence of a constitution was an essential condition of a modern nation. During the process of modernization, countries all over the world adopted constitutions. When and how did constitutions emerge in East Asia? How did they transform the nations and peoples of this region? East Asia underwent major changes after the Second World War, leading to alterations in the constitutions of the nations in the region. In Japan, a new constitution based on the fundamental principles of the sovereignty of the people, pacifism and respect for human rights was created in 1947 as a part of the demilitarization and democratization policies of the General Headquarters (GHQ), Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). The Korean Peninsula was divided between North and South, so two states with two separate constitutions emerged. In China, the People's Republic of China was established after the civil war and a constitution adopting socialism was promulgated in 1949.

How did the constitutions of Japan, China and Korea come into ex-

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istence? How has each developed since? What is their status today? It is impossible for these countries to have an understanding of each other if they do not understand the constitutions that determine their foundations. This chapter examines the significance of constitutions while pointing out characteristics of the current constitutions of China, Japan and Korea.

1. The Modernizing State and the Birth of the Constitution

Constitutional Movements and Constitutional Monarchies

The enactment of a constitution was one of the most important tasks to be accomplished during processes of transition to a modern state. In the West, this meant the abolition or weakening of monarchism and the enshrinement of civil rights. However, China, Japan and Korea went through different processes of development. The principal issues were the transformation of the monarchy, the determination of the status of the people, and how to limit the powers of the monarchs.

With the overthrow of the old regime during the Meiji Restoration, Japan was the first country in East Asia to embark on the project of building a modern state. Western constitutional theory and political systems had been introduced to Japan in the 1860s, shortly before the fall of the shogunate (1868). After the Meiji government was established, it attempted to enact a constitution based on Western models. In 1875, a senate (*Genro-in*) was set up as a law-making organ (subsequently abolished in 1900), which showed that the government aimed to gradually establish constitutionalism in Japan. The senate began drafting a constitution in September of the following year, completing the first draft in October 1876, the second in July 1878, and the third in July 1880. Top-level officials, however, refused to adopt the draft constitution, arguing that it merely copied Western constitutions and did not reflect Japan's specific circumstances.

Around this time, the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (*Jiyu Minken Undo*), which had spread throughout the country since 1874, demanded that the government establish a *Diet* (parliament) and enact a constitution. All over the country, people created their own drafts and a number of competing proposals emerged. For example, the philosopher and

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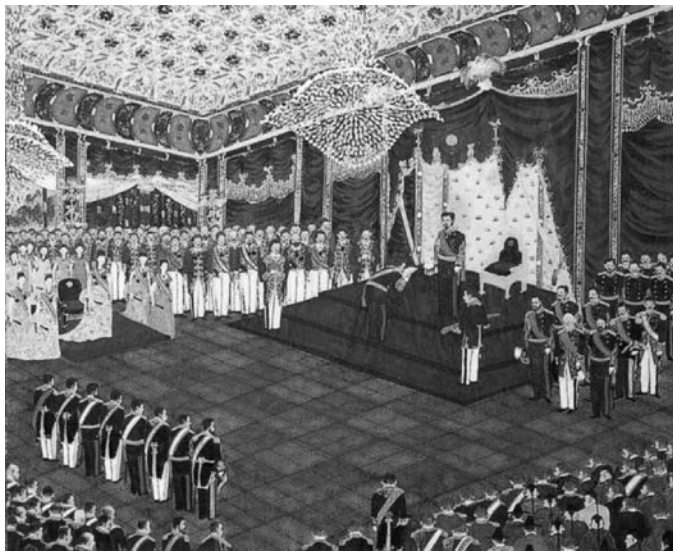

Figure 1: Promulgation ceremony of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (Meiji Constitution) (Painting by Ito Hokyo). Courtesy of Kensei Kinenkan.

Freedom and Popular Rights Movement leader Ueki Emori created a draft constitution that attempted to secure unconditional rights such as freedom of thought, belief, speech, assembly, association, academia, education and business. His draft also stipulated that if the government abused its power, the people had the right to take up arms and rebel, and that if the government violated the constitution and infringed people's rights and freedoms, the people could overthrow the government to establish a new one. A constitution discovered in 1968 and known today as the "Itsukaichi Constitution" was drafted at grassroots level by local youths as part of their learning activities. These draft constitutions assumed the continued reign of the emperor and cannot be regarded as republican in orientation, but they are characterized by the shared objective of limiting the emperor's powers and protecting the people's rights.

In 1881, in the light of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement and the constitutional drafts presented by its members, a confrontation arose in the government between Okuma Shigenobu on the one side, who proposed a state modeled on Britain with a parliament at its center, and Iwakura

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Tomomi and Ito Hirobumi on the other, who were trying to create a constitution modeled on Prussia/Germany that granted the monarch more power. In October, through the emperor's imperial mandate, Ito and his colleagues pledged to establish a Diet within nine years, by 1890, and ousted Okuma from the government. The imperial mandate declared that the organization and powers of the Diet would be drawn up as ordered by the government to then be determined by the emperor himself, and also made clear that public opinion would not be taken into consideration.

In 1882, Ito studied the constitutions of Prussia/Germany and Austria-Hungary, where monarchical powers were strong. He returned to Japan the following year and began to prepare a draft constitution in absolute secrecy. In 1889, the "Meiji Constitution," based on Ito's draft, was promulgated in the name of the Emperor of Japan. Its fundamental principle was that the emperor was Japan's absolute sovereign and all state matters would be organized under him. The emperor, allegedly the offspring of an "unbroken line since ages eternal" and a "sacred and inviolable" being, was defined as the head of state and the bearer of all sovereignty. East Asia's first constitution thus established a strong position for the emperor and only recognized human rights with limitations. However, the constitution strengthened Japan internally and enabled it to expand into Asia. Due to competition with the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, Japan was eventually reorganized politically as a constitutional monarchy and developed into a modern-style emperor system.

The Japanese People and the Constitution of Japan

When the Meiji Constitution was promulgated, the government 1) had kept the drafting process a secret from the people, 2) did not allow any criticism of the Constitution to be made, and 3) prepared an extensive campaign to celebrate the promulgation. It was against this backdrop that the people of Japan participated in the celebrations of the promulgation of the Constitution. Erwin Baelz, a German doctor living in Japan at the time, wrote in his diary, "The funny thing is that no one knows what is in the constitution." He also wrote, "The people have always been given just a handful of freedoms." It is said that when Nakae Chomin, a democratic rights activist, read through the constitution, all he could do was smile bitterly. Nakae proposed a revision

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defining civil rights not as a gift from the emperor, but as inherent rights of the people achieved as a result of a popular movement. However, no campaign calling for constitutional revision followed. Nevertheless, from the 1910s onward, the constitution became the basis for a development toward a more democratic political system (see below).

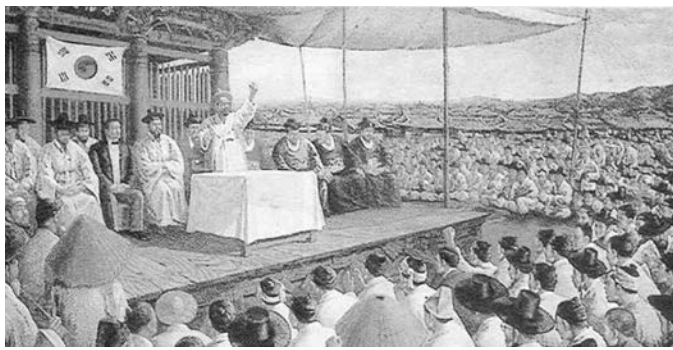

Figure 2: People's Assembly held in October 1898 in Jongno (a part of present-day Seoul) with the participation of Korean government officials and ordinary people, which sought to restrict the influence of the government and to advocate political reforms. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

Korea had been a kingdom and a vassal state of the Chinese Qing Dynasty since antiquity (see volume I, chapter 1). In October 1897, in an attempt to strengthen his position and to gain equal footing with the emperors of Japan and Qing China, King Gojong was crowned Emperor of the newly proclaimed Empire of Korea (the Great Han Empire). In 1895, the political reformer Seo Jae-pil (aka Philip Jaisohn), who had fled to the United States after a failed coup in 1884 (see volume I, chapter 2), returned to Korea and launched the Enlightenment Movement for the spreading of Western political thought. In April 1896, he published the inaugural issue of the newspaper *The Independent*, whose aim was to introduce and publicize Western ideas of freedom, democracy and equality, as well as Japan's newly modernized society. The Independence Club was formed in July 1896, comprising of pro-Enlightenment bureaucrats and progressive intellectuals. In 1898, it joined other reformist forces to host rallies for public

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discussion and to push for political reform. A government reform bill was adopted in 1898; it included a plan to reorganize the Privy Council (an advisory body of the government) into a parliament and provisions for the limitation of the emperor's influence. Feeling threatened, Emperor Gojong and the conservatives, using as a pretext the claim that the Privy Council had exceeded its authority by recommending a new minister without permission, suppressed the Privy Council, banned public discussions and forced the dissolution of the Independence Club.

In August 1899, the government promulgated the "Constitution of the Korean Empire," comprising of nine points serving to reinforce the authority of the Emperor and underlining that the "Great Han Empire" was "autonomous and independent." It "is governed by an eternal line of sovereigns" and "the Emperor's powers are unlimited. The Emperor has the supreme command over the army and the navy and full authority in legislative, administrative and diplomatic matters." This document is a sort of a constitution outlining fundamental aspects of the state structure of the "Great Han Empire," but did not include any stipulations regarding fundamental human rights or the separation of powers. It merely reconfirmed the emperor's authority and made the Korean Empire's independence more visible to the outside world. Later, in 1905, the Korean Empire enacted a Criminal Code (but not a Civil Code) that included, among other things, the basic rights of the people.

Having won the Russo-Japanese War, in 1905 Japan turned Korea into a protectorate, and, following annexation in 1910, the Korean Empire ceased to exist (see volume I, chapter 3). Although Japan enforced some of its laws in Korea, the Constitution of Japan was not applied to the colony. Just as the Meiji Restoration had brought sweeping changes to the political system of Japan, defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 triggered attempts to fundamentally reform the political system of China and create a "rich country with a strong army." Japanese ideas of freedom and popular rights were introduced to the country around this time. The reform movement led by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao was at one point supported by the emperor, during the so-called Hundred Days of Reform (1898), but this ended in failure after a *coup d'état* led by the anti-reformist Empress Dowager Cixi. The constitutional debate later grew heated among Chinese students in Japan as well as intellectuals who had come to Japan to seek

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exile, such as Liang Qichao. Launching journals such as "The China Discussion" and "New Citizen," Liang advanced discussion on constitutional monarchy and promoted the idea of constitutionalism. In contrast to his support for constitutionalism under the Qing emperor, Sun Yat-sen and his followers advocated the overthrow of the Qing and the establishment of a republic.

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War was seen as a triumph of constitutionalism over autocracy and encouraged movements within the Qing government to implement constitutionalism. In 1905, the Qing Dynasty sent five ministers to Japan and to Western countries to study their political situation. These ministers believed that Japan and Germany, where the sovereign held strong powers, were better models than the United States and France, which were republics, and Britain, which had a strong parliament and whose monarch was a figurehead. Among non-governmental intellectuals, it became a popular assertion that Japan was the model to copy. In 1908, the Qing promulgated the "Outline of the Imperial Constitution," indicating a preparatory period of nine years in order to learn from Japan and establish a constitution. The "Outline" was divided into two parts, the main section, "Great Powers of the Sovereign", and the supplement, "Rights and Obligations of Subjects." It is evident that the former section was modeled on the Meiji Constitution of Japan. It stated that the Great Qing Emperor, who ruled the Great Qing Empire, came from an unbroken imperial line and was sacred and inviolable. It also established the imperial prerogative to promulgate laws, convene and dissolve parliament, appoint and dismiss public officials, command the military and control the judiciary. In other words, the emperor's traditional powers were maintained under the mask of a constitution.

Revolutionaries responded with armed uprisings as they sought to create a republic. Constitutionalists launched a petition movement, calling for the establishment of a parliament and the enactment of a constitution, as well as for limitations on royal privileges. October 1911 saw the outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising. In response, 13 out of 18 provinces declared their independence from the Qing. The dynasty found itself on the brink of collapse. Facing pressure from all sides, it promulgated the "Nineteen Constitutional Fundamental Principles" in November of the same year, stipulating that the imperial line of the Great Empire of Qing was unbroken and that the em-

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peror was sacred and inviolable, but largely limiting the sovereign's powers. At the same time, it provided that members of the imperial family could not be appointed prime minister or minister of state, thereby strengthening legislative and sovereign checks and balances. Through such compromises, the Qing attempted to address the demands of the constitutionalism movement and save the dynasty. In February 1912, however, three months after the "Nineteen Constitutional Fundamental Principles" were issued, Emperor Pu Yi was forced to abdicate, which brought the Qing Dynasty to an end.

To sum up, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ideas of constitutional monarchy and movements of liberalism and popular rights competed with each other in East Asia, resulting in the introduction of political systems of constitutional monarchy, but with the objective of preserving monarchy *per se.* Japan, which had established a constitutional system by learning from Germany, became the model for the reform of the Korean Empire and Qing China. The provisions in the Meiji Constitution (1889) stating that the Empire of Japan "shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" and that "the Emperor is sacred and inviolable" were adopted into the Constitution of the Korean Empire (1899), which confirmed the autocratic rights of the monarch, stating that "the Empire of Korea is governed by an eternally unbroken autocracy" and that "the Emperor has unlimited sovereign rights." The Qing's Outline of Constitution by Imperial Order (1908) also stipulated that "the Great Qing Emperor, who rules the Great Qing Empire, comes from an unbroken imperial line and is sacred and inviolable." Around 1910–1911, however, the political systems of these three countries underwent drastic change. The monarchy ceased to exist with the demise of the Korean Empire, and in Qing China it collapsed with the revolution of 1911. Thus, only Japan was left with a monarchy.

Political Change and the Emergence of Republican Constitutions

In January 1912, the leaders of the Revolution of 1911 (also known as the Xinhai Revolution) established a provisional government in Nanjing and declared the establishment of the Republic of China. In March of the same

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year, this Provisional Government of the Republic of China promulgated the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, which asserted: "The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the people." It also stipulated fundamental human rights such as equality under the law, and freedom of speech, assembly and association, as well as the separation of powers. In order to establish the republic and build a new China, learning from the West was seen as essential, a sentiment embodied in Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, the driving force for the revolutionary movement. These three principles were nationalism (opposition to the violation of national independence by the autocratic rule of the Manchurian emperor, or imperialism), democracy (the realization of democracy through republicanism) and the livelihood of the people (equal land rights). The rejection of the monarchy and the turn toward republicanism was a major transformation for China, which for over two thousand years had seen the rise and fall of autocratic dynasties and been ruled only by monarchism and imperialism. The revolution of 1911 therefore marked the birth of Asia's first republic.

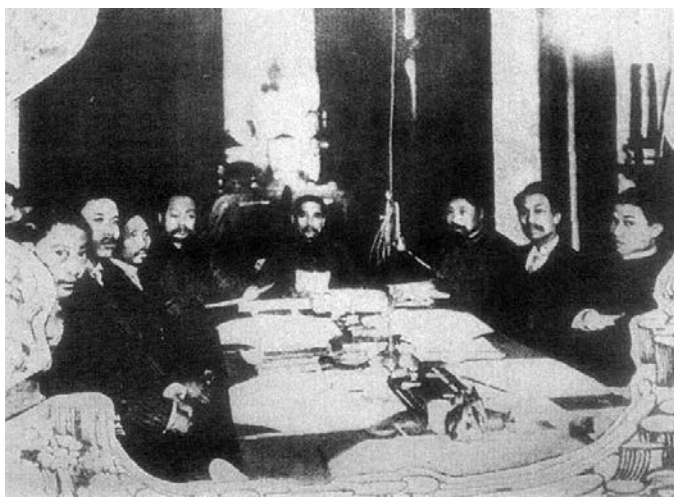

Figure 3: A cabinet meeting of the Nanjing Provisional Government (1912). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

After the establishment of the Republic of China, Sun Yat-sen, the provisional president, passed his title on to Yuan Shikai, a former official of the

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Qing Dynasty who had control over strong military forces. The provisional constitution stipulated that a parliament be convened and a constitution enacted, after which a president should be elected. In February 1912, however, Yuan Shikai, who had already been inaugurated as provisional president, cracked down on the revolutionaries and ignored the provisional constitution, formally taking office as President of the Republic of China in October 1913. Under the provisional constitution, the parliament sought to limit the president's authority and submitted the "Draft Constitution of the Republic of China" (Temple of Heaven Draft), which aimed to maintain the separation of powers, but it was never promulgated because Yuan Shikai dissolved the parliament in 1914. Yuan presented an "Outline for the Revision of the Provisional Constitution," introduced a system of absolute rule, and attempted to concentrate power in the hands of the president, including the rights of appointment of public officials, emergency edicts, the power of disposition and diplomacy. The Constitution of the Republic of China was enacted in 1914 based on this outline. Yuan Shikai even attempted to revive the imperial system in December 1915 and to become emperor, but gave up in the face of strong opposition. He died shortly thereafter, in June 1916, after which China plunged into the "Warlord Period."

The 1910s saw not just the emergence of republicanism in China with the Revolution of 1911, but also the collapse of Czarist Russia with the Russian Revolution in 1917 and of the German Empire, the Habsburg Empire (Austria-Hungary), and the Ottoman Empire as a result of their defeat in the First World War. These events constituted an international crisis for autocratic monarchism. In Japan, the Taisho Emperor, who succeeded the Meiji Emperor in 1912, lacked political and military skill and was too ill to exert his right of "direct rule." Japan's emperor system was thus also in crisis. Popular movements in Japan were reached a peak at the time, and there was a strong movement toward eliminating the bureaucracy in order to prioritize parliamentarianism and party politics (the so-called Taisho Democracy). There were no changes to the actual Meiji Constitution, but political parties and the Diet gained strength, and autocratic powers (centered on the emperor) were on the retreat.

The "Emperor Organ Theory" of Minobe Tatsukichi, a law professor at Tokyo Imperial University, aligned the thinking behind the Taisho De-

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mocracy with constitutional theory. In publications such as *Kenpo Kowa* (Lecture on the Constitution, 1912) and *Kenpo Satsuyo* (Compendium of the Constitution, 1923), Minobe developed the constitutional interpretation that the state, as a juridical body, is sovereign, and the emperor is its highest organ. With the Meiji Constitution as its premise, and upholding the emperor-centric view, the theory rejected the idea of absolute and unlimited power of the emperor, constituting a reinterpretation of the Meiji Constitution with a maximum emphasis on constitutionalism and the role of the Diet. In other words, constitutionalism in this interpretation essentially meant "popular government" under a monarch holding sovereignty with the approval of the people, and the Diet, as the representative of the people in "popular politics," could be called upon to carry out its responsibilities. From the 1910s to the 1920s, the "Emperor Organ Theory" became the dominant constitutional theory in Japan.

When Korea became a colony of Japan in 1910, Korean independence activists, many of whom were scattered overseas at the time, became aware of the need to build a republic with sovereignty vested in the people if Korean independence was to be restored. With the March First Movement of 1919, which aimed to free Korea from colonial rule, independence activists in Korea and abroad formed provisional governments. In April 1919, the provisional government in Shanghai promulgated a 10-article "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Korea." This clarified that the nation established after independence would be a democratic republic, and stated that all people would be equal, regardless of gender, class or wealth. It also stated that the people would enjoy freedom of religion, speech, writing, publishing, association, assembly, movement, personal liberty, and property. It declared the complete abolition of capital punishment, corporal punishment and state-regulated prostitution. Furthermore, it made clear that Korea would join the League of Nations in order to contribute to global peace and the advancement of culture. Finally, it specified that the provisional government would convene a parliament within one year of independence.

In September 1919, the Provisional Government of Korea in Shanghai joined provisional governments formed in Seoul and Vladivostok to establish the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, laying down and promulgating a new Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Korea

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(first revision). It drew on ideas from the 1910s on republican government, and documents such as the "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China" were probably referred to in its development. The provisional constitution was revised three more times, but it maintained the provisions regarding the sovereignty of the people, the separation of powers, and the rights and duties of the people. The provisional government's stated aim was to establish a republican political system encompassing the separation of the three powers of the parliament (legislation), state council (administration), and courts (judicature). After the Hongkou Park Incident in Shanghai in 1932, in which the independence activist Yoon Bok-hee threw a bomb at the commander of the Japanese Shanghai Expedition Army, Shirakawa Yoshinori, the provisional government had to continue its work while moving from place to place in China for six years and was only able to apply parts of the constitution. Even so, the basic direction of its ideas regarding the management of post-independence state-building made continuous progress.

Korean Law during the Colonial Period

In June 1910, the Japanese government called for a cabinet meeting ahead of its annexation of Korea and decided that, as in the case of Taiwan, the Japanese constitution would not be enforced in Korea for the time being, and that Korea would be ruled under the supreme authority of the emperor. It was also decided that a Governor-General would supervise all state affairs in Korea and have authority over all legal matters. Although Korea was annexed by Japan, it was regarded as a separate entity to which the Constitution of Japan did not apply. Legislative power in Korea was held by the Governor-General of Chosun, who was directly appointed by the emperor. Entrusted with absolute powers, he promulgated laws in the form of decrees. However, as with the Ordinance on Civil Matters in Korea (1912) and the Ordinance on Penal Matters in Korea, Japanese civil and criminal laws were invoked in many cases (with certain parts excluded). Further, in some cases, as with the Patent Act, the Public Accounting Law and the Peace Preservation Law, Japanese laws were applied as is. On the other hand, the Governor-General retained repressive laws that had existed

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before the annexation, such as the Newspaper Law, Security Law and Publication Law, applying them only to the Korean people.

As we have seen in this section, after the rejection of monarchism, the search for an alternative republican constitution in China continued, while in the case of Korea, which was deprived of national independence as a result of its colonization by Japan, a government-in-exile prepared a provisional constitution. In Japan, still a monarchy, the search for ways to re-interpret the constitution in a way that would limit the power of the throne likewise continued.

Wars and Constitutions

In 1923, the Beijing government promulgated the "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China." However, because it was a so-called "warlord government" based on military power and fighting for supremacy with other military cliques in other parts of the country, it collapsed after one year. In 1924, the Guomindang (Chinese Nationalist Party) founded by Sun Yat-sen decided on its general principles for the establishment of the state, defining three stages, namely military government, tutelage government, and finally constitutional government. In 1925, the Guomindang established the National Government and began military campaigns to overthrow various warlords and unify the country in the Northern Expedition. With the successful conclusion of these campaigns in 1928, the Guomindang government unified China. In June 1931, it promulgated the "Provisional Constitution of the Political Tutelage Period," the basic law to be applied until the enactment of a formal constitution. "Tutelage" was a system whereby the Guomindang provided guidance to the people, who were considered to be not yet equipped to manage matters of national importance. The constitution was comprised of 8 chapters and 89 articles, stipulating, for example, that the National Congress of the Guomindang would hold central sovereignty, and that the Guomindang government would exercise five powers – executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control – thereby legitimizing its one-party rule.

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"Military Government, Tutelage and Constitutional Government" – Sun Yat-sen's Three-Stage Political Agenda

Sun Yat-sen believed that as the people had been liberated quite suddenly, it was important to promote democratic education. He thus proposed that Chinese politics be developed in three stages: military government, "tutelage," and finally constitutional government. "Military government" referred to the Nationalist Government occupying various areas through its military forces. "Tutelage" referred to the government dispatching personnel to each area to train and support the locals in understanding democratic government and establishing their own governments at the provincial level. Self-government would be realized in all provinces through "tutelage"; the provinces would then elect their leaders and move to the next stage, "constitutional government." The constitution would be promulgated once constitutional governments were established in half the provinces and a new central government would emerge through elections. Those who believed in Sun Yat-sen's plans were convinced that these three stages were essential in the process of achieving democracy in China. But there were many disputes about how to proceed with the military, tutelage, and constitutional governments. For example, Hu Hanmin, a senior member of the Guomindang, argued that because the Chinese people's political knowledge and experience were akin to those of a newborn baby, it was necessary for the Guomindang to play the role of nurse in the tutelage process. Intellectuals such as Hu Shih, however, argued that tutelage underestimated the ability of the Chinese people to participate in government, asserting that a constitutional government should be realized immediately and training promoted directly through the political participation of the people.

With the heightened anti-Japanese and pro-democratic movements to which the Manchurian Incident of September 1931 had given rise, the Guomindang determined it necessary to end tutelage early in order to institute a constitutional government, and in 1932 decided to convene a People's Congress to establish a constitution. A constitutional drafting committee was set up in the Legislative Yuan (parliament) in 1933 and work

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began, resulting in the Draft Constitution of the Republic of China being passed in 1934, and published on May 5, 1936 ("5–5 Draft Constitution"). Comprising eight chapters and 147 articles, the "5–5 Draft Constitution" stipulated matters such as the Guomindang's primacy and the supreme power of the president. Although implemented under the slogan "Giving the government back to the people," it only guaranteed minimal rights and freedoms. While the Guomindang attempted to maintain autocratic rule through the promulgation of the constitution and to initiate the transformation from tutelage to constitutional government, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 and the outbreak of war with Japan led to the postponement of the People's Congress. Eventually, the constitution was neither established nor promulgated.

In contrast to the Guomindang, the Chinese Communist Party established its revolutionary bases of operations in rural areas, where it then formed People's Governments. In 1931, it held the First National Congress of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of the Chinese Soviet Republic, declaring the formation of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and adopting the "Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic." This comprised a preamble and 17 articles, stipulating that the Chinese revolutionary government was to be a democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, that the basic form of government was democratic centralism exercised through a congress of workers, peasants and soldiers, that its mission was to bring an end to imperialism and feudalism, and that, when no congress was held, the Provisional Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic was the highest political authority. This was the first document in Asia to bear the character of a socialist constitution, but the Provisional Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic collapsed in 1934 when it was besieged by the Guomindang army.

General administrative principles for border regions were also established to serve as the basic laws and regulations in areas that were Communist Party bases in operations against the Japanese, and these principles advocated participatory government. The principles prescribed in 1941 for the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region (of the provinces of Shanxi, Gansu, and Ningxia) may serve as an example: After stating that the primary aim of the region was the war against Japan, they guaranteed human rights, government, prosperity, the freedoms of speech, publication, assembly, associa-

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tion, and belief, and the right of residence for those who resisted the Japanese.

Thus, from the 1930s on in China, the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party were at odds with each other and each had conceived separate ideas for a constitution. With the Second Sino-Japanese War moving into full swing, however, a constitution was never officially promulgated or enforced by either side.

As we have already seen, the mainstream view of constitutional theory in Japan in the 1920s was Minobe Tatsukichi's Emperor Organ Theory – the idea of the state as a juridical body with the emperor as its highest organ. In 1935, however, as the trend toward fascism grew stronger in the build-up to war, right-wing activists strongly attacked and denounced Minobe. His theory was even criticized in the Imperial Diet as violating the national polity (the *kokutai*). With criticism intensifying, his books *Tsuiho Kenpo Seigi* ("Additional Commentaries on the Constitution"), *Kenpo Satsuyo* ("Compendium of the Constitution") and *Nihonkoku Kenpo no Kihon Shugi* ("Fundamental Principles of the Constitution of Japan") were eventually banned. In 1937, the government in 1937 issued a "Clarification of the National Polity" and labeled the Emperor Organ Theory as being in contradiction with the "national polity" (*kokutai*). The Diet-centric constitutional theory was thus eliminated. The emperor was deified under the Meiji Constitution, and now the belief that the Showa Emperor was a deity in human form served as a justification for war.

In 1938, the National Mobilization Law – a law of total mobilization for war – was passed in the Diet despite the fact that it violated people's rights, infringed on private property and obstructed the powers of the Diet as recognized by the constitution. However, all political parties were dissolved in 1940 and united in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusankai). The Diet, the center of the constitutional system, became a mere shell.

The Korean peninsula, under Japanese colonial control since 1910, became Japan's rear base for the invasion of China. In October 1940, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai revised its provisional constitution to strengthen resistance against Japan by establishing a presidential system. As the Second Sino-Japanese War intensified and the Second World War showed signs of spreading to East Asia, in

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November 1941 the provisional government announced its "Founding Principles," establishing equal economic, educational and political rights as the bedrock of the nation and clarifying democratic principles and institutional procedures. The spirit of the Founding Principles became law at the time of the fifth constitutional revision in 1944 and they were the foundation upon which the constitution was established in 1948 when the government of the Republic of Korea was created.

As we have seen in this section, with the Second Sino-Japanese War in full swing, a constitution was not officially promulgated in China. The Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party each came up with different constitutional drafts and after the end of the war in 1949, they promulgated different constitutions, in Beijing and Taipei respectively, leading to the postwar antagonism of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. In colonial Korea, plans for nation-building promoted by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in exile served to prepare for the postwar system. By contrast, the Japanese constitution, which promoted the deification of the emperor to an extreme degree, was condemned to failure because of Japan's eventual defeat in war.

2. The Development of the Modern State and Constitutions

A New Start and the Enactment of New Constitutions

When the war ended in 1945 modern constitutional systems in East Asia underwent drastic changes. Under the policies of the American occupation authorities, a pacifist constitution was enacted for Japan, in which the emperor was defined as the symbol of the unity of the nation, while sovereignty resided with the people. Fundamental human rights and the renunciation of war also were included in the new constitution. In August/September 1945, Japan had surrendered and accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) in Japan, demanded that the government of Japan amend the existing constitution (dating from 1889) to promote demilitarization and democracy. The government began to discuss constitutional changes and each political party presented a proposal for reform.

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However, the proposals of both the government and the parties envisioned only slight modifications of the old constitution and did not attempt to realize popular sovereignty or introduce fundamental human rights. However, some drafts prepared by ordinary people, such as Suzuki Yasuzo and his colleagues in the Constitution Research Council, demanded popular sovereignty and limited the emperor's role to "national protocol." Suzuki referred to some of the draft constitutions from the time of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement of the Meiji era when writing this draft.

Figure 4: Celebration to commemorate the promulgation of the Constitution of Japan held on 3 November 1946, in front of the Imperial Palace. Courtesy of Mainichi Shinbunsha.

At first, the Allied occupation authorities (General Headquarters/GHQ and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers/SCAP) entrusted the Japanese government with revising Japan's constitution, but in February 1946, upon learning from newspaper reports that the government's draft was extremely conservative and incompatible with the Potsdam Declaration, it decided to create its own draft. The GHQ Government Section prepared a draft constitution based on principles laid down by MacArthur and handed it to the Japanese government as a recommendation. The draft stipulated that the emperor was a "symbol" of national unity, that the Japanese people

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forever renounced the right to wage war, and that Japan was never again to have the military means to start a war. GHQ used the draft constitution produced by the Constitution Research Council as reference. At the time, there was a strong fear among the Allied nations that militarism might be revived if the emperor system was left in place, so the renunciation of war was inserted as a guarantee against such fears. The government judged that it would be difficult to maintain the emperor system if it rejected this draft, and decided to accept it. Based on the GHQ document, the government then created its own draft, which was discussed in the Diet and further revised. In November 1946, the document was promulgated as the Constitution of Japan and came into force in May of the following year. Introducing the basic principle of popular sovereignty, strengthening respect for fundamental human rights and defining pacifism as a fundamental principle of the state, the constitution marked a new start for the defeated nation.

On the Korean Peninsula, two separate constitutions emerged with Korea's division into north and south. In August 1945, the peninsula was freed from colonial rule with Japan's defeat in war. However, the Soviet Army occupied the north and the US army the south, with the 38th parallel as the boundary. In September, General MacArthur decided to give executive authority for the area south of the 38th parallel to the US military administration. The US military government basically kept the legal system Korea had had under Japanese rule, but revised or abolished the repressive laws that were at the core of colonial rule, setting new laws and ordinances in their place. In 1947, the United Nations adopted a resolution to carry out a general election for North and South Korea under its monitoring. The North, however, denied entry to the representatives of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea. In February 1948, the UN decided to hold general elections where it was possible, and they were held in areas under US control south of the 38th parallel in May of that year, monitored by the UN. They resulted in the election of 198 constitutional assembly members and the establishment of a National Assembly (Constitutional Assembly) for a two-year term. The Assembly hastened to enact a constitution, establishing a committee to work on a draft in June. Discussions on the constitution, based on a draft by the expert adviser Yu Jin-o, continued until the final draft was submitted to the plenary session of the National Assembly. The vigorous debate that followed saw the proposal of various amendments. But delib-

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erations were rushed due to the need to declare the government's establishment to the world by August 8, and thus, in July 1948, the draft constitution was passed in the National Assembly and the Constitution of the Republic of Korea (Constitution of 1948) was finally promulgated. Its main content was popular sovereignty, a guarantee for basic human rights, the separation of powers, a unicameral system and a central role for the president. In August, the Republic of Korea was established and Rhee Syngman was elected its first president.

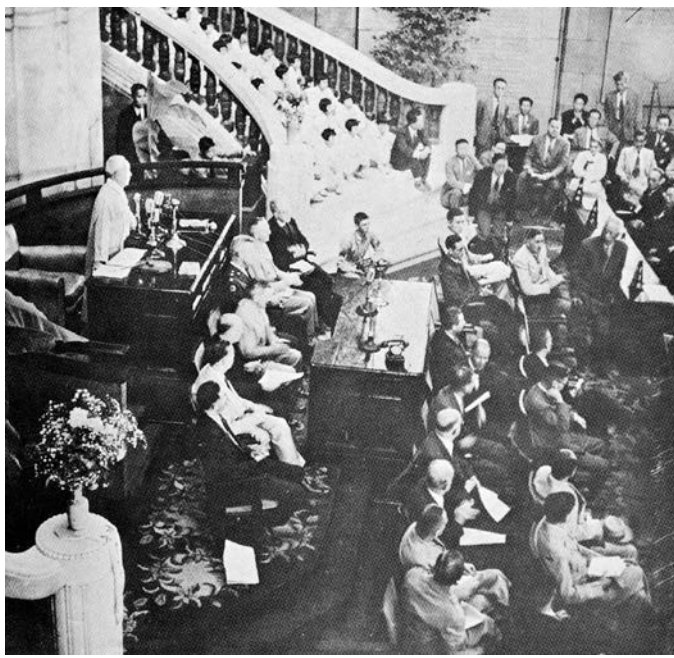

Figure 5: The opening ceremony of Korea's National Assembly, convened on May 31, 1948, at which the constitution was established and promulgated on July 17. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

Based on the system of private ownership, the economy-related articles in the Constitution of the Republic of Korea kept up the spirit of the "Founding Principles" of 1941 and emphasized economic equality by recognizing the right of workers to equal benefits and stipulating the nationalization of key

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industries and implementation of agrarian reform. However, the intent enshrined in the spirit of the "Founding Principles" to build a social economy based on equality was later weakened as a result of the Korean War (1950–53). In 1954, the constitution was amended to prioritize the market economy and limited the scope of economic nationalization. This reflected the impact of the post-Korean War atmosphere of antagonism between north and south.

In the north, an election for the legislature, known as the Supreme People's Assembly, was held in August 1948, and the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was declared on September 9. The constitution had been adopted the day before by the Supreme People's Assembly. The aim of the constitution was to move the country into a transitional period toward socialism after the "democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism," that is, liberation from Japan's colonial rule. The constitution also advocated the promotion of a unified Korean democratic nation and stipulated Seoul as its capital. The constitution has since seen multiple changes before becoming what it is today, undergoing, for example, full-scale revision in 1972, when it was transformed into a socialist constitution. The 1972 constitution declared Pyongyang the capital, and the 1998 revisions abolished the head-of-state system. The constitution was revised again in 2009 to define the National Defense Commission as the body responsible for the government as a whole.

To this day, both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea assert that they are the only legitimate government on the Korean peninsula, and unification is a major issue yet to be resolved. Antagonism between the Nationalist Government in China and the Chinese Communist Party continued after victory in the war of resistance against Japan in early September 1945. In January 1946, a ceasefire agreement was reached between the Nationalist Government and the Communist Party and a Political Consultative Conference was convened. Chaired by Chiang Kai-shek, the conference was attended by the Guomindang, the Communist Party, the Democratic League, the Chinese Youth Party and independents, who thus came together to debate matters surrounding the establishment of a peaceful nation, reorganization of the Nationalist Government, the National Assembly, and the revision of the draft constitution. When the civil war escalated in November 1946, however, the Guomindang convened a

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National Assembly in Nanjing to establish a constitution on its own, without the participation of the Communist Party and others, and in December adopted the Constitution of the Republic of China. It was promulgated in January 1947 and came into force from December that year.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, had promulgated its general administrative principles in areas under its control. The Constitutional Principles of the Shan-Gan-Ning Border Region (April 1946) are among the best known. They provided that each People's Congress was an organ for the people to manage their government, each representative was to be elected by popular vote, and each People's Congress would elect the government.

In March 1948, amid the civil war, a National Assembly was convened in Nanjing to enforce the Constitution of the Republic of China. Its aim was to exclude the Communist Party and other political parties and create a Guomindang-centric system. The National Assembly for the Enforcement of the Constitution elected Chiang Kai-shek as its president, and in May, the political system under the new constitution came into effect.

In January 1949, when the civil war started, the Nationalist Government offered to engage in peace talks with the Communist Party. Mao Zedong demanded the repeal of the Guomindang's constitution as a condition for entering into such talks, but the Nationalist Government stuck fast to its constitution and the negotiations collapsed. The Guomindang lost the civil war and evacuated to Taiwan, and the Constitution of the Republic of China became the Constitution of Taiwan.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in October 1949. In September, the First Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference had been convened and saw the enacting of the "Common Program," which bore the nature of an interim constitution. The central and provincial state organs were organized under it, and China began building a new government, laws, economy and culture. The Common Program stated that the People's Republic of China was "a New Democratic or a People's Democratic state [and that] it carries out the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants," and declared that it "opposes imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and strives for independence, democracy, peace, unity, [and the] prosperity and strength of China." It also stipulated that the people enjoyed freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, associ-

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Figure 6: The First Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held in September 1949, where the resolution for the establishment of the People's Republic of China was passed. At the end of the front row on the right is Mao Zedong, who was elected Chairman of the people's government. Zhou Enlai is third from the right in the second row. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

ation, correspondence, the person, domicile, change of domicile, religious belief and freedom to hold processions and demonstrations, and that women shared equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life.

Later, the Chinese mainland was unified and the foundations of the nation were strengthened through administrative and economic reform. There were also calls for the enactment of a formal constitution. In January 1953, a committee was established to draft the constitution, with Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and others as members. Meanwhile, elections for the National People's Congress took place, and in September 1954, the First Session of the National People's Congress was convened. A revised draft constitution was proposed based on opinions submitted at national debates, and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1954 Constitution) came into being. This was the birth of the first constitution to incorporate socialist principles since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

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The Constitution of the Republic of China: Enactment, Suspension, and the Present Situation

In 1936, the Nationalist Government in Nanjing issued its draft of the constitution and attempted to strengthen the president's powers even further. However, as the Second Sino-Japanese War reached its height soon thereafter, the constitution was never enacted nor promulgated. Eventually, the Constitution of the Republic of China was drawn up in December 1946, with its main aim being that of restricting the presidential powers, and came into force on December 25, 1947. However, as the Chinese Communist Party and the Democratic League did not participate in the National Assembly, the constitution did not receive the approval of the majority of the Chinese people. In April 1948, as the civil war situation worsened, the National Assembly adopted the Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion and gave the president dictatorial powers. In December 1949, after the Guomindang evacuated to Taiwan, the Constitution of the Republic of China and the Temporary Provisions continued to be applied in Taiwan. The Temporary Provisions were repealed in April 1991, but the Constitution of the Republic of China is, after several amendments, still in use in Taiwan today.

Opposition and Change in Korea

The South Korean Constitution has been revised nine times since it was enacted in 1948. Constitutional amendments have been closely linked to the country's political development: the establishment of Rhee Syngman's dictatorship in the 1950s, Park Chung-hee's dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s, its collapse with Park's assassination in October 1979, and resistance from the democratic movement against Chun Doo-hwan's dictatorship from 1979 onwards. The history of the Korean constitution reflects and represents the turbulent political history of the country itself.

There were two constitutional revisions during the period of the First Republic under Rhee, as power struggles ensued between the president and the National Assembly. Although the Constitutional Assembly had enacted

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constitutional amendments		characteristics	background	system of government	president
No.	year				
(promulgation of the constitution)	1948	indirect electoral system of the president		the 1st Republic	Rhee Syngman (I Seungman)
1st	1952	direct electoral system of the president and the vice-president, bicameral system (assembly)	declaration of martial law in Busan		
2nd	1954	The constitution was revised to abolish the limitation of presidential terms		the 2nd Republic	Yun Boseon (Yun Posun)
3rd	1960	parliamentary cabinet system, two-chamber system, democratization of legal jurisdiction, political neutralization of police department and democratization of local autonomy	April Revolution		
4th	1960	Constitution was revised to have offenders against the election law brought to justice		the 3rd Republic	Park Chung-hee (Bak Jeonghui)
5th	1962	direct electoral system of the president, unicameral assembly	military coup in May 1961		
6th	1969	Constitution revised to allow the president to serve three terms			
7th	1972	"Yushin Constitution": indirect electoral system of the president, National Council for Unification created	October Restoration	the 4th Republic	
8th	1980	direct electoral system of the president, limited the presidential term to seven years	Park Chung-hee assassination	the 5th Republic	Chun Doo-hwan (Jeon Duhwan)
9th	1987	direct electoral system of the president, limited the presidential term to five years	June Democratic Struggle	the 6th Republic	Roh Tae-woo (No Tae-u)

Table 1: History of constitutional revision in Korea.

a constitution with a system centering on the president, the power to elect the president was vested in the National Assembly. In 1951, with his support base in the National Assembly weakened, Rhee proposed a bill for constitutional amendment under wartime martial law, which provided for the president to be elected by popular vote and proposed to make the National Assembly a bicameral system. The proposal was rejected. The following year, in 1952, Rhee stepped up pressure on Assembly members and succeeded in passing the bill for revision of the constitution, which combined the bills of the government and the opposition. In 1954, two years later, the constitution was revised to abolish limits on the president's term of office and provide for him to be succeeded by the vice-president (the "Rounding Off Constitution"). This opened the way to long-term rule and succession of power.

Rhee's long rule came to an end in 1960 with the April Revolution. To prevent a presidential dictatorship, the National Assembly adopted a parliamentary system of government and revised the constitution to bring about a democracy through the democratization of the judiciary and local governments and through fostering police neutrality. This was the begin-

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ning of the Second Republic of Korea, led by Prime Minister Chang Myon and President Yoon Bo-seon.

Park Chung-hee came to power through a military coup in May 1961, and in 1962 he revised the constitution to replace the parliamentary system of government and reinstate the presidential system (the Third Republic). Having stepped in after Rhee's long dictatorship, Park revised the constitution in 1969 to allow the president to serve three terms. In October 1972, he proclaimed a political restoration (*Yushin*) and declared martial law, dissolving the National Assembly and adopting the "Yushin Constitution." The new constitution removed the National Assembly's powers and suppressed popular political participation by, for example, vesting in the president the right to declare emergency measures and dissolve the National Assembly, and creating the National Council for Unification, which would then elect the president (Fourth Republic).

Park's dictatorship came to an end in 1979, when he was assassinated by a close advisor. In May 1980, a new military authority took power and declared martial law, suppressing democratic movements as in the uprising in Gwangju (see vol. I, ch. 7). The Constitution of the Fifth Republic was promulgated in October of that year. It limited the presidential term to seven years and stipulated that the president would be elected indirectly through an electoral college.

Democratic movements further grew in the 1980s, with strong public opinion calling for a direct presidential election system. Facing a crisis, the ruling party gave in to these demands and issued a draft amendment to the constitution. The Constitution of the Sixth Republic was promulgated in October 1987 and was subsequently amended to limit the presidential term to five years through a direct election system in order to prevent the president from being in power for too long a period of time. It also restored the right of the National Assembly to investigate state matters and abolished the right of the president to adopt emergency measures and dissolve the National Assembly. This document is the current constitution of the Republic of Korea.

The Constitutional Court of Korea

One of the new features of the Korean constitution when it was revised in 1987 was the creation of the Constitutional Court. The Constitu-

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tional Court is a body that monitors state organs to ensure that they are using their powers legitimately. It has jurisdiction over such areas as: 1) judicial review to determine the constitutionality of a law; 2) impeachment of public officials in high positions, including the president; 3) dissolution of a political party; 4) disputes over authority between, for example, state agencies and local governments; and 5) complaints regarding the infringement of people's fundamental rights by state authorities.

Because it has such extensive powers, decisions made by the Constitutional Court have tremendous impact, not just on state authorities, but also on the lives of the citizens. When the National Assembly impeached President Roh Moo-hyun in 2004, the Constitutional Court dismissed the case. It also found the special measures law for the construction of a new administrative capital unconstitutional because it violated the *de facto* constitution under which Seoul is the capital city of Korea. The Constitutional Court has also found the treatment of adultery as a criminal offense and the death penalty system to be constitutional, and the "head of family" system unconstitutional because, among other things, it discriminates against women. A difficult question is currently emerging regarding how the people will be able to put democratic checks on the Constitutional Court as its powers become greater.

Since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, four constitutions have been enacted: the 1954 Constitution, which was the first socialist constitution; the 1975 Constitution, which was passed during the Cultural Revolution; the 1978 Constitution, which reflected the policies of Hua Guofeng, who succeeded Mao Zedong upon his death; and the 1982 Constitution, which is currently in force and which formulates Deng Xiaoping's Four Modernizations and policies of "reform and opening to the outside." These constitutions reflect the journey of revolutionary China toward the building of a socialist state.

The 1954 Constitution was modeled on the constitution of the Soviet Union, and replaced and further developed the Common Program, which had only been an interim constitution. It asserted that the general task of the

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state during the period of transition from the foundation of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society was to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture, trades and crafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. Likewise in line with the Common Program, the new constitution stipulated that China was a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The transformation toward socialism, the country's major undertaking according to the constitution, is regarded to have been basically complete by 1956.

The Cultural Revolution began in the spring of 1966, and China entered an era in which the constitution ceased to function. One attempt was made to revise the constitution in 1970, the fifth year of the Cultural Revolution, but a clash of opinion between Lin Biao, who wanted to establish the office of a president, and Mao Zedong, who opposed the idea, led to its abandonment. Another proposal for its revision was made in 1973, leading to the Fourth National People's Congress adopting the 1975 Constitution in January 1975. This very simple constitution, consisting of just 30 articles, set out the main ideas affirming the Cultural Revolution. Its guiding principles were reduced to the political slogans of "class struggle" and "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and the state was given minimum power.

In 1976, however, the Cultural Revolution came to an end with the death of Mao Zedong and the fall of the "Gang of Four," and reformers such as Deng Xiaoping returned to power (see vol. I, ch. 7). Efforts were made to enact a new rule of law, leading to the promulgation of the "1978 Constitution."

The 1978 Constitution eradicated many of the extreme left-leaning inclinations of that of 1975 and brought back some of the principles and systems set out in the 1954 Constitution. After Chairman Hua Guofeng's fall from power, however, this policy had to be revised. In 1979, the Revolutionary Committees, which had been established on the basis of Mao Zedong's ideas, were abolished, and constitutional amendments were made to transform the organization of local governments. In 1980, additional amendments were implemented to reduce the influence of Mao Zedong's rule, and pathways opened up for the implementation of the "reform and

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opening to the outside" policies advocated by Deng Xiaoping and his supporters.

The two revisions of the 1978 Constitution, however, failed to address radical changes in the basic policies of the state as it promoted reform and the opening up of China. Preparations were thus made to enact a new version, and in December 1982, the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the "1982 Constitution." This prioritized the balance between communist views and the reforms that had taken place in areas such as politics, law and the economy. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the modernization of industry, agriculture, defense and science through domestic policy and diplomacy were defined as central objectives. For the first time, it was explicitly decided that the constitution was the supreme law, placing more emphasis on the rights of the people. The 1982 Constitution was revised four times before being finalized in the form in which it exists today. The first revisions, which took place in 1988, stipulated that the right to the use of land may be transferred according to law, and included new provisions regarding the private sector of the economy. The 1993 amendments added "reform and opening to the outside" to the four principles in the preamble. In 1999, the preamble was amended to add a reference to the "Deng Xiaoping Theory." The 2004 amendments supplemented the provision on the protection of the right of citizens to private property and added the sentence "the state respects and protects human rights."

In Japan, in the 1950s, pressure to revise the constitution was growing, stemming both from outside (above all from the United States) and from the Japanese domestic sphere. The people were generally in support of the preservation of the constitution and a strengthening of its substance. Debates have continued for half a century on whether the Japanese constitution should be revised or preserved. It remains unrevised in its original form to this day.

The Japanese Constitution was enacted in 1946, but until the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in 1952, Japan was controlled by the GHQ and was limited in its national sovereignty. The early occupation policies of the GHQ were carried out in accordance with the aims of the Potsdam Declaration, which called for demilitarization and democratization. With the intensification of the Cold War, however, and the ad-

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vancement of socialist movements on the Korean peninsula and in China, the policies of the occupying authorities switched toward making Japan the bulwark of anti-communism in the Far East. Policies were made that were inconsistent with the constitution's guarantee of freedom of expression, such as the regulation and suppression of labor movements and of political activities undertaken by leftist groups. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the GHQ encouraged Japan to establish a National Police Reserve, in contradiction to the stipulation demanding non-maintenance of military forces in Article 9 of the Constitution.

Allied control of Japan ended after the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in 1952. Thereafter, the ruling conservative forces openly advocated revision of the constitution and a return to prewar structures. In addition to making the emperor head of state and expanding his powers, they called for the revision of Article 9 of the constitution to allow Japan to maintain armed forces. The legal system provided for by the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (concluded in 1951) was at odds with the constitution. The National Police Reserve established in 1950 was reorganized into the National Safety Forces in 1952, and was subsequently rearmed and renamed the Self-Defense Forces in 1954, resulting in a conflict with Article 9. At first, the Japanese government's interpretation of the constitution's reference to "war potential" was that it referred to the capacity to actively engage in warfare, and as such the prohibition would not apply to "Self-Defense Forces." In 1954, the government presented an interpretation of the constitution which recognized Japan's right to self-defense and its right to maintain military forces for this purpose. With this step, the Self-Defense Forces were made constitutional.

In response to this movement toward rearming Japan, popular struggles began in the 1950s against land expropriation in areas around US bases in Japan. The movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs intensified when a fishing boat was affected by an American thermonuclear test in the Pacific (the "Lucky Dragon Incident"). Popular demonstrations also were directed against policies aimed at strengthening police powers and regulating education. Such movements provided an opportunity for the Japanese people to reevaluate their constitution as well as to strengthen their capacity to support it.

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Opposition to renewing the US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security reached an unprecedented scale in 1960, forcing the government, under the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), to change its policies. The government thereafter showed less desire to change the provisions of the constitution and focused instead on revising it substantially through interpretation. People responded by trying to make the constitution more effective and prevent it from becoming an empty shell. They brought legal actions calling into question the constitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces and launched movements in protest at, among other things, the Vietnam War. They also called for the return of US bases in Okinawa and protested environmental pollution. Progressive local governments emerged in various areas, promoting the slogan "Let's Make the Constitution Alive in Our Daily Lives." The movement to give the constitution substance also led to campaigns to protect human rights.

In the 1980s, with the military power of the US declining after its defeat in the Vietnam War, the US government called on Japan to reinforce its defense capacities. After the end of the Cold War in 1989/1990, discussions around a Japanese "contribution to international society" intensified, and calls for constitutional revision emerged more forcefully in Japanese politics and media. In 2005, the LDP announced a draft for a revised constitution and in 2007 passed legislation allowing for a referendum for constitutional revision. The Japanese Self-Defense Forces were also dispatched overseas under various pretexts and were sent to the Iraq War from 2003 to 2004. Associations for the protection of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, such as the "Article 9 Society" responded by campaigning against these developments throughout the country, and increased efforts were made to protect the constitution.

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3. Constitutions Today: Government Structures and Human Rights Provisions

Historical Experiences Reflected in the Preamble of Each Constitution

The people of China, Japan and Korea today live their lives under the constitutions of their respective countries. The politics, economy and society of each country, and the existence of every individual within them, are all linked to the provisions of these constitutions. In this section, we will look at the *principles* set out in the constitutions of the three East Asian countries.

Enacted in 1947, the Japanese Constitution first proclaims that the "sovereign power resides with the people." The Constitution defines a system of representative democracy stipulating that sovereignty is exercised by "We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet." The relationship between the government and the people is explained as follows: "The Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded." Of course, to actually realize this principle, elections that truly reflect the will of the people are essential, as well as representatives who are worthy of the people's trust.

The Japanese Constitution also reflects the lessons learned from the Asia-Pacific War (1931–45). The proclamation that "sovereign power resides with the people" is tied to the resolve "that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war thorough the action of government." The people were not able to prevent the war from happening, and based on their regret of this, they have shown a resolve to keep watch over their government. From a different perspective, it is precisely because of the establishment of popular sovereignty that the people have an immense responsibility for the actions of the government.

The "desire" of the Japanese people, according to the preamble of the Constitution, is "peace for all time." The people must be deeply conscious of the "high ideals controlling human relationship[s]," the basis of which is the

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Figure 7: General election in Japan: Women casting ballots for the first time (April 10, 1946). Source: private collection.

"justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world." Trusting in this justice and faith, the Japanese people have determined to "preserve our security and existence." International society is "striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth." The desire of the Japanese people is to occupy an "honored place" in international society. All peoples of the world have "the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." This is how the Japanese Constitution asserts international cooperation and the right to a peaceful life. Peace is not simply a state of the absence of war. The preamble of the Japanese Constitution ends with the sentence that "no nation is responsible to itself alone," which is essentially a call on the Japanese people to take an international view that goes beyond state-centric nationalism. It is a pledge, on the national honor, to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all Japan's resources.

Unlike the Japanese Constitution, which very much emerged out of the experience of the horrors of war, the basis for the Korean Constitution has been to uphold the spirit of past *movements.* Today's constitution, which

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was enacted in 1987, upholds "the cause of the Government of the Provisional Republic of Korea, born out of the March First Independence Movement of 1919, and the democratic ideals of the April Revolution of 1960 against injustice" and declares the realization of the "democratic reform and peaceful unification of our homeland" its mission. The constitution promotes the democratization and unification of the homeland by upholding the spirit of past movements. "Justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love" are defined as necessary elements for the consolidation of "national unity." The constitution proclaims a need to "destroy all social vices and injustice" in order to further strengthen the "basic free and democratic order." The Korean Constitution provides for "equal opportunities to every person … in all fields, including political, economic, social and cultural life," aims for a society in which the "fullest development of individual capabilities" can be attained equally by all in all fields, and rejects social discrimination and an overemphasis on wealth. The task of "elevat[ing] the quality of life [of] all citizens" is defined as a national one. Internationally, Korea shall "contribute to lasting world peace and the common prosperity of mankind." Drawing on this part of the preamble, Article 5 (1) stipulates that "[t]he Republic of Korea shall endeavor to maintain international peace and shall renounce all aggressive wars," thus clarifying its position on the principle of international peace.

While the Japanese constitution was founded on reflections on the past war and the Korean constitution was formulated with the intent of upholding the spirit of past movements, the basis for the Chinese constitution is the maintenance of a revolutionary tradition. Enacted in 1982, the current Chinese constitution praises the revolutionary culture of the country, stating: "The people of all ethnic groups in China have jointly created a culture of grandeur and have a glorious revolutionary tradition." It then looks back on its recent past by mentioning three important dates: 1840, the year of the beginning of the First Opium War, is defined as the beginning of a process of turning "feudal China … gradually … into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country." In response, the Chinese people "waged many successive heroic struggles for national independence and liberation and for democracy and freedom." The Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen is given as the central event through which China "abolished the feudal monarchy" and "gave birth to the Republic." The historic mission of the

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Chinese people to "overthrow imperialism and feudalism" had at that point yet to be fulfilled.

Lastly, 1949 is presented as the year in which the "Chinese people of all ethnic groups led by the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Zedong," after "waging protracted and arduous struggles, armed and otherwise," finally overthrew "the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism" and "won the great victory of the New-Democratic Revolution" leading to the foundation of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people had thereby "taken control of state power and become masters of the country."

After explaining China's journey toward the revolution in this way, the constitution continues by summarizing the history of the People's Republic of China after its establishment: "China gradually achieved its transition from a New-Democratic to a socialist society." Among the attainments mentioned here are the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man, the development of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, the safeguarding of China's national independence and security and the strengthening of its national defense by the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, major successes achieved in economic development, industrialization, a marked increase in agricultural production, significant progress in educational, scientific, cultural and other undertakings, and noteworthy results yielded through socialist ideological education.

Such outcomes, the constitution summarizes, have led to the Chinese people of all ethnic groups continuing, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought and Deng Xiaoping's ideas, to develop a socialist market economy and a socialist democracy, modernize industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, and turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy.

Regarding its international perspective, the constitution emphasizes that China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to five specific principles, which are mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the principle of non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing dip-

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lomatic relations and economic and cultural exchange with other countries, that is, striving for world peace and human progress.

The Political Structures Established by the Three Countries' Constitutions

The political structures established by the three constitutions of China, Japan and Korea differ considerably from each other. Korea has adopted a presidential system with a unicameral National Assembly. Its current constitution also stipulates that "the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people, and all state authority shall emanate from the people." The president and the members of the National Assembly are elected by direct popular vote. With the exception of the period of the Second Republic (August 1960 to May 1961), Korea has had a presidential system. The president is the head of state, the chief administrator, and the commander of the military forces. Unlike the constitution of the Fifth Republic, the president's right to declare emergency measures and dissolve the National Assembly has been removed from the current constitution. However, the president still maintains great power. There is a separation of legislative, administrative, and judicial powers, but authority is concentrated in the hands of the president and political leadership is largely exercised by him or her. The presidential term is five years without the possibility of reelection.

Regarding the National Assembly, a bicameral system was adopted when the first constitutional revision was passed in 1952, but the two houses were only in place for a few months, from August 1960 to May 1961. Otherwise, a unicameral system has been in place in postwar Korea. Members serve four-year terms. The authority of the National Assembly is much weaker than that of the president, who has, for example, the power to veto legislative bills. The National Assembly has certain rights, such as the right to investigate governmental affairs and discuss budget proposals, but even these rights are limited. For example, it is the government that submits the draft budget, and the National Assembly cannot increase the amount of money in each item or create new ones without reaching an agreement with the government. Judicial powers are vested in the courts, which are composed of judicial officers. The courts comprise the Supreme Court – the highest judicial au-

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thority – and other courts of various ranks (High Courts, District Courts, Family Court). Military tribunals are also recognized as special courts. The chief justice of the Supreme Court is appointed by the president with the National Assembly's consent, and other justices are appointed by the president upon the recommendation of the chief justice.

The judicial review system has changed with constitutional amendments either adopting the German-style constitutional commission system or giving court jurisdiction in the American style. Under the current constitution, a constitutional court system has been adopted in which nine justices – of whom three are selected by the National Assembly and three are appointed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court – deal with matters such as the constitutionality or otherwise of laws.

Unlike Korea's presidential system, Japan has adopted a parliamentary cabinet system with a Diet comprising two houses. Before the war, the Emperor of Japan was the head of state and the only sovereign, but under the 1947 Constitution, he has become a "symbol of the unity of the People." Although sovereignty completely resides with the people, the emperor system was preserved. This was a result of the GHQ's intention to utilize the authority of the emperor to guarantee a smooth occupation and of the Japanese elites' aim to preserve the emperor system, even if this were to be in a somewhat different form. In the new constitution, the Emperor no longer has political powers and his role has become a purely ceremonial one. He now is called a "symbol" of the nation.

Because the 1947 constitution vested sovereign power in the Japanese people rather than in the emperor, the representatives of the National Diet, the "highest organ of state power" and "sole law-making organ," are today elected by the people in direct elections. Under the prewar constitution, the Imperial Diet had adopted a framework whereby the House of Peers, comprised of representatives of the aristocracy, could prevent the House of Representatives, the members of which were elected by popular vote, from passing legislation. The National Diet under the postwar Constitution also has adopted a bicameral system, with a House of Representatives and a House of Councilors, but both are comprised of members who are elected by popular vote.

Under the prewar constitution, the emperor had executive power and ministers of state were merely advisors. The constitution also contained no

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provisions regarding the cabinet. Under the current constitution, executive power is vested in the cabinet and the Diet appoints the prime minister, who serves as the head of the cabinet. This is Japan's parliamentary system of government. In actual fact, as the will of the House of Representatives is regarded as superior, the head of the party holding the majority of seats in the House of Representatives is appointed prime minister, which means that government in Japan is de facto party-led. Under the prewar constitution, judicial rights were exercised in the Emperor's name and the courts had jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases. Under the current constitution, all cases, including administrative ones, are covered by the judicial rights exercised by the courts. The latter have the right of judicial review based on the American-style system of judicial review.

Unlike South Korea's presidential system and Japan's parliamentary cabinet system, the Chinese government is run with the National People's Congress at its center. There is no separation of powers in the Chinese system of government, which is based on an administrative framework known as democratic centralism. The people, who are the sovereign, exercise this right through the People's Congress, which is the highest organ of state power. Representatives of the National People's Congress are elected by popular vote. All state power is exercised through the National People's Congress. The "administrative, judicial and prosecuting organs of the state" are created by the People's Congresses, and their responsibilities are divided among the State Council, the People's Courts and the People's Prosecutors' Office. This division of responsibilities is based, however, on a different principle from that of the separation of powers, since all authority is concentrated under the National People's Congress.

The head-of-state system was abolished after the Cultural Revolution, with the enactment of the constitutions of 1975 and 1978, but was reinstated in the 1982 Constitution. The president and vice-president are elected by the People's National Congress, promulgate laws adopted by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee, appoint and remove the premier of the State Council, and confer state medals and honorary titles. They also represent the country in diplomatic affairs. The State Council, that is, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, is the executive organ of state power, which is comprised of the premier, vice-premiers, state councilors and ministers, among others. The Central Military

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Commission of the People's Republic of China directs the armed forces of the country and is comprised of a chairman, vice-chairmen and members. The people's courts are the judicial organs of the state, with special courts such as the Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at different levels, and military courts. Under China's Constitution, the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee oversee the constitution, but there is no system of constitutional review.

How are Human Rights Provided for by the Constitutions?

We will now compare how each of the three constitutions provides for fundamental human rights.

The relevant section in the current Chinese constitution is Part 2, entitled "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens." This used to be located in Part 3 of the previous versions of the constitution, after the section on state structure, but the order of sections changed with the 1982 Constitution. It is believed that this was intended to reflect a higher regard for the rights of citizens. Every citizen is entitled to the rights prescribed by the constitution and the statutes and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law. (Art. 33)

Under the constitution, the people are regarded as possessing basic human rights if they are members ("citizens") of the People's Republic of China. All citizens are equal before the law and upon reaching the age of 18, they have the right to vote and stand for election, regardless of ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, or length of residence. Citizens also have political freedoms such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration, and personal and socio-economic rights such as freedom of religious belief, freedom of the person, inviolability of personal dignity and the home, freedom and privacy of correspondence, the right to work, the right to receive an education, and the right to engage in cultural activities. Of particular interest is the provision on the right of working people to rest, whereby the state has a duty to provide larger numbers of facilities for the rest and recuperation of working people, and prescribe working hours and vacations for workers and staff. Women have equal rights to men, and the

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state has a duty to protect the rights and interests of women, apply the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women alike, and train and select personnel from among women. Marriage, the family, and mother and child are protected by the state, and the constitution states, "Both husband and wife have the duty to practice family planning." Citizens also have a duty to safeguard the unity of the country and all of its ethnicities, abide by the constitution, laws and labor regulations, keep state secrets, respect the public order, public ethics and public property, safeguard the security, honor and interests of the motherland, perform military service, and pay taxes.

The current Korean constitution begins its section on the rights of citizens by enshrining the right to human dignity and the pursuit of happiness: "All citizens are assured of human dignity and worth and have the right to pursue happiness." (Art. 10) It then emphasizes the duty of the state to guarantee the basic human rights. This reflects the development of the movement against state powers and for the acquisition of human rights as well as the history of the attainment of democracy in Korea. Thus, the constitution provides for guaranteed human rights; after mentioning equality before the law, it cites personal liberty and the prohibition of torture, stipulating that a confession is deemed to have been made against a defendant's will when it is obtained, for example, through torture, violence, intimidation, or unduly prolonged arrest. Moreover, such a confession cannot be admitted as evidence. These provisions are extremely detailed.

Next prescribed are guarantees of civil rights and freedoms, such as freedom of residence and the right to move home, freedom of occupation, the right to privacy, the right to privacy of correspondence, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, freedom of learning and the arts, and the right to property. The constitution also stipulates the right to vote, the right to petition the government and the right to a trial, as well as social rights such as the right to receive an education, the right to work, the right of workers to join unions, the right to a life worthy of human beings, and the right to a healthy and pleasant environment.

It also provides for individual dignity and equality of the sexes in family life as follows: "Marriage and family life shall be entered into and sustained on the basis of individual dignity and equality of the sexes, and the State

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shall do everything in its power to achieve that goal." (Art. 36) The first Korean constitution of 1948 asserted that "marriage is based on the equality of the sexes, and the purity of marriage and the health of the family are placed under the special protection of the State." The provision on equal rights in marriage, however, was removed from the 1962 Constitution. The 1980 Constitution also removed the words "purity of marriage." The stipulation regarding individual dignity and equality of the sexes in marriage and family life was included through the advocacy of women at the time through movements aimed at reforming the patriarchal system and guaranteeing the freedoms of marriage and divorce. The current constitution preserves this provision.

The Japanese Constitution provides that fundamental human rights are eternal rights.[1] These rights did not always exist, and after being fought for by mankind over a long period of time and surviving the ordeals of history, they have been entrusted to the (Japanese) people. Constant efforts must therefore be made to transmit these eternal rights to future generations. The Japanese Constitution states: "The fundamental human rights guaranteed by this Constitution to the people of Japan are fruits of the age-old struggle of man to be free; they have survived the many exacting tests of [their] durability and are conferred upon this and future generations in trust, to be held for all time inviolate." (Art. 97) and "The freedoms and rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be maintained by the constant endeavor of the people" (Art. 12).

What, then, are "rights to be held for all time inviolate"? The first listed is the people's right to be respected as individuals, then the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Various civil liberties are then guaranteed, such as freedom from bondage and servitude, freedom of thought and conscience, freedom of religion and the separation of government and religion, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of expression, such as

1 Article 11 of the Constitution stipulates: "Fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights." However, the term "people" used in the Japanese text refers to "Japanese people," which means that the fundamental human rights of non-Japanese residents of Japan are not protected by the Japanese Constitution. Art. 97 explicitly limits the human rights to Japanese nationals. The same applies to the constitutions of China and Korea.

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freedom of speech and of the press, prohibition of censorship, secrecy of communication, freedom to choose and change one's residence and to choose one's occupation, freedom to move to a foreign country and divest oneself of the Japanese nationality, academic freedom, and freedom of marriage.

The Japanese constitution further states: "All of the [Japanese] people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin," thus asserting the individual dignity and equality of the sexes in family life. It also guarantees social rights such as the "right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living," the right to receive an education, the right to work, and the right of workers to organize in unions and to bargain and act collectively.

Human rights, however, are not always protected in the spirit of the constitution. People use the constitution as a reference point to examine the actual situation, and engage in constant effort to give substance to their rights. For example, Asahi Shigeru brought an action arguing that his benefits under the Livelihood Protection Law violated Article 25 of the constitution (the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living). In the 1960s, Ienaga Saburo, a historian and a writer of a senior high-school history textbook, started a campaign to protect academic freedom in response to an intensification of government textbook examination processes. There have been many different movements aimed at securing and protecting other rights, such as freedom of expression, the right of public servants to conduct political activities, labor rights, the right to prevent violations of environmental quality due to pollution, the right to privacy, and the right of access to information. Through these, the Japanese constitution has gradually gained substance.

The Asahi Shigeru Case on the Right to Live

Article 25 of the Japanese Constitution stipulates: "All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living." In 1957, Asahi Shigeru, who was being cared for at a national sanatorium, argued that it was not possible to live under the livelihood protection system of the time in the manner guaranteed by Article 25 of the Constitution, and filed a suit against the Minister of

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Health and Welfare arguing the unconstitutionality of the Livelihood Protection Law. Asahi received tremendous support and the Tokyo District Court found in his favor, that is, that the levels of state benefits at that time were so low that they violated the state's obligation to provide a minimum standard of wholesome and cultured living. The state appealed and the decision of the lower court was overturned, with the High Court finding that although the basic amount of benefit was low, this could not be construed as being in violation of the constitution. Asahi died in 1964 and the case ultimately came to an end in 1967, but it bore great significance for raising the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living as a right and became widely known as "Ningen Saiban" (the Case for Living a Human Existence), developing into a harbinger for the social security movement to come.

Constitutions are the fundamental laws of states, prescribing the relationship between the people and the government and stipulating how authority is organized. They also guarantee the rights of the people. Whether people are aware of it or not, they are closely connected to how politics, laws, the economy and society operate. Today, the people of China, Japan and Korea, though each governed by a different constitution, face common issues in their attempts to become the protagonists in their governments and realize the values of human dignity and true peace. They must deepen their mutual solidarity and open up to the future – toward establishing an East Asian Community. In order to do so, they need to constantly revisit their past and reconsider the meaning of key terms in their constitutions such as "freedom," "equality," and "peace."

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Timeline

1880 The Freedom and Popular Rights Movement in Japan intensifies. Demands for the establishment of a National Diet and Constitution emerge.
1881 The Japanese government promises to establish a National Diet in 1890.
1889 Promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (Meiji Constitution).
1895 Reform movement in Qing China led by Ko Yui (Kang Youwei) and Liang Qichao.
1896 The Independence Club Movement in Korea begins.
1897 Korea is renamed the Empire of Korea, with Gojong acceding to the position of emperor.
1898 The Qing Emperor adopts reforms (Hundred Days of Reform) but the system collapses with a coup after 100 days. The Joint Assembly of Officials and the People is held in Korea to decide on government reform bills.
1899 The Korean government lays down the system by which the state is to be organized, reinforcing the status and the authority of the emperor.
1905 The Qing Dynasty dispatches ministers to the West and Japan to observe the political situation.
1908 The Qing Dynasty promulgates the "Outline of the Imperial Constitution," stipulating a preparatory period of nine years prior to the establishment of a constitution.
1910 The Empire of Korea ceases to exist with the annexation of Korea by Japan.
1911 The Qing Dynasty comes to an end with the Xinhai Revolution.
1912 Minobe Tatsukichi publishes *Kenpo Kowa* ("Lecture on the Constitution") and develops the "Emperor Organ Theory" in Japan. The Republic of China is founded, with a provisional government in Nanjing. Promulgation of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China.
1919 March First Movement in Korea. Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai established. Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Korea enacted.
1931 The Guomindang establishes a government in Nanjing and promulgates the Provisional Constitution of the Political Tutelage Period. The "Outline Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic" is adopted by the Communist Party at the First National Congress of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Jianxi province.
1935 Minobe's books are banned (Japan).
1936 Promulgation of the Draft Constitution of the Republic of China.
1937 Marco Polo Bridge Incident. China's National Assembly indefinitely postponed and constitution neither enacted nor promulgated.
1941 Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea announces its founding principles.
1945 Japan is defeated in war. Korea is liberated from colonial rule. In China, the Guomindang and Chinese Communist Party are at odds with each other.

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1946 Promulgation of the Constitution of Japan. Intensification of civil war in China. The Guomindang adopts the Constitution of the Republic of China.

1948 South Korea's constitution is drawn up by the Constitutional Assembly and the Republic of Korea is established. In the north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is formed and its constitution adopted.

1949 The Guomindang evacuates to Taiwan. The People's Republic of China is established and enacts its Common Program.

1952 The San Francisco Peace Treaty comes into effect. With the end of the occupation, movements arise in Japan for the revision of the constitution. In Korea, Rhee Syngman pressures members of the National Assembly to revise the constitution (first revision).

1954 Enactment of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1954 Constitution). In Japan, the Self-Defense Forces are created and rearmament begins.

1960 Opposition to the revision of the US-Japan Security Pact intensifies in Japan (after which it is revised according to interpretation and operations). In Korea, Rhee Syngman is toppled in the April Revolution and the constitution is amended (parliamentary system of government).

1962 Park Chung-hee amends the South Korean constitution (direct presidential election).

1972 In South Korea, the October Restoration is proclaimed and the Yushin (Restoration) Constitution adopted (7th revision, indirect presidential election). In North Korea, a socialist constitution is promulgated.

1975 Enactment of 1975 Constitution in China.

1978 Enactment of 1978 Constitution in China, reinstating some principles and systems of the 1954 Constitution.

1980 Crackdown on democratic movement in South Korea (Gwangju Democratization Movement), constitutional revision (indirect presidential election).

1982 Enactment of 1982 Constitution in China, expressing the Four Modernizations and line of "reform and opening to the outside."

1987 Direct presidential elections in Korea realized through the June Democratic Struggle.

1998 In North Korea, the constitution is revised and a new system led by Kim Jong-Il as Supreme Leader of the national defense is established.

2003 Japan's Self-Defense Forces dispatched to the Iraq War (from 2004). Rise of "Article 9 Societies" across Japan.

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Chapter 2:
Urbanization in East Asia: Shanghai, Yokohama and Busan

The modern era in world history has been marked by rapid urbanization, and East Asia has been no exception from this general trend. The region is noteworthy for the development of megalopolises. The three capitals of Beijing, Seoul and Tokyo were important centers even before the modern era and developed into modern cities as they took up new functions. Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, bears the same characteristics. Many agrarian and fishing villages also underwent rapid transformation, developing into large cities.

This chapter will look at the cities of Shanghai, Yokohama and Busan as typical examples of modern cities. The direct impetus for their development was the growth of international trade and finance resulting from their opening as trading ports, and they have all developed into major maritime trading cities in East Asia. They are also similar in that industrialization contributed to their expansion. On the other hand, differences in their political and economic conditions served to provide each with unique characteristics.

An intimate connection can be observed between the growth of these port cities and the transformation of agricultural areas inland. The development of new transportation methods such as railways created new economic ties between cities and agricultural regions, and transformed traditional farming areas into districts providing agricultural products for the international market. Part 3 will look at silkworm cocoons and raw silk, which represent key East Asian agricultural products for global consumption, focusing on their main production areas in China, Japan and South Korea, and on the links of the areas producing these goods to the three port cities.

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1. The Opening of Ports and Urban Development

The ports of Shanghai, Yokohama and Busan were all established at different times, and also varied in terms of the conditions under which they emerged and the politics of the countries involved in their development. These factors resulted in differences in the formative processes undergone by of the three cities. The British forced the port of Shanghai to open after China's defeat in the Opium War in 1842. The urbanization of the Shanghai settlement[2] was led by the Western powers, especially Great Britain. In the case of Yokohama, Japan consented to open the port after negotiations with the US in the second half of the 1850s. Despite the latter exerting military pressure in the background, the development of the Yokohama concession basically took place under the Japanese government's leadership. The opening of the port of Busan took place in the early 1870s under military pressure from Japan, which wanted to follow the Western powers to become a colonial power itself, and consequently took charge of developing the settlement (concession) in this city. For Japan, Busan was a base for its aggression on the Korean Peninsula and into northeast China.

The Opening of the Port of Shanghai and the Formation of the Foreign Settlement

Before Shanghai became an open port, it was a base for trade on the lower Yangtze River. Shanghai Castle was located on the left bank of the Huangpu River, a tributary of the Yangtze, and was a small walled city with a circumference of six kilometers. By the early nineteenth century, the population of the prefecture of Shanghai had already reached half a million. Shanghai is different from Yokohama and Busan in that it was already a city before the opening of the port. Suzhou had previously been the main city on

2 Settlements were restricted areas in which foreigners were allowed to live and run businesses. They were established under treaties and precedent. Concessions were settlements where foreigners were in charge of legislation, administration, the police and the judiciary. In China, Japan and Korea, the terminology used to refer to these areas varied, but the management system for areas known as "settlements" was essentially the same as that for concessions.

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the lower Yangtze River. After Shanghai port opened in 1849, the British Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) established a regular service between Europe, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai. As a result, the city developed into an important link between Europe and East Asia.

The port of Shanghai was opened to international trade after the Opium War with the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, and a British Consulate was established there in 1843. Based on the first set of land regulations concluded between the British Consul and the Shanghai Taotai, the first settlement was established in 1845.[3] American and French settlements followed in 1848 and 1849 respectively.

Regulations were considered for separate residential areas for Chinese people and Westerners, but because of the influx of displaced people into the settlements due to events such as the Taiping Rebellion, Chinese inhabitants and Westerners essentially lived side by side in Shanghai. In the 1854 Shanghai Regulations for the British, French and American Settlements (the second set of land regulations), mixed residence was given tacit approval. A foreign-run legislative body (the Taxpayers' Association) and administrative organs known as the Shanghai Municipal Council (for the British and American settlements) and the Conseil D'Administration Municipale (for the French settlement) were also established. Formed exclusively of taxpaying foreigners who owned property in the settlement, these bodies looked after its urban infrastructure. The Chinese were excluded from this system until the 1920s.

In 1863, the British and American settlements merged, and their administrative bodies were also integrated. By 1899, this territory had greatly increased. Following small expansions in 1861 and 1900, the French settlement underwent major expansion in 1914.

Before the port opened, Shanghai had been a waterside district with a well-developed water transport network. In the settlements, however, the municipal councils pushed for the development of roads. In 1908, the joint settlement also saw the opening of a tramway. The waterways had to be cut off, and the former waterside district was forced into decline. Furthermore, bridge construction began over the Suzhou River to link the two banks, and

3 The local Qing government administrator in charge of administering Shanghai.

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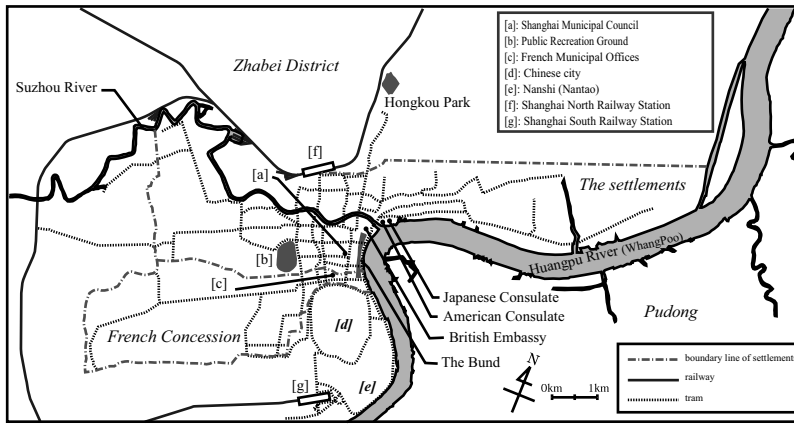

Figure 8: Map of Shanghai City (1937).

the wave of urbanization spread north of the Suzhou River, especially with the establishment of the joint settlement in 1899. A Chinese quarter developed around the settlement.

There was a concentration of foreign trading companies and financial institutions in the section of the joint settlement that had formerly been the British settlement. Indeed, this area by the Huangpu River known as "The Bund" continues to thrive today as a tourist landmark of Shanghai, with its bristling skyline of modern office buildings. The area also saw the establishment of churches, as well as racetracks and clubs, and became a hub for the foreign community. After the Self-Strengthening Movement of the 1860s, more and more government-run Chinese factories, or semi-governmental enterprises, were established in Shanghai. The signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 saw the advance of foreign capital (above all British capital) into the manufacturing industry. Focusing mainly on light industries such as cotton spinning and the silk industry, factories were established in the joint settlement (eastern and northern districts) and the western area of the city, then a little later in the Chinese areas north of the Suzhou River (Zhabei and Jiangwan) and south of the castle (Nanshi).

With the development of commerce and industry, a class of merchant-

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officials[4] (Chinese capitalists) also emerged. These merchants organized groups of people from the same hometown and used these networks to conduct business. The network of those engaged in the import and export of items such as tea, silk, and cotton was particularly active. These merchants also headed charity associations and led projects to help the poor. They disagreed with the power over the administration of the settlements being in the hands of foreigners and sought Chinese control over them. Outside the settlements, a self-governing body was established in 1905 through efforts led by the wealthy merchants. However, after the Revolution of 1911, local autonomy ended in 1914 under the rule of Yuan Shikai.

The Opening of the Port of Yokohama and Treaty Port Trade

Following the 1854 Convention of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, the shogunate signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the US in 1858. Treaties with Britain, Russia, France and the Netherlands followed. In 1859, the port of Kanagawa (Yokohama) was opened along with four other ports, including Nagasaki. That year, P&O extended its Singapore-Shanghai route to include Nagasaki and Yokohama. In 1867, the American Pacific Mail Steamship Co. established the San Francisco-Yokohama-Shanghai route. In 1875, the Mitsubishi Corporation (later Nippon Yusen) established Japan's first overseas liner service between Yokohama and Shanghai. After intense competition, Mitsubishi succeeded in forcing P&O and the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. to pull out of the Shanghai-Yokohama line.

Yokohama had been a remote village off the Kanagawa post station on the Tokaido, the main road connecting the cities of Edo and Kyoto. The shogunate pushed for the creation of a settlement there despite the objections of the British and American ministers, who regarded this step as an attempt to keep the treaty port in an isolated location. The shogunate contracted domestic merchants to develop reclaimed land as the site for the

4 These were people who bought official ranks after demonstrating success in commerce and industry, or who were gentlemen (with bureaucratic qualifications) investing in commerce and industry.

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trading port. The port was divided into separate settlements for foreigners and Japanese. The foreign parties officially recognized the Yokohama settlement in 1860.

After the overthrow of the shogunate in 1868, the new Meiji government carried out various projects at the site for the construction of parks and roads, as well as readjusting the division of land. British and French troops initially stationed in the settlement to protect the foreigners were withdrawn in 1875 upon the request of the new government. In a difference to the Shanghai concession, the formation of which was controlled by US, British, French, and Japanese capital and residents, the Japanese government (both the shogunate and later the Meiji government) excercised control over the development of the Yokohama settlement.

The 1871 Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty allowed land in the settlement to be leased to Chinese nationals. Aside from during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894/95, the Chinese population in Yokohama grew continuously until the beginning of the twentieth century, reaching 6,000 by 1908. An area with a high concentration of Chinese residents, primarily merchants and artisans, developed and became known as "Nankinmachi" (Nanking Town), which has remained Yokohama's "Chinatown" to this day.

Foreign trade in Yokohama grew rapidly with the opening of the port. Raw silk became its most important export item and was shipped to Europe and America. Because the Japanese government did not allow foreigners to travel inland, Japanese merchants bought domestic raw silk and then sold it to foreign trading firms. The Yokohama Specie Bank was established in 1879 and offered advance loans to silk merchants. It later became a specialized bank for trade financing, providing financial support for the advance of Japanese capitalism.

As mentioned above, the port of Yokohama was located on the edge of a highway running west from Tokyo. When the railroad linking Tokyo and Kobe (Tokaido line) opened for traffic in 1889, Yokohama Station adopted the switchback system. A line for military use was later laid down for the Sino-Japanese War, bypassing Yokohama Station. This was used as the Tokaido line after the war, and a new Yokohama Station was established inland.

With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in 1890s Japan, exports of cotton products to China and Korea increased suddenly. As a result,

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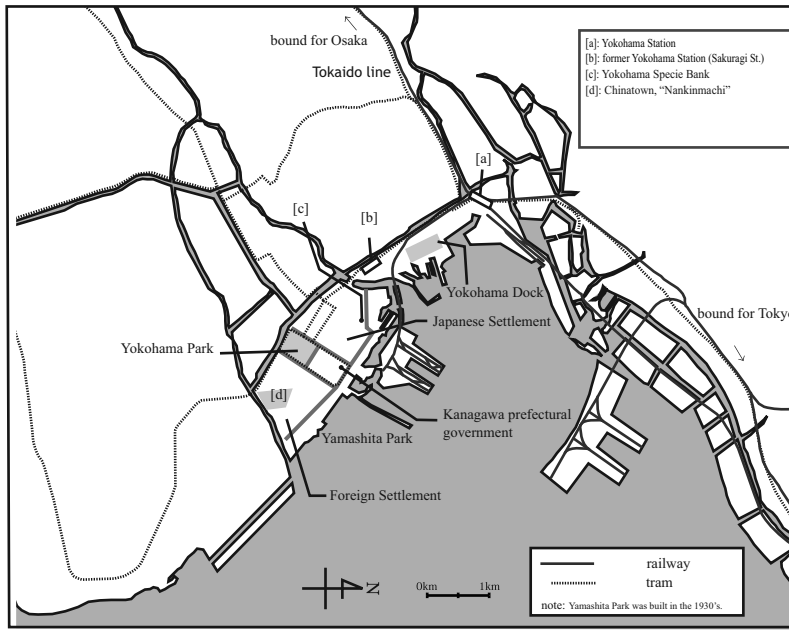

Figure 9: Map of Yokohama City (1910s).

quantities of trade in the ports of Osaka and Kobe, both of which had cotton industrial zones in their hinterland, massively increased, leading to the relative decline of Yokohama. The major sites of raw silk production were in areas remote from Yokohama, so the city could not accumulate as much industrial capital as could Osaka or Kobe. With the abolition of extra-territorial rights in 1899, the concession system came to an end, and foreign traders were allowed to settle in Tokyo rather than Yokohama.

A number of measures were passed in the early twentieth century, seeking to tackle the issue of Yokohama's relative decline. Work on the harbor progressed and a private railroad was constructed to link up with the former Yokohama Station, to make up for the alteration to the Tokaido line mentioned above. A streetcar began operating in 1904. Work on the coastal land reclamation project also progressed, and industrial parks were developed. In particular, heavy and chemical industries, including glass, shipbuilding, and steel manufacturing, emerged here during the First World

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War. It was not long before the industrial areas of Tokyo, Yokohama and Kawasaki along the shore of Tokyo Bay merged to form the Keihin Industrial Zone.

The Opening of the Port of Busan and City Development under the Japanese

With the opening of the port of Busan under the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876, the Mitsubishi Corporation was quick to open a regular Nagasaki-Tsushima-Busan line that very year, which was extended to Kobe in 1880. In 1890, Osaka Shosen (Osaka Shipping Co.) also established a regular service between Osaka and Busan. The year after the conclusion of the China-Korea Treaty of 1882, the Qing Commerce Bureau established a regular Shanghai-Nagasaki-Busan-Incheon service. At the end of the 1880s, the Korean government set up its own incentives for the shipping industry. However, after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan's shipping companies came to monopolize the regular China-Korea-Japan lines.

Before the opening of Busan, Waegwan (the Japanese trade post in Joseon), which was run by bureaucrats from the Tsushima feudal domain and served as a location for trade and business negotiations with Japan, was located in the province of Busan. The Joseon government specifically designated an inconvenient location for this post, far away from Dongnaebu or Busanjin, the central regions of Busan. In 1877, the two countries signed an agreement, based on articles 3 and 4 of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876, regarding a Busan settlement, and the Waegwan was relocated to Japan's new concession in central Busan. The Japanese consulate was also located there.

In 1884, Joseon and Qing China concluded an agreement regarding Chinese merchants in Korea, and Chinese concessions also were set up in Incheon and Busan. However, as most of the Chinese people in Busan had returned home during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894/95, only 356 remained by 1910. In contrast, the number of Japanese residents increased rapidly after the establishment of the settlement. In 1910, nearly 22,000 Japanese lived in Busan, surpassing the Korean population of around 21,000.

During the Sino-Japanese War, the logistical headquarters of the Japanese military were set up in Busan, and together with Incheon, the area

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became the principal hub for the Japanese supply lines. The Gyeongbu Railway was completed in 1904, connecting Busan and Hanseong (present-day Seoul), and during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05, Busan became a commissariat of the Japanese military. Furthermore, 1905 saw the establishment of a cross-channel railway ferry linking Shimonoseki and Busan (Kanfu ferry). The railway networks of Korea and Japan were now connected to each other. The Gyeongbu Railway between Busan and Hanseong (renamed Gyeongseong in 1910) later served as a main line on the Korean peninsula. Eighty percent of the total amount of trade at the port of Busan was with Japan. Grain such as rice was sent from Busan to Japan, meeting Japan's demand to feed its low-wage laborers. On their return to Busan, the ships brought cotton textile goods, which were Japan's main industrial product.

After Busan's port opened, Korean merchants tried to act as brokers for the Japanese merchants, but they ended up in debt to the latter due to their lack of capital. Known as "inland market brokers," these merchants inaugurated the Busan Merchant Commercial Law Company in 1889 and the Dongnae Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1908 and attempted to work together to deal with the Japanese merchants, but they were not able to effectively compete with the latter, who were receiving support from the Japanese government. They were integrated into the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in 1916, after Korea had been annexed to Japan.

In Busan, mountains extend very close to the shoreline, so a series of reclamation projects was carried out to secure land, funded by Japanese capital. A Japanese company began the first project in 1902. Later, a railroad, a station building, warehouses, a customs house and other facilities were built. A railway pier was completed in 1912. Prior to this, work had already been completed on the border of China and Korea on the construction of the Yalu River Bridge and the reconstruction of the Andong-Mukden Railway[5] into a broad-gauge system. Busan was thus placed to serve as a hub for the distribution network of areas under the Japanese rule.

In 1910, a Japanese company built a tramway in central Busan that linked the Busanjin district with the Japanese settlement. After the annexation of

5 A railway linking Andong (now Dandon) and Mukden (now Shenyang), cities on the Chinese side of the border between China and Korea.

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Korea in the same year, the concession system was abolished, and in 1913, the Japanese and Chinese concessions were incorporated into Busan Prefecture. Choryang and Busanjin districts were also incorporated into Busan prefecture in 1914, and the region's central administration was later transferred there from Dongnae. Japanese capital in Busan transformed Dongnae into a tourist resort featuring hot springs.

2. Industrialization and Labor in Cities

East Asia entered the age of industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, a process that stimulated the formation of large cities. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95, Japan experienced an industrial revolution in its light industries. Following the Russo-Japanese War, it established heavy and chemical industries. In China, light industries (food and textiles) had been established through domestic capital since around the time of the First World War, but foreign capital, from states such as Britain and Japan, also began making inroads into the Chinese spinning industry. Shanghai became an important center for light industries. Industrial plants were also set up in Korea after the First World War, though mostly through Japanese capital, as was the case for Busan's light industry plants.

With the advent of industrialization, a class of laborers that worked in factories and in the informal sector, doing miscellaneous jobs, formed in the cities of the three East Asian countries. Cross-border labor migration also began to emerge. Workers joined labor movements to secure their rights. Workers in Shanghai and Busan thus had a cause other than national liberation to fight for.

Shanghai: Industrialization and the Struggles of Chinese Laborers

At the time of the opening of the port of Shanghai in 1852, the population of the Chinese city (excluding the foreign concession) stood at 540,000. By 1910, it had grown to 670,000. During the same period, the concession population exploded from 500 to 620,000. In 1927, the population of the Chinese city and the foreign concession reached 1.5 million and 1.14 million

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respectively, with the growth of the population of the Chinese city being faster around the period of the First World War. After this, Shanghai grew to become a megalopolis, with a population of well over two million in the mid-1920s. Industrialization can be viewed as a factor that contributed to Shanghai's rapid population growth during this period. Light industries such as spinning and silk and flour milling took the lead in industrialization, and with their growth came a rapid increase in the number of factory workers in the city. In addition to such mechanized manufacturing, various craft industries also developed in Shanghai, in which many workers engaged.

Another reason for the sudden growth in population was an increase in the number of urban workers doing miscellaneous casual jobs, mostly as coolies or rickshaw pullers. As the amount of trade in the port of Shanghai grew, so too did demand for stevedores. It was mostly coolies who engaged in this difficult work. Although buses and streetcars operated in the city, rickshaw pullers played an active role in meeting the increasing transportation demands. Many of the workers in factories or doing these miscellaneous jobs earned low wages, and, together with cottage industry workers and merchants, formed the poor working class. They lived in hovels in what were called "shanty towns." To preserve the visual aesthetics of the settlements and keep them hygienic and comfortable for residents, the authorities regulated the construction of huts within the grounds of the settlements and therefore, the "shanty towns" developed in a ring around the settlements.

Hongkou Park

Hongkou Park in Shanghai was a European-style garden built in 1896 by the settlement's Municipal Council. In 1932, the Korean independence activist Yoon Bok-hee carried out a bomb attack in the park during a celebration for the Emperor's birthday. Important members of the Japanese government were killed or injured.

Hongkou Park was requisitioned by the Japanese Army with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, but after the war, its name was changed to Zhongzheng Park, after Chiang Kai-shek (Chiang Zhongzheng). The original name was restored in 1950.

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Because the novelist Lu Xun had used to stroll in Hongkou Park during his Shanghai days, his coffin was moved there in 1956. The park was renamed Lu Xun Park in 1988. A Lu Xun Memorial Hall can be found there today.

Japanese nationals began moving to Shanghai in considerable numbers during the First World War, which is when the Japanese-funded spinning industry in China, the Zaikabo,[6] developed. In 1927, the Japanese population in Shanghai reached about 26,000 – 47 % of the total foreign population of about 54,000. The Japanese mostly lived in Hongkou district, the former American concession. They built schools and hospitals and formed a substantial Japanese community. The Shanghai Shrine, a Shinto shrine, was established as a symbol of the unity of the Japanese community in China.

Before long, Shanghai's poor, such as factory and casual workers, had joined the ranks of the anti-Japanese nationalist movement. The May Fourth Movement starting in 1919 provided the impetus for this development. Workers in factories such as Japanese-owned textile mills and in transport facilities, along with rickshaw pullers and coolies working at the docks, went on strike. Those working in craft industries called for a boycott of Japanese products. Merchants and shopkeepers closed their stores in order to express their anti-Japanese sentiment. In February 1925, workers at a Japanese-owned textile mill in the joint settlement went on strike, demonstrating against the management's violence toward workers and the underlying policies of rationalization policies. On May 30, in response to a student protest march, the British police opened fire, killing and wounding dozens of people. This incident sparked the May Thirtieth Movement and led to a spread of nationalist demonstrations throughout Shanghai that were unprecedented in scale. As in the May Fourth movement that had begun in 1919, three major groups carried out boycotts and strikes: students, financiers/merchants, and laborers. Female workers forced to work long hours

6 These were spinning companies in China that had been invested in or run by Japanese capital. Many spinning companies moved in after the First World War, spurred by the prohibition of nighttime work in Japan and the increase in Chinese tariffs, but working conditions later became an issue between the two countries.

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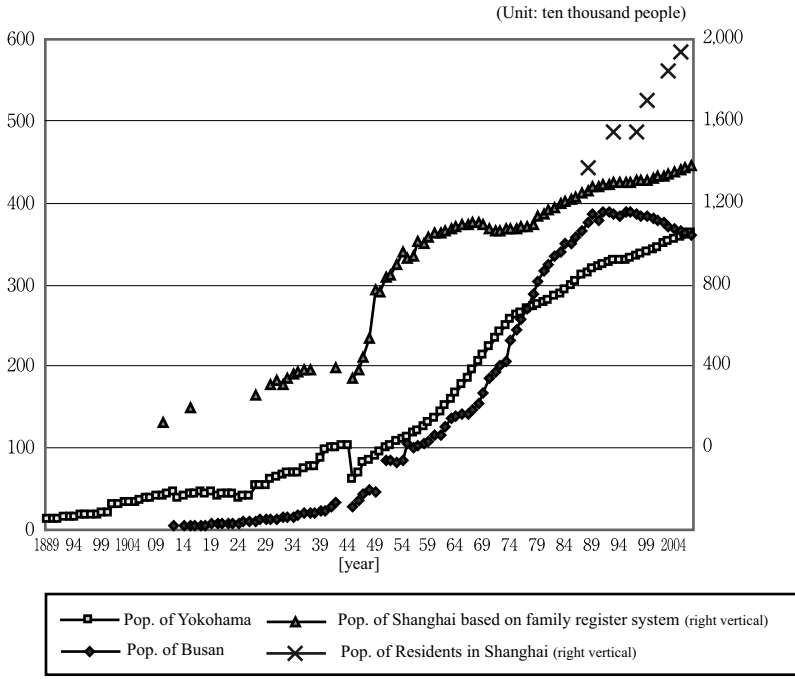

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Table 2: Development of the population of Shanghai, Yokohama and Busan.

for low wages in spinning mills, some of which were Japanese-owned, stood at the forefront of these strikes.

Around the same time, in June 1926, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government launched the Northern Expedition from Guangzhou, and in November of the same year, he defeated the warlord Sun Chuanfang in Jiangxi province, who had been in control of Shanghai. The movement for an autonomous government in Shanghai was thus reignited. Unlike the above-mentioned movement of the early twentieth century, which had been

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led by wealthy merchants, this movement was largely led by students and laborers. These developments brought to light the antagonism between the radical nationalist movement, which demanded the dissolution of the settlements, and the bourgeoisie's moderate policies. On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek launched a *coup d'état* against the Chinese Communist Party and Shanghai workers and then established the Nanjing Nationalist Government. Shanghai's Chinese bourgeoisie supported this government and the Shanghai Special City Government was established in July that same year.

The Sino-Japanese War, which broke out in 1937, reached Shanghai through the Second Shanghai Incident of August 13 of that year. In November of the same year, the Japanese army occupied Shanghai City, except for the Shanghai International Settlement. Many refugees flocked into the settlements in an attempt to escape war. The Shanghai bourgeoisie evacuated their factories there and tried to protect their businesses. These circumstances led to an abnormal prosperity in the settlements during the war. In December 1941, however, with the outbreak of the Pacific War, the settlements came under the control of the Japanese military and many of the people of Shanghai were reduced to poverty due to inflation and the short supply of goods. In January 1942, a new treaty was concluded between the Chongqing Nationalist Government under Chiang Kai-shek and the US and Britain, that provided for the abolition of consular jurisdiction and the (future) return of the Shanghai International Settlement to China. Japan had earlier concluded an agreement with the Wang Jingwei administration in Nanjing that made the same stipulation. Under Japanese pressure, the French Vichy regime also returned its settlement in July of that year. With this development, the Shanghai settlements were legally abolished. After the end of the Second World War, Shanghai came under the control of the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek and remained so until it was liberated by the troops of the Communist Party in 1949 during the civil war.

Yokohama: Urban Expansion, Earthquake and War Damage

Yokohama's population increased rapidly after its opening to international trade, but remained stagnant at about 400,000 between 1909 and the early 1920s. In 1927, it hit the 500,000 mark due to a expansion of the Yokohama

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City limits. This was a period of transition for Yokohama, as it transformed from a commercial into an industrial city, but it was a stagnant period from the perspective of population growth.

After the prosperous conditions of the First World War, the early 1920s saw the tide turn and postwar depression set in. Together with the impact of the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922 limiting naval construction, the shipbuilding industry went into severe decline. Between 1921 and 1922, labor disputes involving shipwrights became frequent. In particular, there was intense opposition to the laying-off policies of the Yokohama Dock Company, which was first established in 1889 on the land adjacent to the treaty port and was one of Yokohama's main manufacturing companies. In the end, the workers were defeated. In 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake struck Yokohama, which resulted in a drop in the city's population. Directly after the disaster, as in other regions that had been hit, vigilante groups formed in various areas under police guidance, and there were incidents of Koreans being slaughtered.[7] It is estimated that about 2,000 Koreans were killed across Kanagawa Prefecture, including Yokohama City. Around 3,000 Koreans had been living in Kanagawa at the time of the disaster. Their numbers had begun to increase throughout the prefecture during the First World War, when they were engaged in manual labor such as stevedoring and construction work. Many of them worked in the naval port of Yokosuka in Kanagawa, not far from Yokohama. Overall, they suffered harsh labor conditions, with low wage levels and frequent layoffs.

Ariyoshi Chuichi, who after the disaster served as Yokohama's mayor and was involved in its reconstruction from 1925 until 1930, had previously worked at the Government-General of Korea (Chosen) from 1922 to 1924. During his time as mayor, Yokohama City reclaimed the waterfront and began developing a waterfront industrial zone. Koreans were hired to work at the gravel pits for the civil engineering and construction aspects of the project. Thus, despite the still fresh memories of the massacre of Koreans in

7 These murders took place during the period of martial law that followed the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. Incited by groundless rumors that the Koreans were going to attack them, people formed vigilante groups. More than 6,000 Koreans, 200 Chinese and several dozen Japanese were killed in total. The police spread these groundless rumors, and the military was directly involved in the slaughter.

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Tokyo following the Great Kanto Earthquake, the Korean population of Kanagawa prefecture, including Yokohama City, came to grow once again.

Yamashita Park
After the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, Yokohama City launched an urban planning project for its reconstruction. This included a plan to create parks that would also protect the city in case of disaster. Four parks were established under the plan, one being Yamashita Park, which is situated by the port. The park was built on land that had been reclaimed using debris from the disaster and was completed in 1930. After the war, the US army requisitioned Yamashita Park, but plans for its return were underway by 1954. Reconstruction of the park was completed in 1961. Buildings constructed after the earthquake as part of the reconstruction project remain standing nearby, such as the former Customs House. As Chinatown is also close by, both locals and tourists enjoy the area as Yokohama's premier seaside park.

The Great Depression of 1929 dealt another severe blow to Yokohama, which was, first of all, a port of exit for raw silk to America. The city's industrial production value also fell rapidly. Lay-offs and wage cuts were common and the number of labor disputes rapidly increased. However, in the late 1930s, the construction of industrial sites on reclaimed waterfront land saw progress, and Yokohama's economy quickly recovered. In particular, as the 1930s wartime economy developed, there was fast growth in the heavy and chemical industries (shipbuilding, automobiles, electrical machinery, and chemicals).

With this rapid heavy and chemical industrialization came another population surge, and in 1942 the city counted over one million residents. Despite the increase, however, labor shortages became increasingly grave. From 1939, under Japan's policies to mobilize Koreans for labor, great numbers of them were brought from the Korean Peninsula to places such as Yokohama and forced to do taxing work at construction sites and munitions factories. According to a 1943 survey, 33,179 male Koreans were living at this time within the jurisdiction of the Yokohama District Court. Chinese people – either brought over from China or captives from the Chinese battlefields – were also sent to the city to work.

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At one point after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the Chinese population of Yokohama decreased, but by the end of the 1920s, it had bounced back to about 5,000. However, with the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, more and more Chinese people returned home, and the Chinese population fell to around 2,000. The Yokohama branch of the Guomindang was dissolved, and those living in Chinatown were placed under the surveillance of the military police, the Kenpeitai. During the last stages of the Asia-Pacific War and with the deterioration of the war situation in 1944, policies were launched to evacuate people. From the end of that year, the US military forces repeatedly conducted air raids, leading to a dire housing situation for people in Yokohama. When Japan was defeated in 1945, the population of Yokohama City had fallen to 620,000 due to the outflow of displaced persons. On September 2, 1945, Japan formally signed the Instrument of Surrender aboard the US Navy battleship USS Missouri off the shore of Yokohama. Valued as a base for the transport of weapons, the port facilities that had been spared war damage were requisitioned by the occupying forces. The city center was also subject to requisitioning. The Korean War led to the postponement of the port facilities' dismantling, and after the 1951 San Francisco Peace Conference, the US Armed Forces continued to occupy these facilities under the Japan-US Security Treaty. US bases were established in Yokosuka and Zama (close to Yokohama) and remain there today.

Busan: The Intensification of the Colonial Employment Structure and the Struggle of Korean Laborers

In 1912, the population of Busan was almost 50,000, but by 1925 the number had doubled and in 1933 it had reached 150,000. In particular, the Korean population rapidly increased during this period. By the late 1910s, it surpassed the Japanese population. In 1925, there were just under 40,000 Japanese in Busan, whereas the Koreans numbered over 60,000. These numbers rose to 50,000 and 100,000 respectively by 1933. Furthermore, in 1925, South Gyeongsang Province moved its government offices from Jinju to Busan. The transformation that took place in the city's industrial structure around

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the time of the First World War and the influx of Koreans that came with this were part of the context of Busan's urban expansion.

The income levels of workers in Japan rose during the economic growth that took place in the First World War, which resulted in a rising demand for rice and the swift expansion of Japan's domestic rice market. In 1918, there were rice riots throughout the country. In 1920, the Japanese government launched a plan to increase rice production in Korea to respond to Japan's food problem. Rice shipments from Busan increased, with concomitant expansion of the distribution and transportation industry. From the end of the 1910s, there was a rapid increase in the number of factories in Busan, because economic growth had led to a surge in Japanese investment in Korea. These were mostly small-scale, labor-intensive light industries such as foodstuffs, brewing and rice polishing.

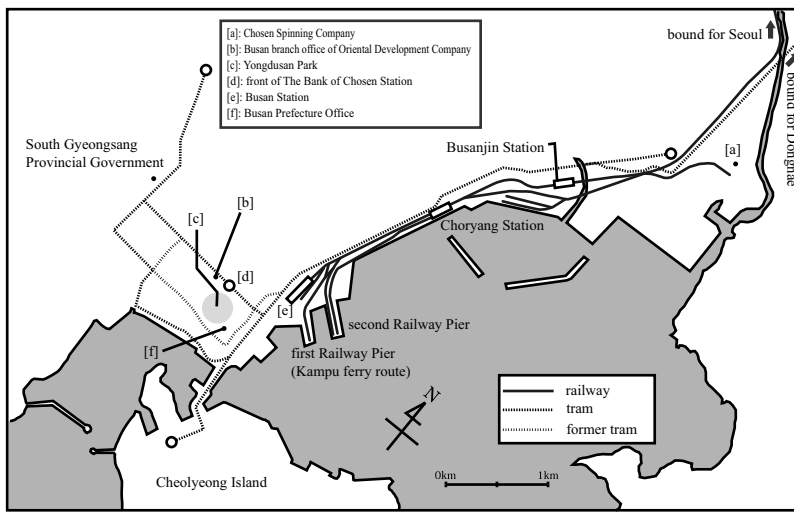

Figure 10: Map of Busan City (1945).

A look at the composition of households according to occupation in 1930 shows that whereas most of the Japanese were independent merchants, public servants or skilled laborers, most of the Koreans were engaged in miscellaneous casual jobs, including wharf work and unskilled factory work. According to a survey by the Busan Prefectural Social Department, the

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urban poor numbered over 37,000 in 1937, equivalent to 24 % of the city's Korean population. Whereas the Japanese mostly took up residence in the former Japanese settlement, the Koreans lived outside these areas. Poor Koreans built and lived in mud huts, shacks or barracks in places found on steep slopes. Their living conditions were squalid, with overcrowding in cramped spaces, and it was hard for them to access water services and sewage.

Forced to engage in occupations that did not provide stable employment, the Korean laborers fought against the Japanese capitalists to protect their livelihoods. Let us look at two examples. After the port opened, Japanese capitalists monopolized the barges and stevedores, and Koreans came to engage in loading and unloading work at the wharf. Their wages were low, and they were unskilled and underemployed. In 1921, management responded to the postwar depression by planning a further reduction in wages, but more than 5,000 Korean wharf workers went on strike, demanding wage increases. Workers from the city's transportation sector also joined the strike, causing a temporary suspension of transportation services in the country's central and southern regions. Despite the recession, the wharf workers were successful in getting a wage rise.

The second example is the struggle of female laborers in the textile and rubber goods industries. In 1917, the largest factory in Busan was a spinning and weaving factory that had been established by the Japanese. From 1922 to 1923, male and female workers went on strike to call for higher wages and a reduction in working hours, as well as for redress regarding beatings carried out by Japanese foremen. In 1930, more than 700 female laborers living in dormitories went on hunger strike to show their support for the male factory hands. The strike was stopped, however, by the management's countermeasures. From 1928 to 1935, female laborers went on strike at a Japanese-owned factory that manufactured rubber goods, shoes in particular, to protest the virtually annual calls for wage cuts. 600 to 700 women managed to carry on the strike for as long as one month.

Busan's manufacturing industry grew during the war period. Instead of polished rice, its major product in 1940 was cotton fabric. Further, the Joseon Heavy Industries Company was established in 1937; it was Busan's first modern shipbuilding industry and predecessor of the Korea Shipbuilding and Engineering Corporation. Some of its major stockholders were

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semi-governmental companies such as the Oriental Development Company, which were assisted by major Japanese shipbuilding companies and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. Despite the wartime growth of the manufacturing industry, production decreased after Korea's liberation in 1945 due to a lack of raw materials and capital. After the growth it had experienced during the war, Busan's population decreased for a time with the postwar evacuation of the Japanese population, which numbered about 60,000 in 1945. The city began to grow again, however, with the repatriation of Koreans from Japan and China, as well as the influx from Korea's north after the divide. The outbreak of the Korean War saw a large number of refugees flowing into the country. The city's population exploded from 280,000 in 1941 to 1.05 million in 1955, almost a fourfold increase. In 1941, Busan's population stood at 29 % of Seoul's 970,000. By 1955, it had come close to 67 % of Seoul's 1.57 million; this figure demonstrates the concentration of the population in Busan during this period.

3. Changes Brought by Urbanization to the Society and Economy of Rural Areas

Although industrialization brought about the growth of the urban labor market, it made little impact on the relationship between capital and wage labor in the East Asian agricultural sector, and small, family-run farms remained dominant. These small farms, however, were swept up in the commodity economy. The agricultural products of small farmers in East Asia were commercialized not just for the domestic but also for the global market, and among these, the most typical product was raw silk. As a producer of an international commodity, the sericulture and silk industry was greatly affected by its geographical location, which hindered its access to transport and communications with the trading port. Further, sericulture farms and rurally-based silk manufacturers were often forced to rely on information and funds provided through merchant capital based in the trading ports. The sericulture farmers even formed cooperative associations in an attempt to compete with merchant capital.

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Rice and Silkworm Farms in the Districts around Lake Tai

According to a 1989 interview survey of 438 residents who had been living in Shanghai City since before 1949, almost 80 % of the population was comprised of people from the provinces of Jiangsu (44.3 %) and Zhejiang (33.6 %). Only 13.1 % were people native to the city. Of the 243 people who had been employed before moving to Shanghai, 62.1 % had been farmers and 23.1 % had been unskilled workers. Their most common motive for moving was, for men, to work (68.6 %), and for women, to accompany their husband (42.1 %). Those seeking refuge from natural disasters or war amounted to 9.8 %.

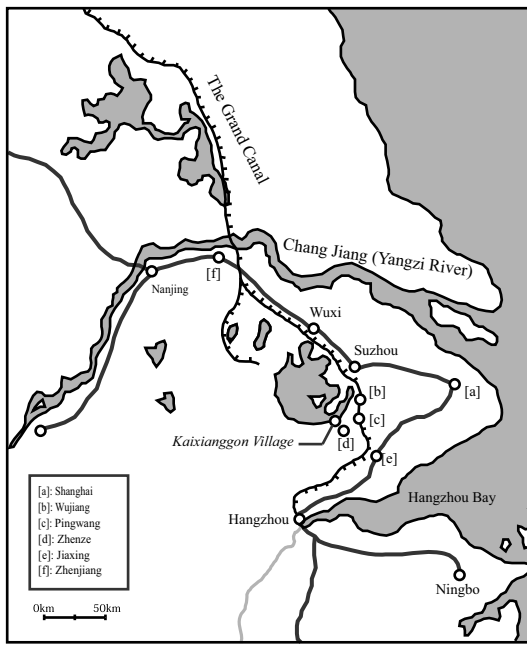

Figure 11: Map of Shanghai suburbs (1930s).

We can see that the growth of Shanghai's population was due mainly to the movement of farmers from surrounding rural areas such as Jiangsu and Zhejiang. As mentioned above, many workers in Shanghai were engaged in

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unskilled labor, or in the informal sector. Many of the farmers who moved to Shanghai from nearby rural areas in search of work were forced to engage in unstable occupations. It is believed that strong "push factors" inducing people to leave the rural areas contributed to the continuing influx of people into the city despite these difficulties. One such "push factor" was the search for refuge from war (both Japan's war of aggression and civil war) and natural disaster. Another was the wave of restructuring in the international social division of labor that had even reached the rural villages of China. This will be discussed in the example below.

In 1936, Fei Xiaotong, a well-known sociologist, visited Kaixianggon Village to conduct a survey. The village was located about 130 kilometers west of Shanghai in a lakeside district on the east bank of Lake Tai. With a population of less than 1,500, it had a well-developed waterway network, and the closest small city (town) was accessible by boat in two and a half hours. As with other farming villages surrounding Lake Tai, rice was its principal agricultural product, followed by silkworms. Although some of the raw silk produced was supplied to home-based silk goods industries in the towns as raw material, most of it was exported. After the First World War, silkworm farmers faced great difficulties as their income from raw silk dropped due to stagnating productivity in consequence of their inability to prevent the spread of silkworm disease. Also, silk-thread manufacturing was a home-based sideline business for the silkworm farmers; this made it difficult for them to produce the high quality required to match the technological developments in the silk goods industry of the West, to which it was exported. Another factor was the drop in the international price of raw silk due to the postwar recession.

In the 1920s, teachers and students at a women's sericulture school near Suzhou began offering technical guidance to help the silkworm farmers cope with these adversities. The provincial government began supporting the project when the Nationalist Government in Nanjing was established in 1927. With the introduction of technologies to sterilize the eggs and the cooperative breeding of silkworms, the incidence of disease was reduced and cocoon production increased. In 1929, a silk mill with a steam engine was established through a long-term loan from the provincial agricultural bank. In 1935, the Export Bureau classified the raw silk from this factory as a top-quality product. On the other hand, the mill resulted in the loss of job

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opportunities for rural women who had been engaged in spinning as a home-based sideline business. Thus, competition to secure raw materials developed between the farmers attempting to continue their sideline businesses alongside the Cooperative Society's silk mill. The new mill also had the side effect of encouraging more women to move from farms to towns as they lost their home-based job opportunities – the opposite effect to what had initially been intended.

In 1938, the Japanese army destroyed the silk mill. After China's liberation, the farmers poured their efforts into increasing grain production, but the sericulture industry was also kept up during the era of the People's Communes through the collectivization of mulberry fields. The silk mill was reestablished in 1968. As reform and open-door policies began to be implemented, major changes in land use and employment structures emerged; for example, factories such as spinning mills were situated in rural areas and rice paddies were converted into ponds to breed Shanghai Crab.

The Sericulture Districts around Yokohama

After Yokohama was opened as a trading port, capital accumulation from raw silk was particularly remarkable among the Japanese traders who were rapidly gaining wealth from their businesses. The leading raw silk dealers secured price negotiation powers with the western importers. At the end of the nineteenth century, Japanese capitalism entered the age of the industrial revolution, yet the transformation of Yokohama traders into industrial capitalists was delayed due to their success as commercial capitalists. This can be seen in the example of the Yokohama traders who ventured into railroad operations.

Hachioji is a key commercial area in Western Tokyo, and because it had a sericulture region in its hinterlands, the city had strong links to Yokohama from the port's opening onward. In 1886, a plan was launched to build a Hachioji-Yokohama railroad. However, under government plans that prioritized the construction of railroad routes originating in Tokyo, a Hachioji-Tokyo railroad was laid first, in 1889. An application was later filed, led by Yokohama traders, for the construction of a railroad between Hachioji and

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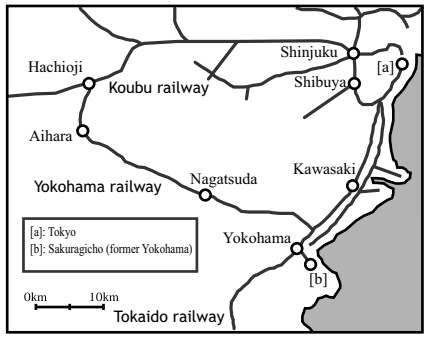

Figure 12: Map of Yokohama and the Kanto area (around 1910).

Yokohama. In 1904, the Yokohama Line, a private railway, was finally established, and the railroad linking the two cities opened in 1908.

This railroad was a long-cherished dream, even for Kanagawa Prefecture's Koza District (now Sagamihara City), an area along the line that was once known as a "remote inland island." Koza was also a sericulture region. In 1886, work sites were established in the Koza District and its surrounding areas to homogenize the quality of the raw silk being produced in the area's home-based industries. An organization called Zenshinsha was established to conduct joint sales of this silk. From these developments, it can be seen that the people in the area took great pains to improve the quality of their products. The new railroad brought great benefits to the farmers as it improved the efficiency of the raw silk's transportation.

The year after the Yokohama Line began operating, a prominent landowner in Aihara Village in the Koza District indicated in his diary that although more farmers were buying mulberry trees and breeding silkworms, some were suffering losses due to bad cocoon harvests. This suggests that the opening of the line encouraged the further development of the commodity economy, but as a result, the farmers were more exposed to risks such as crop failure and price fluctuation. The same man also wrote in 1924 that "Farming villages are greatly declining with the changes of the times. … With money tight and trade in depression, the proletarian labor class is thriving. In Tokyo and Yokohama, a day laborer in the rail industry earns 5 to 6 yen a day. Tenant farmers have to pay 1 yen and 50 sen for a meal and landlords are facing difficulties with rented farmland." Here, the

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landowner is describing how, from his point of view, the postwar slump in the prices of agricultural products (raw silk) and the expansion of the non-rural labor market due to transportation network improvements had led to an unfavorable situation for the agricultural sector in comparison to industries.

In the 1930s, amid global depression, the value of raw silk – a luxury product – finally collapsed. The local economy fell into a profound slump. At around the same time, military-related facilities were set up in the area, becoming the impetus for land readjustment projects aimed at establishing a "military city." These plans were discontinued after the war, but then reactivated in the 1960s with the aim of establishing commuter towns for Tokyo and Yokohama. During the postwar period of high economic growth, the prewar sericulture region metamorphosed into residential suburbs.

Rice and Silkworm Farms in Inland Korea

Nakdong River flows south in the Korean Peninsula's southeastern region. It is a large river flowing from the west of Busan into the sea, and has a delta at its estuary. After the opening of the port of Busan, some of the city's Japanese residents bought farmland around the city to develop. Some established irrigation associations and developed land in the delta into farms. Thus, led by Japanese landowners, the farming villages around Busan were reorganized to produce rice to ship to Japan. The reorganization of farming villages did not just happen in the area around Busan. Its effects were also seen in the Sangju District, located about 250 kilometers upstream from Busan. Sangju is an inland plain where grain cropping, cotton production and sericulture had flourished since the Joseon dynasty. Sangju was also an important point for transportation. By land, it was located on the main highway linking Hanseong (Gyeongseong) and Dongnae (Busan), and by water, freighters went up as far as Nakdong in Sangju's east. According to records from an 1888 survey carried out by the Japanese secretary of the Busan Bay Chamber of Commerce, salt from Japan and Gimhae (located next to Busan) was being shipped up the Nakdong River to Hamchang, near Sangju, at that time. Further, dried walleye pollock was being brought into Nakdong by ship from Busan. Conversely, cotton fabrics and grains from

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Sangju were being shipped to the port of Busan. This points to the strong links between the Sangju region and Busan through river transportation on the Nakdong.

The Gyeongbu Line opened in 1905, but Sangju was not on its route. In 1913, the roads between Sangju and the nearest station on the Gyeongbu Line of Gimcheon (40 kilometers away) were repaired, which led to an increase in transportation between these points by cattle and horse-drawn carriages. Although Sangju was a main production center for rice, the rice it produced was distributed as "Gimcheon Rice."

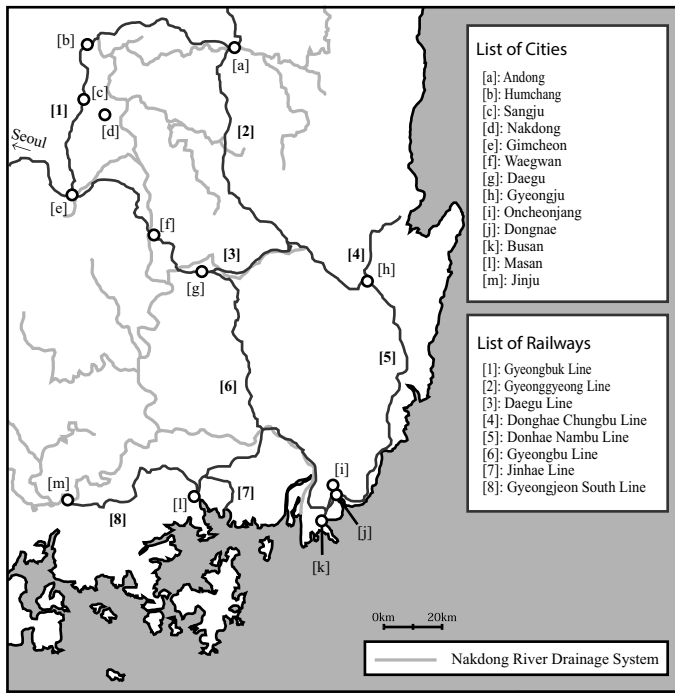

Figure 13: Map of Busan–Sangju (around 1940).

In 1922, construction began on the Gyeongbuk Line, a private railroad originating at Gimcheon station, passing through Sangju and terminating in Andong. The route began operating to Sangju in 1924. Japanese business-people in Gimcheon and Sangju were the principal drivers of the plan for a

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railroad between the two areas. In 1929, most shipments from Sangju station were made up of rice and dried cocoons. These may have been shipped to Japan through Busan. Most of the products that arrived were fertilizer, millet, salt, or dried fish. Through the rice taken out and the fertilizer and millet brought in, it is possible to see the changes in the structure of agricultural production that resulted from the plan to increase rice production in Korea, as well as the growing poverty among the farmers (so-called "starvation by export").

Sangju's sericulture industry flourished during the Joseon Dynasty. Farmers also wove pongee (a soft thin cloth) as a sideline business. During the colonial period, Korea's sericulture industry became a source of raw materials for Japan's domestic silk reeling businesses. For that purpose, Japanese silkworms were strongly promoted in order to replace domestic ones. Silk manufacturers, in order to efficiently procure cocoons as raw materials, introduced a joint sales system whereby they designated certain areas for breeding and made the breeders put together joint consignments of the cocoons, which they then purchased through bids. The joint sales system began in Sangju in 1914.

With the advance of Japanese capital into Korea for the spinning industry in the late 1920s, this joint sales system was replaced by one of selective sales, by which silkworm breeders had to sell their cocoons to spinning companies designated by the province at unit prices that were also fixed by the latter. This system began in Sangju in 1927, but in response, Koreans in Sangju, including Singanhoe leaders (see volume I, chapter 4) as well as landowners and businesspeople, submitted to the authorities a petition with 3,000 signatures that called for the continuation of the competitive bidding system.

Although the petition failed to produce positive results, it was an attempt at an alternative way of organizing an independent distribution and processing route for silk thread. In 1927, the Hamchang Industrial Association was formed, which managed the sales of pongee being produced by farmers as a sideline as well as that produced on the looms of joint workshops. They worked to improve the quality of the pongee, so that, in the 1930s, it was even sold in Kyoto's Nishijin as "Kyozome." Influential Koreans who had been born into Sangju's pongee merchant families and dealt in rice continued to oppose the selective sales system and distributed silkworm eggs to the sericulture farms on their own terms, offering loans and technical

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guidance. They ran mechanized spinning mills using the cocoons they procured in this way. Through these arrangements, they were able, as small producers or as industrial capitalists, to withstand the plunge in raw silk prices that accompanied the Showa Depression, but were then finally forced out by wartime economic controls.

After liberation, there were plans in South Korea to increase the production of the sericulture industry to make it an important agricultural export. Peak production was reached in the mid-1970s. During this period, Sangju became the number one region for sericulture in South Korea. Later, the number of mulberry plantations rapidly declined, and fruit growing flourished there instead. Today, Sangju is renowned as the premier locality in South Korea for the production of rice and persimmons.

4. Postwar Urban Transformations

Amid the friction of the Cold War, Japan and South Korea achieved rapid industrialization based on an international division of labor. As core harbors and industrial cities, Yokohama and Busan enjoyed rapid growth. For China, on the other hand, the objective of the immediate post-civil war period was "self-reliance," and because urban development in the interior became a vital issue in terms of military strategy, Shanghai declined in relative importance. With the switch to reform and open-door policies in the 1980s, China joined the international division of labor and has since achieved rapid economic growth. This is now intensifying labor division relations within East Asia. As a city symbolizing China's reform and open-door policies, Shanghai has seen rapid growth since the 1990s. Yokohama and Busan, on the other hand, face the issue of transition into the post-industrial age and the challenge of with adjustment to economic globalization.

Shanghai: From Socialism to Reform and Open-Door Policies

The population of Shanghai surged during the civil war with the influx of refugees, from 3.37 million in 1945 to 5.41 million in 1948. By 1949, the population had reached 7.73 million, but the high growth in this one-year

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period was also greatly affected by the population of suburban areas being now being counted as part of Shanghai City. The number broke through the nine-million mark at the end of the 1950s, showing that the flow into Shanghai had continued after the city had come under the control of the Communist Party in 1949. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the pace of growth reversed and stagnated due to the family register system[8] under which limits were placed on movement to urban areas. Specifically, from the end of the 1960s to the early 1970s, there was a drop in the population, which may be attributed to the impact of factories being moved into the country's interior and the Cultural Revolution policy of sending people into the countryside. From the 1980s onward, the registered population of Shanghai again continued to grow slowly, reaching 14 million in 2007. In addition, with the reform and open-door policies beginning to take full effect in the 1990s, there has been a rapid increase in the population of temporary residents – people who do not officially transfer their family register. As of 2007, they numbered almost six million. In 2007, the combined total of both registered and temporary populations in Shanghai amounted to almost 19 million people, making it one of the world's largest cities. The population continues to grow.

At the time of liberation in 1949, Shanghai was the biggest city for commerce and industry in China and was responsible for 25 % of the country's industrial output. It was also the city with the largest concentration of private sector enterprises. One of the most important issues faced by the new government of the People's Republic of China was the challenge of stabilizing Shanghai's economy and keeping down the inflation that had continued since the Japanese military occupation. Using private enterprises, the government took measures to funnel agricultural products into Shanghai. This was aimed at dealing speculators a blow as well as at reorganizing the conventional overseas-dependent economic structure and strengthening organic ties with the domestic market. Inflation was suc-

8 Under the 1958 Family Registration Regulations, people living in farming areas were given rural registers and people living in cities were given urban registers. From the 1980s onward, the reform and opening-up policies brought about a rapid increase in the number of people moving from rural areas to the cities, and a gap has emerged in the social treatment of rural and urban register holders.

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cessfully defeated in 1950, at which time Shanghai's economy and administration were incorporated into the central government.

Under the First Five-Year Plan, implemented in 1953, the Chinese government adopted a policy that prioritized industrialization in the country's interior, partly in response to military tensions with the US and Taiwan. The policies were later also applied to Shanghai, with an emphasis significantly in favor of the heavy industries sector, which was identified as the foundation of national defense. Shanghai's principal industry shifted from textiles to heavy industries such as steel and machinery. In 1964, work began on the construction of a "Third Front"[9] to support the war. This included measures that, over the ten years that followed, moved factories on the coast, including Shanghai, into China's interior regions. In 1952, Shanghai had been home to about 20 % of the country's industrial output, but by 1978, this share had fallen to 13 %.

Because the focus of urban construction had been on regulating and expanding factory locations, the city as a whole tended to be slow in improving the people's living conditions and maintaining means of transportation, apart from some improvements made to certain slum areas. Furthermore, the wages of Shanghai workers were being kept disproportionately low in relation to their productivity levels. It might be said that here, under socialism, there was a capital accumulation mechanism at work, whereby wages were curbed and company profits secured, which the state then absorbed to invest in the heavy and chemical industry sectors.

After the US and Japan normalized relations with the People's Republic of China in 1978, China turned toward reform and greater openness, establishing a special economic zone on its coast and encouraging export-oriented industrialization through foreign capital. At the time, state-run enterprises became more important in Shanghai and the city's industrial structure was focused on the heavy and chemical industries, which delayed its adoption of the new national policies. By 1991, Shanghai's share of

9 Alarmed by US military intervention in the Vietnam War, Mao Zedong began preparing for a drawn-out war by constructing a "Third Front," and encouraged the transfer of factories and equipment from the First Front (coastal areas) and Second Front (Beijing-Guangzhou Railway area) into the Third Front, which was further west in the Chinese interior. The normalization of US-China diplomatic relations led to a reduction in the scale of these activities, but they continued until the end of the 1970s.

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China's industrial output had fallen to 7 %. However, with the launch in 1990 of a national project for the development of Pudong New Area and other such initiatives, Shanghai experienced rapid economic growth. As Figure 2 shows, the functions of Shanghai's harbor quickly expanded from the 1990s onwards and it is now a world-leading port for freight traffic. Furthermore, over a short period of time, Shanghai has grown to become a global financial center, with more and more major international and domestic financial institutions being located there and a rapid increase in trade volume at the Shanghai stock exchange.

Since the 1990s, Shanghai's labor market has quickly expanded and attracted young people from inland rural areas. At first, the authorities called the large-scale movement of migrant workers a "disordered influx" and attempted to control it. Beginning in the late 1990s, however, it changed its policies to instead draw people to the city, and began to call them "peasant workers" instead. Efforts to settle these people have continued in the 2000s; however, the old family register system is still in place in Shanghai, so that social problems have emerged regarding wage and social security disparities between migrant workers and workers who are registered in the city.

(unit: 10 thousand TEU)

1980		1989		1999		2007	
① New York:	195	① Hong Kong:	446	① Hong Kong:	1,621	① Singapore:	2,710
② Rotterdam:	190	② Singapore:	436	② Singapore:	1,594	② Shanghai:	2,615
③ Hong Kong:	147	③ Rotterdam:	360	③ Kaohsiung:	699	③ Hong Kong:	2,288
④ Kobe:	146	④ Kaohsiung:	338	④ Busan:	644	④ Shenzhen:	2,110
⑤ Kaohsiung:	98	⑤ Kobe:	246	⑤ Rotterdam:	634	⑤ Busan:	1,326
		⑥ Busan:	216				
				⑦ Shanghai:	422		
⑫ Yokohama:	72	⑫ Yokohama:	151				
⑯ Busan:	63						
				㉘ Yokohama:	200	㉘ Yokohama:	318

(sources: *Containerisation International Yearbook*, various years)

Table 3: Containers handled by important trading ports (Units: 10,000 TEU).

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Yokohama: Industrialization, Bedroom Town Development, and Post-Industrialization

War damage and long-term requisition by the occupying forces greatly transformed the city of Yokohama. Many of the business headquarters once located in the city moved to Tokyo. Even the Bank of Tokyo, which was established in 1946 after taking over the assets of Yokohama Specie Bank, made its former Tokyo branch office its new headquarters. The character of the Yokohama economy as a branch economy under Tokyo's influence became more and more pronounced. Another example of transformation can be seen in the case of Yokohama's Kotobukicho. In Tokyo and Osaka, districts known as *yoseba* (gathering places) formed, where day laborers in search of work such as construction and dock work gathered. Yokohama's Kotobukicho is such a place. Unlike *yoseba* in other cities that had been there before the war, however, Kotobukicho emerged after the war, and as such is unique. The area was once a business district, but was destroyed during the air raids and requisitioned by the occupying forces after the war. Its landowners were ordered to leave. With the de-requisitioning that took place from 1952 to 1958, the landowners, now based elsewhere, put the land up for sale. Koreans who had been living in nearby slums by the river since before the war bought the land, then built dormitories on it to house day laborers. These developments initiated the emergence of Kotobukicho, consisting of *yoseba* and worker lodgings. At its peak in 1970, the population of Kotobukicho reached 10,000.

Yokohama's heavy and chemical industries grew rapidly from the city's postwar reconstruction period until its period of high growth. With the reclamation of land on its waterfront, more and more factories in this sector were built, in industries such as steel, petro-chemistry, shipbuilding, automobiles and electrical goods. Yokohama formed part of the Keihin Industrial Area, integrating with the Tokyo/Kawasaki industrial zone. From the 1950s, capitalism in Japan, which had lost its largest trade partner in China, began to intensify its relations with the US and Southeast Asia. As a result, the central region for industrial locations began to shift from northern Kyushu and the Hanshin region (Osaka, Kobe) toward the Keihin region due to convenience in distribution.

After its period of high economic growth, Yokohama began to become a

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more residential city. In 1953, the president of Tokyu, a private railroad linking central Tokyo and Yokohama, announced a plan for a land readjustment project for the residential development of Kawasaki and Yokohama's interior. The area was called Tama Denentoshi and was linked to central Tokyo in 1966 via the Tokyu Denentoshi Line. At the same time, a new residential development was established for the white-collar class. However, as the establishment of industrial sites in the interior failed to take hold, Denentoshi, a model for the location of people's jobs and their places of residence side by side, was not realized, and it became a bedroom town for workers commuting to Tokyo. As its population grew beyond expectations, these commuters came to experience "commuter hell," or, in other words, extremely crowded trains in the rush hours.

In cities around the country, including Yokohama, the existence of heavy and chemical industries led to problems with pollution. Further, the formation of giant residential cities led to the emergence of problems surrounding the development of social infrastructure such as parks and daycare centers. The conservative central government failed to respond adequately. From the 1960s and up to 1970, more and more so-called progressive leaders emerged on the local level, with a reformist mayor elected in Yokohama in 1963. The year after, the city began to tackle its pollution problem through the "Yokohama System for Antipollution Measures," which concluded individual antipollution agreements with private enterprises. This was a trial effort that preceded the 1967 Basic Act for Environmental Pollution Control.

From the late 1980s onward, affected by the strong yen, Yokohama's heavy and chemical industries began to lose their international competitiveness and many large-scale factories pulled out of the city. As can be seen in Figure 2, this resulted in the rapid decline of Yokohama's status as an international port.

Responding to the growing size of ships, Yokohama Dock Company, a prominent shipbuilding company in Yokohama, launched a plan to relocate its dock, which it had maintained in the same location since the company was founded, to another part of the city. In 1983, Yokohama City began an urban redevelopment project for both this dock site and its surrounding area. Today, the area is bristling with hotels, office buildings, and shopping

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centers, and symbolizes Yokohama's transformation since the 1980s into an industrial structure with tertiary industries at its core.

Busan: Industrialization, Democratization, and Globalization

As a result of the withdrawal of Japanese management and technicians from Busan after the liberation of the city in 1945, and of a lack of electricity and natural resources due to the division of Korea into North and South, Busan's manufacturing industry began to shrink. Busan was the temporary capital of South Korea during the Korean War, and remained a key manufacturing center after the end of the conflict. The area saw the development of so-called "import substitution industrialization," that is, the processing of relief supplies from the US for the domestic market. Together with the "Three White (*Sambaek*) Industries," as they were known at the time (cotton, flour and sugar), Busan's rubber products and shipbuilding industries, which had existed since colonial times, were the pillars of the manufacturing industry. In most industrial sectors, small and medium-sized enterprises outnumbered large ones.

Not even industrialization, however, could solve the problem of unemployment and underemployment that had persisted since liberation and the Korean War. Living conditions worsened. The slum areas grew and did not contract in size until the early 1970s. Repatriates from abroad and refugees from the north, without relatives or funds, were forced to survive on their own. Some ran hawker stalls on the sites of former markets from colonial times. Two famous ones are Jagalchi Market, which was mostly for seafood, and Gukje (International) Market, which began by selling aid/relief and military supplies and progressed to also selling clothing, shoes and bags. Both markets have since been made into permanent facilities and are now sightseeing attractions in Busan.

In the 1960s, the export of manufactured goods such as textiles, rubber shoes and ships rapidly expanded due to the advantage of low wage levels in Busan. In particular, Japan's increasing direct investments in Korea after conclusion of a treaty between the two countries in 1965, as well as increasing Korean trade with Japan, encouraged the expansion of the city's economy due to its proximity to Japan. Throughout the 1960s, Busan's

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manufacturing industry occupied around 17 % of the national share on a value-added basis. The port of Busan gained worldwide recognition for the export of manufactured goods.

During the 1970s, a period of expansion for the heavy and chemical industries in South Korea, Busan's manufacturing industry also enjoyed growth in fields such as shipbuilding and steel. However, structural problems in Busan's manufacturing industry remained: the majority were small and medium-sized enterprises, and productivity levels were low. From the mid-1970s, Busan's position in the domestic manufacturing industry gradually declined, and in the early 1980s, its national share fell to below 10 % on a value-added basis. The slump in the Busan economy was particularly grave during the economic stagnation triggered by the second oil shock of 1978. Discontent among the city's lower strata peaked in October 1979, leading to street demonstrations in Busan and Masan, its neighboring city. The demonstrators, known as the Busan-Masan Democracy Movement, called for the overthrow of Park Chung-hee's dictatorial regime, and the situation triggered the regime's collapse. It effectively represented a restaging of the street demonstrations of April 26, 1960, when 200,000 people filled the streets of Busan in the final stages of the April Revolution. Later, during the June Democratic Struggle of 1987, street demonstrations were staged in Busan every single day, from June 10 to 27 – the entire period of the struggle. As can be seen from this, Busan has played a principal role in South Korea's democracy movement.

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, South Korea prospered under what was known as the "Three Lows Economy" (a weak won, low interest and low oil prices). As Figure 2 shows, the international status of Busan rose during this period to become what it is today. Another positive factor was the rapid increase in trade with the Soviet Union (and later Russia) and China after the normalization of diplomatic relations with these neighbors in the early 1990s. However, Busan's economy lacked assembly-type manufacturers, such as automobiles and electrical equipment, which were leading in the "Three Lows Economy," and so its share in South Korea's manufacturing industry declined even more. The city's population also decreased, falling to its lowest number in 1995, due to migration from downtown Busan to suburban towns.

Today, new industrial policies are being trialed in Busan, including the

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development of the port into a site for the automobile industry and a distribution hub in East Asia. Efforts are also being made to nurture the cultural industry with a focus on internationalization, by attracting, for instance, international conferences and hosting an international film festival. Redevelopment is underway with the aim of making the Haeundae district a resort and residential zone. It may be said that a search in progress for a new shape for the city of Busan – one that responds to transformations in its industrial structure resulting from the advance of globalization.

Yongdusan Park

Yongdusan is a hill located in central Busan City, where a park can be found that looks down upon the port of Busan. Waegwan (the Japanese trade post) was located here during the Joseon dynasty, and the area became a Japanese settlement after the port opened. Busan Tower now occupies the site of the former Yongdusan Shrine, which was built there during the colonial period.

At the base of the hill is the Busan Modern History Museum. The building once housed the Busan branch of the Japanese Oriental Development Company, and after Korea's liberation it was used by the Busan American Cultural Service. In 1982, the building was occupied by students and set alight in anger at the unequal nature of Korean-US relations and America's responsibility for the Gwangju Uprising. Through the people of Busan's activism in calling for its return, it was restored to the South Korean government in 1999 and is now a historical museum.

In 1996, the First Busan International Film Festival was held, with its main venue in Nampo-dong, located at the foot of Yongdusan Park. It has been held annually since and is known as one of Asia's best-known international film festivals. The festival is one of Busan's key strategies for the development of the culture industry and the revitalization of the city.

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Timeline

1843 Establishment of a British Consulate in Shanghai through the Treaty of Nanjing.
1845 Establishment of British concessions in Shanghai (1848 for the US and 1849 for the French concession).
1859 Opening of Kanagawa Port (Yokohama) through the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the United States. British shipping company P&O extends Singapore-Shanghai route to Nagasaki and Yokohama.
1860 Official approval of Yokohama settlement by foreign counterparts.
1863 British and American settlements in Shanghai merge into joint settlement.
1867 Pacific Mail Steamship Co. (US) establishes San Francisco-Yokohama-Shanghai route.
1871 Granting of Yokohama concession lease to the Chinese under Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty.
1875 Mitsubishi Corporation establishes Yokohama-Shanghai route; Anglo-French troops stationed to defend the Yokohama settlement withdrawn.
1876 Opening of port of Busan through Japan-Korea Treaty; Mitsubishi establishes Nagasaki-Tsushima-Busan service (extended to Kobe in 1880).
1877 Choryang Waegwan moved to Japan's concession in Busan, where a Japanese consulate is also established.
1883 The Qing Commerce Bureau establishes a regular Shanghai-Nagasaki-Incheon-Busan service.
1884 Foundation of Chinese concessions in Incheon and Busan.
1890 Osaka Shosen establishes Osaka-Busan regular shipping service.
1894 Japan establishes logistical headquarters in Busan during Sino-Japanese War.
1899 Concession system (treaty ports) and extraterritorial rights for foreign residents abolished in Japan.
1904 Gyeongbu Railway completed; Busan becomes commissary for Japanese military during Russo-Japanese War.
1905 Cross-channel liner (Kanfu railway ferry) goes into service, linking Shimonoseki and Busan and connecting Korea's and Japan's railway networks.
1908 Shanghai-Nanjing Railway established.
1910 Concession system abolished with the annexation of Korea.
1913 Exclusive Chinese and Japanese concessions incorporated into Busan Prefecture.
1917 Establishment of spinning and weaving industry in Busan by Japanese capital.
1919 Shanghai laborers go on strike during the May Fourth Movement.
1920 Japanese government launches plan to increase rice production in Korea.
1921 Korean wharf workers in Busan go on strike, joined by workers from transportation sector.
1921 A string of shipwright labor disputes take place in Yokohama (until 1922).

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1922 Strike by Korean textile workers (until 1923).
1923 During the Great Kanto Earthquake in Japan, Koreans and Chinese are massacred by vigilante forces.
1925 Workers in Shanghai International Settlement go on strike; May Thirtieth Incident.
1927 Chiang Kai-shek leads *coup d'état* in Shanghai; Nationalist Government established in Nanjing.
1937 Second Shanghai Incident caused by Sino-Japanese War; Japanese Army occupies Shanghai City (except the international settlement).
1941 With outbreak of Asia-Pacific War, Japanese Army occupies Shanghai International Settlement.
1943 Extraterritoriality rights abolished and Shanghai International Settlement dissolved under China's new agreements with the US and Britain.
1944 As war situation worsens, Japan launches evacuation of urban population; from year's end, US conducts repeated air raids.
1945 With the liberation of Korea, Japanese were repatriated and South Korean public servants appointed under US military administration in Busan.
1949 PLA occupies Shanghai and Shanghai Municipal People's Government established (May).
1950 Busan becomes temporary seat of government during the Korean War.
1953 Tokyu Corp. announces plan for land readjustment project for residential development in Kawasaki and Yokohama's interior.
1963 Asukata Ichio from the Japan Socialist Party elected Mayor of Yokohama City.
1964 Under Third Front Construction program, factories in Shanghai moved to China's interior.
1965 With conclusion of Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, Busan increases trade with Japan.
1970 Seoul-Busan expressway opens.
1979 Busan and Masan democratization movements.
1983 "Minato Mirai 21" project launched to redevelop Yokohama city center.
1990 Development plan for Shanghai's Pudong New Area launched and Shanghai Stock Exchange reestablished.
1996 First Busan International Film Festival.
2003 Busan Modern History Museum opens in building of former Oriental Development Company.

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Chapter 3:
Railroads: Modernization, Colonial Rule, and the Lives of Ordinary People

There is a long history behind the ways in which humans move around, from the elemental means of traveling on foot to the modern methods used today. Our way of life has changed vastly since the Industrial Revolution and the advances made in material civilization. These changes can be observed in what we eat and wear, where we live, and what we do, but it is the changes in our transportation methods that are particularly remarkable. Steamships, trains, automobiles and airplanes have replaced sailing vessels, animal-drawn vehicles, rickshaws and palanquins, and our range of movement has been greatly expanded by this immense transformation in the speed and means by which people and things are moved.

While railroads were a product of industrial civilization, they also served to advance it. New methods in the transportation industry, such as trains, were a basic prerequisite for and key component of modern economic development. It is little more than a century since railroads were introduced to East Asia, yet over this time, they have promoted the development of markets, trade and technologies in the region, and become an important lever for population movement and urban construction. At the same time, railroads were an important tool of colonial and quasi-colonial rule in the region. Focusing on railroads, this chapter will discuss changes in transportation structures in the countries of East Asia and how these changes have affected the lives of ordinary people.

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1. The Introduction of Railroads to East Asia

Opposition to Railroads

The world's first railroad was built in Britain in 1825. About half a century later, the first railroads were being built throughout East Asia and began operating in China in 1872, in Japan in the same year, and in Korea in 1899. Initially, there was opposition to the introduction of railroads to the region. The Western powers opened China forcibly with their modern naval forces and then requested the construction of railroads as an important means for the development of the Chinese market. The Qing were sensitive to aggression by the Great Powers and refused their demands, primarily because they were worried about national defense: a railroad would lead to the loss of a natural protective wall, and if war were to break out, the Great Powers might use the railroads to quickly invade. Second, the Qing were worried that railroad construction might lead to foreign powers moving inland, to public morals being corrupted and to subjects becoming "bad and disloyal" and thus difficult to rule. They further feared that railroads might lead to Westerners traveling freely around China doing business and causing problems for the Chinese people. Further concerns were that friction might arise if Chinese and non-Chinese people were to live side by side, and Chinese people might be negatively influenced by the customs of the West. The Qing also feared that the "good people" in the hinterlands might be corrupted by "foreign heresies," in particular Christianity.

From the 1860s to the 1880s, Qing officials continued their opposition to railroads. They were not only against their construction by the Great Powers, but also against Chinese involvement, as they believed that the provision of the large areas of land required for them would require the relocation of both homes and graves. The latter in particular would disrupt the *feng shui*, a natural religion emphasizing the importance of geographical position, in which many Chinese people strongly believed at the time. The Qing also thought that railroad construction would lead to job losses for ordinary working people – the porters, rickshaw pullers, boatmen and boat pullers who made their living transporting goods and people using the traditional methods. These people might then become displaced and the government would lose the people's support.

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In Japan, opinion both in government circles and among the general public was divided at first. In opposition to railroads, it was argued that as Japan's priority was national defense, its limited financial resources should be used to respond to the urgent need to build warships and improve military strength, and not the nonessential construction of railroads. It was believed that the latter would deplete Japan's finances, and that the foreign powers had ulterior motives for wanting Japan to build railroads. Second, it was argued that the railroads would take up cultivable land and threaten the livelihoods of people such as farmers living along the railroads and those traditionally engaged in lodging and transportation services. There was a fear that farmers might resist the construction of railroads. Third, opponents of railroads perceived a danger that they might bring about the destruction of traditional industries and lead to unemployment among farmers, merchants and craftspeople due to the ease with which foreign people and imported goods would be able to access Tokyo. Fourth, it was feared that the railroads might create all manner of discord because farmland would be taken up, farm roads divided, and the unspoiled Japanese way of life and beautiful landscape would be destroyed. Basing their point of view on the above reasons, some people even argued that building railroads would lead to the ruin of Japan.

Toward the Construction of Railroads

Although people in China and Japan had similar reasons for opposing the construction of railroads, the eventual outcomes in the two countries were not the same. One important difference was in the response of China's and Japan's leaders. When railroads were first proposed in China in 1863, both the government and the people resisted the idea. In 1876, Jardine, Matheson & Co., a British company, disregarded Chinese sovereignty and build the 14.5 kilometer-long Woosung Railway connecting Shanghai and Woosong along the Yangtze River. The Qing objected to the railroad and, after negotiations, bought it and made local officials dismantle it in order to demonstrate that no foreign party should ever attempt to build a railroad again. After this, opinion on railroad construction was divided among the Qing, with the debate continuing for more than ten years. The Qing Court,

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headed by the Empress Dowager Cixi, remained undecided in its weighing of arguments for and against railroads, but eventually, in 1889, the supporters gained the upper hand and railroad construction finally became national policy.

The immediate impetus for railroad construction in Japan was the US acquisition of a railway concession from the Tokugawa shogunate with the purpose of linking Edo and Yokohama. The Meiji government, which succeeded the shogunate in 1868, did not recognize this deal and began to build its own railroad between the two cities, not to facilitate the transportation of goods, but mainly for political reasons: the new government saw railroad building as an effective measure to the end of destroying old feudal boundaries, reinforcing the centralization of power, and creating a "rich country with a strong military." Many in Japan's ruling class were clear in their stance against the introduction of Western civilization, including railroads. At the same time, the fact that many of the emissaries and students who had been dispatched to the West at the end of the Edo period had first-hand experiences of trains abroad served to strengthen opinion in favor of railroads, overpowering the opposing forces around Saigo Takamori and Maebara Issei. In 1869, the government decided to build railroads between Osaka and Kyoto, Tokyo and Yokohama, Kyoto and Kobe, and Lake Biwa and Tsuruga. In 1872, Japan's first railroad began operating, linking Tokyo and Yokohama. The young Meiji Emperor attended the opening ceremony and rode in a special carriage that did a round trip between Shinbashi and Yokohama, and the media frenzy generated by this left a deep impression of the event on both the general public and government circles. The Japanese began to enjoy the convenience of trains and soon accepted the new railroads. Arguments within the government asserting a lack of need or urgency for the building of railroads evaporated, and Japan's railroads have continued ever since. The major tax hikes that accompanied the fiscal restraint policies in the 1880s, known as "Matsukata deflation," led to many farmers going bankrupt and landowners buying up more land. Some rural landowners were attracted to the appeal of the railroads and began offering their land or investing in railroad construction.

Railroads shortened transportation times and reduced costs. Mass transportation linked the hinterland to ports so that exports flourished, and encouraged large-scale industries and industrial mechanization. An urban

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Figure 14: Steam Locomotive Railroad at Yokohama Seaside. Courtesy of Tokyo Metropolitan Library.

labor market emerged as bankrupt farmers migrated in search of employment. The construction of railroads in Japan ushered in and promoted Japan's own Industrial Revolution.

Self-Sufficiency for Japan's Railroads

Japan's Ministry of Public Works controlled the construction of the Tokyo-Yokohama line, but its design and construction were carried out under the guidance of British engineers. Construction was funded mainly by public loans raised in Britain, from where building materials such as rails and engines were imported. Large numbers of British engineers and laborers were also engaged for the surveying and construction work, and British drivers were hired to run the locomotives. Britain did not, however, become involved in the management of the Japanese railroads, which it encouraged the Meiji government to administer itself. It also advised that Japanese engineers and laborers be quickly trained. Through the experience of building and operating the railroads, the Japanese learned the necessary skills and were able to train management personnel and build their own freight and passenger cars. When building the Kyoto-Otsu line in 1880, with the exception of part of the bridge design, the Japanese were responsible for

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everything, including tunnels. They had to rely on imports from Britain, Germany and America for rails and engines for some time, but by the 1910s, the Japanese had succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in locomotive manufacturing technology. Japan was able to manage its own railroads from early on by gaining a thorough understanding of and becoming self-sufficient in railroad technology.

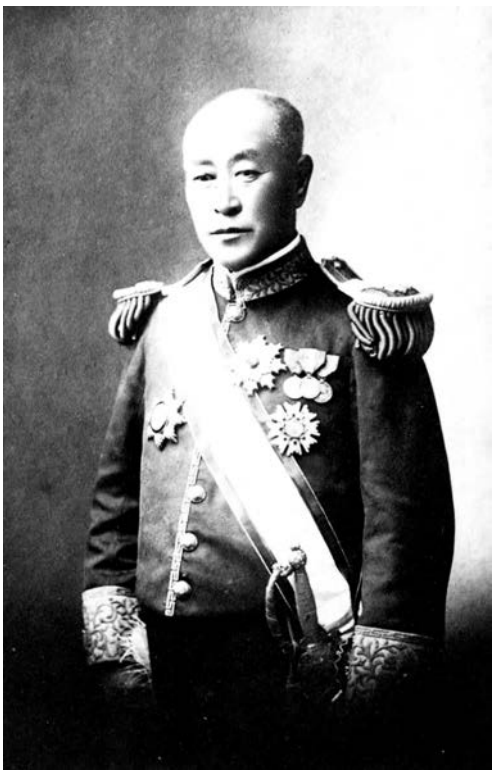

Figure 15: Inoue Masaru (1843–1910), known as the "Father of Japan's Railroads," who played an important role in helping Japan build and run its railroads independently. Source: Tetsudo-sho (ed.), *Nihon tetsudo-shi* (1921).

There was an important international context behind Japan's drive to become self-sufficient in railroad building. From the outset, Britain had used gunboat diplomacy in its dealings with China and India, but in response to

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opposition it encountered, such as the Taiping Rebellion in China and the Indian Rebellion of 1857, British strategy shifted. Having experienced the costliness of colonial and military rule, a new policy of "free trade imperialism" emerged, which aimed at achieving free trade as peacefully and cheaply as possible and resorting to violent means only when necessary. During this period, Britain aimed to nurture Japan into becoming its trade partner. It might thus be said that Japan's self-sufficiency in its railroads was indirectly boosted by the struggles of the Asian people against Western imperialism (see volume I, chapter 1).

From the point of view of their management, Japan's railroads can be categorized in two groups: government-run railroads and private railroads. In the early Meiji period, the government believed that railroads should be built according to military concerns and did not allow private investment. It tried to raise funds with the assistance of Nelson Lay, an Englishman familiar with the issue of financial shortages in East Asia. Problems emerged, however, with the public bonds that were issued. The government then decided to change its original idea of using foreign capital to finance construction, and switched to private capital. This is how private railroads emerged in Japan. In 1881, the government allowed a private company, the Japan Railway Company, to be established, with bonds distributed to former feudal lords and the nobility as capital. Investors were attracted to the profits from the railroads, which received the active support and protection of the government. Japan saw its first railroad construction boom from 1886 to 1890, during which period more than ten railroad companies were given permission to operate. People speculated over these and bought stock in them. Private railroads developed quickly, at a speed outpacing government-run ones. This was a distinguishing feature of railway operations during the Meiji period.

Many private railroad construction plans were canceled during the 1890 economic crisis.[10] The government switched its policy so that rather than being dependent on private funds, railroad construction would be the government's responsibility and not influenced by economic fluctuations. Financial circles, however, swung back and forth, opposing the nationali-

10 After a financial crunch, the spinning industry carried out cutbacks due to the recession.

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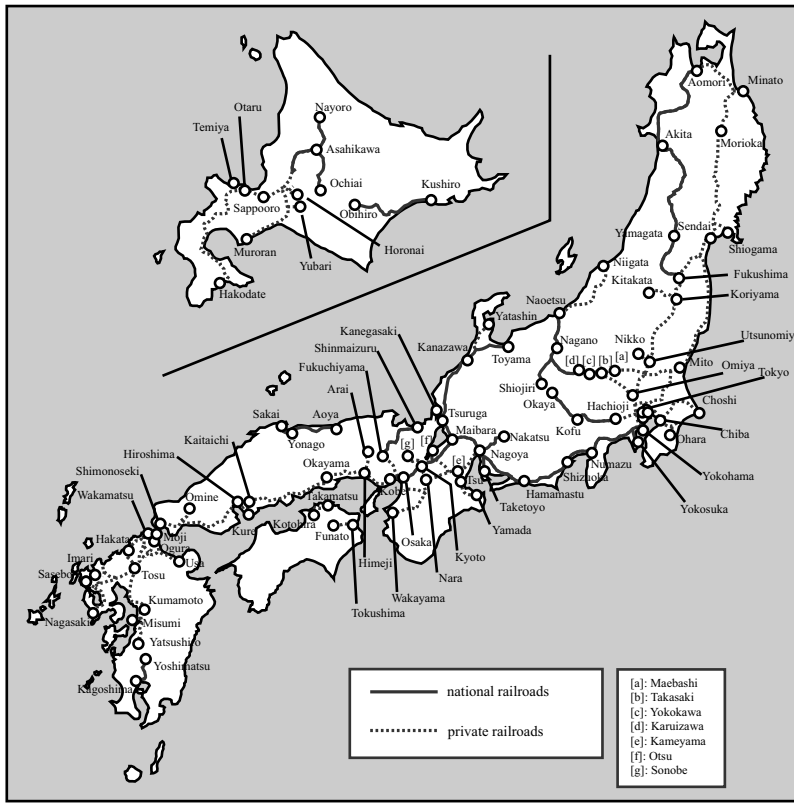

Figure 16: Rail map of Japan before railroad nationalization (1906)

zation of private railroads when the economy was good and profits were increasing, and supporting nationalization when the economy was bad. The transportation of soldiers and arms by rail played a role in the suppression of the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion[11] and the 1884 Chichibu Incident.[12] During the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95, the railroad that had been extended to Hiroshima just before the outbreak of war proved important for military

11 The largest revolt of the former warrior class; it took place in Kyushu and was led by Saigo Takamori.

12 An uprising of peasants in Saitama Prefecture under the banner of the Konminto (Poverty Party).

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transportation. The government encouraged railroad company consolidation, and the integration of private railroads continued, progressing toward the formation of a monopoly.

After the First Sino-Japanese War, the military called for railroad nationalization, which would mean it had consistent access during times of war. Another argument made in favor of nationalization was that it would be impossible to exclude foreign stockholders from private railroads, which might lead to information leaks regarding military transportation. The *zaibatsu* supported nationalization because improved transportation efficiency through integrated management would make goods more competitive due to reduced transportation overheads. They also hoped for good purchase prices when selling their private railroads to the government and reinvested the money received from heavy industries.

In 1906, the Railway Nationalization Act was passed. Seventeen major domestic railroad companies were nationalized and the new national railroad made up 91 % of all Japan's railroads. Private companies only operated as short-distance local lines or light railways.[13] With the Gyeongbu Line Acquisition Act, which was passed in the same year, the railroad between Hanseong (present-day Seoul) and Busan was also nationalized by the Japanese government. Also in 1906, the semi-governmental South Manchuria Railway Company ("Mantetsu") was established by imperial ordinance, and the Kanfu Ferry linking Shimonoseki and Busan was nationalized. The transportation systems of Japan, Korea and Manchuria thus became further integrated.

The Rise of Railroads in China

Railroads had a difficult start in China during the time of the Self-Strengthening Movement. In the early days, the Qing attempted to build them on their own using foreign technologies. To prevent any rights of way from falling into foreign hands, they also encouraged railroads to be privately managed, without capital borrowed from abroad. However, as en-

13 Railroads with narrower and lighter tracks and lighter cars, which thereby reduced costs.

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ticing businesses and stockholders proved difficult for the Qing government, it was forced to allow construction by private enterprises and local authorities using foreign capital. After the First Sino-Japanese War, the Qing recognized the importance of railroads in further strengthening China and continued efforts to build them. Having paid Japan enormous amounts in reparations, however, the Qing found itself faced with an empty treasury and the government was forced to issue foreign bonds to fund construction. In this way, China lost certain interests, including railroad management rights and mining rights along the lines, to the Great Powers, and its dependence on the latter grew further. The Great Powers then went on to seize most of China's railroads, particularly after the signing of the Boxer Protocol in 1901.

In 1903, the Qing opened railroad concessions to private businesses and the provincial authorities. At the same time, there was a growing consciousness among the Chinese that they had to fight the Great Powers for these rights. Suddenly there was an upsurge in private railroad construction in China, and from 1903 to 1910, over 19 new railroad companies were established. The private companies did not intend to borrow funds from abroad, but the financial power of the Chinese people was limited at the time, and not many investors bought stock. Some companies used government backing to force people into buying stock, but even then, private railroad companies were unable to raise sufficient funds, and on top of this, failed to produce adequate results due to technological and administrative problems. The Qing thus drew up a plan for uniform construction of the rail network and issued a national policy in May 1911 to hasten the construction of trunk lines. Provincial authorities began gathering funds and main lines that had been run privately were confiscated. Construction then continued using foreign capital. The government acknowledged, however, that the support of privateers might be needed to build the branch lines.

After the Qing's new policy on the nationalization of trunk lines was announced, the people of provinces such as Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, and Sichuan raised their objections to nationalization, and the Railroad Protection Movement emerged. Taking advantage of this development, the Revolutionary Party launched the Wuchang Uprising, and as people throughout China responded, the movement became a key factor in the fall of the Qing. Over a 30-year period from 1881 to 1911, tracks covering a total

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distance of 9,100 kilometers were laid in China. Of these, 52 % were national (of which 83 % were built with loans from abroad), 40 % were foreign-owned and -managed, and 7 % were private.

Figure 17: Jeme Tien Yow (1861–1919), the railroad construction engineer known as the "Father of China's Railroads." Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

Two figures from the dawn of China's railroads have left their particular mark, Li Hongzhang and Jeme Tien Yow. Before the First Sino-Japanese War, Li Hongzhang, who was both Governor-General of Zhihli[14] and Commerce Minister of Beiyang,[15] actively pushed for the construction of railroads and made their maintenance national policy. He was admired for

14 Present-day Hebei Province.

15 He was given direct authority by the emperor to control the foreign negotiations and commerce of the three provinces of Zhili, Shandong and Mukden (present-day Liaoning).

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his distinguished work in China's railroad industry, for building its foundations and making valuable contributions, such as establishing a school for railroad technicians and encouraging young people to study in America. Jeme Tien Yow, who went to Yale University, went on to become chief engineer of the Jingbao Railway (connecting Beijing and Zhangjiakou), the first railroad constructed completely by the Chinese, including the survey and design stages. The line was completed in 1909 and used sophisticated technology, with bridges and tunnels running through the Yan Mountains. Jeme Tien Yow is known as the Father of China's Railroads for his efforts in improving technology and training technicians for the future.

The Railroads of Korea

The debate on railroad construction in Korea began in the 1880s. After the right to develop the Gyeongui (Hanseong-Sinuiju) and Gyeongbu railroads in Korea was conferred on Japan, the Joseon court came to understand the industrial value of railroads and attempted to build them on its own.[16] By 1898, it had drawn up a plan to construct a railroad from Hanseong to Mokpo, and the Railroad Administration Bureau (later renamed Korea Railroad, KORAIL) was established to carry out the government's rail-related duties.

Park Gi-jong, a Korean merchant, was one of the first to get into the railroad construction business in Korea, launching the country's very first railroad company, Buha Railroad Co., in 1898. He also established Daehan Railroad Co. the following year, with plans to link the port of Busan and Hadan cove, but was unable to realize this endeavor due to lack of funds. The government then made plans to build a line from Hanseong to Sinuiju on its own and began construction from Hanseong to Kaesong in 1902, but again, lack of funding stalled the project. Using under-the-table tactics, Japan managed to obtain an imperial ordinance to allow the Daehan Railroad Company to build from Hanseong to Pyongyang. It also took away

16 The people's movement in Hanseong, led by the Independence Club, which opposed the transfer of railroad rights to foreign countries, was another factor in this issue (see volume I, chapter. 3).

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Korea's rights of construction by making Daehan Railroad Company take on a loan agreement with Daiichi Bank.

Japan became involved in a fierce scramble with the Western powers over Korean railroad concessions because it needed them to propel its advance into the continent. Immediately before the First Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, Japan, which had occupied the Korean royal palace, pushed the Korean government to sign a provisional agreement allowing Japan to build the Gyeongin and Gyeongbu Railroads between Gyeongseong and Incheon and Busan. During the war, General Yamagata Aritomo submitted a report to the emperor on the progress of reforms in Korea and proposed that Korean railroads traverse the length of the country, ultimately leading toward India, so that Japan might gain dominance in East Asia. The Gyeongin Line opened from Incheon to Noryangjin in 1899, running over a distance of 32 kilometers. One year later, it connected Hanseong and Incheon. This was Korea's first railway line.

In 1901, the construction of the Gyeongbu Line began at both its northern and southern ends. Russo-Japanese relations deteriorated drastically in the fall of 1903, and the Japanese army requested the Korean government to complete the line to reinforce military transportation before the outbreak of war. Thus, an emergency imperial edict was issued to speed the completion of construction. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in February 1904, but at that point, only a third of the Gyeongbu Line was in place. To hasten construction, the Japanese government dispatched the army to help undertake the task, and the line began operating fully in January 1905. During the war, Japan began building the Gyeongui and Gyeongwon (Gyeongseong-Wonsan) Lines for military use. Construction of the Gyeongui Line progressed quickly, and it took five years from when work on the Gyeongbu Line began to complete the line from Busan to Sinuiju. In order to achieve this, Japan used its military to force the Korean people into providing labor and supplies. The Russo-Japanese War resulted in the expulsion of Russian influence from Korea and Japan's rule over Korea being strengthened. Japan's occupation of Korea's arterial railroads was the decisive factor in the Korean government's loss of autonomy. The Japan-Korea Treaty was concluded in 1905, speeding up the Japanese colonization of Korea through such measures as the installation of a Resident-General in the Korean capital. Korea reserved rights over the Honam Line (Daejeon-Mokpo), but the Resident-

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General retracted these in 1909. The whole of the Korean peninsula, including its railroads and coalmines, now found itself subject to the fate of colonization.

2. Colonial Rule and East Asia's Railroads

The Railroads of Taiwan

From the middle of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth, control of railroads was an important means for colonial rule by the Great Powers. The fight for railroad rights in East Asia was fierce, but it was ultimately won by Japan. Through the First Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Manchurian Incident (1931), Japan colonized Taiwan, Korea and China's northeast. Japan attached great importance to the construction and management of railroads in its colonies as a principal means for economic exploitation, political rule, and military expansion. By constructing a railroad network in the colonies, Japan strengthened links in the East Asian region, which in the days of water-borne transport had suffered from poor transportation access.

The first railroad in Taiwan was built between Keelung and Hsinchu. Liu Mingchuan, who was Taiwan's provincial governor, received the Qing emperor's permission to build the railway in 1887, and it was completed in 1893. The Japanese army requisitioned the railroad when it invaded Taiwan in 1895 after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. After Taiwan had come under Japanese control, the colonial administration launched new railroad construction plans in addition to reinstating and maintaining existing ones. In 1897, Taiwan's first Governor-General, Kabayama Sukenori, made a proposal to the Japanese government to improve the existing railroads by constructing a north-south line from Taipei, Taichung and Tainan to Takau (renamed Kaohsiung in 1920 and referred to as such below) in the south.

The colonial government gave assurances of protection to private capital to encourage the construction of railway lines, but when not enough funds could be raised due to tight financial conditions and unease arising from continuing anti-Japanese resistance in Taiwan, it changed its policy in order

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Figure 18: Map of Railways in Taiwan (1945).

to build the railroads on its own. The military advocated an inland route for defense purposes and to suppress the anti-Japanese resistance, whereas railroad officials were in support of an industrial route on the coast for economic reasons. In 1899, a Railroad Department was established in the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan; it took over the management and construction of railroads from the Railroad Corps of Japan's Ministry of War. The idea that military affairs always came first was revised, and Taiwan's railroads came to have not just a military function, but also an industrial one.

Construction of a north-south line began in 1899, and by 1908, it covered

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404 kilometers from Keelung to Kaohsiung. The railroad was in Taiwan's west. The density of the population in the east was lower and the development of that region began to lag behind. The Governor-General sought to develop the east by building the port of Hualien in 1909 to improve its transportation infrastructure. The plan was for the eastern shore line to be completed in seven years, but construction was delayed. The Hualien-Taitung Line finally began operating in 1926 and measured a total distance of 170 kilometers.

Taiwan was Japan's first formal colony. Railroad construction was a priority, and the Governor-General invested the bulk of funds into it. At the same time, railroad income was an important part of the Governor-General's annual revenues. To dismantle the transportation traditions of the Taiwanese people, which included bamboo rafts and oxen-drawn carriages, the colonial authorities reduced rail fares and had the police hold lectures about using the railroads. The traditional transport providers strongly resisted by reducing their own fares, but with the rail and road networks being built and confronted with the attitude of the authorities, which included military force, they were essentially incorporated into the transport system by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Unlike the railroads of Japan and Korea, those in Taiwan mainly transported cargo. From 1908, freight transport exceeded passenger transport. Taiwan's main products were coal, sugar, rice and lumber, which were taken to ports such as Kaohsiung and Keelung by rail to be shipped to Japan. The return journeys transported items including industrial products and manure from Japan. Taiwan's railroads, which connected directly to Japan proper by ship, played the role typical of colonial railroads. If the vertical train line of Taiwan (running from the North to South of the island) was an artery, the "sugar railroads" were its capillaries. The major Japanese-run sugar manufacturing factories built many of the railroads. By 1930, there were 20 lines, measuring a total distance of 500 kilometers and built by seven companies, that connected to the vertical rail line to take sugar to Keelung and Kaohsiung to then be shipped to Japan. Railroads ensured that Taiwan's economy was fully incorporated into Japan's capitalist industrial structure.

Before Taiwan became a Japanese colony in 1895, it did not have a unified market. There were, however, independent markets in Taipei, Taichung and Tainan, that engaged in trade and exchange of goods with Fujian Province

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on the Chinese mainland. With the opening of the north-south line, however, a unified market quickly emerged. Keelung and Kaohsiung, which connected to the railroads in the north and south respectively, developed into Taiwan's most important ports. The transportation of supplies from the island became concentrated in these ports, and the western harbors such as Tamsui and Lukang, which had previously facilitated trade with mainland China, Southeast Asia and the West, rapidly declined. Taiwanese trade moved away from exporting mostly to the Chinese mainland and came to focus on shipping to Japan instead.

Railroad personnel in Taiwan was composed of about 50 % Japanese and 50 % Taiwanese, but the latter mostly worked on the ground, whereas the Japanese monopolized the management. Where there were not enough Japanese workers, Taiwanese workers supplemented them in areas of skilled labor such as engineering and were well regarded for their skills. Taiwan's railroads did not face any competition and had no trouble developing into two-track lines, and Taiwan's transportation capacity as a whole was vastly improved during its colonial era. Japanese rule also was strengthened through the construction of railroads. Populations grew denser in cities and towns along the railroad lines, and people began to migrate. Taiwan's railroads were not directly involved in military operations during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War, because Taiwan did not become a battlefield. However, at the end of the war, it became difficult to run the trains due to coal shortages and the threat of air raids.

Manchurian Railroads under Japanese Rule

Japanese aggression reached Manchuria (northeastern China) after the First Sino-Japanese War. The 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki provided for the transfer to Japan of Taiwan and of the Liaodong peninsula as a leased territory, but the cession of the latter was not realized due to the Triple Intervention (see volume I, chapter 2).

In 1896, Russia forced the Qing to allow an extension of the Siberian Railway to cut across northern Manchuria to connect directly with Vladivostok and Lushun (Port Arthur) in Southern Manchuria (Liaodung peninsula). The Manzhouli-Harbin-Suifenhe line began operating in 1903 and

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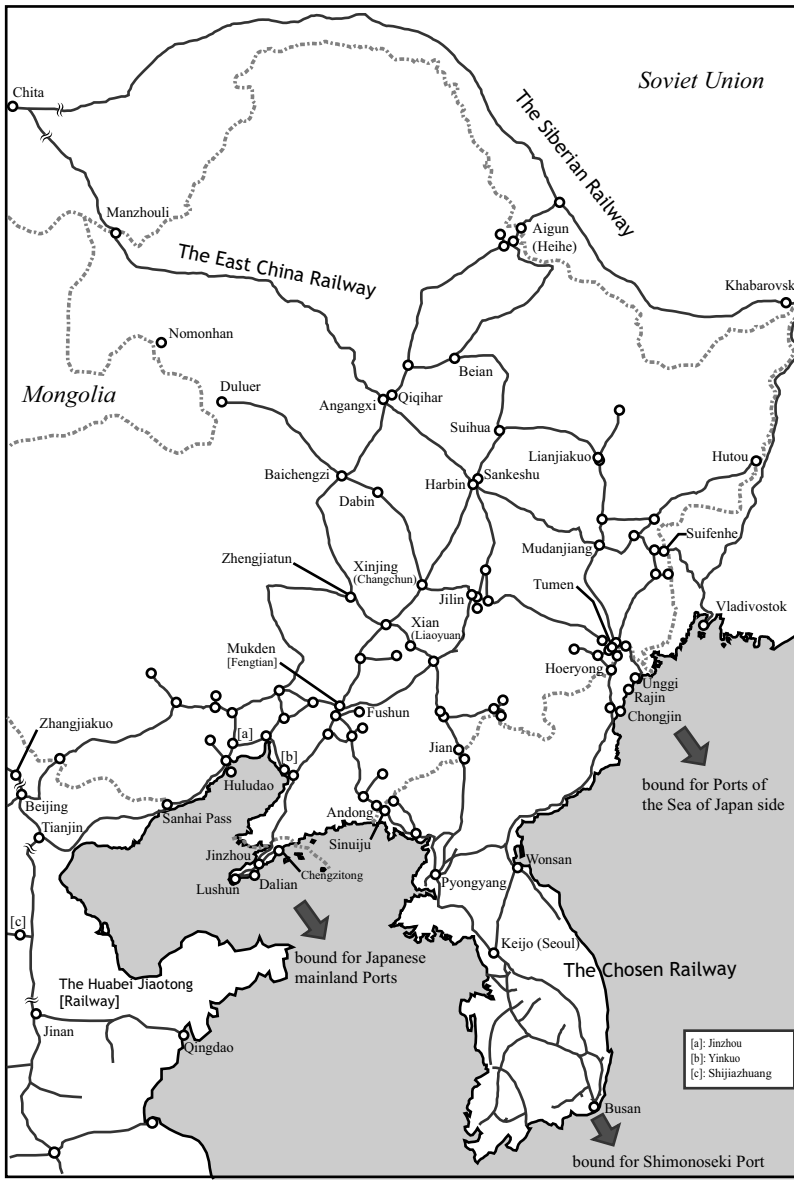

Figure 19: The Railroads of Korea and Manchuria (1945).

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was called the "Chinese Eastern Railway" (see volume I, chapter 3). The South Manchuria branch line running from Harbin to Kuanchengzi (present-day Changchun, and referred to as such below) and Lushun also opened at the same time. Russia sought to monopolize Manchuria, which led to the intensification of antagonism with both Britain and Japan, particularly the latter. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, and the victor, Japan, acquired the Changchun-Dalian and Lushun sections of the southern branch line and related rights from Russia. In multiple agreements, Russia and Japan divided up Manchuria's north and south into spheres of influence. Japan was, however, unable to secure all of the southern branch line, leaving the Harbin-Changchun section to Russia, yet hoping to acquire it at some time in the future.

Japan prioritized improving the South Manchuria Railroad and gradually extended its power over Manchuria as a whole. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05, Japan forced the construction of a railroad between Andong (present-day Dandong) and Mukden (present-day Shenyang), despite opposition from the Qing government. Upon completion, the south linked to Korea's Gyeongui Line and the north to Chinese Eastern Railway's southern branch line, so that Japan could pass through the Korean peninsula to directly enter central Manchuria by land. This is how Japan used the railroads to accelerate its policy of advancing into the continent.

In the meantime, E. H. Harriman, an American railroad tycoon trying to build a round-the-world rail network, arrived in Japan to propose joint US-Japanese management of the South Manchurian branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Given the foreseeably tough postwar financial situation, there was strong opinion from within the Japanese government that the branch line was unnecessary. Prime Minister Katsura Taro believed that Japan, with the US, would be able to prevent Russia from moving south. Katsura and Harriman thus signed a memorandum of preliminary agreement. Upon returning from the Russo-Japanese peace conference in Portsmouth, however, Foreign Minister Komura Jutaro voiced his opposition, arguing that such an agreement would entail handing over to America Japan's rights and interests in Manchuria, which had been obtained at great cost. He argued that the line should be managed independently, and the agreement was annulled. The US later demanded an open-door policy, putting forward a proposal to neutralize the railroads in Manchuria.

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In 1906, the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) was established by imperial edict. Sanctioned by the Japanese emperor, the government appointed the president and vice-president of the company and oversaw its activities, which were determined by decree of the ministers of communications, finance and foreign affairs. Thus, although Mantetsu was a joint stock corporation, it was also a government organ. Apart from the railroads, it owned the land on either side of the tracks (the South Manchuria Railway Zone), as well as areas around the stations in the cities, so that it was also involved in municipal administration. Mantetsu further managed businesses related to water transportation, aviation, mining and manufacturing, electricity, agriculture and forestry, commerce, real estate, communications and newspapers, culture, education, and hotels. The situation was expressed as follows: "The main aim of having the sole management of Manchuria is to publicly appear to be managing the railroads while, in fact, carrying out all kinds of measures behind the scenes."[17] Mantetsu was therefore a corporation that also served as an organ for Japan to manage its colony.

Intervention into Japan's Manchuria policies came from all directions, originating from various bodies and political forces that included the military, the Foreign Ministry, the Office of the Governor-General (shortened to the "Kwantung Bureau" in 1919), the Kwantung Army[18] and the political parties. Thus, there were continued disputes regarding personnel and policies. Mantetsu's administration policies, which were also affected by these disagreements, swayed back and forth, often wavering between the pursuit of profits as a company and the execution of the military and political policies of the nation.

Even with the existence of Mantetsu, those railroad rights were not secure. Japan and Russia signed an agreement to determine their spheres of influence (Russia's in northern Manchuria and Japan's in the south) and prevent American intervention, but in 1909, the US gained rights and in-

17 From the "Outline of Administrative Policies for Manchuria," which were recommendations by Kodama Gentaro (Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army) and Goto Shinpei (first president of Mantetsu) during the Russo-Japanese War.

18 This army was established as a force to protect Mantetsu and the Japanese leased territory, the Kwantung province, and later developed into an independent force influencing Japan's foreign policies.

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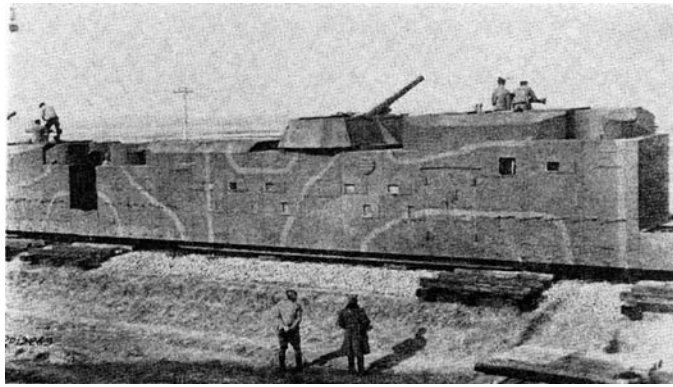

Figure 20: An armored train, equipped with machine guns and carbines. These odd-looking camouflaged trains were used to fight anti-Japanese forces. Source: private collection.

terests in Manchuria for the first time through the Chinchow-Aigun Railway Loan Agreement[19] and began to challenge Mantetsu. In 1915, when the First World War had broken out and the Western powers were focused on the fight in Europe, Japan confronted the Chinese government with the so-called "21 Demands," which included the extension of the period of ownership of the Andong-Mukden Line and Mantetsu from 15 and 36 years respectively to 99 years each (see volume I, chapter 4).

With the fall of tsarism in Russia after the October Revolution in 1917, the Allied powers, led by Japan, US, Britain and France, dispatched troops to Siberia to intervene in the revolution (Siberian Intervention), during which the US demonstrated great interest in the Siberian Railways and the Chinese Eastern Railway. Japan countered by advocating for the Allied powers to jointly administer them. The Inter-Allied Railway Committee (IARC) was established in 1919 to manage the two railroads, but the Great Powers then began to withdraw from Siberia. Japan was the last to remain, but pulled out when its army was internationally criticized at the Washington Conference, thus bringing an end to the IARC. In 1924, China and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to jointly administer the Chinese Eastern Railway. In

19 Aigun is present-day Heihe in Heilongjiang province. Construction on the basis of this contract never began.

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reality, it was the Soviet Union that now managed the railroad, and it competed with Mantetsu.

From 1920 to 1931, China constructed a 1,157 kilometer-long railroad in Manchuria on its own and recovered administrative and judicial rights over areas of land attached to the Chinese Eastern Railway. Zhang Xueliang, who was in control of Manchuria at the time, built a port in Huludao as an alternative point of entry to Dalian from the northeast, and pushed forward a 15-year construction plan to make it a hub for a rail network of 35 lines. In 1931, Japan caused the Manchurian Incident and then established the puppet state "Manchukuo" in the northeast the following year, which it controlled as a colony. Prior to the Manchurian Incident, the total length of Manchurian railroads had measured over 6,000 kilometers, with their control divided among China, the Soviet Union, Britain and Japan. The newly established puppet state Manchukuo, however, requisitioned and nationalized all the railroads (Manchukuo only invested in and purchased the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was controlled by the Soviet Union). In reality, Japan was in control of the railroads and had commissioned Mantetsu to manage them. Mantetsu worked closely with the Kwantung Army's operations and actively engaged in military transportation. A system uniting the railroads and the military was in place, which included, for example, Mantetsu preparing, under army instructions, armored trains to deal with anti-Japanese forces.

With a war with the Soviet Union in mind, the Japanese military authorities tried to create a rail route from Manchuria to the Japan Sea that would allow troops to be sent into central Manchuria over the shortest distance possible. However, as supplies from northern Manchuria would reach Japan not via Dalian but through Korea's northern ports, Mantetsu was not motivated to build the railroad linking Jilin and Hoeryong in Korea's north. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, however, Mantetsu, now under the close control of the Kwantung Army, built the Jilin-Hoeryong line and obtained the management rights for railroads and ports in Korea's north, including Rason. This was the height of Mantetsu's power, for in addition to all railroads in Manchukuo, it now also controlled the Japan Sea route.

Ironically, the extraterritorial rights, administrative authority over areas adjacent to the Mantetsu railroads (the South Manchuria Railway Zone),

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and tax-exemptions for "Japanese subjects" (including Koreans) that Japan enjoyed in Manchukuo eventually proved to be obstacles for Japan as it attempted to make Manchukuo appear to be an independent state. In 1936, these special interests were all done away with and even the right to directly administer the South Manchuria Railway Zone was returned to Manchukuo. Further, in order to end Manchukuo's dependence on Mantetsu, under the Kwantung Army's lead, Mantetsu reorganized its structure to concentrate on managing the railroads. It was never to manage such a comprehensive portfolio again.

During the Manchukuo period, Mantetsu built over 30 new railroads totaling a distance of 5,300 kilometers, most of which were for military or non-economic use. Many of the lines were constructed in the border regions of northern and eastern Manchuria, firstly in order to strengthen ties with Korea, and secondly to guard against a Soviet Union attack. Neither the 1939 Battle of Nomonhan[20] nor the 1941 mass mobilization for the Kwantung Army Special Maneuvers[21] would have been possible without Mantetsu. As Mantetsu was pressed to provide military transportation services, it was forced to suspend operation of the "Asia Express," its popular passenger train.[22]

As a commercial company that also carried out national policies, Mantetsu was at the mercy of the policies of the Japanese government, the bureaucracy and the army and subject to their rivalries. This could be observed, for example, in the fact that Mantetsu was once put in charge of Korea's railroads, a provision that was then canceled, only to be later re-activated. With the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo, Mantetsu returned to being a conventional railroad company. Mantetsu's problems were similar to those that had surfaced in the case of the East India

20 A large-scale clash between the armies of Japan (and Manchukuo) and the Soviet Union (and Mongolia) at the Manchuria-Mongolia border. The Japanese army suffered a crushing defeat with 20,000 casualties.

21 Under the guise of maneuvers, an army of 700,000 was assembled to prepare for war with the Soviet Union.

22 The Asia Express was a streamlined train with a dining car and observation car; it was fully air conditioned and said to reach a maximum speed of 130 kilometers/hour. An article about a journey on the Asia Express was included in an elementary school textbook in 1933 and became the cause of many children's longing to go to Manchuria.

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Company (on which Mantetsu had initially been modeled), in that when India had been fully incorporated into the British Empire, the company essentially administrated colonial rule, and was later dissolved.

Mantetsu ran many different businesses, but railroads were consistently its biggest source of revenue. In the latter half of the 1920s, 90 % of Mantetsu's profits from transportation were through freight traffic, of which 60–70 % was soy beans and coal. Mantetsu's business was supported by the soy beans of northern Manchuria and coal sourced mostly in Fushun.

At the time the company was established, Mantetsu had two hundred million yen in capital and about 10,000 employees. Most of its full-time employees, as well as half of the staff hired for on-site work, were Japanese. By 1944, Mantetsu's total assets had grown to 1,400,000,000 yen and it had more than 300,000 employees. The company was larger in scale than those on the Japanese mainland and bigger than those in Japan's colonies before the war. Over its 40-year history, Mantetsu was a microcosm of Japan's invasion of northeastern China, including its haphazard dealings.

With its fertile soil, Manchuria was rich in natural resources, but for a long time, the Qing dynasty, which had its roots in this region, had prohibited Chinese living south of the Great Wall from migrating into the "sacred lands" of the Manchurians. Its population thus remained small. Migration into the region north of the Great Wall was finally encouraged from around 1900. There were two ways for migrants to enter Manchuria during the time of the Chinese republic: by land or by sea. The majority of those traveling overland used the railroads, making up about 30 % of the total number of migrants. After migrating to Manchuria, half of them settled there, and the other half came in the summer and went home for the winter, creating a huge market for passenger transportation.

As the railroads developed, the number of migrants to Manchuria rapidly increased. Over 30 years in the early twentieth century, the number of people migrating northeast from various places in Shandong, Hebei, and Henan reached 400,000 to 500,000 a year.

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The Railroads of Korea

In 1910, Korea became a Japanese colony. In the same year, the Office of the Governor-General of Korea (Chosun) was established as the center for colonial rule, and a bureau was set up to manage Korea's railroads. In 1911, the Amnokgang Railway Bridge was completed, linking Sinuiju in Korea and Andong in China, and the Gyeongui Line and Mantetsu's Andong-Mukden line were connected over the Yalu (Amnok) River. In 1912, the Japanese railway authority began running a new schedule. With Shinbashi in Japan as its starting point, the official new route went from Shimonoseki to Busan, then through Korea's Gyeongbu and Gyeongui lines to cross the Yalu River Bridge, where it switched to the Andong-Mukden and South Manchurian lines under Mantetsu control to reach Mukden and Changchun. It had once taken about a month to get from Japan to Manchuria via Korea, but this route reduced the traveling time to three and a half days. The Japanese government had thus built a rail transportation system that linked the Japanese mainland to Korea and Manchuria. In addition to facilitating Japanese rule and the exploitation of Korean resources, the railroads on the Korean peninsula also provided a means for dispatching the military during "emergencies" on the Chinese continent. Compared to the railroads of Taiwan, those in Korea had a strong military aspect from the very outset.

In 1917, Terauchi Masatake, the former Governor-General of Korea who had advocated the unification of Manchuria and Korea, became Prime Minister, and an imperial ordinance was issued calling for Mantetsu to be charged with the management of all national railroads which were under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Korea. This meant that the Japanese government was actively attempting to unify the transportation systems of Korea and Manchuria. However, rivalry and antagonism emerged between Mantetsu and the Office of the Governor-General of Chosun regarding the Manchurian and Korean railroads: Freight was concentrated in the port of Dalian due to Mantetsu's main line connecting that port with the Manchurian hinterland and due to Mantetsu's support for Dalian as the main port for shipping to Japan, whereas the Governor-General, backed by the military, promoted the distribution of goods via the Korean route (Mukden-Andong-Sinuiju-Gyeongseong-Busan-inland Japan).

The Office of the Governor-General of Chosun was also unhappy about

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Mantetsu's lack of interest in maintaining the Korean railroads, and in 1925 canceled its arrangement with the company for their management. The railroads thus went back to being managed directly by the Railroad Bureau of the Office of the Governor-General. The Governor-General further developed Korea's northern areas, where there were strong anti-Japanese movements, and expanded the three ports of Rason, Chongjin and Unggi. In 1928, the Hamgyeong Line began operating, linking Gyeongseong to Hoeryong via Wonsan. The railroads of northern Korea and Manchuria were joined with the completion of the Tumen River Bridge in 1926, and after the Manchurian Incident, the line joining Xinjing (the capital of Manchukuo) and Tumen began operating. In 1933, the management of railroads in Korea's north was once again entrusted to Mantetsu. Now integrated with the Kwantung Army, Mantetsu was also commissioned to manage ports such as Rason, and it came to control a new route that ran from Manchuria via northern Korea to Japanese ports on the Japan Sea side such as Niigata. This created a third route between Japan and Manchuria, in addition to the Shimonoseki-Busan and Dalian routes. The Japan Sea route was the shortest between the Japan Sea side of Japan and Manchuria, making it the principal route for Japanese people migrating to Manchuria.

From the 1920s until the first half of the 1930s, Korea's railroads were used mostly by Japan to exploit the country's resources. During this period, the transportation of rice alone to Japan reached between 1,000,000 and 1,400,000 tons a year, 40 to 50 % of Korea's rice production. As large quantities of rice were being sent to Japan, Korean farmers had only millet and sorghum imported from northeast China to eat. From the mid-1930s until 1945, the railroads of Korean were used mostly for military transport between Japan and the Chinese continent.

The railroads used for transporting passengers were better developed in Korea than in other Japanese colonies. Until the early 1920s, they carried more Japanese passengers than Koreans, especially in the first-class carriages and long-distance trains of the Gyeongbu and Gyeongui lines. As the rail network expanded, the number of Korean passengers grew. After the Mukden Incident, however, there was a sharp rise in the number of Japanese traveling to and from the Chinese continent. The transportation of soldiers became more noticeable after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. As the arterial railroads were used more by long-distance trains, train schedules were

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devised for the convenience of long-distance transit. By comparison, the regional short-distance local trains were small in number and inconvenient for the domestic travel needs of the general populace. This difference clearly demonstrates that the railroads were colonial in nature.

By 1910, the total distance covered by Korea's railroads had reached about 1,000 kilometers. By the end of the war, there were 5,000 kilometers of government-run railroads on the Korean peninsula as well as a total length of 1,400 kilometers of railroads built by private nationals under the protection of the Office of the Governor-General of Korea, such as the Gyeongchun Line (Gyeongseong-Chuncheon).[23]

It was only natural that the Korean people felt intense resentment toward railroads. In 1904, more than 10,000 Koreans gathered at a construction site to protest against Japan's use of forced labor and expropriation of land to build the railroad. The protests were suppressed. Furious, the demonstrators started a riot, killed administrators, destroyed the local government office, and attempted to blow up the railroad.

Under the pretext of building railroads, Japan expropriated land, giving only low valuations. As a result, the people whose land had been taken away struggled against Japanese policies. The money they received was not even enough for them to move home and relocate the family grave. Moreover, the Japanese military forced people living by the tracks to monitor and protect the railroads without compensation. Anyone who obstructed the tracks or destroyed the electric cables installed for military use was subject to the death penalty. People living along the tracks were considered jointly liable for such acts and sentenced to death if they failed to report information. The plundering of land was particularly intense in the two cities of Hanseong and Pyongyang, and the people of Hanseong issued a statement of concern regarding the situation in Korea that criticized the Japanese military occupation of their land. They went to the local government office to protest, where they clashed with Japanese military police and soldiers. The resistance movement of the people of Pyongyang was particularly intense.

23 Most of the stockholders were Japanese people living in Japan; very few were Korean.

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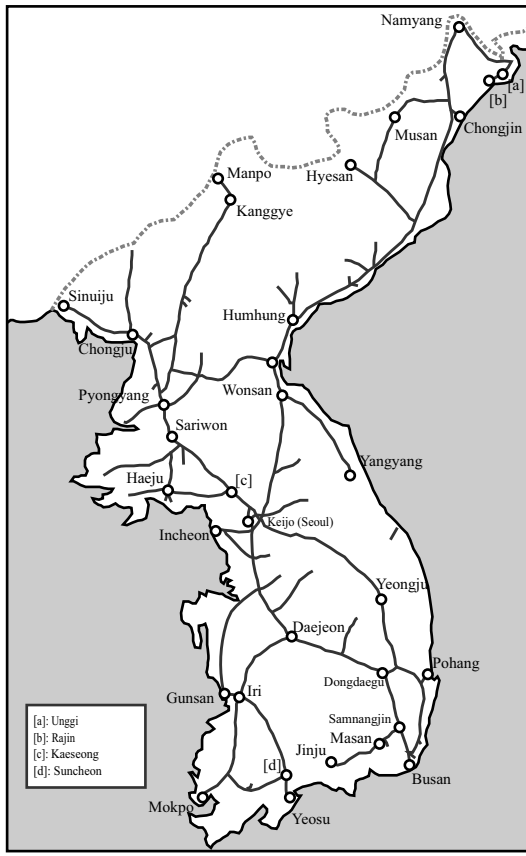

Figure 21: Map of Railroads in Korea (1945).

Track Gauges

Most European countries use the track gauge (distance between rails) that is standard in Britain, the birthplace of railroads, which is 4'8.5" (1,435 mm). This is considered the international track gauge standard, but some countries have made it narrower or wider to prevent invasion by rail during times of war or due to geographical or economic circumstances. If a track gauge does not match the locomotive or car, the railroad cannot be used as is. A wider track gauge means that cars

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are bigger, more stable at high speeds and have more traffic volume, but the rail's curve is more limited and the construction costs of the actual rail track are higher.

Japan's railroads adopted a narrow gauge of 3'6" (1,067 mm) due to factors such as construction costs and the necessity to adjust to winding routes. Japan also used a narrow gauge in Taiwan, but the standard gauge in Korea, with the intent of connecting it to other railroads on the continent. Directly after the First Sino-Japanese War, when Russian influence in Korea intensified, Japan and Russia were at odds regarding whether to use the standard or narrow gauge for Korea's railroads. Japan succeeded in pushing for the standard gauge.

The railroads built by the Western powers in China were generally standard gauge, but the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was built by Russia in Manchuria, used 5' (1,524 mm) broad-gauge tracks. Because the Japanese army wanted to use its own locomotives and cars during the Russo-Japanese War, it began reconstructing the railway from Lushun using narrow gauge to transport soldiers. When Japan acquired the South Manchuria branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway (south of Changchun) from Russia through the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, it replaced the Changchun-Lushun line with standard-gauge tracks.

When the Amnokgang Railway Bridge was completed in 1911, the Korean railroads and Mantetsu were linked by standard-gauge tracks. In 1935, when the Soviet Union sold the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo, Mantetsu immediately began switching to standard gauge, and Manchukuo's railroads were all standardized. In anticipation of a Soviet invasion, Mantetsu's armored trains were equipped with alternate wheels and axles to allow them to switch from standard to 5' gauge and invade within five hours. The track gauges used during these times embodied each country's sphere of influence.

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3. Railroads and Daily Life

Railroads, Distribution of Goods and Human Migration

Before modern times, when transportation depended on the power of nature, it was more convenient to travel by water rather than on land. Thus, many cities were established near rivers, and river flows and the water system structure influenced their distribution, as well as the direction and extent of movement of both people and goods. Railroads had a great impact on traditional methods of transportation such as waterborne transport and cattle or man-powered means because of features such as safety, speed, load capacity, lower cost, and the reduced effects of geographical factors and seasons or weather.

The speed of railways greatly reduced traveling time. Before the building of railways, it took 27 days to get from Hankou to Beijing by land, but the railroad allowed the journey to be completed in two and a half days. Travelling from Zhangjiakou (the gate to areas north of the Great Wall) to Beijing by camel took one to two months, but by rail the journey could be made in just 8 or 9 hours. In Japan, during the Edo period, the journey from Edo to Kyoto took 15–16 days on foot, and even by palanquin (the fastest means of transport back then) it would take several days. With the introduction of railroads, however, the trip could be made in about 20 hours. It took about one hour by train to get from Tokyo to Yokohama, making it possible to do a round trip in a single day. During the Joseon Dynasty, it took 14 days to travel from Hanseong (present-day Seoul) to Busan by foot, but after the railroad opened in 1905, the traveling time was reduced to about 10 hours.

Not only did railroads greatly reduce the time used to travel from one point to another, they also changed transport routes, which had previously been exclusively linked to rivers and mostly followed the direction of river flows. Railroads reduced the constraints posed by natural conditions such as mountains and rivers and overcame the seasonal limitations of water transport. The relative status of water and land transport gradually switched places. Many of China's rivers flow in a west-east direction, making transportation in this direction relatively convenient, but north-south transportation was difficult. Resolving this issue became a chief aim in the

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construction of China's railroads, and success in the endeavor led to the disappearance of trade via canals built in ancient times to harness the natural basins of the north and south. In Japan, traditional means of inland water transport gradually fell into decline with the development of railroads. Coastal shipping, however, was improved under government protection policies that brought in Western steamships, which were linked to the railroads at the ports. These also connected with overseas routes. Ferries linking up different railroads also began operating. In Korea, water transportation on the Han River, which froze over in the winter, declined due to competition with the railroads. Water-based traffic from Incheon to Yongsan[24] fell to less than half its previous volume after railroads began operating.

On a nationwide scale, all trains in Japan heading toward Tokyo were regarded as "inbound" (literally "ascending"), as were local trains bound for major cities such as prefectural capitals. Those heading away from them were considered "outbound" (literally "descending"). Inbound routes took people into the cities, and distributed food and raw materials there, whereas outbound routes took goods manufactured in the cities to the countryside.

As for the railroads of Japan's colonies, those heading toward Japan were known as "inbound" routes. For instance, the line from Taipei, the seat of the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, to Keelung was an "inbound" route. In Korea, lines going toward Busan – other than those bound for the old capital Hanseong (since 1910 Gyeongseong) – were also "inbound," that is to say, running to the Empire's metropolis, Tokyo. Even after the establishment of Manchukuo, the Mantetsu line from the capital of Manchukuo, Xinjing, to Dalian was "inbound," because Dalian was the port connecting the region with Japan and Tokyo. These routes took goods such as sugar, rice, soy beans and coal to Japan, and were used to transport people during the war. The "outbound" routes were used to transport industrial products and migrants from Japan, as well as the Japanese military and its supplies.

The establishment of a railroad that went from Beijing and Tianjin (areas south of the Great Wall) through the Shanhai Pass, then Jinzhou, an important point for transportation in Manchuria, to reach Mukden enabled

24 Located on the north bank of the Han River and now part of the Special Municipality of Seoul.

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the large-scale movement of people. The biggest and most well-known migration in modern-day China took place in the 1920s and 1930s and consisted of people from inside the Great Wall moving to areas north of it during the so-called "Rush to Northeast China."

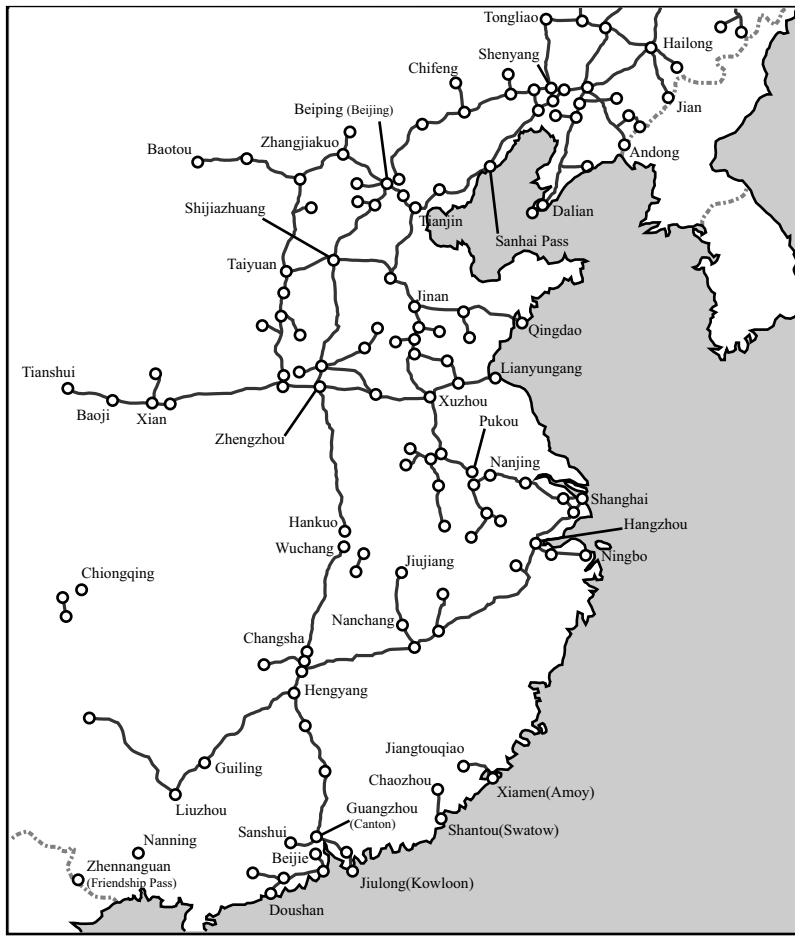

Figure 22: Railroads in China (around 1945).

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Railroads and the Rise and Fall of Cities

The powerful transportation function of railroads influenced the distribution of goods, changing traditional transport channels and impacting urban systems to transform the distribution of towns and cities and the ways in which they functioned. With the downfall of cities and towns situated along the traditional transportation routes came the rise of cities and towns located along the new railroads. Many of China's older cities were locations of administrative organs and military stations, and the majority of their functions were focused on politics or military affairs. Railroad construction led some cities to develop rapidly and grow vast in scale, and among them were some whose development could be attributed to railroads built by the imperialist powers. Harbin, for example, was once a village on the south bank of the Songhua River. The Russians, who built the Chinese Eastern Railway, used Harbin as the junction point for the rail network and rapidly developed areas along the line. Harbin had about 20,000 residents in 1900, but five years later, the population had grown to 100,000. Along with Mukden in the south, Harbin became a central city in the northeastern region and a transportation hub.

The local name for the area occupied by the cities of Dalian and Lushun was Qingniwa ("blue mud swamp"). It was originally a sandy beach. The Russians focused on the location after opening the South Manchurian Railroad branch line, and began building a port and wharf there in 1899. Japan took over the administration of the two cities in 1905, and they grew rapidly to replace Yingkou as the key trade center in the northeast. Qingdao was once a remote fishing village that lay desolate on the eastern bank of Jiaozhou Bay, but it became the eastern terminus for the Qingdao-Jinan line built by the Germans, which linked it to the port. Qingdao then grew rapidly, and its population, which had been no more than 16,000 in 1902, exploded when the railroad opened in 1904, climbing to 165,000 by 1910 and 500,000 by 1937.

The advancement of railroads in China caused some cities to rise and others to fall. The Yangtze River and the Grand Canal[25] intersected at

25 Built during the Sui dynasty as a main artery for the connection of Jiangnan and North China, the Grand Canal underwent a large-scale overhaul during the Yuan dynasty.

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Zhenjiang, which had for a long time been a prominent eastern Chinese trading port where businesses from the north and south intermingled. Trade did not really develop in the nearby political city of Nanjing. With the construction of the railroads connecting Tianjin and Pukou[26] as well as Nanjing and Shanghai, however, Nanjing became the hub for north-south rail traffic and its economy grew rapidly. Zhenjiang, on the other hand, saw a downturn in its size and status with the decline of water transportation on the Grand Canal. The railroads linked areas that had been separated by mountains and rivers, but they also destroyed local communities and economic spheres that had been created by traditional transportation routes. Rural economies and urban markets were directly linked, and the labor force from agricultural villages flooded into the cities, hastening the flourishing of central cities and the decline of rural areas.

Japan's main line mostly linked major existing cities along the Tokaido highway. The Japan Sea coast, where railroad construction was lagging behind, became known as *Ura Nihon* (literally "Rear Japan"). Niigata Prefecture, which had Japan's highest population in 1882, had fallen to fifth position just 15 years later. Left behind in the modernization process and feeling a sense of crisis, its residents began a movement to attract the construction of a railroad as a means for their survival. In the 1920s, the political party Rikken Seiyukai (Association of Political Friends of the Constitution), whose main foothold was in rural areas, promoted policies that were to its own advantage and used the railroad construction issue to compete for votes. From the 1920s to the 1930s, large cities in Japan such as Tokyo and Osaka experienced rapid population growth. In 1920, the populations of Tokyo and Osaka prefectures were 3.7 million and 2.59 million respectively, but by 1930, these had grown to 5.41 million and 3.54 million. Alongside the increasing function of urban areas, private railroad companies built railroads in the city suburbs and developed residential areas along them.

In Korea, there is a direct connection between railroad construction in the country and the emergence of the city of Daejeon. Located about 166 kilometers from Hanseong, Daejeon was a quiet farming village but became an important transit point when the Gyeongbu Line was built. With the

26 Suburb of Nanjing located across the Yangtze River.

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construction of Daejeon Station came the emergence of a Japanese settlement around it, and the area came to life with the station at its center. When the Honam Line was built, Daejeon, where the two major routes of the Gyeongbu and Honam lines crossed, harnessed the impetus that had resulted from rail development to continue growing, and it was elevated to provincial status. Conversely, Oryu-dong, which was located 20 kilometers from Incheon and had been part of the route to Hanseong (Gyeongseong) and enjoyed great prosperity due to peddler traffic, declined quickly with the opening of the Gyeongin Line.

Railroads and People's Daily Lives

Railroads brought vast changes to people's lifestyles and broadened their spheres of activity. The ease of travel brought about by the new form of transportation changed people's sense of distance and space. It even opened up a completely new field in Chinese poetry in relation to the age-old theme of parting. Huang Zunxian, a poet and diplomat in the late Qing Dynasty, wrote a poem with the title "Farewell Now":

> Just as the mountain and rivers have always been, cars and ships have been since long ago.
> On occasion, these cars and ships led people to part ways, and they had time to say goodbye.
> The cars and ships of today, however, deepen the sorrow of the fate of separation.
> We all know that even a brief chat cannot be.
> With the sound of a bell, you are instantly gone. …
> Gone from sight, there is no time to reminisce. …

There were different classes of train cars, but there were no restrictions at all regarding the social class of their passengers. Whether an ordinary person or a high-ranking dignitary, people could pick the car in which they wished to ride. Tickets only noted the date, points of origin and destination, class, and price, but did not mention name or social standing. Riding trains as part of a group destroyed the old-fashioned notions from the days of horses and palanquins and feudalistic perceptions of social status under which men

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and women could not have direct interaction and permitted the emergence of new types of interpersonal and social relations.

In Japan, trains were the only form of transportation in most areas and train stations served as gateways. There, people from the countryside headed off to the big city, setting off on journeys in the hope of achieving success, or leaving reluctantly for work. The station plaza was where famous people were welcomed, as well as where soldiers going to the battlefields of war were bid farewell. Train stations were also where the ashes of a town's war dead returned. Railroads further changed perceptions of time. People's concern about time was heightened by the fact that they could not be late to board the trains, and this naturally accelerated their rhythm of life, leading to the gradual establishment of modern ideas such as "time is money."

An anecdote about an influential *yangban*[27] illustrates the changes brought about by the spread of railways. The bureaucrat, about to board a train, was told by a station worker that the train would leave soon. In return, he asked the worker to make the train wait a little. Of course, the train was not going to wait for him and be delayed. Both the railway worker and the bureaucrat learned on this occasion that train schedules must be respected by everyone, even the *yangban* elite.

In a traditional society, people create a rhythm of work and rest in tandem with natural factors such as the rising and setting of the sun, and the waxing and waning of the moon: "Work when the sun rises, rest when the sun goes down." Accuracy in timekeeping was not a necessity in traditional agricultural societies, so people were vague about the notion of time. In ancient times, the imperial palace had sundials and water clocks, but ordinary people only looked at the sun and the moon, listened to the crowing of the rooster or relied on the burning of incense to estimate time.

For units of time, China had an ancient custom of dividing the day into 12 parts. Japan used a temporal hour system that divided day and night each into six equal parts. The lengths of time for day and night were different, and the length of a day varied according to the season. This method of calculating time was clearly unsuitable for running a railroad.

Japan began using the solar calendar from January 1, 1873, but it had adopted the 24-hour clock system for its trains the year before. Train

27 The ruling class during the Joseon Dynasty.

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schedules designated running times by the minute, changing people's sense of time and greatly influencing their rhythm of life. The schedule released when the railroads began operating stated: "Get to the station at least ten minutes early and buy a ticket. The station doors will close three minutes before the departure time." Children were taught that "trains leave as soon as the departure time arrives. They do not wait a single minute" (elementary school textbook, 1904). Children thus joined a society where they moved around with strangers according to a schedule. The subdivisions of time and the accuracy of schedules changed people's notion of time, and a completely new style of social life, and work and rest, emerged. Before the popularity of radios, train drivers and conductors from all across Japan gathered periodically in Tokyo to synchronize the pocket watches placed by the driver's seat. Japan's trains are famous worldwide for their punctuality, and it can be said that the Japanese habit of strictly observing time was influenced by the social norms created by the railroads.

The construction of railroads was a symbol of modernization and reached even the most remote villages. The railroads greatly affected the lives of people in the countryside. The punctuality and regularity of the trains provided a way for people living along the line to tell the time. Because the trains ran according to Japan Standard Time, the notion of Standard Time took root even among those living along the lines.

4. Railroads in Postwar East Asia

The Challenge to Railroads from Automobiles and Airplanes

Automobiles became popular in America in the 1920s. The boom spread to Europe in the 1950s after the war, then arrived a little later in Japan and Korea, and finally China. With the popularization of the automobile came great changes to people's lifestyles as it took over from railroads as the main form of transport.

Because of the rapid spread of cars in Japan in the 1960s, automobile passenger traffic overtook that of railroads in 1970. Cars can be said to have assisted Japan's rapid economic growth. The development of railroad transport came to a relative standstill, but transport by automobile con-

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tinued to grow. Highways linking Nagoya and Kobe (the Meishin Expressway) and Nagoya and Tokyo (the Tomei Expressway) opened in 1969, heralding a new age.

By 1966, the number of people traveling on highways in Korea had already surpassed railroads and the gap quickly widened. Because the rail network focused on north-south travel (X-shaped), connections between provincial towns were inadequate. Furthermore, as Korea had been divided into North and South after independence, even the X-shaped rail network did not function adequately. Compared to Japan during the same period, railroads did not play an important part in post-independence Korea.

The Park Chung-hee regime in South Korea (1961–1979) depended mostly on railroads for industrial transportation, and cars for passenger traffic. A highway was opened between Seoul and Busan in 1970, which saw South Korea enter a new, historic period of highway development. Some highways built when East-West tensions were rising during the Cold War were designed with military use additionally in mind, with the potential, for example, to serve as airplane runways.

The popularization of cars was a new phenomenon in China after its period of economic reforms. The construction of highways began in 1988, and by 2009, their total length had reached 65,000 kilometers, making the Chinese highway network the second longest in the world. From the 1990s, China rapidly entered the age of automobiles. As a result of intense competition between automobile and rail transport, constant innovations in the areas of technology, management and service were demanded of the rail industry. With a focus on passenger transport, these were aimed at improving service and reducing journey durations. Importance was also attached to working with the automobile transportation industry and developing systems that combined rail and car transport, and harnessing the advantages of each.

Jet planes came into widespread use after the Second World War, considerably improving on the speed and economic efficiency of transportation, and air transport around the world experienced rapid growth. With its superior speed, air transport was in fierce competition with railroads for long-distance passenger traffic and high added value express freight traffic. The growth of air transportation encouraged efforts to accelerate train speeds, which led to the development of high-speed railroads.

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The rapid development of the automobile and airline industries, however, made an impact on both energy resources and the environment. From the 1980s, people began to feel the need for a sustainable transportation system that prioritized environmental conservation over development. Because railroads use less energy and have less impact on the environment than other transportation systems, they can meet this demand for sustainable development. Many people around the world are once again recognizing the importance of railroads and a movement to reevaluate their role in the transportation system has begun. Railroad development is at a new turning point. How can railroads be revived in the twenty-first century to support our peaceful and prosperous lives? This is a common point of concern for China, Japan and Korea.

Prospects for a Pan-Asian Railway

In addition to serving as bridges that cross borders to encourage human interaction, railroads are considered by many nations to be important strategic tools in national defense, and they have major significance in terms of preserving international peace. They are the first to be affected by changes in international relations in East Asia. At the end of the Second World War, there was already a rail network linking the Korean peninsula, the far eastern portion of the former Soviet Union and northeastern China. When the Korean peninsula was divided, however, the Gyeongui Line, which was the main north-south route measuring a distance of over 500 kilometers, was cut off. In June 2000, the leaders of South Korea (Kim Dae-jung) and North Korea (Kim Jong-il) met in Pyongyang and announced the historical North-South Joint Declaration. Later, the two sides discussed the reconnection of the Gyeongui Line. A test run was carried out in 2007. This railroad was a symbol of South Korea and North Korea reconciling and cooperating with each other after a long period of confrontation.

A quick look at a map shows that East Asia is already thoroughly interconnected by railway lines, from Ho Chi Minh City via Hanoi, Kunming, Chengdu, Beijing, Changchun, Pyongyang, and Seoul to Busan. Adding in the ferry between Busan and Shimonoseki extends this route to Tokyo. Further, there are international trains from China connecting that country

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with Russia and Europe, from the Lianyungang line through the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Moscow, from Beijing through the Chinese Eastern Railway to Moscow, or from Beijing via Zhangjiakou, Ulan Bator and Irkutsk. In terms of railroads, the groundwork for an East Asian regional community is already in place.

The various processes of modernization in place and in progress have demonstrated that it is impossible to stop the trend of economic globalization and the integration of the international traffic of goods and people. International railroads play an important role in the development of regional economies. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) first raised the idea of a Pan-Asian Railway Network in 1960. The plan was to build a railroad measuring a total distance of 14,000 kilometers, running between Singapore and Turkey via countries that included Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Iran. In the mid-1990s, ESCAP approved the Asian Land Transport Infrastructure Development (ALTID) Project and the Pan-Asian Railway Project regained some attention.

In November 2006, representatives of the 18 countries comprising ESCAP gathered in Busan, South Korea, to conclude the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Pan-Asian Railway Network, an agreement to build a rail network of four routes in Asia: a Northern Corridor linking the Korean peninsula, Russia, China, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, and further states; a Southern Corridor linking Southern China, Myanmar, India, Iraq and Turkey; a North-South Corridor connecting Russia, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf; and a China-ASEAN Corridor linking China and the ASEAN states.

On 11 June 2009, ESCAP held a meeting in Bangkok to celebrate the coming into force of the Pan-Asian Railway Network Agreement, a plan to link already existing rail networks in each country to form the basis of a railroad system that, when complete, will measure 114,000 kilometers in distance and cover 28 countries and regions. It is known as the "Iron Silk Road." It is over half a century since the idea of the Pan-Asian Railway Network emerged, and it is time to take steps toward its realization. The construction of an Asian rail network will play an important role in the economic development and prosperity of the region, as well as promoting cultural exchange and trade between Asia and Europe.

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Timeline

1872 Tokyo-Yokohama line opens in Japan.
1876 Jardine, Matheson & Co. build Woosung Railway in Shanghai, which the Qing purchase and then dismantle.
1881 Japan Railroad Company established.
1886 Japan's first railroad construction boom begins (until 1890).
1889 The Qing approve the construction of a railroad between Marco Polo Bridge and Hankou.
1894 Japan obtains construction rights for the Gyeongin and Gyeongbu railroads in Korea.
1898 The Korean government plans to construct a railroad between Seoul and Mokpo. Park Gi-jong plans to build railroad between port of Busan and Handan cove (never realized due to lack of funds).
1899 Incheon-Noryangjin line opens in Korea. In Taiwan, construction work on north-south line begins.
1900 Gyeongin Line (Gyeongseong-Incheon) opens in Korea.
1901 Construction of Gyeongbu Line begins in Korea.
1903 Emergency imperial (Japanese) edict issued to quickly complete the Gyeongbu Line. The Qing open railroad concessions to private businesses and the provinces, starting a railroad construction boom in private sector. Chinese Eastern Railway begins full operations.
1905 Gyeongbu Line in Korea begins full operations. Japan acquires South Manchuria branch of Chinese Eastern Railway (Changchun-Lushun and Dalian) and associated rights from Russia.
1906 South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu) established. Railway Nationalization Act passed in Japan and 17 companies nationalized. In China, railroad between Marco Polo Bridge and Hankou opens.
1908 North-south line between Keelung and Kaohsiung completed in Taiwan.
1911 Amnokgang Railway Bridge completed, and Sinuiju (Korea) and Andong (China) are linked by rail. In China, the Qing announce the nationalization of main lines, which are repossessed. Protests ensue. Tianjin-Pukou Line opens.
1915 Japan makes "21 Demands" to China and extends ownership of Andong-Mukden Line and Mantetsu to 99 years.
1917 Mantetsu charged with management of all national railroads in Korea which had been under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Korea.
1925 Mantetsu's commission for management of Korean railroads canceled and railroads again directly managed by the Office of the Governor-General of Korea.
1926 Tumen River Bridge completed, linking railroads of northern Korea and Manchuria. Hualien-Taitung Line opens in Taiwan.
1932 "Manchukuo" established, which requisitions all northeastern lines until 1935.
1933 Mantetsu again commissioned to manage Korea's northern lines.

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1969 Expressways between Nagoya and Kobe, and Nagoya and Tokyo, begin full operation in Japan.
1970 Gyeongbu Expressway opens in Korea.
1988 Highway construction begins in China.

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Chapter 4:
Migration and Studying Overseas

Migration occurs when people decide to put aside their socially vested interests and lifestyle-acquired social and cultural customs in order to seek out a better life in a new environment. When a large number of people migrate at a specific time, it is because of the existence of structural factors in their society pushing them out or, on the other hand, factors pulling them to a new place. The causes and modes of migration thus vary, depending on the historical era and circumstances.

In East Asia, during the era from the opening of trading ports in the nineteenth century up to 1945, migration was almost always linked to aggression, foreign rule and war. There were some cases of voluntary migration with economic motives, but in most cases, large-scale migration was related to policy-driven incentives. As a result, it was not easy for migrants with a different cultural background to coexist with the society they moved into, or for new cultures to be formed through the exchange that took place. Free migration of individuals and active cultural exchange among the countries of East Asia only became possible in the 1990s with the collapse of Cold War structures. The modes and characteristics of this migration have been determined by the region's unique history.

One of the many types of migration, studying abroad, during any historical era, involves temporarily settling overseas to master an academic discipline or acquire knowledge of a technology or culture in an advanced country and is less geared toward the mutual exchange of ideas and cultural practices. When Japan opened its ports, it encouraged its young people to study abroad to learn about the advanced cultures and institutions of the West. Students from Korea and China, on the other hand, flocked to Japan,

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which was in the process of modernizing. On finishing their studies, they returned home to influence their societies by responding to the opinions of their country and compatriots with the knowledge they had gained abroad.

This chapter provides an overview of migration in China, Japan and Korea from the time these countries opened their ports to foreign trade in the second half of the nineteenth century until 1945, and is divided into periods relating to the treaty ports, the Russo-Japanese War, and wartime mobilization. In particular, it probes the link between people going abroad to study and the modernization of Korea and China. Further, it connects the repatriation process in each country following the Asia-Pacific War to the present-day situation, and ends with a look at the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean people living in each of the three countries today.

1. The History of Migration in East Asia

Treaty Ports and the Transformation of the Migration Paradigm

Countries in East Asia traditionally enforced a closed-border policy that basically prohibited emigration because it was believed that frequent exchange and movement of people undermined the traditional ruling order. Thus, until the Western Powers ruling the Southeast Asian region took in Chinese workers *en masse* from the 1830s onward to cultivate tropical crops such as coffee and rubber, there was no large-scale economic migration in the region and the movement of people was limited to diplomatic missions and intraregional trade in designated areas. With the opening of treaty ports and the establishment of concessions for foreigners, however, a new situation emerged. The first concession in China was opened in 1845 with the conclusion of the Shanghai Land Regulations between Britain and China, under which the former was granted a lease. The area was then expanded into a British settlement in 1847.

At first, the people of Shanghai referred to the concession as a "site for barbarians." About 30 years later, it was known as a "site for Westerners." This change was the result of China altering its Sinocentric worldview (see volume I, chapter 1): "In the olden days, China *was* the world, and all other territories and people were 'barbarian.' Today, however, all places on earth

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are connected to each other." (from the newspaper *Shen Bao* published in Shanghai, 28 January 1878)

Figure 23: Port of Shanghai. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

The opening of ports in China also encouraged internal migration. In particular, there was a significant increase in migration to Manchuria (China's northeast), and even into Siberia. From the 1860s, with the opening of the ports of Tianjin, Yingkou and Yantai, people from the provinces of Shandong and Hebei moved to the northern regions of Manchuria and Siberia, mostly by steamship instead of on foot as before. Shandong and Hebei are located close to Manchuria and had an extremely high population density. While there was a surplus on the labor market, there was disparity in the distribution of land ownership. Furthermore, the two provinces were close to the cities of Beijing and Tianjin, which made their political situation unstable at times, further stimulating emigration.

Manchuria, to which the migrants flocked, was the birthplace of the Qing Dynasty. The dynasty considered Manchuria sacred territory and had prohibited non-Manchurians from entering this region for a long time. Therefore, much of the land had not been cleared for cultivation. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Qing stopped actively preventing people from migrating into Manchuria to cultivate land, because the government needed to raise funds to stop the spread of Russian influence into

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the Amur River region. China was also under financial pressure to pay for damages and reparations for the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). From 1897, Russia began full-scale construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, constructing the city of Dalian and recruiting labor from China on a large scale. Migration now increased drastically. From this point, the nature of Chinese labor migration to Manchuria shifted from agricultural to manual.

In Japan, the main migration destination was Ezo (present-day Hokkaido). To develop the area and protect it from Russian expansion, the Meiji government recruited *shizoku* (former samurai families who had lost their jobs as a result of the abolishment of the samurai class after the Meiji Restoration) to participate in migration. For the unemployed *shizoku*, moving to Hokkaido entailed a change in social status – from the ruling class to that of the ruled, and from samurai warrior to inexperienced farmer. The decision to move required great resolve. As the Meiji government's developmental policies expanded, the migration of *shizoku* and farmers from around the country to join in clearing and cultivating the land also increased. Gradually, the indigenous Ainu lost their land and were forced to move away.

Treaty ports were the first place of settlement for most foreigners coming to Japan. Settlements similar to the concessions in China developed around the main ports opened up for foreign trade, such as Yokohama, Nagasaki and Kobe. Established in 1868, the Kobe concession exported tea, and imported mainly cotton textiles, yarns and woolen goods from Britain. After revisions of the inequitable treaties and the return of the settlement to Japan in 1899, about 2,000 people from more than ten countries lived there.

Many Chinese also migrated to Japan during this time. In 1869, the year after the Kobe concession was established, there were already more than 500 Chinese living there. Foreigners in the concessions often employed them as servants. The Chinese lived together with the Japanese in the western part of the settlement, and part of the area was called "Nankinmachi" (Nanjing town, i. e. Chinatown). Most of the migrants were men from the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong and the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River. They established networks of people from the same province. Gradually, they fetched their families to join them and became established in the area. Chinese migration did not subside even after the First Sino-Japanese War, and around 1900, there were approximately 6,800 Chinese

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Figure 24: Treaty Port of Kobe. Source: The New York Public Library Digital Collections.

living in Japan. Among them, people from Taiwan, overseas students, and peddlers from Fujian province left the ports in search of new business or to engage in studies of the West, moving to cities such as Tokyo and Kyoto. Some Chinese merchants in Kobe established shops in Japan and Korea. One ran the store "Kokogo" in Kobe, then opened the grocery store "Dukheung" in Busan as its branch store in 1883. Another store, "Xiejihao," with its headquarters in Yantai, Shandong Province, established a branch in Incheon, Korea, in 1890.

Chinese merchants entered Korea in earnest when the Qing army was sent to the country to suppress the Imo Military Uprising (also called the "Imo Incident")[28] in 1882. The merchants enjoyed privileged rights and strong backing from the Chinese government, which was promoting a policy to turn Korea into a "modern tributary state." As the Qing dynasty stepped up interference in Korea's domestic affairs, it established government of-

28 A revolt in the Korean capital by soldiers and the people against the government and Japan (see volume I, chapter 2).

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fices for commercial matters all over the country in order to support its merchants. It went beyond the law in some cases: one example was the violently forced sale of the residential land of Korean bureaucrats in order to build a hall for the Qing merchants. This greatly changed the balance of trade between Korea and Japan and China in treaty ports such as Incheon, Busan, and Wonsan. When Korea's ports first opened in 1885, the ratio of trade with Japan and China was 82:18, but seven years later, in 1892, it was 55:45. In particular, the port closest to China, Incheon, was the center for Chinese trade. British cotton was typical of the items imported by Qing merchants.

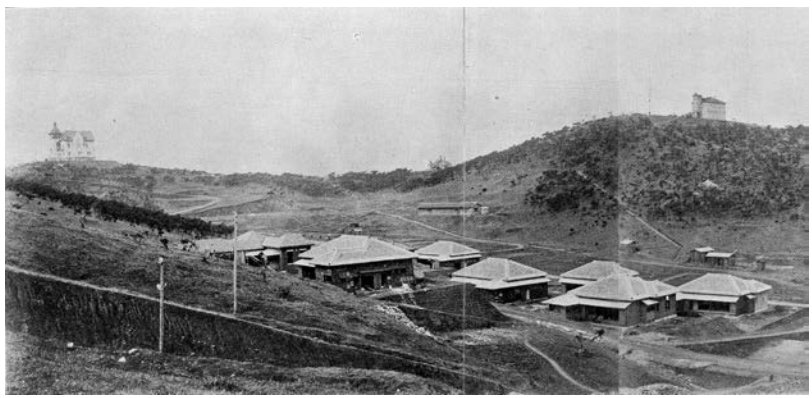

Figure 25: Incheon concession: Japanese and Chinese homes in settlements behind the port of Incheon. On top of the hill is an observatory station of the Resident General of Korea. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

For Korea's ruling class and merchants, the actions of the Qing government and its merchants were an extremely sensitive issue, and they felt a strong need to free themselves from Chinese interference. With the defeat of the Qing in the First Sino-Japanese War, the Qing merchants lost their special privileges, and most of them returned to China. Many of the stores of those who managed to remain in Korea became the target of attacks. After the 1897 Declaration of the Establishment of the Korean Empire, which aimed at the preservation of the country's independence, the government built the Independence Gate and the Independence Hall in place of the Yeongunmun (Welcome Gate) and Mohwagwan (Adoration Hall), where Chinese envoys

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had once been received and of Wongudan (Altar of Heaven) in the Nambyeol Palace (Southern Palace), which had once been the banqueting hall for the envoys. After a decrease as a result of the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War, the number of Chinese in Korea slowly began to grow again after Emperor Gojong took refuge at the Russian Legation in 1896.[29] A main reason for this increase was the Boxer Movement of 1899 in China, which prompted many people to leave the country in fear for their safety.

Under government protection, Qing merchants acquired privileged status in Korea for active engagement in commercial activities. This was not the case for the Japanese who migrated to Korea. In 1884, the Gapsin Coup,[30] orchestrated by the Enlightenment Party and supported by Japan, ended in failure, and the Japanese were no longer able to openly interfere in Korean politics. On the other hand, the Japanese who had made the journey to Korea to engage in commerce and fishing were able to focus on expanding their economic base. Japanese migrants established residents' associations and boards of trade. Led by businesspeople, residents associations collected information in place of Japanese public officials, whose activities were restricted, thus expanding their influence in the community and even carrying out public functions pertaining to the Japanese government. With the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894, they offered their homes to lodge the military, collected donations, and participated in the transport of supplies. They acted as a vanguard for the invasion of Korea.

Migration beyond Japan, China, and Korea

The scope of migration expanded with the opening of ports and the popularization of steamships. Chinese migrants left for the American Gold Rush and the construction of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s, and overseas migration began in full. Those who moved to the Americas were mostly from the impoverished province of Guangdong and the cities of Guangzhou, Macau, and Hong Kong, which were particularly prominent centers of foreign trade. At around the same

29 Pro-Russian groups arranged to move the King to the Russian legation after the murder of Queen Myeongseong (see volume I chapter 3).

30 A *coup d'état* led by Korea's Enlightenment Party that ended in failure with the military intervention of the Qing (see volume I, chapter 2).

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time, most people who migrated to the sugarcane plantations in Hawaii were from Xiangshan City (now Zhongshan) in Guangdong. Political chaos in China also drove people to migrate. In 1882, however, the Immigration Act was passed by the United States Congress, putting an end to Chinese migration.

Figure 26: Chinese families migrating to the United States by ship. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

With the migration of Chinese to the United States suspended, it was the Japanese who made up for the labor shortage in America. The first Japanese migrants left in 1868 as laborers to work on Hawaii's sugarcane plantations and in Guam. With the dawn of the new era of Meiji, overseas emigration began in earnest. These early migrants were called *Gannen-sha*, or emigrants of the first year of Meiji. Since migrants were often exploited like slaves, the Meiji government temporarily banned emigration during the 1870s and 1880s.

Japanese migration began to flourish again from the late 1880s, and many moved to the American mainland, Hawaii and Canada, where they were accepted in place of Chinese migrant labor. Japanese mi-

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gration increased rapidly. In the twentieth century, exclusionist movements emerged in the US, Canada and elsewhere to put a stop to Japanese immigration. There was also an increased wariness of the Japanese in the West due to the Russo-Japanese War. As Canada and the United States drastically restricted the number of immigrants from Japan, South America, including Brazil and Peru, emerged as a new destination.

Recruitment of Koreans to work in place of the Japanese on Hawaii's sugarcane plantations began in the early twentieth century. Having already hired Chinese and Japanese laborers, plantation owners next turned to Korea to secure cheap labor. Japan set up the Continental Settlement Company in Seoul to recruit Korean workers. The government of the Korean Empire also created a special department in 1902 for the carrying out of migration projects. From 1902 until the issuance in 1905 of an immigration ban to prevent labor outflow, about 7,000 Koreans crossed the Pacific Ocean.

How the Russo-Japanese War Changed Migration Flows

In the early twentieth century, Korea became the major destination for Japanese migration as a result of Japan achieving exclusive control of the country after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/05. Only about 40,000 Japanese migrants had settled in Korea until 1905, but by 1910, when Japan annexed Korea, the number had already grown to over 170,000. The Japanese community in Korea was the biggest of all its communities overseas and the number of Japanese going to Korea was by far larger than the number of Koreans going to Japan. Many of the Japanese migrants were from western Japan, Kyushu in particular. The majority were merchants, with a small number of government officials and laborers, and they lived in cities around the treaty ports. They created their own separate world – a "Japan outside Japan" – in areas of present-day Seoul such as Namchon, Myeongdong, and all of Chungmuro. Some early Japanese migrants engaged in informal labor, working barefoot and half-naked, and were looked down upon by the Koreans and by many Japanese.

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Prior to 1910, it was not easy for Japanese people in Korea to venture inland to open stores and engage in farming, in part because of the opposition raised by the "Righteous Militias." As the resistance of these armed forces against the Japanese invasion continued in the provinces of Jeolla Namdo and Jeolla Bukdo (North and South Jeolla), the Japanese army carried out a brutal operation, known as the "Great Japanese Punitive Expedition in the South of Korea," to suppress the "Righteous Militias." The expedition took almost two months, lasting from September 1 to October 30, 1909. The following year, a quarter of the Japanese bureaucrats working for the Residency-General in Korea, as well as migrant farmers, moved to the areas affected by the expedition. This exemplified the Japanese colonial method, by which immigration was intensified after armed forces had invaded certain areas and brought resistance under control.

But there were other reasons for the increase in Japanese migration to Korea. The Meiji government turned its attention to Korea to implement its development policies, but it also sought to divert emigration in order to avoid stirring up anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. During the Russo-Japanese War, Japan's senior statesmen and the Cabinet issued "Policies for Korea" and "Principles Concerning Facilities in Korea." The latter provided opportunities to Japanese to run farms in Korea in order to "obtain colonies for our overflowing population (population overflow), as well as to increase our insufficient food supplies." Japan also decided to stimulate migration to East Asia (rather than the US) in order to deal with anti-Japanese sentiment heating up in Anglo-Saxon countries, including the United States. This was the background to the promotion of agricultural migration to Korea through the Oriental Development Company.[31]

In contrast to the Japanese position, the base for the overseas Chinese in Korea grew weaker as a result of the Russo-Japanese War and Japan's new policies, and it became even more difficult for them to expect to achieve economic success there. After Korea became a Japanese colony, most of the international intermediary trade passed into the hands of the Japanese. No longer able to maintain their position in trade, the overseas Chinese in

31 A national company established by Japan for the purpose of colonial rule. Founded in Korea in 1908, after which the business expanded to Kwantung, Manchuria, Mongolia, North China, and the South Sea Islands.

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Korea shifted mostly to the restaurant industry. This is when Chinese restaurants in Korea first emerged. Chinese immigrants had three skills to fall back on to make a living at the time – sewing, cooking, and cutting hair.

Most of the Chinese who migrated to Korea after it was colonized by Japan were owners of small businesses or coolies. Among the more than 46,000 overseas Chinese living in Korea in 1925, over 21,000 were coolies. The background to this was the chaos in contemporary Chinese society and the Kuomintang's Northern Expedition, but also the large-scale public works projects being promoted by the Japanese Governor-General of Chosun (Korea) in the mid-1920s. Although coolies were paid low wages, they worked efficiently, mostly going to Korea alone in the spring to work then returning home in the winter. Hardly any settled in Korea and had families, and the ratio of men to women was between seven and eight to one. The lifestyle of overseas Chinese in Korea was very different from those who were living in Japan. Overseas Chinese in Japan had families, and the community included students.

The Chinese coolies who migrated to Korea, however, became a source of aggravation in Korea's labor environment, causing problems related to low wages and employment instability. The "coolie problem" was an important issue for the labor movement in the 1920s, given, for example, that Japan mobilized over 500 coolies to break up a labor dispute during the Wonsan General Strike in 1929. Critical Korean sentiment toward overseas Chinese stoked the flames for the anti-Chinese riots that were set off by the Wanpaoshan Incident,[32] with clashes in July 1931 in Manchuria between Chinese and Koreans, the latter of whom had been encouraged to settle in the area by Japan.

Just as the number of Chinese migrating without families to colonized Korea grew, Koreans also migrated to Japan without families. Before 1910, the migration of Koreans to Japan was small in scale, and mostly consisted of students, but in 1911, labor migration began in earnest. In 1922, there were about 60,000 Koreans in Japan, but in 1925, the number had grown to

32 An incident that took place in the Wanpaoshan vicinity, in the outskirts of Changchun, and in which a dispute between Koreans and Chinese who had settled there developed into an armed clash (see volume I, chapter 5). There were retaliations against the Chinese in various parts of Korea after false reports of heavy casualties among Koreans in Wanpaoshan.

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130,000. One of the reasons for this rapid growth over such a short period was that many Koreans had lost their land in the 1910s as a result of cadastral surveys carried out by the Governor-General of Chosun and the failure of many farmers to register. An even larger factor was the huge impact of Japan's economic conditions. In other words, the Japanese economy grew rapidly during the First World War, which led to a labor shortage. A low-wage Korean labor force was then also necessary to pull Japan out of the postwar recession. In 1922, the Japanese government introduced a system of unrestricted passage and promoted Korean immigration to Japan. With the rise in the relative importance of military industries from the late 1920s onward, Koreans in Japan, who had mostly gathered to live in the major cities, gradually began moving to industrial areas in Kyushu and Hokkaido.

To ease their loneliness in a foreign land and defend their rights, Koreans in Japan, who were vulnerable due to ethnicity and social class, slowly began to coalesce into ethnic communities. Many did not have the means to pay rent, so they settled in areas where the Japanese were not living, such as at construction sites and by rivers, or on state-owned land with ambiguous ownership status. Though their homes were shabby, to their inhabitants these communities were a special world – a "Korea within Japan."

Korean migration to Manchuria likewise grew rapidly after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, not only because of losses of land through the cadastral survey, but also because of the unstable situation in Korea following its colonization by Japan. There is no accurate statistical data regarding the number of Koreans in Manchuria, but at the peak of migration in 1919, there were over 400,000 Korean migrants in the region. The majority settled in farming villages rather than in the cities. Many of the Koreans who had migrated to Japan were single and from the southern regions, but many of those who moved to Manchuria and Siberia were from the north, often migrating with their families. Rather than harboring hopes in this vast, undeveloped land, these people chose to migrate to Manchuria because life in Korea was extremely difficult. For them, it was easier to adapt to Manchuria than to Japan due to the lower economic standards predominant in the former.

Korean migration to Manchuria centered on the areas bordering China and Korea. In East Manchuria, which is almost exactly the same area as the

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Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in China today, the ratio of Koreans to Chinese was as much as 7:3. Since then, the area has functioned as the cultural and educational center for Korean society in China. In the late 1910s, many Koreans began to move to the interior of Manchuria. The soil in this area would be frozen until May, but with an ice-breaking technique, the Korean migrants developed rice paddy agriculture despite the cold weather, making large-scale migration to Manchuria's interior regions possible. Chinese landowners preferred Korean tenants, particularly as they could secure them profits from rice crops through the technology they brought, whereas the Chinese did not have the technology for cultivating frozen lands. The Korean migrants who settled in Manchuria to run farms became an important basis for the Korean nationalist movement.

Large-scale Chinese migration to Manchuria also began in the 1910s, with numbers growing rapidly from over 21.6 million people in 1911 to 29 million in 1931 – a growth sometimes described as "a torrent-like force." Most of the migrants were single males from the provinces of Shandong, Hebei and Henan, moving in search of work and struggling against poverty. About half of them settled down permanently in Manchuria.

Japanese migration to Manchuria was different from that of the Chinese and Koreans. Having won the Russo-Japanese War, Japan took control of the cities of Lushun and Dalian as a leased territory, which Russia had previously leased and developed, and established the Kwantung Governor's Office (Kanto totoku) as the colonial administration,[33] which it reorganized into the Kwantung Office (Kanto-cho) in 1919. In 1906, it established the South Manchurian Railway Company (Mantetsu) to run the railways, while also administering the areas attached to it. With the establishment of an area under Japan's direct control in Manchuria, Japanese working for government bodies and Mantetsu, as well as those in the construction and transportation industries, began to move there. Major corporations such as Mitsui entered Manchuria's soy bean industry, financial institutions were set up, and the number of Japanese working for large corporations grew. Stores and restaurants targeting Japanese clients were also established. 160,000 Japanese lived in Manchuria in 1920.

Many of these migrants played the role of a vanguard during Japan's

33 A military and administrative body established in Lushun in 1906.

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invasion of the continent. This was a different situation to that of the Koreans and Chinese who had migrated there in the struggle to make a living. Some Japanese hired Chinese as housekeepers, and socialized with the Russians. They experienced a new lifestyle in Manchuria, enjoying western food and Christmas dinners.

War and Migration: Japan's National Policies of Emigration and Conscription

In the aftermath of the world economic crisis which had begun in the late 1920s, unemployment rose in the Manchurian region as it suffered from the agrarian crisis. Japan's invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 (the Manchurian Incident) brought new hope to Japanese society, which was also suffering from unemployment and a crisis in agriculture as a result of global depression. Many Japanese migrated to participate in running the government of the puppet state "Manchukuo," founded in 1932, and its army, known as the "Manchukuo Imperial Army." In 1930, there were 230,000 Japanese in Manchuria, but five years later, the number had grown to 552,000. The Japanese population increased by over 60,000 people annually. With the expansion of Manchukuo and the growth of companies established by the Japanese government to further its colonial policies, many Japanese migrated to Manchuria to pursue their dreams in this region.

Among these migrants, some moved as part of the national policy of emigration that was initiated by the Japanese government and executed by the Kwantung Army. The first such migrants were sent between 1932 and 1935, a group of 1,800 armed farmer-settlers consisting of former servicemen. The national policy was experimental in nature and 400 settlers soon quit. But this was a rather low number compared to the 23,000 Japanese migrants who had gone to Brazil, but left the country in 1933. Many of the armed farmer-settlers were single men under the age of 30. Some created trouble because they were violent and skipped restaurant checks, so some prefectures began to recruit "Brides for the Settlers on the Continent" in 1934. The hope was to comfort these men and reduce the occurrence of social problems so that they might settle permanently in Manchuria.

The sending of armed farmer-settlers was part of Japan's defense policy

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Figure 27: Armed farmer-settlers sent from Japan around 1933/1934. Higashimiya Taisa Kinen Jigyo Iinkai (ed.), *Higashimiya Tetsuo den* (1940).

against the Soviet Union and one of its countermeasures against anti-Japanese armed struggles. But it ran counter to the policy of the Governor-General of Chosun, who was dealing with overpopulation there by promoting the migration of Koreans to Manchuria to become landowning farmers. In 1934, Chinese farmers in Tulongshan in Jilin Province, took up arms to rebel against the forced acquisition of large quantities of land for the Japanese armed settlers. This event, known as the Tulongshan Incident, signified the failure of the policy of nurturing Japanese migrants to become landowners and wealthy farmers. It also strengthened the position of the Governor-General of Chosun, which was contrary to that of the Kwantung Army, as it forced the latter to reexamine its armed farmer-settler policy.

With the February 26 Incident of 1936, the Control Faction (Tosei-ha) of the Japanese Imperial Army put an end to party politics, and the influence of the army on central government greatly increased. Drafting policies based on economic rationales was no longer a necessity. In 1936, the Kwantung Army formulated the "Plan to Settle One Million Farm Households in Manchuria," which the government established as one of its seven major national policies. Japanese migration to Manchuria now went from being

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directed mostly to small and medium-sized cities to including the new, large-scale migration of people to farming villages.

The new plan anticipated Manchuria's population reaching 50 million in 20 years, of which 10 % would be Japanese. This policy was advanced with the long-term goal of consolidating the position of the Japanese as leaders of the "Union of the Five Races" (Japanese, Manchukuoans, Mongolian, Korean, Chinese) of Manchukuo. A number of regional bodies had already promoted migration plans in the past, but the new national emigration policy was a centralized government plan to move 1 million households to Manchuria over 20 years through, for example, the establishment of the Manchuria Development Company. The new plan also was a response to the issue of overpopulation in Japan's farming villages and aimed at alleviating the ever-worsening unemployment situation that had resulted from Korean migration to Japan. It was also a means for Japan to deal with the Korean and Chinese armed resistance that was undermining the stability of its rule of Manchukuo.

Japan sent the migrants mostly to the border region with the Soviet Union, making them part of the defenses against the Soviet Union. These people were called *kaitakumin,* or settlers. The settlements that they moved to, however, were farmlands that had already been cultivated by Chinese farmers and had been purchased at extremely low cost. Many of the Chinese farmers worked for the settlers as tenant farmers and coolies, often being inadequately remunerated by the Japanese, who felt a sense of superiority over them.

In order to boost the success of its national emigration policy, Japan promoted the migration of sections of entire villages, moving residents *en masse* to form "branch villages" in Manchuria. This was done out of a fear that with an upturn in the Japanese economy, the increasing demand for domestic labor might hinder efforts to recruit migrants. However, in 1938, the year after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japan suffered a shortage in farm labor, which hindered increase in food production as the country transitioned into a system of national mobilization. Settler groups came to include people migrating because their jobs were in danger due to corporate reorganization under the controlled economy; these included small business owners, factory staff, and laborers. However, Japan

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was still only able to settle 270,000 people in Manchuria, a number that fell short of its original goal.

From 1938, young people between the ages of 16 and 19 who had at least an elementary school education were organized into volunteer corps and "encouraged" to emigrate as a part of the "Manchurian and Mongolian Development Youth Corps" plan. By the end of the war in 1945, membership had grown to around 86,000. Educators exercised a great influence on the recruitment process, as teachers often solicited for members. Young Koreans were also organized into volunteer corps and sent to Manchuria. The members of these corps not only supplemented the settlers' labor force, but also provided rearguard support for the Kwantung Army. Many of the Korean youths lost their lives in these endeavors.

At the time of Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War in 1945, there were as many as 1.5 million Japanese in Manchuria. They did not interact with the Chinese and Koreans and lived in separate settlement areas. Thus, most Japanese in the region did not learn another language and only used Japanese. The reality was therefore that there was no substance to Japan's plan for the "Harmony of the Five Races" of Manchukuo.

In 1936, in response to the Kwantung Army's national immigration policies, the Governor-General of Chosun launched a plan to set up the Korea-Manchuria Colonization Company with a branch office in Manchuria called the Manchuria-Korea Colonization Company. According to the plan, about 10,000 families per year would be sent to live in Eastern Manchuria and the Dongbian Circuit over a period of 15 years. As the Kwantung Army changed its policies in an attempt to hinder the migration of Koreans to Manchuria and control migration, the character of Korean migration to Manchuria transformed from "migrant" movements into the arrival of "colonists" of the colonial territory.

Through its national policy of organized emigration of Koreans, the Governor-General of Chosun attempted to ease population density in Korea's southern regions and solve the problem of unemployment caused by Korean migration to Japan. By 1940, however, it had only been able to settle 15,000 families. Recruitment was unsuccessful because the settlements in Manchuria were wastelands, the climate was cold and living conditions were poor. Despite this, Korean migration to Manchuria increased greatly after the Manchurian Incident of 1931, prior to which the annual average number

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of voluntary migrants had been 16,000. After 1931, this figure rose to an average of 70,000. Many Koreans migrated to Manchuria, which had come under Japanese control, in search of new opportunities and a better life, resulting in a "Manchuria Boom." The fact that Koreans were relatively free to move there also influenced the situation.

Because its national migration policies were slow to bear fruit, the Japanese government decided in 1942 to implement the second five-year development plan for Manchuria and attempted to send 220,000 families to Manchuria as settlers. In response, that same year, the Governor-General of Chosun drew up a plan to send 10,000 families per year, directing the "organized export" of such families, and sending groups according to a plan to set up branch villages by "designating towns and villages with the most unfavorable farming conditions and limited arable land [in eight administrative districts in the central and southern areas of Korea] to select eligible people currently engaged in farming from farms with more than one worker." Of the groups of migrants sent by the Governor-General of Chosun over 11 years from 1934 onward, 94.5 % were from these eight administrative districts, with 65 % from Jeolla Province and Gyeongsang Province. The Korean Governor-General's new system for the "organized export" of migrants was one of recruitment by assignment, a form of economic mobilization, and gave a coercive quality to the migration of Koreans at the time.

Rather than giving the settlers responsibilities that were of a military nature as it had in the past, the Japanese government ordered them to step up food production. The Governor-General of Korea began awarding medals of honor to Korean settlers as "farmer-soldiers." However, this plan came to nothing because many Koreans were later conscripted to Japan to supplement the new domestic labor shortage after the war situation worsened. In 1944, there were no more than 3,000 Korean migrant families left in Manchuria. Further, many Koreans escaped from the locations to which they had been originally assigned to settle. The policy of settling Koreans in Manchuria essentially existed only on paper.

Another point to note regarding population movements in Manchuria in the 1930s is the large-scale Chinese migration that took place and the migration of Koreans and Chinese within Manchuria. In 1937, large numbers of people from China's northern regions migrated to Manchuria to work as

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part of the Five-Year Manchukuo Industrial Development Plan, which Manchukuo had been actively promoting, and later as part of the Northern Region Promotion Plan, which it began to implement in 1939. For six years, until 1943, as many as ten million Chinese migrated. The Manchukuo government implemented an immigration policy for the Chinese that was different from that for the Koreans, who were mostly farmers. Although many Chinese moved as a result of active recruitment by the Manchukuo government, this migration was also due to the prolonged Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), with many Chinese from Shandong province migrating as they could no longer endure the wartime hardship there.

In the period of the Second Sino-Japanese War, there was also mass migration within Manchuria caused by the foundation of "collective villages." These villages were first established in 1933 by the Governor-General of Chosun as a measure for the isolation of the anti-Japanese guerillas in eastern Manchuria, as there were more Koreans than Chinese living in the area, and about 90 % of anti-Japanese resistance fighters in the region were Korean. There was also fear of armed resistance disturbing the order in the neighboring colonial territory of Korea. Even the Kwantung Army began noticing the effectiveness of collective villages as a security measure, and in 1934, it began actively promoting their construction throughout Manchukuo. By 1939, over 13,000 collective villages had been established.

Collective villages were villages where Chinese and Korean farmers, who previously had been living in scattered areas, were now forced to live in one place. There were normally 100 to 150 households in one village, and there were at least 6.7 million people living in collective villages in Manchuria by 1939. Even when they did not engage in farm work, inhabitants faced restrictions on when they could enter and leave the communities, and had to report their movements each time. This was a way of controlling people's movements. Collective villages were in effect huge detention facilities set up all over Manchuria.

This was not the only policy implemented by Japan with the aim of moving and controlling people on a large scale according to its needs during the 15 years of war between the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and its surrender in 1945. Once the Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, the Japanese government forcibly moved many people in Korea, Taiwan and the Chinese mainland to supplement the army and industry with the nec-

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Figure 28: Korean "collective villages" in Manchuria: Construction of the collective village of Tancheon in Wangqing County in Jiandao. Chosen Sotokufu (ed.), *Zai-Man-Chosen Sotokufu shisetsu kinen-cho* (1940).

essary manpower. In the case of the Koreans, over 700,000 were forcibly moved in Japan alone. Adding together the number of Koreans forcibly moved in all the regions invaded by the Japanese military, including Manchuria and Sakhalin, Micronesia and Southeast Asia, and the Chinese mainland, brings the total to about 1.5 million people.

The Japanese government used three methods to mobilize Koreans for work or military service: recruitment, official mediation and conscription. These methods were based on ordinances and administrative decrees established under state-level mobilization plans and executed top-down through the relevant departments in accordance with administrative order, from the Government of Japan to the Governor-General of Chosun, then downward to province, county, and finally village level. The recruiting arrangement involved an application by the employer seeking to hire Koreans, whereupon the Governor-General of Chosun assigned, mobilized and then sent the worker to the appropriate area. Among the different mobilization policies, this method was used for the longest, from 1938 to 1945. In the case of official mediation, which was implemented from 1942 onwards, the authorities were involved with allotment in the process of sending out workers, and there was stronger bureaucratic involvement than in the case of recruitment. Conscription, or the deployment of *Eungjingsa* (industrial sol-

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diers), was based on the third revision of the National Requisition Ordinance, and from 1944 was the method used by the Japanese government to directly mobilize workers. It was thus different in form to recruitment and official mediation, which involved an individual employment contract between the business operator and the worker. Drafting took place under government authority. There was even a penalty of a fine in place for refusing to be mobilized as *Eungjingsa*, and this method took on a much more coercive quality than recruitment and official mediation.

From 1945, however, even mobilizing and sending people to work under government authority became difficult. Because so many Koreans were forcibly mobilized and sent abroad, it became harder to secure skilled labor. It also had become more difficult for ships to sail between Korea and Japan, and a possible landing of the US military on the Korean peninsula or on Cheju Island would mean that Korean manpower could no longer be deployed overseas. Ultimately, around April 1945, the Japanese government had no choice but to end the enforced mobilization of Koreans.

2. Cultural Exchange through Overseas Studies

The Flourishing of Overseas Studies through Open Ports

Among the three countries of Japan, China and Korea, Japan was leading in the movement to study the West. Soon after the first Japanese ports opened in 1854, the shogunate dispatched missions led by government officials to the West as part of their newly established diplomatic relations. In 1860, it sent a mission of almost 80 delegates to the United States, and in 1862, 38 delegates went to visit and observe European countries. The feudal domains of Satsuma and Choshu sent students to Europe in the 1860s as well.

While the Japanese went to study in the West, Chinese and Korean students mostly went to Japan. After the Chinese defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894/95, the Qing proceeded to undertake reforms modeled on Japan. Confronting the reality that they, a major power, had been defeated by a small nation like Japan, the Qing planned to carry out large-scale reforms through the "Henpo (Reform) Movement." Among Qing bureaucrats and intellectuals, the idea also began to spread that they had to

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learn from Japan to save the country, which was in a seemingly precarious situation. Japan was also geographically close to China, providing another advantage to learning from it. Members of the Qing went there to study how the Japanese had been able to win the war. At about this time, there were more foreign students sponsored by the Qing government in Japan than there were in the United States, and by 1906, their number had reached 8,000.

By the time the Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, a hundred thousand Chinese had studied in Japan. The number decreased sharply after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, but the drop was temporary, and at the end of 1935, it was almost 8,000 again, with a considerable portion going at their own expense rather than being government-sponsored. The reasons they gave for choosing to study in Japan included cheaper costs compared with studying in the West, geographical proximity, which made it more convenient to travel back and forth, the similarity of the two cultures, and similarities in their systems of writing.

Because the academic standards of Chinese students studying in Japan were lower than those studying in the West, the rank and salaries of such students upon their return were not as high as those of the latter. There was a saying at that time: "The West – first class, the East – second class, domestic – third class." Though there were other reasons for people studying in Japan to be deemed "second class" in China, it was mainly because a proper study of Western culture in Japan was not considered possible because Japan was a mere "intermediary." Whereas most who studied in the West took jobs in education and science, most who studied in Japan went into politics and army-related jobs.

Korea also sent students to Japan as part of its "Enlightenment Policies." Those who sought to realize enlightenment based on the Meiji Restoration model were particularly proactive about studying abroad. With Japan's victories in the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, the number of students going to Japan continued to rise. This increase reflected the reality of education in Korea, in other words, the lack of higher education opportunities, but also the inadequacy of secondary education.

After the number of Koreans studying abroad had grown for many years, it stagnated in the years after 1910 when Korea lost its sovereignty. This had to do with the "Official Regulations of the Governor-General of Chosun on

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Students Abroad," enacted in 1911, which stipulated that students studying abroad at their own expense had to submit their resumes to the Governor-General through their local governor. The local governor looked in detail into, and reported on, the applicant's character and family assets. In creating such burdensome rules, the aim of the Governor-General was to curb studying in Japan, which was part of Japan's policy of attempting to keep the Korean populace ignorant.

Beginning with the March First Movement in 1919, movements encouraging Koreans to become empowered emerged, and this changed the nature of Koreans studying abroad. The policies of the Governor-General of Chosun regarding overseas students shifted to an emphasis on enlightenment, and it also became more popular to study in the United States, through the aid, for example, of missionaries. More and more students also headed to China, which had lower fees for education, to study the latest trends, including socialism. China became the foothold for the Korean independence movement. In 1923, when the Great Kanto Earthquake struck Japan, the number of students from colonized Korea heading to China to study grew to about 3,000.[34] However, because Chinese advancement in new studies such as science and technology was lagging, the number of students going to China remained small in comparison to the number of those going to Japan. As the period of colonial rule extended, the number of students going to Japan grew massively, and by 1942 had reached almost 30,000.

Although Japan was recognized in East Asia as a developed nation, some Japanese students went to China for their overseas studies. In 1901, the Toa Dobun Shoin (East Asian Common Culture Academy)[35] was established, a Japanese educational institution in Shanghai devoted to the training of people with talent and to the strengthening of the basis of Sino-Japanese exchange and economic cooperation. Here, Japanese and Chinese students attended classes together and all Chinese students lived in dormitories. The

34 It is believed that this was because Koreans were massacred at the time of the disaster, and students went to China instead due to the fear of danger in Japan.

35 The Toa Dobun Shoin was established by the association Toa Dobun-kai (East Asia Common Culture Association) with two departments, of politics and commerce (at one point also including agriculture and industry). At first, it only targeted Japanese students (Tokyo Dobun Shoin, targeting Chinese students, was established in Tokyo in 1902), but it began to accept Chinese students in 1920.

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Toa Dobun Shoin later came under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in the 1930s a program was undertaken in which students were to produce a survey report on farming villages in China. The reports were well received, including by the Japanese military, but in the process of preparing the reports, some students were suspected of being spies.

For the students, studying abroad was a wonderful experience that provided them with new experiences and made them receptive to different cultures. New civilizations, knowledge, ideas and values had an impact not just on the individual but, through the students, on their country's development. Chinese and Korean students in particular became the forerunners of nationalist movements in their mother countries, which were suffering under imperialist control. Overseas studies also became an impetus for drawing awareness to the need to liberate oppressed women.

Overseas Studies as a Gateway to Cultural Exchange

> In the early Meiji era, former samurai were ardent admirers of the Western style and imitated Europe without hesitation in clothing, food and housing. One commentator considered such worship a terrible thing and feared that it might give rise to a tendency to sell out the nation. But it can be said that, from its thirty-year restoration, Japan gained immense strength in a highly efficient way. [The adaptation to Western customs] had to be done in the first phase of reform …

This is a passage from an essay in a magazine published by Chinese students in Japan in the early twentieth century. Human interaction is brought about by cultural interaction. Students back then referred to Tokyo as "the London of Asia" – a place where there were bookstores and places to peruse newspapers and magazines, and where lectures were held all over the city. Tokyo was equipped with the means to acquire new knowledge. Choi Namseon, a Korean historian who was studying in Tokyo at the time, was particularly surprised by the culture of publishing and printing in Japanese society. Japan's modern educational facilities and rapid express trains were also a cultural shock. It was not just the new products of civilization that had an impact on these students. They also compared their own culture with the modernized ones they experienced abroad, and noticed the differences.

In a magazine for Chinese students in Japan, it was asserted that "to

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initiate a true reform, [China must] start by cutting off the strange hair knot and by chang[ing its] clothes." Chinese students did cut their hair knots off just because they did not want to be talked about. But as they went through daily life in Japan, they experienced what "enlightenment" meant. It was not just Qing students who cut their hair. Japanese students sent by the Satsuma feudal domain to the West in the 1860s also said: "I cut my hair short when I got on the boat because no foreigner had their hair tied up." Korean students in Japan also believed that cutting one's hair was a symbol of enlightenment. For Chinese students, the foot-binding of women emerged as a new criterion for differentiation between the civilized and the savage: those who supported foot-binding were barbarians, and those who opposed it were civilized. This dichotomy brought about clashes in the homeland with people of older generations.

Chinese students who went to Japan in the early twentieth century had a great impact on modern Chinese history in two ways. First, they formed alliance-like groups and played central roles as leaders in the Revolution of 1911 and the overthrow of imperial rule. Most of the members of the Revolutionary Party during the revolution were students who had studied in Japan. Second, China at one time used Japan as a model in its modernization process. Between 1895 and 1915 in particular, China was greatly influenced by Japan in terms of its law, military affairs, police, culture, education, ideology and publishing. During this period, students in Japan played the important role of mediators, and through them, China imported Western culture. Tokyo was at one point the center of China's New Thought Movement. Students translated many Japanese books into Chinese. Most of the textbooks in China's modern schools in the early twentieth century were brought in as translations from Japan. A lot of Japanese vocabulary was borrowed in the translation process, and many of these words became established as modern Chinese terms. Most of the borrowed words in modern Chinese derive from the Japanese language. The Chinese writing style was also influenced at this time by Japanese vocabulary.

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Overseas Students Lead Nationalist Movements

Until the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was, for many students from China and Korea who studied there, a place to learn about modern civilization and stand up to and fight Western imperialism – a country that was just. Once Japan began to display aggressive intentions in Asia, however, the number of students who had studied in Japan and now became leaders of nationalist movements grew.

Choi Seok-ha, a 21-year-old student from Pyongan province in Korea, originally saw Japan as being at the forefront of the fight against Western imperialism. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out, he had high regard for Japan's resistance against Russian aggression. He thus proposed to the Japanese government that he be sent to war, dispatched to the front as an official interpreter for the Japanese military. After the Russo-Japanese War, however, he began to notice Japan's aggressive intentions. He asserted that the most significant cause for a country's demise was a lack of patriotism in its people. He said it was necessary to awaken the Korean spirit with a call to patriotism.

Chinese and Korean students in Japan launched nationalist movements around the country in response to the intensification of Japanese imperialism in East Asia after the First World War. Korean students in Tokyo formed the Korean Youth Independence Association as part of the independence movement, and on 8 February 1919 sent a Declaration of Independence and a petition to call a Great Korean National Meeting to Japan's House of Peers and House of Representatives, the Governor-General of Chosun, Japan's mass media, and the ambassadors and ministers of various countries. That same afternoon, about 400 people assembled at Tokyo's Korean YMCA Hall to announce the Declaration of Independence of Korea. News of this Declaration reached Korea soon and helped launch the March First Independence Movement.

Similar developments could be observed among the Chinese students in Japan. The Japanese government was extremely wary toward Chinese civil movements at the time, so it was impossible for students to assemble at a typical location. Representatives of Chinese students in Japan gathered at a restaurant in Kanda, Tokyo, on May 6, 1919, immediately after the May Fourth Movement in China (see volume I, chapter 4). Once the meeting

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began, dozens of policemen entered the restaurant and took the students to the police station. More and more students began to feel antipathy toward Japanese oppression, with some even committing suicide. Other Chinese students, upon their return to China, joined the nationalist movement to resist Japan from within China.

Many of the overseas students who reflected on the situation of their home countries believed that the most realistic and urgently required element was the nurturing of upcoming generations through education. After completing their studies in Japan, many students returned home to devote themselves to education and teaching, becoming teachers at modern schools or even founding schools themselves. Japan had once done the same; the first Japanese students to go to the United States also engaged in education upon their return. An extremely high proportion of Korean students who returned to their homeland between 1914 and 1934 became teachers or government officials.

Korean Students Abroad Turn to a Life of Self-Advancement

The Koreans who first left the Korean peninsula to study in Japan felt a sense of obligation to contribute to the independence of the motherland or to social enlightenment and economic development. However, with the number of Koreans studying abroad growing, their goal for overseas studies often included self-improvement, the search for success in life, an escape from reality, or making themselves more attractive for marriage.

When Yi Kwang-su returned from his studies shortly before Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, he became a teacher at Osan School. He also worked for the provisional government in Shanghai after the March First Movement of 1919. With prolonged colonial rule, however, he took a pro-Japanese position. When the Asia-Pacific War (1931–45) was at its peak, he was one of the first to change his name to a Japanese one and began sending young Koreans to the battlefield. This resulted in him being branded a pro-Japanese traitor in Korea after the liberation.

The number of female overseas students from colonized Korea also grew in the 1930s. There was no particular reason for them to study abroad, but it was an option if financially possible. Many did it in

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search of better marriage prospects, or in order to overcome the inferiority complex they felt toward the better-educated students of Japan.

Overseas Studies and the Women's Liberation Movement

There were also some women among the Chinese and Korean students in Japan. At a time of deep-rooted discrimination against women and in a situation where women were unable to free themselves of the feudal mentality, it was in itself a groundbreaking move for a young, unmarried woman to leave home and study abroad. Through overseas studies, these female students promoted the social advancement of women by obtaining qualifications to become teachers and doctors and by launching social movements upon their return. Thus emerged social change and an increased awareness of new opportunities among other women.

In 1881, Jin Ya-mei, a 17-year-old Chinese girl, went to the United States in order to study, with the help of an American missionary in Korea. She studied medicine, after which she worked at a hospital in China for a while. She then devoted her life to medicine by, for example, establishing a medical school in Tianjin and training nurses. By demonstrating a high level of medical care to the general public, these women came to be viewed by society in a different light. Women studying overseas changed women's education and perceptions of women back in their home countries.

Tsuda Umeko was one of the first Japanese women to undertake schooling abroad, and in 1900, upon her return from a second period of study in the United States, she established the Women's Institute for English Studies (now Tsuda College), taking a leading role in women's education. Nagai Shigeko, who studied abroad with her, also devoted herself to women's education upon her return.

Kim Hwal-lan (also known as Helen Kim), the first Korean woman to obtain a doctorate, focused her efforts on missionary work, being a Protestant, as well as education in Korea. She continued these activities even after completing her studies in the United States and returning home. Kim played a central role in the Kim Woo Hoi, an organization striving for a

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Figure 29: Female overseas student from China: Qiu Jin in Japan, wearing a kimono and holding a dagger. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

united front of Korean women against the Japanese. With Japan's prolonged rule, however, the organization began to engage with various pro-Japanese groups.

But there were also women who did not study abroad, but still played important roles in the social advancement of women. In Japan, Hiratsuka Raicho and her peers published the magazine *Seito* (Blue Stockings) in 1911, and also created a women's association, Seitosha (Blue Stockings Society). They asserted that marriage was "a lifelong relationship of submission to authority" and considered the Nora character in Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House* a model for the "New Woman." In the magazine *Fujin Koron* (Women's Review), launched in 1916, intellectuals started dealing in earnest with issues pertaining to women, and the women's liberation debate began, including a protective policy for motherhood. These developments in Jap-

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Figure 30: Japan's first female overseas students: Five young girls studied in the United States in 1872. Second from the right is a six-year-old Tsuda Umeko. Courtesy of Tsuda University.

anese society had a strong impact not only for Japanese women, but also on female students from abroad who were studying in Japan at the time.

Soon after completing her studies in Japan in 1904, Qiu Jin, a female Chinese revolutionary, devoted herself to the revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism and threw her energy into women's education. When the Tongmenghui (Chinese Revolutionary Alliance) was formed in Tokyo, she became a member and was charged with administering matters related to Zhejiang province. She headed for Shanghai, published a magazine entitled *Zhongguo Nu Bao* (Chinese Women's Journal) and engaged in efforts to raise awareness of the women's independence movement. She ran Datong School in her hometown, Shaoxing, and believed that learning academic disciplines and skills (arts) were the path to women's liberation.

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Among the Korean female students who had studied abroad, Na Hye-seok was a leading figure in the women's liberation movement. While enrolled at Tokyo Women's Art College, where she studied Western painting, she observed critically that education mainly served to ensure that women would become "Good Wives, Wise Mothers" (see volume II, chapter 5), but that there was no education to ensure that men would become "Good Husbands, Wise Fathers." In her eyes, this was a strategy of the principally male educational elite aiming at the enslavement of women. Upon her return to Korea, she worked as a painter while expanding the women's liberation movement, advocating the dismantling of the concept of chastity and promoting the idea of "trial marriages" as a way to prevent divorce.

Figure 31: A female Korean student arrested for joining an event to mark the first anniversary of the March First Movement organized by Korean overseas students in Japan in 1920. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

Upon their return from studying abroad, female students often found a contradiction between the emphasis placed on the woman's social role in the modernization process and the strong priority which continued to rest on the woman's role in the home. There was an intermingling of both "old" and "new" ideas among the women themselves, and female intellectuals held a range of political stances, from right-wing nationalism to socialism.

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Many of the opinions of women who had studied abroad and directly experienced modern civilization thus served as the beginnings of the search for a new model of life for women in East Asia.

3. The End of the War: Repatriation, Migration and Minorities

People Stay, People Go

On 15 August 1945, the Second World War finally came to an end in Asia. A total of approximately 6.5 million Japanese were in colonial or occupied territories at that time – about 3 million civilians and 3.5 million military personnel. About 1.55 million of them were in Manchuria. Conversely, over 2 million Koreans were in mainland Japan. According to government surveys, the number of foreign nationals (including Koreans and Taiwanese[36]) in Japan at the end of the war was 1.9 million. The United States military concerned itself with directing and supervising the repatriation of such people, disarming the Japanese military, and maintaining peace. The repatriation process was carried out without any noticeable hindrances until 1946, with the exception of the Soviet Union's actions in taking Japanese soldiers from the northern part of the Korean peninsula and from Manchuria to Siberia as prisoners of war and forcing them to do hard labor.

With their liberation, Koreans in Japan boarded ships to cross the straits and return to Korea. This may have appeared voluntary, but it was often in effect no different from deportation. On September 1, 1945, before the United States officially began its occupation, the Japanese government decided on a policy prioritizing the repatriation of Korean laborers who had been mobilized to the Japanese mainland. The repatriation of Koreans took place parallel to the repatriation of Japanese living in Korea. Ships went back and forth between Korea and Japan, so that when the Japanese disembarked a ship that had departed Korea to take them to ports in Japan, Koreans

36 Legally speaking, Taiwanese and Koreans were "Japanese subjects" until the end of the war, but after the war, they were often counted as "foreigners" or so-called "members of third nations."

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would board the ship to return to the Korean peninsula. The same procedure was carried out for repatriations to China and Taiwan. These voyages continued until around May 1946. By March 1946, about 70 % of the 2 million Koreans in Japan had returned to the Korean peninsula. The General Headquarters (GHQ), the Allied occupation authority in Japan, sought to establish who among the 640,000 Koreans left in Japan wanted to return to Korea and attempted to repatriate all who expressed such a desire, a number that amounted to 80 % of this population group. After this, the GHQ determined that there were about 130,000 Koreans left in Japan. The number of those wanting to return to Korea declined remarkably at this point, however, due mainly to instability on the Korean peninsula and financial reasons. The number of stowaways rose. Ultimately, about 600,000 Koreans decided to stay in Japan.

Figure 32: Japanese people heading home from the Korean peninsula after Japan's surrender. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

What about migrants of Chinese ancestry in Japan? The three areas where they primarily live today – Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki – are known as the "Big Three Chinatowns." These migrants have blended into these areas to the extent that most visitors do not even know that the residents are Chinese. Considering their history, Chinese migrants in Japan today should

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at least be in their fourth or fifth generation, yet the majority is currently only moving from the first to the second generation. This is because most of the residents of Japan's Chinatowns migrated to Japan after the war. During and after Japan's period of high economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s, the Japanese developed more international tastes and began to enjoy Chinatowns as sightseeing spots. With the growing prosperity of the Chinatowns came a generational change. The normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations in 1972, symbolized with a gift of pandas to Japan, brought about a rise in China's popularity.

Diplomatic relations were established between South Korea and China in 1992, leading to the promotion of more movement and exchange between China, Japan, and Korea. The recent rapid increase in tourism, studying abroad, and moving for permanent residence among the peoples of these three countries can be attributed to important changes that have emerged with increased regional trade.

Overseas Chinese in South Korea; Koreans in China

As of 2008, of the residents with foreign ancestry who have settled in South Korea, those of Chinese descent are the largest group. According to the People's Republic of China's definition, residents of Chinese ancestry can be divided into two groups: "Chinese," who possess Chinese nationality, and "Overseas Chinese," who do not. In South Korea and Japan, however, there is very low acceptance of such classifications, and all residents with Chinese ancestry are usually called "Overseas Chinese." Where such people live has varied over the decades, but about 80–90 % are concentrated in Asia at the present time.

It is estimated that there are currently 24,000 people of Chinese descent living in South Korea. The majority moved to South Korea between 1945 and 1950 from the Shandong area. During the Chinese Civil War, many people who went across as refugees or defectors tended to be associated with the Guomindang or were pro-Taiwan. As South Korea and the Republic of China were allies during the Cold War era, these migrants were allowed to become residents of Korea.

Although the Chinese who moved to South Korea were legally allowed to

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stay, it was still hard for them to settle there. Until 1980, acquiring South Korean citizenship was very difficult. It was impossible for foreigners with permanent resident status to become civil servants or join the military. It was also difficult financially. In 1961, a law was enacted restricting the right of foreigners to own land, so most overseas Chinese hastily sold their land and properties, or had to transfer their titles of ownership to a Korean spouse or acquaintance. It was hard to find work in large companies, so they mostly worked in Taiwan-related trade businesses. In 2002, the Immigration Control Law was revised so that among South Korea's long-term foreign residents, those who had lived there legally for more than five years and their children (minors) could acquire permanent residency. Thus, today, discrimination in real estate and financial dealings, in education, and in similar areas has mostly disappeared. With the recent increase in internet-based social activities, however, foreigners without resident registration numbers are greatly disadvantaged when it comes to financial transactions or joining certain associations. This is because resident registration numbers are identification numbers issued only to South Korean nationals, and are essential for online identification in South Korea.

In northeastern China, Korean settlements have existed since the late Joseon period around the Tumen and Yalu rivers, close to the Korean peninsula. After Japan colonized Korea and invaded the continent, Koreans in these areas were targeted by the Chinese as "little Japanese." From the early days of Japan's aggression toward China, however, many Koreans in China participated in the war against the Japanese, in solidarity with Chinese armed military units. They also participated in the Chinese Civil War and the Korean War that followed the defeat of Japan. It is estimated that about a hundred thousand Koreans belonged to the People's Liberation Army during the Chinese Civil War, and they were of great service in the unification of China. Before the outbreak of the Korean War, three divisions comprised of Koreans in China were incorporated into the North Korean People's Army. They participated in the Korean War and when the People's Liberation Army officially intervened, they served as translators.

In 1952, during the Korean War, a major change took place in Yanbian, Jilin Province, that would affect the lives of Koreans in China. By order of the Chinese Communist Party, 208 representatives of a total of 850,000 residents in five counties and one city in Yanbian gathered on August 29 to establish

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the government of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region and to create the Regulations for the Organization of the Government of the Autonomous Prefecture, which would form the assembly and government. In 1955, Yanbian went from being an "autonomous region" to an "autonomous prefecture," and Koreans continue to live there today.

Today, there are about two million Koreans living in Jilin Province. Many Koreans also live in areas such as Heilongjiang Province, Liaoning Province, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, the number of South Korean tourists to China has risen, and there has also been a notable increase in the number of Koreans in China moving to South Korea.

The Three Categories of Koreans in Japan Today

The legal status of Koreans living in Japan today can be divided into three categories: *Chosen-seki* (Korean domicile, Joseonjeok in Korean), South Korean, and naturalized Japanese. Of the two foreign national categories, the *Chosen* in *Chosen-seki* refers to the Korean peninsula as a whole, but not a specific country, while "*seki*" means "domicile." After its defeat in war, Japan made all foreign nationals from Korea take *Chosen-seki.* Since the Japan-Republic of Korea Basic Relations Treaty was concluded in 1965, Koreans with *Chosen-seki* have gradually begun to acquire South Korean citizenship, but some maintain their *Chosen-seki* until today. About two out of three Koreans in Japan are South Korean nationals today.

There are two organizations of Koreans in Japan today, Mindan and Soren. In October 1945, the socialist-led League of Koreans in Japan (Choren) was formed, on the basis of which the political center-right forces created the Korean Residents' Association in Japan (Mindan) in October 1946. Later, in May 1955, those who supported North Korea during the Korean War formed the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Soren). Korean society in Japan is divided to this day according to whether people support the south or north of the Korean peninsula.

Naturalization was a choice for some Koreans in Japan as a way of escaping discrimination in Japanese society. It is no exaggeration to say that from the colonial period to the present day, Koreans in Japan have been

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discriminated against in all aspects of daily life, from the time of entering school or starting to work until old age. Discrimination continues even after they opt to naturalize, and some Koreans in Japan do not make their Korean descent known to others for their entire lifetime. Discrimination has become normalized in the Japanese social system and the Japanese consciousness. On the other hand, efforts are being made in Japan to eliminate discrimination against all foreign nationals. Second- and third-generation Koreans in Japan working with Japanese people, as well as all-Japanese groups, have formed volunteer organizations to spread the anti-discrimination movement, free from the organizational limits that are often found within existing political parties and unions. This movement for the elimination of discrimination was sparked by what is known as the Park Jong-seok Affair.

In 1970, Park Jong-seok, a Korean in Japan, filed a suit against Hitachi, a major Japanese corporation, for withdrawing an offer of employment due to his nationality. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiff, but this was not the only significance of the case. As the case proceeded, the issue of employment discrimination against Koreans in Japan was given extensive attention. Before and after the case, unions and civic organizations also engaged in various efforts to address the reality of employment discrimination based on nationality.

In the 1980s, the movement for the elimination of discrimination was linked to the movement against the requirement upon foreign nationals to be fingerprinted. Choi Seon-ae, a Korean in Japan who was 21 years old at the time, refused to be fingerprinted when she renewed her foreign registration and was criminally tried. During her final statement in court, she said, "I am not a robot that exists to be fingerprinted and to be managed. I am like you, a human being who smiles, cries and feels happy." (court statement) When the court issued her with a fine, she appealed to the Supreme Court. In 1989, the year in which Emperor Showa died, the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office called for the judgment against her to be dismissed, and all those convicted of fingerprinting-related offenses were pardoned, with the trials treated as having never taken place.

The twenty-three people who had participated in the fingerprinting trials, however, all refused to be "pardoned" through the amnesty, and the movement for the elimination of discrimination by fingerprinting spread

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throughout Korean society in Japan. As a result, in 1993, under revisions to the Alien Registration Act, the Japanese government abolished the fingerprinting requirement for Special Permanent Residents and Permanent Residents.[37] In 2000, 14 years later, Choi Seon-ae's Special Permanent Residence was finally restored.

In an interview, a Korean living in Osaka said: "We live in Japanese society and make efforts in the hope that the society can become a little more healthy and vibrant. For these efforts to shine, discrimination must be eliminated. This is a must for Japanese society." Many Koreans in Japan feel a sense of belonging to Japanese society and maintain close relationships with Japanese people throughout their lives. Today, Koreans in Japan exhibit qualities different from those of the first-generation migrants who had lived through continuing discrimination and hardship. With various transformations in awareness about Korea, including changing generations, an increase in international marriages[38] and the children resulting from them (so-called "double" children[39]), the existence of different generations called "old-comers" and "new-comers," and the "Korea Boom" in Japanese society, the ethnic identity and lifestyle of Koreans in Japan are becoming more multi-dimensional. Such transformations are influencing surviving members of the first generation of migrants and are connected to efforts to overcome routine discrimination. Discrimination against Koreans (as well as other minorities) in Japan, however, is still deeply ingrained. Japanese society still needs not only to develop a deeper understanding of the history of minorities in Japan, but also to tackle the practical requirements of a diverse society.

37 Fingerprinting for *Permanent Residents* (that is, residents that are not of Korean or Chinese origin and thus not classified as *Special* Permanent Residents), however, was reintroduced in 2007 through a revision of immigration regulations. Fingerprinting for Permanent Residents today is not required for registration purposes, but is required every single time during immigration procedures upon re-entering Japan after a trip abroad.

38 Since 2006, international marriages in Japan have been in decline once more.

39 Term used in South Korea, also known in Japan as "half."

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Timeline

1847 Britain establishes concession in Shanghai.
1862 Japanese shogunate sends first student abroad to the Netherlands.
1868 Britain and other countries establish settlements in Kobe. First Japanese migrants leave (for Hawaii and Guam).
1871 Japan sends first female student to the United States.
1882 The Qing army suppresses the Imo Military Uprising in Korea, after which there is a rise in the number of Chinese merchants migrating to Korea.
1883 With the opening of the port of Incheon, a Japanese concession is established; a Chinese concession is founded the following year.
1902 First Korean migrants leave (for Hawaii).
1905 The government of the Korean Empire announces an emigration ban.
1906 South Manchurian Railway Co. is established and Japanese migration to Lushun/Dalian grows.
1909 The Japanese military suppresses the Righteous Militias in Honam, after which there is a rise in the number of Japanese migrating to Korea.
1910 Increase in number of Koreans migrating to Manchuria after the annexation of Korea.
1911 Migration of Koreans to Japan for employment increases.
1919 Korean students in Tokyo present February 8 Declaration of Independence.
1933 Governor-General of Choson begins establishing "collective villages" in Eastern Manchuria.
1936 Japan launches "Plan to Settle One Million Farm Households to Manchuria."
1937 Japan implements "Manchukuo Northern Region Promotion Plan," resulting in mass migration of workers from China's northern regions.
1942 Japan decides to launch second phase of "Five-Year Manchurian Development Plan."
1945 Japan decides to end forced mobilization of Koreans abroad (April).
1945 With the end of the Asia-Pacific War, repatriation begins of overseas Japanese, and of Koreans and Chinese in Japan.
1945 League of Koreans in Japan established.
1946 Korean Residents' Union in Japan established.
1955 General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Soren) established.
1970 Employment discrimination suit filed by Park Jong-seok, a Korean in Japan.
1991 Koreans in Japan granted Special Permanent Residence Status.
1993 Japan abolishes system of registering fingerprints of Special Permanent Residents.

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Chapter 5:
Gender and the Family: Male-Female and Parent-Child Relationships

The family may seem like a natural and private sphere that never changes. It is the context within which one is born and raised, works, ages, and finally where one's life ends. However, the structure of the family and the relationships among those who make up families have transformed over time as a result of changes in political and economic systems and dominant sociopolitical ideologies. With the formation of the nation-state in modern times, the family became the basic social unit of life and is regarded as important for educating future citizens, in other words, the soldiers and farmers of the nation. It was thus an important task for the state to consider how families should be constructed and how to establish laws on familial relations, including those between husband and wife, parents and children, and among relatives. This has affected the nature of modern society.

China, Japan, and Korea were all once part of Confucian civilization, and the Confucian family model, with its strong patriarchal structure, has left a profound influence on the region's societies to this day. As the three countries adopted modern family policies, the reorganization of the traditional Confucian family model became an important task. Each country underwent a different modernization process, and thus the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean histories of the modern family are distinct from one another. The modern family has also been influenced by the different regimes and social structures in each country, and profoundly affected by their economic policies.

Women and men in China, Japan, and Korea had begun to oppose the reorganized family model since the 1910s and 1920s. Today, all three countries share common phenomena such as declining birthrates, shrinking

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family sizes, and rising divorce rates. Another characteristic of modern times is the women's movement to end gender-related violence. This chapter will examine the history of the family in East Asia.

1. Modernization and the Family

The Family and Male-Female and Parent-Child Relationships in Traditional Society

In traditional Confucian society, males and females each had a clearly defined role and place in society as husbands and wives, with the man working outside the home and the woman performing housework and looking after the children in the home (the "inside/outside model"). It was taught that women should be ignorant and, most importantly, obedient. "A woman who lacks talent is virtuous" was one of the key assertions of Confucian teaching. According to the regulations of the "Three Obediences," women should obey their fathers when young, their husbands when married and their sons when widowed. The "Seven Reasons for Divorce" set out that disobeying one's in-laws and being unable to bear a male child were grounds on which a man might divorce his wife. Women could not remarry after the death of their husband. Even today, in a time of equal gender relations, such writings about male dominance may sound familiar to some. Many women might even have been subject to this male dominance and been angry about it. China, Japan, and Korea share these traditional social characteristics based on ideas of the difference between men and women and male dominance over women. When were they established, and in what context?

The idea of the extended family under paternal authority emerged in China among the ruling classes in ancient times. Family lineage was transmitted through the male bloodline, and sons ensured the family's prosperity, served their parents, and performed rituals dedicated to the family ancestors. Land was also passed down through them. A wife's chastity was greatly valued because of the need to pass on the male bloodline, and men and women were thus isolated from each other. The consanguineous group based on the male bloodline was known as a "clan." The distinction between the young and old, and the submission of females

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to paternal authority, were reflected in the Confucianism that developed during the so-called Spring and Autumn period (770–403 BCE) and the Warring States period (403–221 BCE). Confucianism became an ideology that reinforced patriarchy. The above-mentioned concept of men and women being different, the "Seven Reasons for Divorce," and the idea of chastity were all part of the Confucian family model. Furthermore, with the development of neo-Confucianism in the twelfth century, based on the teachings of Zhu Xi and his followers, male-female and master-servant relations were systematized into principles of nature and society. This spread as an ideology that supported societies based on social class, and was introduced to the Korean peninsula in the late Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392) as a philosophy to bolster the political system, and into Japan during the Edo Period (1603–1868).

In traditional Chinese, Japanese, and Korean societies, the different treatment of males and females began at birth. According to *Shi Jing*, the oldest collection of poems in China, if a boy is born, he should be placed *on* the bed, and if a girl is born, she should be placed *under* the bed. The father should arrange for a grand celebration if a boy is born, but ignore the occasion if it is a girl. The feet of girls were bound at a young age to prevent them from growing, their toes bent and tightly tied back with cloth. It was believed that a good marriage would not be possible if the girl's feet were not small. In poor families, girl children were sold at a young age to the family of their future husband (the practice of *tongyangxi*). From the age of about six or seven years, boys from wealthy families were sent to study at private schools where they were given a school name and bore a formal name. It was regarded negatively for a girl to leave the home, so they rarely went to school, and many girls only bore the name they were given at birth. Marriage took place according to the father's orders and with a matchmaker, regardless of the girl's wishes. The bride and groom must belong to different clans (the rule of surname exogamy). To preserve the purity of her husband's paternal bloodline, the wife used her father's name even after marriage. A woman did not have an official name and was known as "the wife of so-and-so." For formal occasions she used a combination of her father's and husband's names. Children took on their father's name. However, if the father died, the mother served as the family's supreme authority and could

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exercise strong parental control over matters such as the children's marriage (maternal rights).

In Korea, from the end of the fourteenth century, the *yangban* (ruling class) regarded the *bon-gwan* (ancestral home) as important, and patrimonial clans were formed based on the male lineage using the same clan name (*seong*). Men performed ancestor worship rituals together with women (from the eighteenth century, these rites were performed by men only), and Confucian family principles were considered important for preserving the male-centered paternal line. People thus strictly observed the concept that men and women were different, and boys left the female quarters to move into the male quarters on turning seven years old. Time-honored customs were upheld, such as the father and matchmaker determining marriages, the ceremony being held in the bride's home, and the groom living with the bride's family until their son grew up.

As with China, it was necessary for the couple to come from different ancestral homes and have different clan names, and the bride kept her father's clan name even after marriage. Women only had childhood names, and were thus acknowledged in the household register only as "female" after their father's clan name. In principle, adopting a child with a different clan name was prohibited. The above principles were fundamental to the Joseon family system. The *yangban* population grew, and the Confucian model based on social status, age, and gender became more common. Maternal rights upon the father's death were not as strong as in the case of China, but mothers of successful men were respected. Filial piety and the prohibition of women remarrying were also strictly observed. The social system of the Goryeo Dynasty was not completely abolished during the following Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). A system of bilateral descent developed, in which the line of descent was traced through both the paternal and maternal sides and in which the wife possessed the right to own assets and pursue legal action, inheritances were equally divided between males and females, and women inherited certain religious customs. Traditions such as holding the marriage ceremony in the bride's home and the husband living with the bride's family for a certain period of time were retained, as well as ancestor worship rituals and the existence of property inheritance rights and the right not just of males but also of females to bring legal action. Joseon society featured these Goryeo customs together with a strictly paternalistic family system.

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In Japan, the *ie* (house or family) was the basis of the social system under the Tokugawa shogunate. Each *ie* belonged to one of the four social classes – the samurai (warriors), farmers, artisans, or merchants. Under this system, the family was centered on the eldest son, the head of the family, who took over matters such as ancestor worship rituals and *yago* (referring to rural *ie* that did not carry their own names as well as the various *ie* of city-dwelling merchants). Wages were paid to each samurai *ie* according to hereditary rank, and taxes were imposed on all farmer and merchant *ie* regardless of household income. Japan did not have clans based on what was called the paternal "bloodline." It was acceptable for a family to adopt a child with a different name to carry on the *ie*, and for the child of a concubine to succeed to the headship of the family. For marriage, the father's permission and a matchmaker were required, and the wife would then join her husband's household. Some women retained their father's name after marriage, whereas others took on their husband's name.

Married or not, women were freely able to leave their homes, and peasant women worked the farms with their husbands. In terms of the Confucian model, the "Three Obediences" and "Seven Reasons for Divorce" were observed, and the role of a wife was regarded as more important than the role of a mother. It was punishable for a woman to have sexual relations with anyone other than her husband, but men having concubines was acknowledged. There were double standards for men and women in China, Japan, and Korea, as evidenced by prostitution and the fact that wives were required to remain faithful but husbands were allowed to have concubines, and men and women were punished in different ways.

Central to familial relations in all three countries were parent-child and father-son relations (characterized by filial virtues) and husband-wife relations (characterized by fidelity). In many cases, however, actual life was different from the Confucian model and laws. Chinese women during the Sung Dynasty (960–1279) possessed inheritance rights and the right to pursue legal action, as did Korean women during the Joseon Dynasty. Women in Japan could become the head of the family, own land and institute legal action, and many divorced women remarried. Thus, traditional society in China, Japan, and Korea made Confucianism the ruling ideology, but reception of the Confucian model differed according to the structure of each state and society.

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Modernization and the Family

How did the formation (and later the collapse) of the nation-state in China, Japan, and Korea in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century affect the structure of the family? How did the norms regarding age and gender in traditional society change? This section will examine these questions as they pertain to each of the countries while also commenting on general trends.

The creation of a Westernized system of law in Japan was one way by which Japan attempted to modernize and "catch up" with the West after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The Family Law was enacted in the section of the 1890 Civil Code (which regulates interpersonal relations in civil society) that covers relatives and succession. Work on these laws began in the early Meiji period, but they were not enacted and enforced until 1898, ten years after the Constitution was brought into effect and three years after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894/95). The Japanese government faced difficulties due to strong opposition and the putting forth of the argument that the process of prescribing rights and duties regarding familial relations would destroy the traditional family morals of filial piety and chastity.

The new Family Law abolished the system of hereditary stipends which had been used in the Edo period, under which the feudal lord paid rice stipends to each vassal household, rather than to individual vassals, and payment of taxes by each household unit. However, it retained the *katoku* (family headship) system of the Edo period, and the person who became the head of the family was given various rights such as the right to determine where the family lived and permit family members to marry, a right which extended until age 30 for males and 25 for females. The head of the family also took on the duty of providing for the family. In order to implement conscription and compulsory education, the Head of Family (*koshu*) system was established, together with the family registration (*koseki*) system for recording the family's members, in 1871. The head of the family register was the family's patriarch. If the family did not have a male successor, including a child born out of wedlock, a female succeeded to the headship of the family. The father exercised parental authority, which upon his death went to the mother, but the family council's advice was required regarding economic activities such as inheritance. The wife could not manage her own

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assets. There was a duty to inform the public office of marriage and divorce (civil marriage), and the wife joined the husband's household and took on his name. This requirement for a shared name was stipulated in the 1898 Civil Code.[40]

The most common prerequisite for a court divorce was adultery by the wife, and the husband was punished for the crime of sexual violence.[41] The crime of adultery under the Penal Code only applied to the wife. The head of the family, that is, the husband, was free to enter his child on the family register even if that child's mother was not his wife, and required neither the consent of his wife nor that of the mother to do so. Thus, although the Penal Code prohibited bigamy and the concubine system had been abolished, when it came to a husband's sexual behavior, he was free to behave as he pleased. The Imperial Household Law excluded women from the succession to the throne, and to ensure an unbroken line of emperors through male successors, it included those born out of wedlock as possible successors to the throne. Through this, there was official recognition of the sexual freedom of Japanese men, including the emperor. The state, with its male sovereign, promoted a family that was centered on the rights of the father and husband as head of the family. In other words, the patriarchal family and the *ie* system were still one and the same.

Although Japanese ethics textbooks of the time rejected the Confucian model for placing men above women and instead charged women with the management of the household as mothers and wives, women were still required to obey their husbands and exercise filial duties toward their parents-in-law. The development of the market economy saw the emergence, from the end of the nineteenth century, of the salaried worker's nuclear family, which consisted of an office worker husband, his wife and their five or so children. By 1920, more than 50 % of families, including farmers and the self-employed, were two-generation nuclear families. The number of divorces dropped sharply after the divorce notification system was established. However, according to factory surveys conducted in 1925 by the

40 It also stipulated that the wife was incompetent regarding economic activities such as contracts and donations and that the husband's consent was required for these.

41 The crime whereby a person has obtained intimate knowledge of a woman using violence or threats.

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Figure 33: Japanese women participating in May Day (1928). Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

Home Ministry's Social Affairs Bureau (and others), there was a high rate of unreported de facto marriages, at over 20 % of worker households.

Around this time, women began objecting to the authority held by fathers and husbands. For example, they began asking prospective husbands at matchmaking meetings whether or not they approved of concubines. Some Christians called for the crime of adultery to be applied to men, and some women outright rejected marriage. In response to this and the gradual rise of the urban nuclear family, a temporary legislative council was held in 1919 in an effort to preserve the *ie* system. However, reports published in 1926 and 1928 sought to reform the *ie* system, such as by limiting the rights of the head of household and requiring the wife's consent regarding the acknowledgement by her husband of a child born out of wedlock. Women's organizations rejected the "Head of Family" system as a whole, but family laws were barely revised at all until the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945.

During Korea's process of modernization, the first instance of calls to improve the social status of women was in the Appeal of Enlightenment, which was published by Park Young-hyo in 1888. In his appeal, Park demanded respect for women, the prohibition of the abuse of and contempt for

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women, permission for widows to remarry, a ban on concubinage and early marriage, the abolition of the "Inside-Outside Rule," and the promotion of the need for women's education. The Donghak peasant army (see above, volume II, chapter 2) also passed a reform bill in 1894 allowing young widows to remarry. The government's Gabo Reforms of the same year were a response to this, adopting many of the proposals such as allowing young widows to remarry, prohibiting early marriage, abolishing the slavery system, banning human trafficking and implementing a modern school system.

Public debate on women's education began with the launch of the newspaper *The Independent* in 1896 and the establishment of the reformist Independence Club. *The Independent* took a stance of equality for all and criticized the "Inside-Outside Rule" and the systems for early marriage and concubines. It asserted that men were responsible for the delay in women's enlightenment, and that for the state to become civilized, women themselves had to study and improve their knowledge and discuss national affairs. In response, the wives of *yangban* government officials called for the establishment of schools for girls in order to bring about gender equality.[42] That the *yangban* women gathered to discuss the issue and make their opinions known was a groundbreaking event in itself. After the Japan-Joseon Treaty of 1905, enlightenment activists set up more than 170 private schools for girls, stressing the need to focus on education in order to allow women to become equal to men and contribute to recovering Korea's sovereign rights. Yun Hui-sun, Korea's first female Righteous Army[43] leader, composed songs such as "Song of the Women's Militia," as well as spreading the idea among women that Korea should be independent from Japan, and, around 1907, organized a women's militia group comprising about 30 members.

The provisional constitution promulgated by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in April 1919 declared all people equal regardless of gender and class, rich or poor, and abolished the licensed

42 The declaration asserted that women possessed the right to vote, work and receive an education. It is regarded as the starting point of the modern women's movement in Korea.

43 A movement initiated and fought by the Korean people in the face of national crisis. The movement grew particularly strong after the murder of Queen Min (Empress Myeongseong) by a Japanese assassin in 1895 and until Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910. See also volume I, chapters 2 and 3.

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Figure 34: Women in Seoul participating in the March First Independence Movement (1919). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

prostitution system that had been introduced to Korea during the course of Japan's rule.[44] The 1920s saw a growing number of women contributing articles to newspapers and the emergence of women's magazines such as *Women's Contemporary Magazine* and *New Woman*, which promoted the enlightenment of women, encompassing such matters as gender equality, freedom to choose one's partner and family reform. A further publication, *New Family*, was critical of the traditional extended family and called on people to freely marry whom they wished in order to create a new type of family based on marriage for love. Japan's colonization of Korea, however, created new obstacles on the way toward modernization of the family.

44 Under this system, the state authorized procurers and prostitutes to sell sex and collected business taxes from them. During the Edo period, a system of registered prostitution was established and women were trafficked and often held against their will. This was reorganized and a new system was created in the early Meiji years. This system stipulated that a contract had to be executed between the procurer and the prostitute, who entered into it voluntarily. Nothing changed, however, in the situation by which women incurred debt in advance and were held against their will as a result, and forced to live in a designated area. This system spread to Japan's colonies, as it was introduced in Taiwan in 1906 and Korea in 1916.

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In 1908, a survey of civil customs was carried out in Korea, principally by a colonial government-sponsored research bureau. Ume Kenjiro, who was the main architect of Japan's Civil Code, took on the responsibility of drafting civil laws for Korea. Based on this, the Korean Ordinance on Civil Matters came into force in April 1912, with the intent of introducing Japanese laws regarding civil matters in Korea. Article 11 attempted to retain Korean customs in relation to relatives and succession, but after three amendments, Japanese laws were ultimately applied regarding parental authority, guardianship, legal capacity, the legal age for marriage, the notification system for civil marriage and divorce, divorce by trial, admission of paternity, inheritance, and property distribution. In addition to enforcing civil marriage, the amendments removed the few remaining rights of women pertaining to succession and legal action, although unmarried women retained the right to pursue legal action, and introduced a provision nullifying married women's legal capacity.

The 1939 amendment to the Korean Ordinance on Civil Matters introduced family names (*ssi*) designated by the head of the family, established the organization of families by family name (*ssimyeong*), and set up new systems for adopting a male child with a different name and for adopting a daughter's husband. The family register was changed to require *ssimyeong* instead of *seongmyeong,* transforming people's legal names into the Japanese style so that they consisted of a family name (*ssi*, Japanese: *shi*) followed by a personal name, instead of a clan name (*seong*, Jp. *sei*) followed by a personal name.[45] There remained a section in the family register that showed the *seong* (clan name) and *bon-gwan* (ancestral home). This change in legal requirements brought about what has been called the process of *soshi-kaimei*, or *changssi-gaemyeong* in Korean (literally "creation of family name"), an attempt to convert the Korean system of clan names that had constituted the foundation of its family system into a Japanese-style family name system. As a consequence, all Koreans had to adopt a family name and follow the Japanese model. The names of wives and mothers became the names of their husbands and children. A Japanese-style adoption system was introduced and undermined the rules previously in place, which had

45 Korean surnames indicate ancestral ties (also called the "bloodline" in premodern terminology), whereas Japanese surnames are the names of a household.

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dictated the retention of one's father's name for an entire lifetime and the impossibility of adopting a child with a different name. One woman whose name changed from her father's *sei* to her husband's *shi* said: "I have lost a small symbol of my individuality and feel sad, like I threw away something of mine to submit to my husband's name." Some men even committed suicide in protest against the requirement to submit to *soshi-kaimei.* The new system was also introduced with the enforcement of the military draft in mind. The draft was enforced in 1944 and *soshi-kaimei* was supposed to help avoid the inclusion of Koreans, that is, those bearing Korean names, among soldiers in the Japanese Imperial Army. It is believed, however, that because some of the *seong* were allowed to become Korean family names (*ssi*) during the *soshi-kaimei* procedures, the goal of the system was to transform the family system of consanguineous groups (clans) based on the male bloodline into a Japanese family name system. Although the colonial authorities destroyed much of Korea's customs, the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages, that is, marriages between a man and a woman with the same clan name, *seong*, coming from the same ancestral region, was maintained.

Japanese-Korean intermarriage[46] was actively encouraged from 1937 onward. In 1936, there were 1,193 married couples consisting of Korean men and Japanese women, but by early 1944, there were more than 10,000 married couples consisting of Japanese men and Korean women.

Most of the reforms applied to the family system in China took place during the period of political revolution. After the Revolution of 1911 and the New Culture Movement during the time of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, when modern China saw antagonism between the Nationalist and Communist governments, changes to the family system to reflect the new ideas of male and female intellectuals and the demands of the women's movement became indispensable political capital for both sides. China thus experienced a different path to that taken by Japan and Korea.

Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and Tan Sitong, intellectuals who supported the reform movement and sought government change, all asserted that reforms in gender relations were necessary, particularly the abolition of foot binding and the promotion of women's education. From around 1900, there

46 A policy adopted to speed up the assimilation of Koreans.

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was a rapid increase in the education of middle- and upper-class females, including through overseas studies. Peking University launched coeducation and equal school education for males and females in 1920, but although women whose feet were unbound took up arms during the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) and the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1900), little progress was made toward the abolition of foot binding. During the Revolution of 1911, many women, led by those who had studied in Japan, formed or joined women's armies influenced by Qiu Jin, who had participated in the revolutionary movement after returning from studying in Japan and was later executed. They observed that women in Japan did not enjoy political rights and that they were difficult to attain. They thus made strong demands for women to be able to participate in the National Assembly, but these demands were rejected, although the Guangton Provincial Assembly did elect women at the end of 1911.

Figure 35: Female students in Shanghai participating in a demonstration. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

The Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, founded in early 1912, stipulated certain fundamental human rights such as equality and freedom under the law, but it contained no stipulation regarding the equality of the sexes. The 1912 Draft Civil Code provided that parents had the authority to decide on marriage, but partly acknowledged the right of the

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wife to own and inherit property. Yuan Shikai, who held the real power in the new government, in 1914 enforced the Commendation Law, which defined the model of the dutiful son and the faithful wife or the chaste, strong-minded woman, and restored Confucian morals. During the May Fourth Movement (1919), male intellectuals, women, and women's groups demanded the freedom to love and marry as one pleased. They also criticized the Confucian family and sexual morality, and attempted to create an alternative rculture. The demands that first emerged during this period, calling for change in gender relations, family reform, and women's liberation, became key issues in Chinese social reform.

The Second National Congress of the Guomindang (GMD) held in January 1926 during the First United Front – the alliance between the GMD and the Communist Party of China (CPC) – resolved to legislate for gender equality, provide for the right of women to inherit property, prohibit human trafficking, establish marriage and divorce laws based on the complete freedom of both sexes, introduce gender equality in education and occupational life, give equal pay for equal work, and promote safe motherhood. Both parties, which later split from each other, created legislation based on this resolution. The section of the civil law on relatives and succession as promulgated by the Nationalist Government in 1930 deleted the provisions on ancestor worship and abolished the ban on same-name marriages. It also gave both males and females the right to inherit property and stipulated that marriage was dependent on the will of the persons concerned, thus prohibiting marriages undertaken based only on the parents' wishes and those on which a price was paid for the bride. A legal marriage required a ceremony and the presence of two witnesses. Divorce initiated by the woman was recognized subject to certain conditions. Further, because of the women's movement demanding the abolishment of the crime of adultery, which was only applicable to the wife, the criminal law promulgated in 1934 made both husband and wife liable for adultery, including relations with a concubine. There were loopholes, such as an exemption for concubines taken prior to enforcement of the law, but traditional principles relating to the family system were thus overturned, and a "bloodless social revolution" (as advocated by philosopher Hu Shih) took place. Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement, however, brought back praise for filial piety and chastity.

The Chinese Soviet Republic was established in 1931 under the leadership

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of the Chinese Communist Party. In order to guarantee the comprehensive fulfillment of women's liberation under its Constitution, it recognized freedom of marriage, extolled the social participation of women and their not being trapped in the home, and established laws regarding equality in marriage and divorce that were even more thorough than those of the Nationalist Government. Promulgated the same year, the marriage regulations provided for registered marriages (civil marriage), abolished *tongyangxi*, allowed marriage even without engagement or ceremony if this was the wish of both parties, and established a system by which divorce was possible if strongly desired by one of the parties, and in accordance with which the husband had the responsibility to provide child support and support for the wife until she remarried. The marriage regulations, with their strong anti-patriarchal character, unleashed vehement opposition among fathers and husbands. Thus, in 1934, the husband's consent became necessary in the event of a woman divorcing a Red Army soldier. After the Second United Front, in the border region that was under the control of the Chinese Communist Party, potential causes for divorce were defined, and the 1931 Marriage Law, which rejected patriarchal rights, was eased by the codification of a wedding ceremony as a condition of marriage. The 1934 revision was necessary because the 1931 Marriage Law, which completely rejected patriarchy, had not gained acceptance in urban or rural areas due to the country's 2000 years of tradition.

China, Japan, and Korea underwent different processes in the modernization of their family systems, but all three incorporated some degree of legal restriction of the patriarchy that was typical of the traditional family system. Although they all legally adopted monogamy, the concubine system was merely reorganized and men and women were subject to completely different standards. This was a major difference between the family in these countries and the modern family of the West.

Rites of Passage: A Child's Birth and Development

China, Japan, and Korea all celebrate rites of passage marking childbirth, entry into adulthood, and old age. Until the end of the 1970s, a birth was commemorated in Korea by hanging a straw rope laced with peppers for a boy or charcoal for a girl on the doorframe of the family home. The umbilical cord was placed in a pot and buried. The family

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also celebrated the hundredth day after the birth. On the child's first birthday, items such as rice, pens and money were placed around the baby and people speculated about the child's future based on the items he or she picked up. On both the hundredth day and one-year commemorations, rice cakes were distributed to neighbors to enjoy as they prayed for the child's health and longevity.

The birth of a child in China was announced to relatives and neighbors, and for the birth of a boy in particular, the wife's family was the first to be informed. A banquet was held for relatives and neighbors to celebrate the thirtieth day for boys and twenty-ninth day for girls, as well as the child's fourth birthday.

In Japan, a ceremony was held in the woman's fifth month of pregnancy, involving tying a bleached cloth around her abdomen to pray for safe childbirth. The third day after the birth was celebrated. On the seventh day, the baby was given a name. On the thirtieth day, the baby was taken outside the home for the first time to visit the shrine of the local deity. A "weaning ceremony" was held around the child's first birthday, and upon learning to walk, the child was made to carry rice cakes or stones. There is a Girls' Festival in March and a Boys' Festival in May, and children visit shrines to celebrate their third, fifth and seventh birthdays.

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Figure 36: Wedding ceremony (Japan). Niigata Joseishi Club (ed.), *Shashin kiroku. Niigata no joseitachi.*

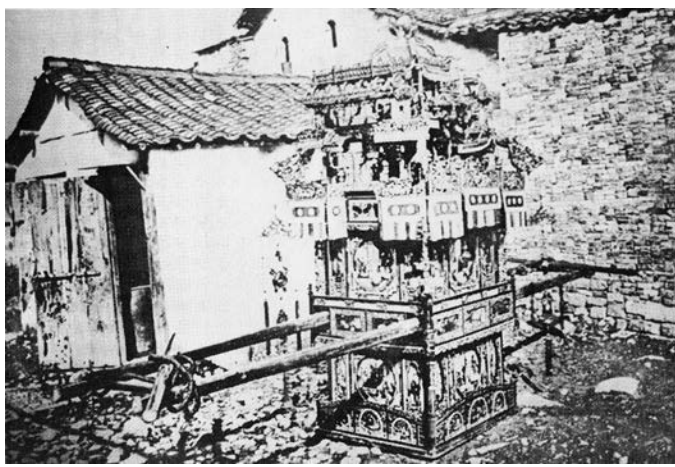

Figure 37: A bridal palanquin (China). Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

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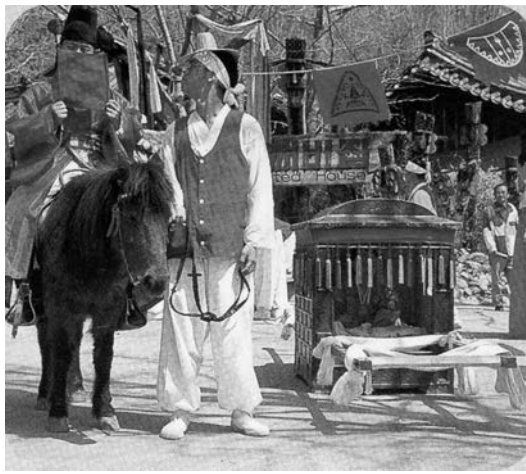

Figure 38: Bridegroom's horse and bride's palanquin (Korea). Courtesy of Poplar Publishing Co.

2. The Modern Family System

The Family under Socialism and Economic Reform

After the end of the Asia-Pacific War, China, Japan, and Korea each took separate paths. The People's Republic of China was based on the ideas of socialism. Korea dispensed with Japanese colonial rule, explored the construction of a new state and experienced the Korean War. Japan formed an alliance with the United States and advocated the renunciation of war, sovereignty of the people and a state that respects fundamental human rights. How did the patriarchy, which had been reconstructed during the modernization process, change during these times? What new types of families emerged? How did economic development affect the family? How did various movements, including feminism, impact family reform?

The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 declared: "Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be put into effect." This

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provision also appeared in the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China that was promulgated and enforced in 1950, and in the 1954 Constitution. The Marriage Law was based on the principles of free choice of marriage partner, monogamy, gender equality, and the protection of women and children. It provided for freedom to marry, the remarriage of widows, and divorce if so desired by either party, and prohibited marriages in which a price was paid for the bride, and protected the interests of the woman and child upon divorce. It also recognized the rights of both husband and wife to inherit each other's property. The criminal code punished men for having concubines. A huge number of women filed divorce requests after the law was enforced, and there were often cases of such women being killed by the husband or family. There was strong opposition to the freedom of widows to remarry, which negated the Confucian virtue of remaining faithful, so a major effort took place in 1953 to put the Marriage Law into effect. In this way, the government spearheaded major family reforms during the era of the Guomindang and Communist Party governments.

The first of the Five-Year Plans working toward socialist reorganization was implemented in 1953. In farming villages, "advanced cooperatives" were developed; these were units whose profits were distributed according to common property, such as land, and amount of labor contributed. In cities, the goals of the Plans were joint public-private operation of commerce and industry, and cooperation in housework and childcare. Freedoms and human rights had been denied during the Cultural Revolution, but with Mao Zedong's appeal that women could do anything men could, the social advancement of women progressed, and it roved a period of working toward eliminating the division of labor between the sexes, and realizing equal pay for equal work and the equal sharing of housework. In 1980, an amendment to the Marriage Law clarified that it was possible to divorce on the grounds of the couple no longer being in love, and the number of divorces among the middle class soared. As the population had reached 970 million in 1978, a figure twice that recorded during the period directly after the nation's founding, emphasis was placed on planned parenthood, articularly in the shape of the one-child policy, and the tendency resurfaced among the people to favor male children over female. With the economic reforms that began in 1978, the Chinese economy grew dramatically and people's lives changed enormously. The use of electronic appli-

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ances spread, the female labor force grew, and the movement of people intensified. On the other hand, with production efficiency being the top priority, female laborers were laid off as they were regarded as costly, and more and more women quit their jobs to return to the home. A wealthy class emerged, and the sex industry thrived in coastal regions, cities, and rural areas where the rich could be found.

The 2001 Marriage and Family Law of the People's Republic of China, which reflected opinions gathered from a broad section of society, advocated the ethics of husband and wife respecting each other, respecting the old and cherishing the young, and maintaining a family relationship characterized by equality and harmony. Cohabitation by a married person with another person of the opposite sex was considered bigamy and banned. The law also prohibited domestic violence and provided relief for victims, assured liability for damages and child visitation rights in the case of divorce, stipulated the duty of grandparents to bring up their grandchildren if needed and if they could afford to do so, and respected remarriage of the elderly. A separate family planning law was enacted in 2001. Because baby boys were favored over girls, the number of boys born grew, and this has developed into a current social problem, as generations with disproportionately more males than females reach adulthood and many men face difficulties in finding a partner.

Abolishing the *Hoju* (Head of Family) System and Surname Exogamy

In Korea in October 1946, the Name Restoration Order was issued and the *soshi kaimei* system was abolished under the laws of the US military administration. The Government of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was established in August 1948, and its Founding Constitution, promulgated that same year, declared that "marriage is based on the equality of the sexes and the purity of marriage and health of the family are under the special protection of the State." (Article 20) In 1980, "purity of marriage" was deleted; the current constitution provides that "marriage and family life shall be entered into and sustained on the basis of individual dignity and equality of the sexes, and the state shall do everything in its power to achieve that goal." The Civil Code, first enacted in 1957, dealt with family in Part 4

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and inheritance in Part 5. It was organized in the same way as the former civil law of Japan, such as with Part 4 (*Hoju* – or Head of Family – and the Family), which provided for the *Hoju* system of family registration. This Civil Code preserved certain aspects of the patriarchal provisions of the Meiji Civil Code introduced in Korea during colonial times, such as the need for parental consent for marriage, the rights of the head of the family, including the right of determining where the family is to live, the father having more parental authority than the mother, the male-oriented system of inheritance, and the ability of the father to enter into the family register a child born out of wedlock that he acknowledges as his own. The ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages was also retained.

Later, Korea grappled with how to interpret "tradition" amid strong opposition to its family system reforms, which centered on the *Hoju* system and the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages. In 1973, the General Women's Association for the Revision of the Family Law was formed, followed by the Women's Association for the Revision of the Family Law in 1983. These groups pushed for democratization and the family law reforms that eventually took place in 1977, 1989, and 2005. After the 1962 amendments, which recognized branch families through marriage, came the 1977 amendments, enforced in 1979. A range of women's groups, along with female Members of Parliament, proposed a reform bill with ten points. After the scrapping of the bill on the abolition of the *Hoju* system and of the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages in the face of strong opposition, their reform bill was approved; it included provisions for a person legally of age to be able to marry without his or her parent's consent, joint parental authority between the father and the mother, and an expansion of the share of an inheritance to go to female children and wives. Although the *Hoju* system and the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages remained, progress was made in transforming from vertically-oriented familial relations based on lineage or the clan to a horizontally-oriented set of familial relations with the husband and wife at its center.

Sweeping amendments were made in 1989 after the democratization of society had made further progress. First, all the special rights and responsibilities of the head of the family were abolished; these had included the right to determine where the family lived, the guardianship system, and the duty to support all members of the family. It became possible to relin-

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quish succession to the position of head of the family, and although the *Hoju* system remained in form, it disappeared in substance. The revisions also made the upbringing of children from divorced families subject to parental discussion and not simply to be decided by the father, and redefined "relative" to extend to close relatives of either the husband or wife, with the definition of relationship going back to the parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents. According to a survey conducted in 1974 by the Korean Women's Association of educators, researchers, people working in the judiciary, and office workers, over 70 % were in favor of a couple having common ownership of undesignated assets. On the abolition of the *Hoju* system, 50 % were in favor, 26 % in opposition, and 24 % were undecided. Relating to the abolition of the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages, 43 % were in favor, 40 % opposed it, and 17 % were undecided. The 1989 amendments reduced the *Hoju* system, which had faced strong opposition in the 1970s, into one of form only.

The ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages, one unlike any other in the world, led to many men and women being unable to marry, forcing them to remain in common-law marriages. In 1977, a center was established at a private legal information advice bureau for family law matters for reporting problems related to the ban. Later, in 1995, a group of couples whose applications for marriage registration had been rejected due to the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages petitioned the Family Court of Seoul to overturn these decisions, and at the same time argued at the Constitutional Court that they had violated their constitutional right to "the pursuit of happiness" and equality under the law. The Constitutional Court held by majority opinion that the marriage ban was incompatible with the constitution. The National Assembly later held a number of public hearings but was unable to reach a conclusion, and the matter became an issue during the 2002 presidential elections. Another factor was the rapid advance of the Uri Party, a progressive party aimed at creating a new policy and building "a warm-hearted society," at the 2003 general elections. The Civil Code was thus amended in March 2005 (and enforced in 2008). This revision abolished the *Hoju* system and the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages; the prohibition remains in place only for marriages between parties with a close family relation, defined as going back to the parents, grandparents or great-grandparents. Further, it allowed for the name of a child to be changed in the

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event of a parent's remarriage. The ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages, which had been established during the Joseon dynasty to secure the patrilineal family, thus finally came to an end, and the basic human right of freedom to marry whomever one chooses became accessible to all.

Sexual violence against women, historically seen as a personal matter for each individual victim and for which the woman was always to be blamed, emerged as a social issue in the 1980s. In 1983, the Korean Women's Hotline was established to help victims and investigate incidents of sexual violence. It was followed in 1991 with the foundation of the Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center. The efforts of these, as well as some other groups and individuals, led to the enactment of the Special Act on Sexual Violence (1994), the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act (1997), the Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims Thereof (2004), and the Act on the Punishment of Procuring Prostitution and Associated Acts (2004).

The Family's Role in Japan's Rapid Economic Growth

The family in postwar Japan was regulated by legislation and the demands of the economy. The constitution stipulates respect for the fundamental human rights, and Article 24 provides that marriage shall be based on the mutual consent of both sexes and that the husband and wife have equal rights. With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce, and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, the constitution's position is that laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes. During deliberations regarding Article 24, the Diet, which had female representatives for the first time since it was founded, engaged in heated discussions about the connection between these stipulations and the emperor system, the *ie* (family) system, and the Head of Family system. There were also clashes of opinion during the Judiciary Committee's deliberations of the draft Civil Code between those who wished to preserve the *ie* system and those, mostly women, who sought to realize the intent of Article 24. The revised Civil Code abolished the Head of Family system, the rights of the head of the family, succession to the family headship, a wife's lack of legal capacity, the unequal treatment of the man and woman during divorce

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cases, and the system by which children born out of wedlock were unfairly treated. It stipulated the minimum age of marriage as 18 years for males and 16 years for females, and recognized freedom of marriage and that parental rights were to be exercised jointly by both parents. With the abolition of the *ie* system, which had brought suffering to young men and women, and brides and wives in particular, women were liberated. The revisions, however, were incomplete. The family register still exists today and there remains a gap in the minimum ages of marriage for of males and females. Further, the law provides that the married couple can choose whose surname to share, but 98 % of women today continue to adopt their husband's surname.

In 1954, Kishi Nobusuke, who was the head of the Liberal Party's Constitutional Research Group, sought to revive the *ie* system along with making other constitutional amendments, but was forced to withdraw these proposals in the face of broad opposition. After several further revisions, in 1996, the Legislative Council submitted a draft[47] under which married couples wishing to retain different family names could elect to do so, and the minimum age of marriage for both males and females was set at 18 years. The bill allowing couples to retain separate family names already had the backing of women wishing to keep their names and couples who had already kept their respective names. However, there was strong opposition from conservative politicians who argued that separate family names would destroy the family unit, and although more and more of the public is in favor, there is as yet no law on this matter even today. One pillar of the constitutional amendments favored by conservatives is the preservation of tradition in the family.

From the beginning of Japan's period of rapid economic growth period in 1955, there was a need for male employees to focus on their careers, while their wives were expected to support them in the home. It was believed that women, in order to run the household in the most efficient way, had to be full-time homemakers. To do this, the government elevated and stabilized

47 The reform bill also included the reduction of the period prohibiting a woman from remarrying after divorce from six months to 100 days, the introduction of the breakdown of the marriage as grounds for divorce (in other words, no-fault divorce), and the equalization of the legal inheritance of a child born out of wedlock with that of a child born in wedlock.

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the status of the housewife. One method it used was the implementation of a new system that gave a special tax deduction for spouses (1961, 1987: Spouse Special Deduction System). To limit the labor of wives to part-time at most, this system exempted the annual income of wives under 1.03 million yen from tax and social insurance payments, and added a spousal allowance to the husband's salary. Another method was the pension system for wives of office workers (1985). This aimed, under the banner of universal social insurance, to ensure stay-at-home wives had pensions by diverting contributions to the wife's basic pension through her husband's welfare pension or a mutual aid pension. Together with other social security systems such as an allowance for dependent children, homemakers with children are the group which gains most from social security benefits. This is evidently a strategy for keeping wives in the status of homemakers or, at most, of part-timers with low wages. The prewar (modern) *ie* system supported the national polity; the current Japanese family is a system that directly supports economic growth in one particular way.

After the foundation of *Seiboryoku to Tatakau Josei-tachi no Nettowaku* (the Women's Network Against Sexual Violence) in 1990, and as a result of over ten years of effort by the women's movement, the Act on the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims was promulgated and enforced in 2001. Further, various new laws have been enacted to regulate issues related to male dominance, such as the Act on Punishment of Activities Relating to Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, and the Protection of Children (1999) and the Anti-Stalking Act, marking the beginning of a new century.

In socialist China, although the conditions are in place to allow for men and women both to work and manage the housework and childcare, the government is taking the initiative to respond to changes to the situation of families and couples brought about by economic development. It has expanded its policies to cope with issues recently arising in marriage in society as a whole and guaranteed freedom to divorce and remarry, including for the elderly. In Korea, the ban on same clan/ancestral home marriages, which had been in place since the Joseon Dynasty, and the Head of Family system, which was established during Japan's colonial rule, have been abolished. The women's movement played a central role in these developments. In Japan, gender discrimination based on the *ie* system has been weakened

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through postwar reform. The *koseki* (family register), however, which has been abolished in Korea and does not exist in China, continues to be in place in Japan. In all three countries, economic development has changed the division of work in the home between the sexes.

Rites of Passage: Marriage

What is the traditional marriage ceremony like in China, Japan and Korea? In China, the prospective husband's family sent a matchmaker to the potential bride's home so that her family could use the latter's name and birthday to read the future groom's fortune and see whether the couple was a good match. If good fortune was foretold, the groom's family conveyed the desire for marriage to the family f the bride. After receiving a positive response from the woman's family, the groom's family immediately sent a gift to her home, making the engagement official. The groom's family then made arrangements with the bride's for a wedding date, and on the day collected the bride at her home. The bride got on a red palanquin and was carried to the groom's home. Both bride and groom wore red ceremonial dress.

In Korea, once a marriage was arranged with the help of a matchmaker, the groom's family gave his date and time of birth to the bride's family so that an auspicious day for the wedding ceremony could be determined by fortune-telling. Later, the bride's family sent gifts such as a wedding ring and silks. On the day, the groom went to the bride's house, where the ceremony would be held. From the nineteenth century onward, the groom and the bride with her party moved to the groom's family home on the third day after the marriage ceremony.

In Japan, a matchmaker mediated between the couple's families but there was no ritual of asking for the birth dates of the groom or bride, and an engagement became official with the ceremonial exchange of engagement gifts. The wedding was held in the groom's home or at a shrine. In some localities, after the wedding, the bride's trousseau would be shown off to the neighborhood, or her footwear hidden.

Today, weddings in all three countries are held in places such as ceremonial halls that also serve as reception venues, often with the bride wearing a Western-style wedding dress or traditional attire and

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the groom wearing a tuxedo. In Japan and Korea, the ceremonial venue often takes care of all arrangements related to the wedding.

3. "Good Wife, Wise Mother" and the "New Woman" and "New Man"

"Good Wife, Wise Mother" – Wives and Mothers Supporting the Modernization Process

In any given period of time, the family has served as the basic unit of society, but the nation-state has devoted a particularly high degree of attention to family policies because it was through the family that the human resources of the state were raised and educated. Supporting mothers in their task of bringing up the future members of the nation-states was of prime importance, followed by encouraging wives to support their husbands in the home. The nation-state's model for motherhood and wifehood, whether in the East or the West, can be generally referred to using the Japanese formula "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (*ryosai kenbo*). In what context has this model been applied in China, Japan and Korea?

All three countries have seen the emergence of the image of a woman who can be relied upon during a time of national crisis. In Japan, this process occurred during the era of the Meiji Restoration, in China during the period of the Hundred Days' Reform, and in Korea from the time of the Gapsin Reforms, with which Japan's desire to control the peninsula strengthened, until the 1890s.

During the last days of Japan's Tokugawa shogunate, Yoshida Shoin and other leaders of the anti-shogunate movement advocated the importance of educating the mothers of boys; directly after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, a number of feudal domains established schools for girls in order to create the foundations for good local government. Women were regarded as the mothers of the people: "A child's lack of talent is the result of a mother's lack of wisdom," one slogan said, and another emphasized that "The girls of

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today will become the mothers of tomorrow."[48] Elementary school education became compulsory in 1872 for both boys and girls, with the aim of building a developed nation; that year, the school attendance rate was 15 % for girls and 40 % for boys.

In the 1870s, the scholar and politician Mori Arinori advocated the establishment of monogamous marriages in which men and women had equal status but labor roles were divided according to gender; women should receive an education and manage the household, and priority was placed on the physical health of mothers. The educationist Nakamura Masanao promoted the image of the mother lovingly raising her child and the wife receiving an education equal to men and supporting her husband ("The making of a good mother"). Women were to study what was necessary for membership in a civilized nation, a monogamous marriage based on equality, the mother educating the child, and the wife managing the household. From the beginning of his term as the first Minister for Education around 1887, Mori promoted the image of mothers raising future soldiers in order to build a modern military for the nation, and advocated the need to train female teachers to educate the mothers of the future. At the same time, supporters of women's education maintained that mothers should be trained to raise future soldiers who would protect the nation. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a publicist and advocate of enlightenment and Westernization, rejected Confucianism, declared the equality of all, emphasized the pleasures of life in an equal, monogamous couple and of family life, and painted a picture of the family in an industrial society. An advocate of education for women, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, proposed the idea of a home where husband and wife shared domestic responsibilities equally and described the wife and mother in the home as "Good Wife, Wise Mother." In newspaper letters to the editor, ordinary people – but hardly any women debated monogamy and the theory of equal rights for couples with a role-based division of labor.

After the establishment in 1899 of a system for the provision of secondary education to girls (Ordinance on High School for Girls), the image of a desirable mother and wife was officially described with the slogan "Good Wife, Wise Mother," used, for example, by education ministers such as

48 From a publication on the education system by the Ministry of Education.

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Kabayama Sukenori and Kikuchi Dairoku. The characteristics required of a "good wife and wise mother" included the traditional feminine virtues of docility, chastity, and calmness, reflecting a family system that called for the wife and mother to be submissive. Men, meanwhile, were called on to display fortitude, as was considered fitting for their future vocations as soldiers. The extent to which males and females had separate life cycles became apparent with the conscription system for men over the age of twenty. From the twentieth century, it became popular to provide editions of *sugoroku*, a Japanese game depicting the human life cycle, as a supplement in magazines for young boys and girls, and they showed boys ascending to become generals or ministers and women becoming housewives. However, at the same time, households where the "Good Wives, Wise Mothers" could truly become active were limited to a few families of urban office workers. According to the first national census, conducted in 1920, only 8.5 % of households belonged to this category. Women in farming villages were overwhelmingly in the majority, and their ideal image might be better described as "Working Wife, Healthy Mother."

Wives and Mothers Supporting the Self-Strengthening of the Nation

In Korea, Yu Gil-joon, an enlightenment thinker, put forward an image of the mother based on Western knowledge that focused on improving the status of women raising children and the importance of educating mothers (*Seoyu Gyeonmun*, Observations on Travels in the West). As mentioned above, the newspaper *The Independent* advocated the abolition of the old systems by which life was structured, and demanded that education for all, regardless of gender or age, should be the foundation of the state, and that women had to learn about and be able to discuss national affairs in order for the nation to become civilized and enlightened. Furthermore, it was believed that a happy home would result from the wife studying and gaining knowledge like her husband, and this would in turn lead to their children being raised well. The ideal presented was that of a wise mother, and of the husband and wife building a harmonious household together.

Jeguk Sinmum (Imperial Newspaper), launched in 1898 to enlighten women, believed that there was nothing more urgent than the issue of

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women's education, and featured an article that discussed the role of women in building a prosperous and powerful nation ("Regarding Women's Education," April 16, 1903). It argued that girls should be educated to become wise mothers and good wives, that children being educated by wise mothers was in accordance with the "Three Bonds" (master and servant, father and son, and husband and wife) and "Five Relations of Confucianism," and that children so raised were loyal and patriotic. After the conclusion of the Japan-Joseon Treaty of 1905, *Jeguk Sinmum* and other newspapers emphasized the model of the "Wise Mother and Good Wife" as a means for Korea to become independent and stable, to build a foundation for a civilized society, to establish close family relations, and to make the Korean nation stronger. Women were expected to act as "Wise Mothers" to nurture children to maintain the Three Bonds and as "Good Wives" to maintain peace and harmony in the family and close relations within the clan.[49]

What educational policies did the schools for girls established around that time promote? One of these schools, Yanggyu Uisuk (Ladies' Academy), was modeled on Japan's *Kazoku Jogakko* (Peeresses' School), which aimed to nurture girls to become calm and chaste and cultivate traditional virtues. The 1895 Elementary School Ordinance stipulated education for boys and girls aged 8 to 15, but many parents and society in general did not want girls to study or be outside the home. When the Ewha Womans [*sic*] University, founded by American missionaries, first opened in 1886, for example, no *yangban* girls were enrolled in it.

In the case of China, the 1902 Regulations for Schools proposed a new educational system covering elementary school to university, but completely failed to touch upon women's education. In the 1897 publications "A General Proposal of Reform" (with a section "On Women's Schooling") and "Proposal for Building Women's Schools," the reformer Liang Qichao asserted that girls should be educated so that they might later raise their children and help their husbands, thus rejecting the Confucian view of women. He worked toward the provision of education for women in order to produce mothers who could educate their children and wives who could

49 Human relations such as those between the elderly and the young, built through consanguineous groups based on the male "bloodline."

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support their husbands so that the impoverished people might become prosperous. When Jingshi Women's School opened in 1897 with the backing of the reformists, its stated goal was to nurture wise mothers and wives by providing them with an intellectual education, as well as cultivating their moral character and improving their physical condition. From the beginning of the twentieth century onward, the terms "Wise Mother" and "Good Wife" began to appear frequently in Chinese discussions of women's education. They were used in various ways; for example, they had a role in arguments that women had to escape from the dependency inherent in the "Wise Mother, Good Wife" lifestyle, or, by contrast, that women had to live up to their responsiblility as "Wise Mother[s], Good Wi[ves]" to raise "nationals" who would devote themselves to the task of establishing a new government or to the state. In all cases, the ultimate goal was to strengthen the nation and to construct a prosperous and powerful country. China's first laws on the education of girls, the 1907 Regulations for Women's Normal Education and for Women's Elementary Education, made "Wise Wife, Good Mother" the aim of women's education. These laws stipulated feminine virtues as the principal contents of girls' education, but their goals were self-cultivation, efficient management of the family, and devotion to the state. Ultimately, they aimed at the cultivation of patriotism.

As seen above, in all three countries, the traditional feminine virtues were upheld for the purpose of building the nation-state, while new images for women were created which were expressed in catchphrases like "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (Japan), "Wise Mother, Good Wife" (Korea), and "Wise Wife, Good Mother" (China). However, the construction of the Japanese state also meant the construction of a military state that would expand into Korea and China, while the construction of the Korean and Chinese states aimed at strengthening the ethnic nation to resist oppression by other countries. Only Japan redefined the relationship between husband and wife at this time.

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Figure 39: Lu Xun, Xu Guangping and son. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

Rejecting the "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Ideology and the Emergence of the Concepts of the "New Woman" and "New Man"

In the early twentieth century, China experienced the most intense change regarding the role of women seen in any of the three East Asian countries that are our subject. Although during the Revolution of 1911 some women joined the revolutionary movement and demanded participation in parliament, the Provisional Constitution did not mention equality of the sexes and did not allow women in the National Assembly. The Revolution of 1911 was a revolution brought about by male power. However, the situation changed from around 1915, with the inaugural issue of the journal *Xin Qingnian* ("New Youth," first called "The Youth Magazine"). Its founding principles included the ideal of humans being "independent and not enslaved," "progressive and not conservative," as well as "internationalist and not isolationist." The journal was critical of traditional family morals for their oppression of women and their restriction of their spheres of action. It

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viewed the predominant familism whose basis lay in the regulations governing Chinese religions as the root of heavily promoted virtues such as loyalty and filial piety and considered this system to be responsible for preventing the development of personal autonomy (Chen Duxiu, "The difference between the fundamental ideas of people of the East and West"). *New Youth* criticized family morals that oppressed men and women and enforced existing gender roles and also opposed reactionary tendencies under the Yuan Shih-kai regime (1912–1916).

Through the May Fourth Movement 1919, the assertions made in *New Youth*, mainly by male intellectuals, were as follows: Women must develop their individual character and, just as the main character Nora in Henrik Ibsen's famous play *A Doll's House*, leave the traditional extended family – the house of her father, the head of the family, who autocratically decides whom she is to marry – to create a home for a modern family, with the man she falls in love with and their children.[50] The same problem existed for men forced into marriage by their parents, which caused problems for their relationships with the woman they loved. The writer Lu Xun, for example, respected the wishes of his mother and married in the traditional manner, but he later asserted that it was the role of enlightened parents to educate their sons with affection, and liberate not just sons but also daughters from paternal authority ("How do we become fathers now?"). The idea of free love and voluntary marriage constituted a rejection of the system of the extended patriarchal family, which had not been influenced by the debate on "Wise Wife, Good Mother" of the early twentieth century, and presented a new model for family and gender relations. Further, Lu Xun's brother, Zhou Zuoren, translated and introduced the Japanese feminist Yosano Akiko's views on fidelity, and argued that both the man and woman of a couple should be faithful. Zhou Zuoren also said that children resulting from a bond between a man and a woman united by the love and marriage of their choice would bolster the development of the Chinese people, thus incorporating a variant of eugenics into his ideology.

In the 1920s, women further developed the model of the modern

50 Although this was not the original message of Ibsen's play, in Japan and China the character of Nora was widely thought of as a symbol of a woman who left her husband and her family to liberate herself from the traditional family model.

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household that male intellectuals had explored during the May Fourth Movement to come up with a new model: a "Wise Wife, Good Mother" who was well-versed in the smaller family of modern times and able to run the household. In the 1930s, the "Wise Husband, Good Father" and "Wise Wife, Good Mother" models emerged for two-income households, where the husband and wife were in love, remained faithful to each other, raised their children together, and both worked outside the home. The image of the "Modern Girl" also emerged; these were young women who demonstrated their resistance to traditional morals through their modern fashion and behavior. This phenomenon could also be observed in Korea and Japan.

Figure 40: The ideal family according to a calendar depiction (China). Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

In the 1920s and 1930s, many women still continued to be at the mercy of the traditional family system. One woman, for example, committed suicide in

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the palanquin on her way to the wedding ceremony that she was being forced into. Another woman committed suicide after the death of her young fiancé. One woman died of an illness caused by poverty after her parents died and her male cousin, who had become the new head of the family, stopped financially supporting her; as a single woman it was impossible for her to support herself.

Japan's *ie* system and education, and their promotion of the idea of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother," served to trap women, including working women, into a life from which there was no escape – a life that involved arranged marriage, pregnancy, childbirth and childcare. From the twentieth century, emphasis on academic standing, career and individuality emerged in response to the development of the market economy. A number of women's colleges were established, the number of professions grew, and women's magazines were launched, expanding women's horizons. In the 1910s, amid such change, a small group of women who did not fit the traditional mold emerged. Known as "New Women," these were unmarried women who left home and shunned marriage, women who resisted their fathers as representatives of the family authority, and women, sometimes wives, who engaged in relationships with married men with children.

A leading figure in this context was the women's liberation activist Hiratsuka Raicho. Together with her university colleagues, she edited and published the literary magazine *Seito* ("Bluestocking"), which appeared from published September 1911 to February 1916. Hiratsuka hoped the New Woman would "destroy the old morality and the laws created for male advantage." She declared that the mission of the New Woman was "to create a new kingdom," one with morality and laws that even she could not yet envisage.

Seito dealt with each of the constraints imposed on women and related issues, such as birth control, abortion, and the buying and selling of sex, and searched for a model for female autonomy. In the early 1930s, Takamure Itsue, another leading figure in the Japanese feminist movement, and her associates came forward with even more radical positions, repudiating all social norms, including the family itself.

Hiratsuka lived with the artist Okumura Hiroshi, who was five years younger than she and whom she described as one-fifth child, one-third woman and one-half man. Living together unmarried, they raised two

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Figure 41: Hiratsuka Raicho, Okumura Hiroshi and their children. Hiratsuka Raicho, *Watakushi no aruita michi* (1955).

children in a liberal home environment. Later, she called for freedom for women to carry out political activities and was involved in the consumer cooperative movement that pushed for independence in household management. During this period, men and women emerged who established and maintained free and egalitarian households, such as the socialist couple Yamakawa Kikue and Hitoshi.

In the 1910s, even among Japan's general populace, whom Hiratsuka criticized for attacking the New Woman, there emerged couples who were troubled by their parents' wishes or felt torn by the conflicting demands of the family. Some hoped for love marriages upon which they could build a loving and happy home. Some men rejected marriage for financial reasons, some women did likewise because they did not want to lead their lives obeying their husbands' wishes. One man wrote in the daily *Yomiuri Shinbun* that before discussing female virtues, there first needed to be a

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discussion about the consciousness of "men who consider women toys." It was also in the 1910s that male intellectuals began to advocate new father-child relations and the theory of love as the unity of body and soul. From the 1920s, the "Good Husband, Wise Father" model emerged, demanding equal treatment with the "Good Wife, Wise Mother." This was not, however, the same model as that applied to the typical working couple that could be found in China. In the late 1910s, Japanese female thinkers debated how to manage both work and the home, but rather than calling for a change in the role of men, they demanded a new social system with benefits such as maternity care.

In Korea in 1918, the scholar Yi Gwang-su abandoned the traditional concept of chastity, criticizing it as religious superstition. At the same time, he rejected the "Wise Mother, Good Wife" virtues, arguing that marriage was a contract, that because marital relations are nullified upon divorce or death, the defense of chastity and the emphasis on the models of the "chaste and strong-willed woman" and the "faithful widow" were invalid. Several years later, like China's Zhou Zuoren before him, Yi Gwang-su argued for the strengthening of the ethnic nation through the idea of eugenics. Women, the argument went, have a duty toward society and the nation to become mothers. Education for women must therefore revolve around motherhood; the urgent task, for which good mothers are needed, is the strengthening of the ethnic nation. In a similar way, in 1910s Japan, Nagai Hisomu, a eugenics expert, also made references to the preservation of the race through love marriages.

After the March First Independence Movement of 1919, the terms *sinyeoja and sinyeoseong* ("New Women") came into use in Korea. The number of girls attending primary and secondary school slowly increased. In the 1910s, 0.5 % of all school-aged girls went to school; these girls, who chatted in public and strode about with confidence, were known as *sinyeoja.* Some women called themselves *sinyeoja.* The pioneering feminist writer and journalist Kim Won-joo (Kim Il-yeop) founded the Sinyeoja publishing house, launched the journal *Sinyeoja* (New Women) in 1920, and was the first woman in Korea to present a public lecture. She broke through various long-established morals, advocated the realization of free choice of partner and freedom of marriage and divorce based on a rational new morality, and defended love affairs between unmarried women and men with wives and

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children. She also believed that although traditional morality treated fidelity as a tool, it was an instinctive feeling connected to the emotion of love, so that if love faded, so too did the concept of remaining faithful. However, she rejected chastity as an axis of family morality. Women such as Na Hye-seok, Park In-deok, and Kim Hwal-ran (Helen Kim) also participated in Kim Won-joo's publishing activities. For a period, these women studied in Japan. Kim Won-joo also visited Japan in the 1910s and, following the example of "Bluestockings," founded the Blue Tower Society.

The artist and feminist Na Hye-seok, who had studied at a women's vocational art college in Japan and had participated in the March First Independence Movement in 1919, only accepted the proposal of marriage made to her by Kim Woo-young after ensuring that she would have time to paint and that they would live separately from his mother and his daughter from a previous marriage. Leaving their three children in Korea, the couple moved to Europe in 1927. An affair between Na Hye-seok and Choi Rin led to her husband filing for divorce. Kim Woo-young ignored Na Hye-seok's wishes, went ahead with the divorce and then remarried. When Choi Rin declined to support Na Hye-seok's studies in Paris, she filed a claim for damages against him on the grounds of violation of her chastity. Na Hye-seok believed that liberty and equality for women lay in always maintaining one's sense of self in the face of an oppressive society and family. She also hoped to change the closed world of art in Korea. She believed that the foundation for one's self as a woman lay in sexual freedom, and that chastity was valid only as a person's free choice to practice it. Na Hye-seok's own behavior and her ideas about sex were essentially suppressed by two men who had succeeded as pro-Japanese in the colonial nation, giving them power both in society and over women. She was criticized by the general public, which continued to adhere to traditional ideas of fidelity, and she died in isolation.

Developments were more positive elsewhere. In the 1920s, male and female writers contributed to magazines such as "New Woman," "Women's Current Views" and "New Family," as well as newspapers such as *Dong-A Ilbo* (East Asia Daily), and proposed a departure from conventional early marriage and extended families that were under paternal authority and often included concubines. They instead promoted a move toward a new

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Figure 42: Na Hye-seok with her siblings and husband, Kim Woo-young. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

family that was child-centered and efficiently run on the basis of love and equality.

As we have seen, in Japan in the 1910s and China and Korea in the 1920s, women contemplated the condition of the female gender and the oppression it suffered and took action accordingly, because gender was seen as the axis of power relations between males and females. Although some men in these countries called for freedom in love and marriage and equal relations between husband and wife, they still failed to discuss the issue of gender.

Rites of Passage: Funerals

How are funerals held in China, Japan and Korea? In Chinese cities today, cremation is most common, but burials are common in farming villages. Funeral rites differ greatly according to the locale. In cities, funerals and memorial services are held. In villages, coffins are prepared in advance of death. People borrow money to host grand funerals for their parents in order to display their sense of filial duty. Traditional funerals still take place in villages and small towns. For example, the Han people have the custom of holding a Buddhist memorial service once every seven days after the death, with the final

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service held on the forty-ninth day. There is also a service on the hundredth day, and a marking of the first anniversary of a person's death. After this, a service is held annually until the third anniversary. Every ten years, the anniversary of the person's birth is celebrated until the age of one hundred.

In Korea, burials were carried out until before the 1990s, but cremation is the main practice today. After two days, a period observed to confirm the person's death, the funeral is held on the third or fifth day. For the *yangban* of the Joseon Dynasty, the mourning period was for two years after the death, but from the 1960s, it generally lasted until the Buddhist memorial services on the seventh and forty-ninth days. Once held in the home, funeral services are now held at a separate venue and cooperatives are hired to take care of everything, from laying the body in the coffin to carrying it out. Funeral services where the ashes are buried under a tree have become popular recently for environmental reasons.

In Japan, cremation is the general practice today. The cleansed body is laid out, and the day after the wake, the funeral is held. The body is cremated in a crematorium. A Buddhist memorial service is held on the seventh day and the deceased is given a posthumous Buddhist name. Services are held on the fourty-ninth day and the first and third anniversaries of the death. Funeral services are well attended in any given country, but in Japan, more and more are held privately for relatives only or are performed while the person is still alive. Women may object to where the ashes are laid, and there are a variety of alternatives to the family gravesite, such as an individual grave bearing a personal inscription, a group burial in which the ashes of a number of nonrelated people are buried together, or the scattering of ashes at sea (with permission) or in a flowerbed. These changes in how we handle death show how the customs of a paternalistic family system have finally collapsed.

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4. Gender and the Modern Family

The Family Today

This section will outline the state of the family, the husband-wife and parent-child relationships in present-day China, with its expanding market economy, and Korea and Japan, with their neoliberal economies. The numbers shown are taken from statistics from China dated 1999 and from Korea and Japan dated 2000.

Looking at household structure and size, there are many nuclear families in all three countries. In China, there are marked differences between cities and farming villages, but on average over 70 % of households are nuclear families. In Korea, it is 82 % and in Japan, 60 %. In 1970, 18.8 % of families in Korea were made up of three generations of direct lineal descent, but in 2000 the figure had fallen to 8.0 %, showing an emphatic drop in the number of traditional households and a rapid rise in nuclear families. One-person households currently account for 25.6 % of households in Japan, 15 % in Korea and 9 % in China. There is growth in the number of elderly people and young people living on their own in Japan, and there are indications that single-person households will soon surpass the number of nuclear-family households. The individualization of the family is progressing. The percentage of extended families with three generations living together is highest in China, at almost 23 %. The percentage of one-person families and nuclear families is higher in farming villages than in cities, in which 50 % of the population live, because younger generations are leaving the countryside to work in cities.

The number of people per household is 3.58 in China, 3.1 in Korea and 2.7 in Japan. All of the three countries are greatly affected by declining birthrates. The total fertility rate (TFR), which records the average number of children a woman gives birth to in her lifetime, is 1.16 for Korea (2004), 1.36 for Japan (2005) and 1.8 for China (1998). Korea's TFR falls into the lowest category worldwide. The decline in birthrates advanced in the 1980s for reasons such as the growth of the economy (Japan) and increasing levels of education (Korea and China), but the three countries had developed family planning schemes before this. These were implemented in Japan in the 1950s as the state and businesses promoted the New Life Movement, in Korea

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during the Park regime in the 1960s, and in China from the end of the 1970s with rigid regulations that remained in place until 2015. As the number of one-child families grows in Korea and China, male children tend to be favored, and there are more boys being born than girls.

Changes are emerging in methods of childbirth, too. In all three countries, births most frequently take place in hospitals. In Japan, there has been a slight increase since the 1990s in natural childbirth and in the husband being present in the delivery room. There has also been a gradual increase in Korea of husbands in the delivery room, and this trend can also be observed in China among white-collar urbanites. Nowadays, the divorce rate is low, but gradually rising in all three countries, and the traditionally negative view of divorce is on the wane.

Who Raises the Children?

Childcare is influenced by women's working conditions and the availability of public childcare facilities. Of the three countries, China has the highest labor force participation rate for females, with the number of female workers growing rapidly during the "Great Leap Forward" (1958 to 1960). The labor force participation rate of women between their 20s and early 40s was well over 80 %. After reform and the opening of the economy, however, and particularly since the 1990s, there has been an increase in layoffs and in the irregular employment of women in the service industry due to a recession affecting state-run enterprises. Accordingly, the labor force participation rate has fallen in the cities, reaching around 60 % in 2000. A considerable number of women have become full-time homemakers after being laid off. Very few new public childcare facilities, such as all-day nurseries, were built after the reforms and the introduction of market-opening policies, though they had been widespread up to the Cultural Revolution. There has been an increase in privately run kindergartens for gifted children and in couples in socially prestigious jobs or positions hiring village women to do their housework and childcare duties. Compared to Japan and Korea, the husband takes on more housework and childcare duties, but women bear the main burden of combining family and work.

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Korea's female labor force participation rate according to age is at its lowest during the childbirth and childcare periods, and the graph forms an "M shape" with the reentry of women to the labor force after childcare. From the 1980s, the labor force participation rate in Korea for women in their 20s increased, achieved by relatives such as the mother's husband or mother and neighbors helping with childcare. The system provides 90 days of leave for childbirth, and under the childcare leave system implemented in 2001, parents with children six years old and under who are not yet in elementary school can apply for up to one year's childcare leave. Most people who avail themselves of this are women. In 2008, only 2 % of those who took childcare leave were men.

In Japan, working women have been calling for the establishment of public childcare facilities since the 1950s. After-school programs, many of which are privately run, have been set up as a result of the efforts of parents. Public facilities are unable to keep up with demand, and many children are on waiting lists. In cities, there is generally no help available from the couple's parents, relatives or neighbors, making wives and mothers, on whom the principal burden of childcare continues to fall, isolated when it comes to childcare. The Child Care and Family Care Leave Law introduced in 1992 has been revised a number of times and encourages fathers to take leave, but just over one percent of those eligible actually took it as of 2006. Although many fathers want to take childcare leave, workplace conditions prevent them from doing so. According to opinion polls, many women would like to return to work if the daycare options were conducive to this, and if this number were added to the number of women working throughout their period of childrearing, the labor force participation rate by age in Japan would be similar in shape to China's, with women working after marriage and childbirth. The same can be said for Korea.

Cases can be observed of some female university graduates in Korea quitting their jobs for the sake of their child's education. Some women have resigned from their jobs to look after their children, and some have gone abroad with their child to English-speaking countries to ensure that he or she learns the English language. The education-minded mother in Japan is absorbed in her child's school entrance examinations. In all three countries, mothers and fathers often make it a priority to acquire funds and time for their children's education.

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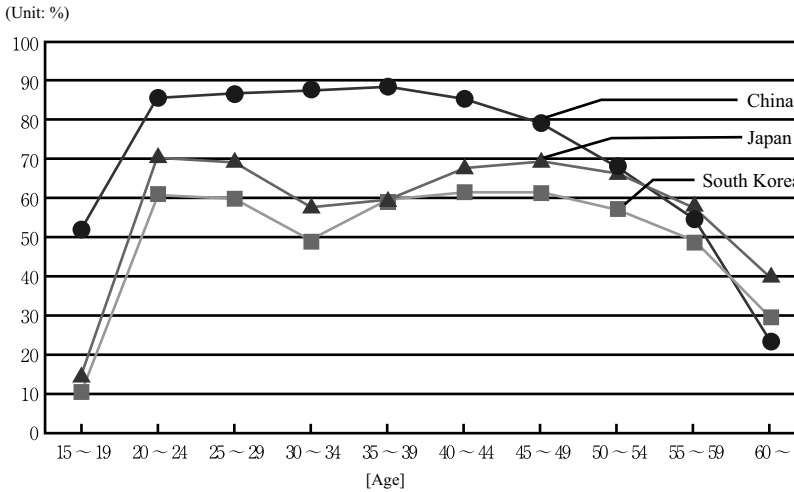

Sources:
Chinese data: National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, Census in 2000; South Korea data: Bureau of Statistics, *Annual report on the economically active population survey,* 2000; Japanese data: Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, *Report on the labor force survey*, 2000.

Figure 43: Female Labor Participation Rates in China, Japan and Korea according to age group.

Who Cares for the Elderly?

In 2008, 20 % of Japan's population was over the age of 65 years – the highest aging rate in the world – and the same age group in Korea in 2005 stood at 9.1 % of the population, with estimates of it reaching 13 % in 2018. In China, the population over the age of 60 was 7.1 % in 2000, and this is expected to reach 14 % in 2030. This section will provide a general survey of the care-giving situation for elderly people in these three countries. The first East Asian country to experience an aged society, Japan, implemented a long-term care insurance system in 2000. Under this system, people aged 40 years and over pay monthly premiums and are then entitled to access care services provided by social welfare organizations and businesses according to their mental or physical situation. This system has to some extent relieved women

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who had been caring for parents, in–laws and husbands. However, in 2004, 45 % of such care was undertaken by a spouse or a spouse of a child, whereas children accounted for 19 % of caregivers, and service providers only 13.6 %. The reality is that mostly wives and daughters continue to do this work. Just over 20 % of men take childcare or nursing care leave to do care work. Although there is a higher tolerance among companies for employees taking nursing care leave than childcare leave, the nursing care insurance system is beginning to undermine the idea that caregiving is the family's responsibility.

In Korea in the 1970s, the mainstream idea was that the eldest son or all sons would look after the parents in their old age, or that the parents would look after themselves. In the 1990s, however, the majority opinion came to be that the children best able to help – be they sons or daughters – and the government and society should be responsible. In reality, the caregivers are usually the eldest son and his wife, followed by the spouse, then daughters and their husbands, then other sons and their wives (2002). In 2008, Korea enforced the Elderly Long-term Care Insurance Law.

China does not have a social care insurance system. The spouse is the primary caregiver, both in cities and farming villages, followed by the son (although in farming villages, it is much more often his spouse), daughter, the spouse of a child, a care service provider, and finally retired volunteers. People generally grow old at home. Retired volunteer care, which is basically unheard of in Korea and Japan, is possible due to welfare activities conducted by local communities.

It is common in China, Japan, and Korea for wives and daughters to provide care for the elderly. The role of the daughter-in–law in Korean and Chinese lineal family concepts and the modern Japanese family system continues to thrive in the sphere of caregiving to make up for the deficiencies of welfare systems for the elderly in these countries. This might be considered the present-day version of the idea of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" and "Good Husband, Wise Father": caring for one's parents while efficiently managing the children's education.

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The Sex Trade and Sexuality

This section discusses the characteristics of the modern sex trade in China, Japan and Korea, a serious violation of women's fundamental human rights. In addition to the conventional system of prostitution, networks of people (procurers, prostitutes) and places (brothels, "comfort stations") connected to the sex trade developed in modern East Asia. These were bolstered by the introduction by Japan of licensed red-light districts (designated areas for brothels) as it advanced into Korea and Northeastern China, state-regulated prostitution in its colonies of Taiwan and Korea, and the Japanese military's system of "comfort stations" that expanded throughout East and Southeast Asia from 1932. What is the situation today?

In China, brothels in Beijing were closed down in November 1949 based on a resolution passed by the Beijing City People's Congress. After being sent to rehabilitation facilities for education and training, the women were provided with assistance in finding marriage partners and jobs. Brothel proprietors were sentenced to death or imprisonment or were reeducated at rehabilitation facilities. Following Beijing's lead, brothels all over the country were done away with, as the local situation dictated. The sex trade resurfaced and became prevalent, however, during the economic growth following reform and the open-door policies. In 1991, the executive committee of the National People's Congress passed the first Decision on Strictly Forbidding the Selling and Buying of Sex. Unlike the situation in the 1980s, when prostitutes openly negotiated with clients on busy streets and in entertainment districts, in the 1990s, women engaging in sex work after migrating from rural areas or being laid off did so during the course of related jobs such as hostessing in dance halls.

In post-World War II Korea and Japan, there was a close link between the US military bases established in the early 1950s (in Okinawa, from 1945) and violence against women as well as the sex trade. First, the prewar system of state-regulated prostitution was abolished in Korea by the US military administration, and in occupied Japan by GHQ order (1946). At the same time, however, prostitution and related businesses targeting US soldiers began to thrive in the areas surrounding US bases. In Korea, such areas were known as "camp towns." Women in camp towns were subject to violent treatment by soldiers and had to undergo checkups for sexually transmitted diseases

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to prevent the soldiers from being infected. Similar procedures were carried out on women in "comfort women" facilities set up by the Japanese when the Allied forces arrived (August 1945 to March 1946) and other women in these areas who coupled with American soldiers were coerced into undergoing them. Secondly, there have been numerous incidents around the US bases in Japan with members of the US military forces committing rape, assault or murder, and these still occur today. "Comfort women" facilities for soldiers of the Korean military and UN forces were set up during the Korean War based on the experiences of the Japanese army's "comfort stations" during the war and the "comfort women" facilities set up for the Allied forces after the Second World War.

Directly after the abolition of state-regulated prostitution, the Japanese government reorganized former red-light districts and permitted prostitution, leading to its expansion and an increase in the number of women trafficked. Through the efforts of women activists and female Diet members who opposed the sex trade, the Anti-Prostitution Law was passed in 1956. However, because it mainly penalized women and only banned sexual intercourse, various sex entertainment industries, such as bathhouses with private rooms that were known as "soaplands," continue to thrive today. Furthermore, sex tours were popular in the 1970s, with Japanese company employees going to Korea, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia for sex and *Kieseng* (*Kisaaeng*) or Korean geisha tours. In 1961, Korea passed a law similar to Japan's Anti-Prostitution Law, the Act on the Prevention of Morally Degrading Behavior, but at the same time, the government encouraged the tourism industry and hosted *Kieseng* tours from Japan, which, however, were subsequently banned due to international criticism. Later, women from countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea went to Japan through intermediary agents, and were forced to engage in sex work, and Japan became a destination country for international human trafficking. Meanwhile, Russian women have become a more common sight, even in Korea's camp towns. Women from Eastern Europe can also be found working in Japan.

Since 1990, there has been a prevalence of young girls in the sex trade in Japan and Korea. In 2004, Korea enacted the Act on the Punishment of Procuring Prostitution and Associated Acts and the Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims Thereof. There were protests from

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some women that this would take away their livelihood, but the law drew attention to gender relations and also raised the issue of the victims' livelihood security, thus making further progress in abolishing the sex trade.

Part 2 of this chapter mentioned the enactment of laws punishing domestic violence. The sexual dominance of men over women lies at the root of violence against women – not all victims are wives – and the sex trade. This is particularly so in East Asia, where concubinage was still officially recognized in modern times. The state of gender relations had become more complex by the end of the twentieth century, and its very foundations are beginning to be questioned. It is through this questioning that the search can take place for respect for gender diversity and the variety of human relations from which families are created.

Rites of Passage: Celebrations of Long Life

In China, a party is held when one turns 20 years old under the traditional East Asian way of age reckoning. The same happens at 30 years, 40 years, and 50 years, with a grand party held at 70 years. In one area in Hunan Province, the celebrations begin the day before the birthday. After a village banquet, a stage is set up in the garden and a theater company is invited to perform a local drama. People in the neighborhood also come to watch. Sometimes there are fireworks. In Korea, relatives gather to celebrate when a person turns 60 years old. With today's higher life expectancy, however, the celebrations have come to take place at 70 and 80 years. In Japan, one's 60th birthday is celebrated by giving the person a red half-coat (*haori*) and enjoying a meal together. A person's 77th and 88th birthdays are also celebrated.

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Timeline

1871 Japan enacts the Family Registration Law.
1880 Japan enacts a Penal Code; the crime of adultery applies only to women.
1888 Park Young-hyo calls for elevation of the status of women in the Appeal of Enlightenment (Joseon).
1896 Inaugural issue of *The Independent* Korea criticizes early marriage and the concubine system and calls for the education of women.
1897 Liang Qichao advocates the need for women's education. The reformers establish Jingshi Women's School (Qing Dynasty).
1898 Japan enacts and enforces section in Civil Code on relatives and succession (Family Law) and establishes the Head of Family system.
1899 Japan enacts the Ordinance on High Schools for Girls and advocates the idea of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother."
1907 The Qing government enacts a Law for School for Female Teachers and a Law for Elementary School for Girls with the aim of advancing the idea of "Wise Wife, Good Mother" education.
1911 Japan's Hiratsuka Raicho launches the journal *Seito* (Bluestocking).
1912 In China, the draft Civil Code partly acknowledges the wife's right to inherit her husband's property, among other rights. The Korean Ordinance on Civil Matters is enforced.
1915 In China, the first issue of *Xin Qingnian* (*New Youth*) is published, criticizing traditional family morality.
1919 The provisional constitution of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea declares gender equality and the abolition of the licensed prostitution system.
1920 Korea's Kim Won-joo launches *Sinyeoja* (*New Women*), asserting the right to love and marry the person of one's choice and rejecting the morality of chastity.
1930 China's Nationalist Government enacts and promulgates a section in the Civil Code on relatives and succession, repealing the surname exogamy system.
1931 The Chinese Soviet Republic enacts and promulgates marriage regulations, providing for freedom to marry and divorce.
1934 China's Nationalist Government enacts and promulgates the Criminal Law, applying the crime of adultery to both men and women.
1939 Fourth amendment of the Korean Ordinance on Civil Matters. The *soshi kaimei* (*changssi gaemyoeng*) (creation of a family name) system is enforced.
1946 The *soshi kamei* system is abolished in Korea through the Name Restoration Order by laws issued by the US military administration. Women's suffrage realized in Japan.
1947 Japan amends Civil Code and abolishes the *ie* system. The Penal Code is also amended, abolishing the crime of adultery.
1948 Women's suffrage introduced in Korea.

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1949 The Marriage Law is enacted in China. Beijing City People's Congress votes to close down brothels.
1950 The People's Republic of China enacts and promulgates the Marriage Law, prescribing freedom for all to marry, and monogamy.
1954 Japan's Liberal Party plans to amend the constitution and reinstate the traditional *ie* system (withdrawn due to strong opposition).
1956 Japan enacts anti-prostitution law.
1958 Korea promulgates new Civil Code (nearly identical to the provisions in Part 4 "Hoju (Head of Family) and the Family" in Japan's former Civil Code).
1961 Korea passes Act on the Prevention of Morally Degrading Behavior. Japan establishes Spousal Tax Deduction System.
1989 Korea substantially amends the Civil Code and Family Law (relatives and succession).
1992 China enacts Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests and Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Minors.
1994 Korea enacts Special Act on Sexual Violence.
1995 China enacts Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly.
1996 Japan's Legislative Council submits reform bill allowing couples to elect to retain separate family names. The bill is rejected.
1997 Korea enacts Prevention of Domestic Violence Act.
1999 Japan enacts Act on Punishment of Activities Relating to Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.
2001 The People's Republic of China enacts the Marriage and Family Law. Japan enacts Act on the Prevention of Spousal Violence and the Protection of Victims.
2004 Korea enacts Act on the Prevention of Prostitution and Protection of Victims Thereof.
2005 Korea amends the Civil Code and Family Law, abolishing the *Hoju* system and the ban on same name/ancestral home marriages. China enforces Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests.

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Chapter 6:
Education: Forging the Nation

Education in premodern times was the realm of the upper-class elites, whereas modern education targets the masses. Through education, the modern state aimed to cultivate "nationals" to fit into society and contribute to the development of the state. Unifying the nation and maintaining society were important functions of education as devised by the modern state. The people, on the other hand, believed that by receiving an education, they could improve the quality of their lives and their social standing. These two different expectations both drove popular demand for education. Although this meant that education in modern society promoted social mobility, it also served to further solidify social classes and reproduce the existing social system. The educated enjoyed social rights, but they also existed within the system created by the state. This double-edged nature of modern education is reflected in the prioritization in modern societies of instruction that was associated to life in the real world, unlike premodern education, under which – to take the Chinese example – students studied classical Confucian texts and history.

Elementary schooling is what best demonstrates the features of modern instruction, as it is the first step in public education and serves as the foundation for education of the people as a whole. The expansion of elementary education was also a method for the nurturing of the human resources necessary for the success of the modern nation-state. This chapter explores the features and development of modern education in China, Japan, and Korea by looking at elementary education in the three countries.

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1. The Beginnings of Modern Education

The Spread of Premodern Education among the Masses

It was principally the upper strata of society that enjoyed education in premodern China, Japan and Korea. Those in the upper classes were educated based on the idea that they were to become government officials who would rule the country and right society's wrongs. They studied the teachings of the sages and learned about history. Sometimes they wrote poems and learned to draw so that they could enjoy their spare time in a dignified manner. Such education was far from the daily reality of ordinary people, who worked hard to survive each day. Under the Korean and Chinese systems, it was possible for the child of a poor family or farmers to receive an education, pass the civil service examination and become a public servant, but in reality, this was extremely difficult to achieve. Gradual changes could be observed in premodern education. With social and financial changes, economic strength became an important means for maintaining social status, which therefore began to lose its dependence on social class. A broader sector of society began receiving an education. In particular, there was major growth in the number of institutions offering elementary-level education to the masses.

In China, academies (*shuyuan*) – which had been popular during the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties – reemerged during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) after a temporary decline during the Ming era (1368–1644). Academies were private educational institutions established in village areas and were semi-governmental in nature. They taught neo-Confucianism and held rituals for ancient Confucian sages. Academy education was mostly aimed at children from influential social classes in the villages, but some "commoners" were also able to study there. In secondary-level institutions, academies mainly served to prepare students for the civil service examinations. Elementary educational institutions were either *shexue* or *yixue.* The former were established by the government in each township, but during the agricultural off-season they were charged with providing basic education to the children of farmers. *Yixue* originally were established to educate children from impoverished classes, but during the Qing Dynasty, they were also set up in various areas where minorities lived

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to take charge of educating the children there. In addition, various forms of private educational institutions were established throughout the villages, including home schools (*sishu*). These served to supplement public educational institutions, of which there were not enough, to provide a basic education to the people.

Around the same time, during the Edo period (1603–1867) in Japan and the later Joseon period in Korea, there was major growth in elementary-level educational institutions. We speak of *soedang* in Korea and *terakoya* in Japan. The schools mostly taught reading and writing, and Confucianism, but gradually also began to teach about a wider range of matters with the intent of broadening pupils' minds and giving them information useful in real life; these included facts on public figures, nature, and social phenomena. The latter part of the Joseon period saw a great increase in the number of *soedang* across the country. It was not just the *yangban* who were educated there, but also the children of *chungin* and *sangmin* families.[51] At *soedang*, children became familiar with reading and wrote their own compositions, studied basic Confucian teachings, and read history textbooks. Japan's *terakoya* were elementary-level educational institutions for ordinary people that were privately run and taught basic knowledge necessary for everyday life, such as reading, dictation, and sums. Most *terakoya* were small in scale, with a few dozen students each, but some were larger and served several hundred children. Around the end of the Edo period, there were over a thousand *terakoya* in Edo alone and it is estimated that there were 30,000 to 40,000 across the country. This increase in the number of educational institutions for the broader population became the foundation for the later introduction of Western education.

51 The *yangban*, *chungin* (middle class), and *sangmin* ("common" people) formed the Joseon class system. The *yangban* were the ruling class and had special privileges. *Chungin* were lower-ranking government officials in the central and provincial offices or those in charge of military service, and it was the class joined by people with skilled occupations such as official interpreters, doctors, and pharmacists. *Sangmin* were engaged in agriculture, industry, and commerce, and were the class that bore the main responsibility of paying taxes to the state.

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Figure 44: A *soedang* in the late Joseon period. Reading and writing, and the basic Confucian scriptures, were the main subjects taught. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

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Figure 45: A *terakoya* in Japan. These schools provided individual teaching and the teachers were ordinary people, warriors, or monks. *Terakoya* flourished in the late Edo period. Courtesy of Tokyo Metropolitan Library.

The Introduction of Western Education

In the early sixteenth century, more and more Europeans were traveling to and from Asia, creating more opportunities for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean contact with the West. Interest in Western culture grew. During the Edo period, books about Western science and systems were brought to Japan by the Dutch and translated into Japanese. As a result, what was known as "Dutch Studies" (in other words, "Western Studies") began to develop, through which more and more Japanese came in contact with Western knowledge and medicine. In China, too, books that introduced Western geography and culture were compiled in the early nineteenth century. These became known as "Chinese translations of Western learning" and were circulated from China to Korea and Japan, where they helped

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Korean enlightenment intellectuals and Japanese Restoration advocates understand the West.

In the mid-nineteenth century, as China, Japan and Korea clashed with and were defeated by Western countries and were pressured to open their doors, they became more aware of the need to take in "things Western" and gain new knowledge, and schools were thus established to impart Western knowledge and scholarship. A typical example is the School of Combined Learning (Tongwen Guan), a national school for foreign languages established in Beijing in 1862. It was very difficult, however, to suddenly make the switch from traditional thought and education. An argument therefore arose advocating the infusion of Western technologies into Chinese knowledge and thought ("Chinese Substance and Western Function") and the addition of new elements to the foundations of traditional systems ("Adding New to Old"). Examples of schools of this type include "The New School," founded by the Qing as a result of the Self-Strengthening Movement,[52] Wonsan Academy (Wonsan Haksa), established by Korea's pro-enlightenment officials and local sympathizers to teach things Western, and the Royal English School (Yookyoung-Gongwon), founded by the Joseon government to teach English and Western scholarship to *yangban* children. Japan was more active than the Qing and Joseon in welcoming Western knowledge. In the 1860s, the shogunate and principal domains dispatched students to the West, who later spearheaded the education policies of the new Meiji government and adopted Western-style education methods.

Enlightenment intellectuals in the three countries believed that adopting a new system of Western education and nurturing human resources was the way to maintain sovereign independence and create a powerful and prosperous nation. They stressed the importance of learning as they devoted themselves to the education movement. In Japan, Fukuzawa Yukichi, an influential thinker of the time, emphasized the value of education, and advocated moving away from the content of premodern education that entailed students reading ancient texts and writing poetry, and instead focusing learning on matters that might be useful in everyday life, such as

52 A movement in the 1860s, after the Taiping Rebellion and the Second Opium War, led by Qing bureaucrats such as Li Hongzhang, with the aim of introducing Western technologies to society in order to build a wealthy nation and strong military.

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Figure 46: Students in China. Modern public schools were established in shrines seized after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. The education movement led by the reformers served as the foundation for the new education system. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

the *kana* characters (Japanese syllabary), how to write letters and prepare ledgers, and how to use the abacus and scales. Fukuzawa opened the Rangaku Juku (School of Dutch Studies) in 1858, renaming it Keio Gijuku in 1868, and devoted himself to the education movement, compiling books such as *Seiyo Jijo* (Things Western, 1866) and *Sekai Kunizukushi* (All the Countries of the World, 1869), which he used as textbooks. Fukuzawa asserted that all children in Japan, regardless of sex, should attend school on reaching a certain age, even if the state had to make this compulsory. He believed that education should be mandatory for all, and that if Japan made full use of its human resources, it could become powerful.[53] Mori Arinori, who was the first minister of education of the Meiji government, stressed the importance of educating women, arguing that they were part of the nation, and that it was the mother's education that determined her child's wisdom or stupidity. His idea of women's education, which placed emphasis on the "good wife and wise mother," came from the notion that the ultimate goal of education was to benefit the nation.

In the late 1890s, Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei and others launched a

53 "I have always supported the compulsory approach, and all boys and girls should receive education (or attend school) upon reaching a certain age. I believe that learning is of vital importance to Japan today." Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Gakumon no Dokuritsu* (On the Independence of Learning, 1883).

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reform movement in China which called for drastic institutional and legislative reform. They believed that for the country to develop, it needed institutional reform similar to that which had taken place during the Meiji Restoration in Japan. In particular, they believed that the West had become rich and powerful due to developments in education, and so they emphasized major reform in that sector. Liang Qichao argued that "[t]he nurturing of human resources is fundamental to reform. To nurture these resources, we must establish schools, and to build schools, we must change the classical examination system for public service." He asserted that Western technologies should be taught together with Western politics, which would be the foundation of learning. Kang Youwei also stressed the importance of education, stating, "There is nothing more pressing than education for opening up a new world for China." Even before the actual reform movement began, reformists had been engaged in the education movement and made efforts to build schools. Kang Youwei founded the school Wanmu Caotang in Guangzhou in 1891, and Shiwu Xuetang was established in Changsha in 1897 with Xiong Xiling as director and Liang Qichao as school principal, and both these schools promoted a modern education. The reform movement suffered setbacks due to a backlash from conservative forces, but the education movement laid the groundwork for a new education system and is believed to have had a major impact on the vernacular language movement, which focused on pragmatic education and the use of characters that were easier to read and write. There was also growing public interest in education, and from the dawn of the twentieth century, more and more concerned nationals established academies in the pursuit of social reform through education. On the strength of this trend, it was not long before the number of private academies surpassed that of public ones. Traditional educational institutions established privately also gradually turned into schools.

In Korea, it was mainly the enlightenment thinkers who welcomed Western education, believing that Korean sovereignty could be maintained by cultivating people's abilities through learning. They turned their efforts to learning English and Japanese on their own and studying abroad, learning about new topics, launching newspapers, and building schools to spread modern culture and knowledge. Yu Gil-jun, who was the first Korean to study in the West, wrote *Seoyu Gyeonmun* (Observations on Travels in

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the West) in 1895 to share his thoughts on the future direction of Korean society based on what he had experienced on his travels. He had seen that the difference between a country with a good way of life and one without lay in its people's desire for education. The poverty or wealth, strength or weakness, and life or death of a country depended on whether it had high or low standards for national education. Yu Gil-jun believed that the state should invest in education so that what he called the sinister elements of the population might be enlightened and rescued from poverty. In other words, the masses were ignorant and if they were enlightened through education, they would not impede the promotion of government policies and the country would develop. This perception of the masses could be observed in the thought of many enlightenment activists, leading to the establishment of private schools and contributing to the spread of education among the common people.

Modern School Systems as Foundations for Nation-Building

Japan's Meiji government stipulated that people had three major duties: military service, paying taxes, and receiving education. In 1872, it promulgated the Fundamental Code of Education (*Gakusei*) that stipulated, among others, the regulations of elementary and middle schools. The year 1877 saw the foundation of the University of Tokyo (later renamed Tokyo Imperial University). In 1871, the Ministry of Education was set up to deal with all education-related matters and make elementary education compulsory for all. Through the Fundamental Code of Education, *terakoya* and private schools were integrated into elementary schools. The principles of the new system included education with students' future careers in mind, education for all, and pragmatic learning. The government took the lead in establishing elementary schools after the system's promulgation.

As the liberal ideas of the West filtered in, opposition arose to government-led centralized education. Under the influence of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, the Fundamental Code of Education of 1872 was abolished in 1879 and a new Education Ordinance (*Kyoiku-rei*) that was strongly liberalist in character and decentralized was promulgated. As a result, the conditions required for setting up a school were eased and it

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became simpler to establish private schools. It became possible to design educational content that gave consideration to people's actual lives.

Figure 47: A class in an elementary school in late nineteenth century Japan. Japan was the first country in East Asia to implement reforms to its education system. Source: private collection.

Nevertheless, in opposition to the trend toward liberal education, the Meiji government gave the Ministry of Education more power to interfere and control education and revived traditional Confucian education. With the whole country regarded as one family, and the relationship between emperor and subject likened to that of parent and child, this was part of an attempt to establish a political system centered on the emperor. The government passed centralized laws and regulations of all kinds, and emphasized moral education about humanity, justice, loyalty to superiors, and filial piety. In 1880, the Education Ordinance was revised to make school compulsory, and detailed instructions were given for the establishment of elementary schools in towns and villages. The Outline of Elementary School Rules enacted in 1881 was similar to today's curriculum guidelines, and uniformly prescribed the school curriculum, which until then had been designed freely. Under the Outline of Elementary School Rules, the most

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important subjects were Ethics, to establish the morals of the people, and Japanese History. To enforce these policies, the Imperial Rescript on Education[54] was promulgated in the emperor's name in 1890; it stated these educational ideals in 12 parts and asserted:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. … always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.

The Imperial Rescript on Education provided the basic principles and practical ethics for education from a nationalistic (state-centered) point of view, and incorporated Confucian values such as loyalty, filial piety, and obedience. It was an attempt to introduce an education based on feudal ethics and with the aim of strengthening the loyalty of the people to the state and their belief in the emperor's nature as a sacred being. The ultimate objective was to raise nationals who would willingly give their lives for the emperor in event of war, to maintain the emperor system, and to strengthen the emperor-centric political system. Though there were degrees of difference, a shared feature among China, Japan, and Korea in their processes of developing modern education systems at that time can be found in their tendency to seek to augment the influence of rulers and of the authorities based on traditional ethics.

In 1886, the Meiji government promulgated educational ordinances for each level of schooling and developed its education system. Under the Elementary School Ordinance, elementary schools were reorganized into four-year "ordinary elementary schools" and four-year "higher elementary schools," with the former being compulsory. However, as the government

54 The Imperial Rescript on Education was distributed widely throughout the country together with a portrait of the emperor, and was instilled into the minds of children by its reading aloud at ceremonies during national holidays, the obligation on children to bow to it each day, and its centrality in classes that focused on "moral training."

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continued to collect tuition fees, it set up a simpler course to provide basic education for those unable to afford them.

In China, the issue of educational reform came to the forefront after the country's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895, and China made some progress in copying Japan's modern educational system. In 1898, the Imperial University of Peking, a national university, was established to replace the Guozijian (Imperial Academy), which had been the highest institution of learning in premodern Chinese society. In 1902, the Peking School of Combined Learning was incorporated into the Imperial University of Peking. Academies and other institutions for elementary education were reorganized and the government began to push for the establishment of elementary, and lower and upper secondary-level academies throughout the country. These education reforms, enacted in 1898 in just one hundred days as part of the "Hundred Day Reforms," were interrupted by the conservatives' return to power. After the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, however, the new government made renewed efforts to reorganize the academies and other educational institutions, and the reform of the education system continued. The next important steps were the 1902 Renyin School System Ordinance and the 1903 Guimao School System Ordinance, which provided for a modern educational system that covered kindergarten, elementary, secondary and higher education. Further, the reform separated the administration of schools from that of the education system in general and abolished the civil service examination system. Free education for children from less affluent families and education for girls were institutionalized. With these changes, the Qing strengthened the foundations of a modern education system.

Unchanged, however, remained the idea of education with "Chinese Substance and Western Function." The main aim of elementary education was for pupils to gain knowledge of the world and learn the reading and writing skills necessary for life in society. Otherwise, education was carried out with the idea that it provided the foundation for nurturing patriotism by supplying the knowledge and ethics that students needed as Chinese, as well as helping their physical development.

In Korea, the government put its efforts into building a modern educational system during and after the Gabo Reform of 1894. King Gojong issued the Decree of Nation-Building through Education in 1895, which was

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modeled on Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education. It said: "My subjects, your ancestors were good subjects whom my ancestors looked after and raised, and as you too have inherited their loyalty to their monarch and love for their country, you too are good subjects whom I will look after and raise." We can perceive here a ruling ideology orientated toward the monarchy, with the Korean people regarded as subjects and emphasis placed on loyalty and patriotism. The King, however, clearly communicated his intent to speed up educational reform, and emphasized an education that combined knowledge, morals, and physical health over one that focused on traditional knowledge.

Soon after, the Joseon government promulgated ordinances for elementary school and middle school and improved the educational system for these accordingly. Under the 1895 Elementary School Ordinance, elementary education aimed to "teach the basics of national education and the general knowledge and faculties needed for daily life." The period of elementary schooling lasted five to six years, with three years of regular studies and two to three years of higher studies. Ordinances on teachers' colleges, language schools and medical schools began to appear, and the modern school system was established. Courses on Confucianism were set up in the *Seonggyungwan*, which served as the highest institution for Confucian education and also taught other classes such as history, geography, and arithmetic. By the beginning of the twentieth century, many different kinds of schools had arisen in Korea.

Group Learning and Fostering Patriotism

Before the introduction of Western education, the methods used in China, Japan, and Korea had involved learning to read and write and reciting Confucian texts. Teachers did not have a set curriculum and taught according to custom or individual judgment. Even if a number of children were studying in the same environment, they did not learn the same things and studied according to their individual degrees of progress. Rather than teaching certain content bit by bit, the role of the teacher was to check on what the children had studied. This was a form of individual study.

School life in modern times offered a completely different experience

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from that imparted in premodern educational institutions. Lessons were systematized, and so were the various educational activities carried out in and outside of school. Rules controlled what students wore and what they did during the day. They attended school at an appointed time each morning. Instead of wrapping their things in a traditional carrying cloth (*furoshiki*), they each carried bags on their backs that contained textbooks and notebooks, and other school supplies. Before and after school, the teacher came to the classroom for morning and end-of-day assemblies, where they took attendance registers and made various announcements. A bell rang to indicate the beginning and end of class. Teachers and students greeted one another before and after class. At the end of the day, the students followed set procedures to clean their classroom and other designated areas. This school life fulfilled the function of teaching children to observe the system and cultivated their sense of responsibility. The standardized lessons and school life were part of the nationalist education policies that attempted to control students and teachers through rules and regulations.

Children were organized into classes and studied within these units. Each class was assigned a "homeroom" teacher who would guide the students. Classes were carried out in modern schools using group learning, by which the teacher explained the same learning content to all students in the class at once; this had not been a feature of premodern education. Teachers taught students predetermined content according to the school curriculum, and this is what the students had to learn. The state, and not the teachers, determined how the curriculum was managed.

Education in modern schools also took place during extracurricular activities. In contrast to earlier forms of schooling, there were many extracurricular activities in place, including excursions, sports days and exhibitions. These were carried out to promote solidarity and cooperation among the students and foster their creativity. They also served as measures to strengthen the state's control over the people. School excursions were introduced in Meiji Japan as an outdoor student activity. When first introduced, they were called "exercise excursions," which indicated that excursions were a form of exercise, during which students walked long distances together. Excursions encouraged students to become aware of the importance of physical strength and cultivate a group consciousness. They were also influenced by the military-style gymnastics expounded by Mori

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Arinori, the education minister at the time. Excursions were also held during special events and anniversaries. For example, the journal of an elementary school in Aichi Prefecture describes a graduation excursion in May 1888 as follows. "Today, we took 19 graduates of the school on an excursion to Yatsuhashi Village. We left the school gates at 10 a.m. and the students all marched, shouldering backpacks and carrying wooden guns, full of life as they loudly sang military songs. The people we marched past watched us with admiration."

It was ten kilometers from the school to Yatsuhashi village. The children made the return journey of 20 kilometers in full military dress. They also worshipped at the shrine in Yatsuhashi Village. As this episode illustrates, the general practice for a school excursion was for the students to march to a historical place and return to school after visiting the shrine there.

There was a similar type of outdoor activity for students in Korea. During the Great Han Empire, schools used excursions as a way to train students' minds. They would leave their schools to go to pleasant natural environments such as mountains and rivers where they enjoyed the day, but the journey there and back was carried out with perfect order and discipline. Even on reaching their destination, rather than playing the students mostly engaged in activities involving singing, and listening to lectures intended to heighten their patriotism. Although the exact content of the activities differed, the nature of Korean school excursions in this era did not differ much from those in Meiji Japan. Thus, after Korea was forcibly annexed by Japan, the idea of school excursions as practiced in Japan did not seem strange to the people of colonized Korea. A school excursion on June 27, 1911, undertaken by pupils of Keisin Elementary School in Seoul, involved a round trip to Hengju Mountain Castle, which was about 20 kilometers away. Carrying two or three rice balls wrapped in *furoshiki*, the students made the journey led by their teachers. From our perspective today, this would be considered a "march" rather than an excursion.

Sports day events were held in addition to the outdoor activities described above. Often, they were held on the school's athletics field, but in many cases there would be an excursion with the sports day event being held at the destination. A large-scale event took place on an annual basis, and it was not just for students and teachers but took on the character of a community event, with locals also participating.

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The military spirit was also emphasized in Chinese modern education, and military classes were incorporated into the curriculum. After the 1900 Boxer Rebellion in particular, military education was implemented in schools. This was called National Military Education. Elementary, middle and high schools were grouped into platoons, squadrons and battalions, and children were organized like the military. To discipline their bodies and minds, exercise, physical education and sports day events were an important part of learning activities at all levels of schooling, with strong links to military education. In elementary school, children were taught to be brave and given knowledge about military affairs to teach them to follow rules. Sports day events and outdoor activities were also carried out as ways to train children to become physically stronger. Sports day events were held among schools to encourage competition. There were event activities that involved the students marching on snowy mountain roads with a gun in their hand. Cultural activities such as newspapers, drama, literature, and art were also used to cultivate the children's emotions and foster their sense of being people of China.

The Role of Teachers in Modern Education

Teachers' professional skills were crucial to modern education. Teachers had to be thoroughly familiar with the content they taught to each group of children, who were organized into classes, and they had to understand how to effectively communicate it. In addition to teaching classes, they also gave students individual guidance on life matters and performed administrative tasks. They advised students on their activities in the classroom and on the sports ground, as well as on etiquette and long-term holiday activities. Teachers also determined what students were not allowed to do and punished offenders accordingly. They had to supervise all the schoolrooms, monitor security, entertain guests and oversee construction.

When modern education first began, very few teachers had the skills to do all this. China, Japan, and Korea thus had to quickly train teachers in the process of introducing the new style of education. The training of elementary school teachers was the most important task at the time.

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2. The Reinforcement of State-Centered Education Policies

High Hopes for Education and the Spread of Elementary Schooling

The goal of the Japanese school system was expressed in the slogan "Not one home in the village and not one person in the family will be left uneducated." The Meiji government pledged to ensure that everyone would be given a proper education. The result of this policy was a major increase in the number of enrolments in schools; in 1878, there were 12,000 elementary schools in total throughout Japan and the enrolment rate reached 41.26 %. This state-led policy for the expansion of elementary education failed, however, to induce an active response from the masses. Much of the educational content remained disassociated from realities of daily life and the burden of school fees was a cause for hesitation among parents. Elementary school enrolment increased in 1886, when ordinary elementary schooling became compulsory. The rise in the status of modern education and growing awareness of its necessity also contributed to the growth in school attendance rates. Thus, by the early twentieth century, the elementary school attendance rate for boys was more than 90 %, and most boys and girls were attending school by 1910.

The Korean government, too, started the reform of the education system by introducing elementary-level education. It built elementary schools in the capital and then established public ordinary elementary schools in more than ten areas that were under direct rule of the court. By 1896, it had built schools in more than 20 locations and made great efforts to further expand elementary education. Unlike Japan, Korea did not make education compulsory and public school attendance rates were not very high, but by the end of the Great Han Empire, the numbers of public schools and students attending them were on the rise. By 1905, there were over 1,900 children attending 22 public schools in Korea. By 1909, just before Korea was annexed by Japan, these numbers had grown to about 17,000 students attending 101 schools.

Private education was expanding faster than education in public schools. Around the time of the 1905 Japan-Korea Treaty, enlightenment activists, who believed that nurturing people's capabilities through education was key to saving Korea, began to build schools all around the country. By 1908,

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there were several thousand private schools in existence, most of which provided elementary-level education. After the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905, however, the Japanese interfered with Korean education. Japan sent inspectors to all schools in Korea and became involved in their school policies. It regulated the education system and the content to be taught through two ordinances issued in 1906 and 1909. Elementary schools were renamed "normal schools," and the subject of history was not taught here. In 1908, the Japanese Resident-General of Korea promulgated the Private School Ordinance and further suppressed Korean ethnic education.

In the 1910s, when Korea was under colonial rule, elementary education was not available to all children. Many Koreans did not want a Japanese colonial education. Furthermore, Korea's intellectuals still favored traditional educational institutions such as the *soedang*, and ordinary people did not feel an urgent need for modern education. It was only after the March First Movement in 1919 that things began to change. Social awareness of and popular enthusiasm for the need for education grew after the March First Movement, and there were calls for the Office of the Governor-General of Korea to build more ordinary schools. The Governor-General launched a plan to build one school for every three townships but this fell far from meeting the demands of the Koreans for one school per township.

Elementary education was also the main point of interest for modern education in China. China focused on making education widely available through measures such as the systematization of education for poor children, as it enacted the Renyin School System Ordinance and the Guimao School System Ordinance, and officially including women's education in the system. In 1912, directly after the Xinhai Revolution, the Nanjing Provisional Government reformed the school system that had been in place at the end of the Qing Dynasty in order to work toward strengthening elementary-level education. It promulgated laws and curricula for "normal schools" and abolished the subject of Confucianism, which was based on conventional Confucian education, replacing it with ethics. Academic subjects such as history, geography, and science, and artistic subjects such as music, handicrafts and drawing, took priority. Equality of the sexes and coeducation in elementary schools were sanctioned. The result of this focus on elementary education was that whereas there were less than three million elementary school students in 1912, the number had reached four million by

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1915, and then grew to over 5.7 million by 1919. The Renxu School System Ordinance, introduced in 1922, was modeled on America's 6–3–3 School System: six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, and three years of senior high school, followed for some by four to six years of university.

The Shift toward Child-Centered Education

The introduction of school systems and subjects from the West naturally led to interest in its educational principles. These ideas were introduced to China and Korea through Japan. At first, Prussian educational ideals were influential; these sought to cultivate a strong moral character and used methods that emphasized training children through supervision, instruction, and discipline. The state set a detailed syllabus that specified teaching content, and lecture-style teaching were seen as an important part of the process of pedagogy. Before long, the progressive and practical education emphasized by American educational ideologies came to influence schools. A wide range of twentieth-century educational ideas from Europe and America served as the driving force behind the New Education Movement. Elementary education in particular spread, and there was strong interest in the education of young children. There was a move to respect children's individuality and initiative and to treat them not as passive receivers of knowledge but as active subjects of education. The theories of John Dewey, an American educational reformer, had the most impact on the movement.

Dewey, who regarded the child's daily life as the foundation for education and stressed the importance of children's hobbies and interests, influenced the Japanese so much that they began to advocate child-centered education using theories such as liberal education and self-study. The era of Taisho Democracy saw the emergence of an educational reform movement known as "Taisho Liberal Education."[55] Sawayanagi Masataro, who put the tenets of

55 It is during this period of Taisho Democracy that the movement for liberal education grew. It advocated child-centered education and the abolishment of the hitherto existing teacher-centered "cramming system" of education. More and more teachers were

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Figure 48: Dewey (1859–1952) (front row, second from the left, next to his wife, Alice) visiting China after Japan. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

the movement into practice, established Seijo Elementary School in 1917 and began educating children in a liberal manner. Seeking to respect individuality, provide emotional guidance, and encourage children to commune with nature and engage in scientific research, Seijo Elementary School taught children in small classes. The liberal education movement developed mostly in elementary schools attached to teachers' colleges and some private schools.

In China in the 1910s, a doctrine was published stipulating moral education as the foundation for education. Borrowing from the French Revolution, it adopted liberty, equality, and fraternity as its educational ideals. There was an emphasis on a moral education founded on the feudal ethics of Yuan Shikai, but with his death and the May Fourth Movement[56] that fol-

influenced by this movement and began to teach in a more individualized way. Some even established their own schools.

56 On May 4, 1919, it was decided at the Paris Peace Conference that Germany would hand over its rights and interests in Shandong to Japan. Opposing this determination, students in Beijing held a gathering and demonstration, which the Chinese government suppressed, but the movement spread throughout the country, with gatherings, dem-

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lowed, Western ideas of modern education spread even further. Dewey stayed in China for a period of two years and two months beginning in May 1919, and delivered lectures in 11 provinces. His thoughts on education had a tremendous impact on modern education in China, leading to the spread of the idea of pragmatism in education, the strengthening of vocational education, and a movement toward child-centered education.

Tao Xingzhi introduced Dewey's theories to China and tried to put them into practice by applying them to the country's circumstances. Mindful of the fact that many people in China were unable to attend school, he modified Dewey's theory that education is life and school is society to assert that life is education and society is school. Tao expanded the scope, methods and tools of education to suit China's circumstances, and advocated learning through daily life and social experiences outside of school. Using this educational theory, he worked tirelessly for the private school movement while advocating the improvement of the daily lives of children and the masses. Tao's theory was used to emphasize the importance of education during the war against the Japanese from the 1930s to the 1940s, and continues to be a dominant theory of education in China today.

The ideas of educational philosophers such as Dewey were introduced to colonial Korea from the 1920s, when Bang Jeong-hwan launched the *Eorini* (For the Child) movement. Bang used the word *Eorini* in Korean to mean that young people are equal to adults, to encourage parents and society to respect children more and show greater interest in them. He also launched Korea's first children's literary magazine (*Eorini*), formed Saekdong-hoi,[57] a cultural association for children, and focused on promoting children's literature and art. The first of May was designated Children's Day in order to increase society's interest in children. This was later changed to May 5, and is still celebrated on this date today.

onstrations and strikes held everywhere. These events later had a major impact on the history of China.

57 The origin of the name of this group comes from the fact that there are five colors in the fabric (*saekdong*) used for the sleeves of a child's *jeogori* (a traditional Korean jacket), and a child's *jeogori* is known as *saekdong jeogori.*

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Changes in the Textbook Publication System: From Approval, to Screening, to Government Designation

In Japan, textbooks were important tools for learning about the West. Books introducing Western culture to pupils were published to serve as teaching materials in the new schools. Sometimes schools used translations of textbooks from Western schools. When modern education first came into being, textbooks were not subject to any particular government controls. This was partly because the education system was not developed enough to achieve this, but it was also because no one thought that the state should intervene in the publication and use of textbooks.

In Japan, government regulation of education grew stronger in the 1880s, and eventually a textbook screening system was introduced. In 1880, the Meiji government published a list of books that were banned as textbooks due to content that "disturbs Japan's stability and corrupts public morals." The majority of the titles on the list of banned books sought to introduce the modern spirit of democracy to Japan. Accordingly, the aim of the ban was to prevent the use of books that might run counter to the government's principles and policies. At this point, however, the government was not fully involved in the publication of textbooks.

What began as generally passive state involvement in school textbooks, however, gradually turned into the active regulation of education, finally leading to the introduction of a textbook screening system. In 1881, a system of notifying the Ministry of Education about textbooks was introduced, but in 1883 the ministry established an approval process, which became a full textbook screening system in 1886. This educational policy led to a government-designated textbook system for elementary schools. When problems arose in 1902 regarding the approval of particular titles, the Meiji government began to promote the government designation of elementary school textbooks. From 1904, all elementary schools in Japan used government-designated textbooks for the subjects of ethics, Japanese language, reading, history, and geography.[58]

Japan's textbook system arrived in Korea through imperialistic inter-

58 Government-designated textbooks for arithmetic and drawing were introduced in 1905, and for science in 1910.

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vention and colonial rule. A year after the Gabo Reform began, King Gojong announced the Decree of Nation-Building Through Education (1895), and Korea's educational administration began to publish school textbooks. From a contemporary perspective, these could be considered "government-designated textbooks," but there were no particular regulations regarding their publication and selection. Further, as many of the books were issued by the private sector, there was no obligatory government publication system in place. Private schools created their own textbooks independently, some of which even advocated a sense of national identity.

After the signing of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905, Japan began full-scale intervention in education in Korea and started to control the publication, distribution, and use of textbooks. The Resident-General of Korea made the Japanese language an elective course to replace English, and tried to issue all textbooks in Japanese. This policy did not take effect due to hostility from the Korean people, but textbook regulation grew stricter. In 1909, textbook regulations were promulgated and a screening system put in place under which only officially approved textbooks could be used. The Publishing Law also stipulated a ban on the sale of textbooks with content critical of Japan. Japan's colonial rule of Korea began in 1910 and the textbooks used in ordinary schools in Korea thus fell under the same government publication system as that used in Japan. The Resident-General of Korea issued the majority of textbooks used in ordinary schools. For Korean secondary schools, textbooks published in Japan were used after approval by the Resident-General. This textbook system was enforced from the inception of colonial rule until liberation.

The first modern textbook published in China was *Mengxue Keben* ("Elementary Reader"), which was issued by Nanyang Public School in 1897 and contained basic information for children on topics such as plants and animals, the four seasons, and other natural phenomena. However, it used a lot of vocabulary and the content was difficult for children to understand, so a revised version was published in 1910.

In the early days of its state education system, China introduced the Japanese textbook system and used materials from Japan that had been adapted and translated. In 1902, a plan was drawn up for a system of screening and publishing textbooks under the Renyin School System Ordinance. Textbooks were to be prepared based on translations by the Im-

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perial University of Peking, which was an institution for higher education and in charge of educational administration, but any textbooks prepared by schools in the meantime could be used once approved by the university. If the former could be called a government publication system, the latter essentially corresponded to a textbook screening system. In 1902, the publishing house Wenmin published various elementary-level textbooks, and in 1903 it had issued 23 types covering topics such as ethics, history, geography, chemistry, botany, and gymnastics.

A government publication and screening system for textbooks was established as a general rule under the Renyin School System Ordinance in 1903. The Minister of Educational Affairs was in charge of implementing it, and elementary schools used textbooks that were either approved by the minister or published by a special bureau of publication which was a state organ. Textbooks were to be selected giving due regard to the situation at each school's location.

After the Revolution of 1911, the Nanjing Provisional Government promulgated a textbook screening ordinance in 1912 to the end of enforcing a screening system for textbooks used by elementary school teachers and students, and middle school students. Through this system, the Ministry of Education controlled everything to do with textbook publication – not only the content, but also the paper, printing specifications, and price. This became the foundation for China's textbook publication system. Article 1 of the textbook screening regulations promulgated by the Nationalist Government in Nanjing in January 1929 read: "Textbooks that have not been screened by the Ministry of Education of the Nationalist Government's Executive Yuan, or whose approval is no longer valid, may not be published or used in schools."

Railroads and the Dissemination of Japanese Textbooks

In Japan, railroads and the spread of modern education were closely linked. Until the age of motor cars, railroads transported the construction materials and government-designated textbooks used in educational institutions all over the country. As the literacy rate increased, so did demand for textbooks, and in the few years from the end of the Meiji period to the early Taisho years, total sales of government-designated textbooks at book shops in Tokyo doubled, from

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19.89 million copies in 1907 to 40.28 million in 1914. As most of these standardized textbooks were published in Tokyo, railroads played an important role in delivering them in time for each new school term. The government issued policies that facilitated textbook transportation by, for example, reducing freight charges for government-designated textbooks.

The Emergence of State Nationalism in School Textbooks

With the introduction of the government publication system, Japan's school textbooks endorsed the key principles of the Meiji government and reinforced content that promoted its policies. The following excerpt from the first fourth-grade elementary school ethics textbook to be published after the introduction of the system might serve as an example:

> For over 2,500 years since the Emperor Jimmu ascended to the throne … generation after generation of emperors have loved us, their subjects, like their children. … It must be said that we are fortunate to have such an esteemed imperial family … You [children] must become worthy subjects, respect the imperial will, and serve Imperial Japan. (Ethics textbook for ordinary elementary school, grade 4, Ministry of Education, 1904)

References such as this – emphasizing praise for the emperor and the need to encourage his subjects to be loyal to him and the Empire of Japan – appeared everywhere in Japanese textbooks. Those who made individual sacrifices for the nation were treated as heroes, for example the lionized figure Lieutenant Commander Hirose Takeo, who had sacrificed his life in the Russo-Japanese War.

Textbooks issued for schools in the Great Han Empire also emphasized imperial traditions. Below is an excerpt from an ethics book used in standard schools in Korea just before it was annexed by Japan.

> The descendants of our Imperial Family have ruled the Great Han Empire for five hundred years, since Emperor Taejo. The rise and fall of nations is unavoidable and the world is mutable. However, all the successive Kings have cared for the

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> education of the people and the propagation of national prestige. (Ethics textbook for regular elementary school, vol. 4, Department of Education, 1910)

In textbooks published by the Government-General of Korea, which administered Japan's colonial rule, the Japanese imperial household replaced the Korean one. The content of Korean textbooks became the same as that of Japanese ethics textbooks. As in Japan and the Great Han Empire, textbooks in China also had content that sought to augment imperial authority and demanded allegiance to the nation. The Ministry of Education of the Qing defined success, valor, and intelligence as the values the Chinese lacked most and asserted that textbooks should be edited to include the contributions made by generations of ancestors since China was opened to the world, recent affairs, the concerns and troubles of the "holy emperor," the causes of foreign pressure, urgent domestic matters, and taboos that should be eliminated. The Ministry claimed that this was how the people's loyalty could be gained. Such content, however, already was included in textbooks in use at the time. For example, the following excerpt from a song exalting the emperor could be found in a children's textbook published in China in 1902:

> Long live the Great Qing Emperor, who rules our country and protects us. The people cheer him with thunderous cries. (*Compendium of Elementary Readers*, 1902)

3. Wartime Elementary Education

War and the Reinforcement of Nationalist Education

In the 1930s, nationalist tendencies in education in China, Japan, and Korea grew stronger, and were further reinforced by war. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, nationalist education in Japan experienced a reinforcement throughout society as a whole and began to show more militarist tendencies. Marxist thought became subject to suppression, but so did liberal and democratic ideas and scholarship. The Movement for the Clar-

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ification of the National Polity (*kokutai*)[59] began, which aimed at the exclusion of Western thought and became the slogan for national educational policy. The Ministry of Education compiled *Kokutai no Hongi* (Fundamentals of Our National Polity) to serve as a guideline for education. The book asserted that Japan was a family state centered around the emperor and emphasized absolute obedience to him, defining him as a living god.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the education system was reorganized to serve the physical and mental mobilization of the nation for war. Even elementary school students were targeted. The Ministry of Education published pamphlets entitled "General Mobilization of the National Spirit and Elementary School Education" (January 1938) and "The Current Situation and the Mission of Elementary School Teachers" (October 1938) to prescribe specific teaching methods for elementary schools. Children were mobilized to worship at and clean shrines, comfort and render services to the war bereaved families, be present when soldiers left for war, write letters of comfort to soldiers at the front, and perform various other tasks.

These education policies were also reflected in colonial Korea. In 1937, the Governor-General of Korea pronounced the "Oath of Imperial Subjects," which children had to recite loudly in unison daily, pledging the following:

1. We are subjects of the Empire of Japan.
2. We shall be wholeheartedly loyal to His Majesty.
3. We shall become a splendid and strong people through our endurance and training.

The three principles for Korean education under the Chosun Educational Ordinance, which was revised in 1938, were: clarification of the national polity (*kokutai*), the unity of Japan and Korea, and endurance and training. School names, which had been dual (elementary school and regular school, higher regular school and middle school, girls' higher regular school and

59 Liberal thought, represented by Minobe Tatsukichi's "emperor organ theory," was suppressed, and the government issued a statement clarifying the national polity twice in order to ensure that this "national polity" revolved around the sacred and inviolable nature of the emperor.

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Figure 49: Korean children reciting the Oath of Imperial Subjects. Students in all grades were obliged to perform these and similar rituals. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

girls' high school), were unified to become "elementary school," "middle school" and "girls' high school." Efforts were made to strike out any differences in Korean and Japanese education. Japan's colonial education policies aimed to eliminate institutional discrimination between Korea and Japan, prepare the subjects of the Empire of Japan for a time of war, and allow them to be mobilized during wartime emergency. Japan thus put even more effort into "cultivating loyal imperial subjects" and assertively carried out education policies to assimilate the Koreans and make them pledge allegiance to the emperor.

In China, too, emphasis was given to nationalist education. This trend spread widely during the early twentieth century, weakened at the end of the 1910s and in the first half of the 1920s as the idea of democratic education spread, but reemerged from the mid-1920s. In 1926, the Chinese Educational Reform Society[60] explained its main policies as follows, framing the process of cultivating patriotic citizens within China's educational ideals:

60 An education reform movement group formed in Beijing in 1921. It was organized through the consolidation of a number of preexisting groups, but was headed by Tao

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1. To focus on Chinese culture and display [China's] national spirit,
2. To nurture a healthy body through military training,
3. To cultivate patriotic principles by learning about our national humiliation,
4. To increase our basic knowledge by advancing science education.

Patriotism and national spirit were also stressed in educational activities outside the classroom. Discipline in daily life on the school grounds was particularly emphasized, and children did volunteer work that included group visits to charity institutions to help with cleaning activities.

Language Penalty Cards in Colonial Korea
In 1938, classes in the Korean language were abolished in Korea. Korean was banned in everyday school life. To encourage the use of Japanese, teachers distributed so-called "penalty cards" to children, which they then handed out to anyone caught speaking in Korean. Those found to have a large number of cards were punished. The cards were first introduced to increase the use of the Japanese language in the Ryukyu Kingdom, when it was incorporated into Japan as Okinawa Prefecture in 1879.

Militaristic Education in Japan and Korea during the War

As the war escalated, schools in Japan and Korea experienced further transformation. Education for wartime mobilization began in earnest and changes accelerated in 1941, when Japan plunged into full-scale war against the Allied Powers in the Asia-Pacific War. The character of schools as educational institutions was greatly altered as they began to bear the characteristics of military institutions. The aim of schools now was to teach children to become loyal subjects of the emperor and the nation and to provide

Xingzhi, with the American educators Monroe and Dewey serving as honorary directors. The group aimed to survey the current state of education, conduct research, and make improvements in education, and actively promoted practical education in villages.

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a rationale for the war (rather than teaching science and conveying knowledge). This kind of education continued until the end of the Second World War in 1945.

The organization and content of school education also changed during the war. In 1941, the National Elementary School Ordinance was promulgated in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, which was a revision of the Elementary School Ordinance that had been in force until then. Elementary schools were renamed National Schools (literally "national people's schools"), in accordance with their new main purpose of nurturing the people into becoming loyal subjects of the emperor and the nation. As is evident from the schools' aim of "implementing regular elementary education according to the way of the emperor and providing fundamental training for the people," these were educational institutions aimed at laying the foundations for the creation of imperial subjects.[61] To stress the importance of training the national spirit, a subject called "National Studies" was introduced, covering national language (Japanese), history, and geography. This became the core class for cultivating imperial subjects. Military education was intensified for boys, while girls received greater proportions of practical education.

School activities outside the classroom also bore characteristics of military-related education. From third grade onwards, students joined youth groups and participated in activities including coming together to send soldiers off to war and making sympathy calls to the families of the fallen. From August 1944, group evacuation policies for children in National Schools were carried out in preparation for US air raids and the final battle on the mainland.

Club activities were also regarded as important for military training and physical education, and some club activities even involved directly handling weapons. In *A Boy Called H*, written by Seno Kappa, the author describes various clubs at H's high school in 1943, such as rugby, baseball, sumo, judo, kendo, gliding, jukendo (bayonets), shooting, and horseback riding. Most clubs did physical training with an emphasis on fostering a sense of unity, or activities that bore the characteristics of military training.

61 The "way of the empire" here refers to everything that imperial subjects must observe, above all the requirement of loyalty to the emperor as emphasized in the Imperial Rescript on Education.

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Figure 50: Japanese children marching with wooden guns. As the war spread, Japan became more militaristic. These children conduct a military drill, marching in columns of four under the flag of the rising sun (1939). Source: private collection.

School textbooks stressed the mental attitude required of imperial subjects during war. Textbooks emphasized that Japan was the Land of the Gods and that the emperor was to be revered as a god. Ethics textbooks used in Japan and colonial Korea were generally the same, and were full of this sort of content. One ethics textbook used in elementary schools emphasized that the most precious thing about Japan was that it was the Land of the Gods, ruled by an emperor who was a descendant from the sun goddess Amaterasu, and that ruler and ruled had been constituting an inseparable unity ever since Japan's beginnings.[62]

62 "The Empire of Japan is the Land of the Gods. The Gods founded this country, and the goddess Amaterasu decreed that the emperor should prosper for a long time. This is something that happened only in our country and nowhere else. This is why our country is the Land of the Gods." "According to the wishes of the goddess Amaterasu, the emperor, who bears the blood line of the gods, will rule Japan. His subjects have carried on the aspirations of their ancestors and supported the emperor [literally 'helped his honorable deeds']. What is most precious to the country of Japan is that from the very beginning the role of the emperor and subject have been clearly determined." (Ethics textbook for elementary school 2, Ministry of Education, 1942)

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History textbooks included a list of the imperial lineage of Japan,[63] and Japanese language and ethics textbooks contained numerous references to sacrificing one's life in war. The actions of Japanese officers who died in battle during the Russo-Japanese War and the ongoing Asia-Pacific War were revered as heroic examples for future generations to look up to. For example, in the elementary school ethics textbook published in 1943 for fifth-grade students, Tachibana Shuta, who died during the Russo-Japanese War, and Major General Kato Tateo, who died in battle in Burma in 1942, appeared as venerated war heroes in a teaching unit entitled "The Gods of War." Below is a moving description from one textbook of the scene of Tachibana's death:

> "These highlands upon which we once planted our flag. Do not retreat a single step. Even if you are annihilated, do not hand them over to the enemy," the Major continued to loudly scream. He had already been shot twice in the left side then a third time in the abdomen. And yet Major Tachibana continued to fight hard, undaunted, until collapsing right there … As his eyes closed, he said, "Today is the day that the Crown Prince was born. It is truly the goal of a soldier to give his life to emperor and country on such a joyous occasion." His limbs then gradually lost their warmth as the sun began to set. (Elementary ethics for Grade 5 students, Part 9 "Vestiges of Gods of War," 1943, Japanese Ministry of Education; Elementary ethics for Grade 5 students, Part 9, 1943, Government-General of Korea)

School textbooks also described the contemporary state of the war and emphasized the victories of the Japanese military; in other words, Japan's war triumphs found their way immediately into textbooks. The National Schools textbooks gave detailed accounts of Japan's military gains in Southeast Asia, beginning with the fall of Singapore (February 1942) in the early stages of the Asia-Pacific War.

63 On the first page of the "National History" textbook was a list of the names of the emperors of Japan, from the first, Jimmu, to the reigning Emperor Hirohito (allegedly the 124th emperor), including figures from Japanese mythology. Children had to memorize them all.

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Elementary Education in China during the War of Resistance against Japan

China in the first decades of the twentieth century experienced a spread of socialist thought, and education, as other areas of life, came under the influence of Marxist theory. Socialist thinkers believed that education was controlled by politics and economics, but that it also exerted its influence on these two spheres. Chen Duxiu sharply criticized the argument that that education had to be completely separate from politics, and Li Dazhao[64] stressed the impact of education on human mental and physical development and advocated the idea of reworking the mind through education. Yang Xianjiang published a history of education and educational theories based on Marxist theory, and his works were used as learning materials in schools in the Chinese Communist Party's revolutionary strongholds.

Interest in elementary education was strong in the areas controlled by the Chinese Communist Party during the war of resistance against Japan. The party built schools in the border regions, i. e. the "liberated areas" under the control of the Chinese Communist Party, and educated peasant children there. The government focused on establishing elementary schools with a general rule of building one per village, resulting in the setting up of over 7,000 elementary schools with a total enrolment of over 36,000 students. In the Shandong base, more than one in three children of school age was enrolled in a school. In some districts, up to 85 % of the children went to school.

The Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region Elementary School Law was promulgated by the border region government in August 1939, and stipulated a total of five years of compulsory schooling – three for lower elementary school and two for upper elementary school. The elementary education policy sought to raise national awareness and class consciousness in the revolutionary war, foster the spirit of democracy, broaden children's knowledge, and develop their physical strength. The curriculum was divided into two parts, one being politics and the other basic knowledge. Political education nurtured awareness of the anti-Japanese resistance and focused on giving students an understanding of the situation of the time. Basic

64 Li Dazhao (1989–1927) was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He is known as the first Marxist in revolutionary China.

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Figure 51: Studying at a base of the anti-Japanese resistance in Yan'an, China. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

education involved subjects such as the Chinese language, arithmetic, nature, history and geography, politics, general knowledge, labor, physical education, singing, and drawing. At first, education in the border region focused on political education, in order to cultivate the spirit of the resistance, but the focus gradually shifted toward increasing general knowledge, and the study of sciences grew.

For practical reasons, standardized textbooks could not be developed in the revolutionary bases, and educational materials were made and used in each area to suit the local conditions. At first, teachers used traditional educational methods that "crammed" information into the children's heads, but gradually began to develop new methods that included practical and onsite learning.

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4. The Development of Postwar Education

Postwar Education Reform and Elementary Education

The end of the Second World War had divergent meanings and implications for China, Japan, and Korea, and the tasks that these countries faced regarding postwar education also differed. Japan had to put an end to the education of imperial subjects and establish a new democratic education system. The same applied to Korea, which during Japanese colonial rule had been under the same type of system. Further, Korea had to plant the seeds for a national consciousness, which was necessary for the establishment of a new, independent state, and lay the educational groundwork for producing the people upon whose shoulders the new nation would be founded. Unlike Korea, New China[65] had to eradicate not only the existing premodern feudalist type of education, but also the capitalist education that had been promoted in modern times, and faced the task of establishing a new socialist system of education.

In postwar Japan, education reforms to sweep away the militaristic education of the past were promoted under the leadership of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ), which introduced American-style democratic education. The fostering of the development of "democratic citizens" instead of imperial subjects was the new goal of Japanese education. In 1947, the Constitution of Japan and the Fundamental Law of Education (Basic Act on Education) were enacted, providing a systematic basis for education reform. The Fundamental Law of Education abolished militaristic education and conferred equal opportunity of education to all citizens. It aimed to provide equal education for both sexes and implemented coeducation. The 6–3–3–4 system of education[66] was established, and National Schools were once again called "elementary schools." Compulsory education was extended up to middle school for a total of nine years. "National Studies," symbol of the education of imperial subjects, was re-

65 "New China" refers to the People's Republic of China founded in 1949, as distinct from "old China," which signified the former Republic of China.

66 Six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school and four years of university education.

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named "Social Studies."[67] In 1948, steps taken to decentralize power saw education becoming independent of the administration. This did not, however, lead to a substantial reduction in the central government's influence on education. Furthermore, the Japanese government did not recognize the right to an ethnic education for Korean residents of Japan and suppressed movements for ethnic education, for example in the 1948 Hanshin Educational Struggle.[68] The Fundamental Law of Education, too, did not deviate from the framework of providing education only to (Japanese) "citizens."

Based on the idea of citizenship within a democracy, and under the strong influence of American-style democratic education, education reform in post-liberation Korea went in a similar direction to that in Japan. "National Studies" became "Social Studies," and, influenced by Dewey's theories on education, the New Education Movement emerged, with its attribution of importance to the life experiences of the child. Unlike in Japan, however, elementary schools in Korea were still called National Schools until 1996.

Korea now, after having suffered 35 years of Japanese colonial rule, experienced vehement calls for a nationalist education founded on the national consciousness. People became more interested in their history as Koreans, and there was particularly strong interest in Dangun, the forefather of the Korean people. Discussions, largely among nationalist scholars, were held on how to reconstruct the teaching of the history of Korea. The adoption of Hongik-Ingan ("devotion to the welfare of mankind") as an educational philosophy reflects the social atmosphere of the time. The nationalist education thus debated clashed with efforts to promote an

67 The study of ethics was abolished, but moral education continued throughout schooling. A policy came into being with the aim of fostering society's scientific awareness of society in the newly established subject of social studies and then using this awareness as a foundation for promoting students' ability to make moral judgments. In 1958, time was set aside for moral studies in the school curriculum.

68 A struggle for ethnic Korean education in Japan in April 1948. The Ministry of Education issued a law abolishing Korean schools in Japan and attempted to close them down, arguing that "because [their students] are Japanese nationals, they should receive a Japanese education." Koreans all over Japan responded by fighting hard to protect the schools. Most of them were eventually closed down, but the struggle for ethnic education continued and ethnic Korean schools were rebuilt independently.

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American-style democratic education, but was adopted by the Rhee Syngman administration as its ruling ideology when the government of the Republic of Korea was established.

Unlike in Japan and Korea, educational reform in the People's Republic of China had to tackle two tasks: breaking away from the remnants of feudalist education and abolishing the capitalist elements of education. Under Mao Zedong's new democratic theory, the aim of education reform shifted toward creating an education that was nationalist, scientific and oriented to the masses. New China tried to resolve the problem by adopting Soviet-style education. Educational theories and works such as *Pedagogy* by Ivan Andreyevich Kairov, a Soviet education specialist, appeared on the scene, and Soviet experts on education were invited to visit China. Universities modeled on Soviet ones were established, and the number of Chinese students in the Soviet Union grew. Companies also dispatched trainees to the Soviet Union in large numbers. Adapted to suit Chinese society, the Soviet way of doing education took root in China. In the latter part of the 1950s, as relations between China and the Soviet Union soured, criticism of the Soviet approach to education emerged, which included disparagement for its lack of a class system. There was also criticism that it was too focused on information, lessons and teaching staff, and that it showed revisionist tendencies when it came to literature and art. The actual number of substantive differences in the two systems, however, was small.

Changes to the Curriculum and Textbooks

After the Second World War, the use of school textbooks that deified the emperor or justified imperialist aggression and the war were banned in Japan by the occupation authorities. The textbook system, however, was not reorganized straight away, so for a while new textbooks could not be published. This is when the so-called "inked-out" (*suminuri*) textbooks emerged – textbooks from the prewar and wartime period, in which problematic parts were simply blacked out with ink by the students themselves (under the guidance of the teachers). Before the establishment of a new textbook system, provisional textbooks designated by the government were published that did not contain any militaristic content. They included *Kuni*

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no Ayumi (The History of Our Country) for elementary schools and *Nihon no Rekishi* (The History of Japan) for middle schools, published by the Ministry of Education in 1946.

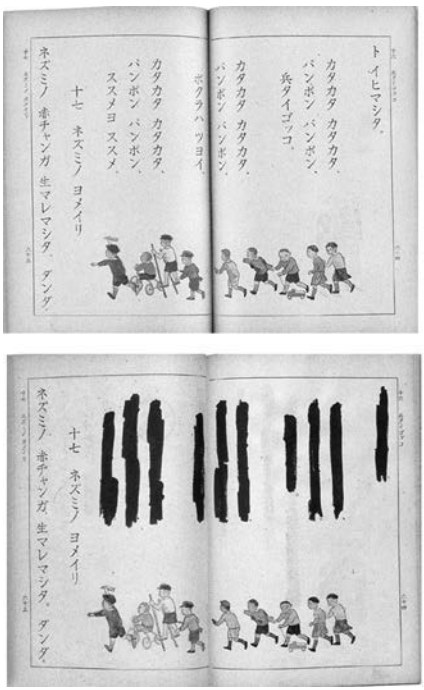

Figure 52: An inked-out textbook. For a time after the war, teachers or students working with textbooks used in wartime Japan blacked out sections that encouraged nationalism or bellicosity. Courtesy of Tosho Bunko.

In August 1947, the Ministry of Education published the textbooks *Atarashi Kenpo no Hanashi* (About the New Constitution) and *Minshushugi. Jo, Ge* (Democracy. Volumes 1 and 2) for social studies. The former, which was for middle school students, emphasized the importance of democracy and the constitution's renunciation of war. The latter was a high school textbook that introduced the concept of democracy and the principles of democratic government.

In 1948, the "Regulations on School Textbook Approval" were enacted.

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They established evaluation criteria including consideration of issues such as whether the book contained anything that "disturbs the spirit of peace," "distorts the truth" or "is unsuitable for a textbook." In July 1948, the Law Concerning Provisional Measures on the Publication of Textbooks was enforced. Government-designated textbooks disappeared with the advent in schools of government-approved textbooks from 1949. This demonstrates that when the textbook approval system was introduced in postwar Japan, its aim in the beginning was not to regulate education or school textbooks. However, from the mid-1950s onward, influenced partly by a drift to the right in Japanese politics, the Ministry of Education intensified the approval process, and a textbook approval system came into use which had the effect of censoring school textbook content.

Likewise, in post-liberation Korea, there were no textbooks suitable for the new society or for democratic education. For subjects that were not strongly or overtly related to ideology or philosophy, such as science, classes were held using copies of translations of Japanese textbooks. The same could not be done for subjects such as the national language, or subjects influenced by militaristic ideas such as national history. The US military government thus asked organizations studying Hangul and history to prepare temporary materials for classes on language, history, and society in "national schools" and middle schools.

The US military government developed the education system by issuing a curriculum that stipulated the subjects to be taught, the number of hours per subject, and the content of study for National Schools and middle schools. Textbooks were developed according to these guidelines, and were used in schools after being screened. Unlike in Japan, even after the South Korean government was established, the textbooks used at National Schools were government-designated, but for middle schools and senior high schools, the system mixed textbooks that were government-approved with government-designated ones. For the third edition of the Korean curriculum, which came into force in South Korea in the 1970s, the government changed the core of its textbook policy, moving to a government publication system, and most textbooks were designated by the government, not just for elementary schools, but also for middle schools and high schools. From the 1980s onward, middle schools and high schools underwent a gradual change from using government-designated textbooks to having government-approved

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textbooks. Elementary school textbooks, however, continue to be directly published by the government.

When the government of New China was founded, a government publication system took the place of the textbook approval system. The Ministry of Education and the People's Education Press led the development of a new curriculum, and the latter monopolized the creation and supply of textbooks. Government-designated textbooks contributed to the promotion of Communist ideas. As Chinese economic reforms progressed, however, practicality and diversity came to be valued more highly in education. From the mid-1980s, the government-led textbook publication system was replaced with a textbook approval system, and a variety of textbooks are now in use.

The Spread of Compulsory Education and the Centralization of Educational Policy

After the Second World War, China, Japan, and Korea all experienced both quantitative and qualitative growth in education. The three countries had come to understand education as vital in the cultivation of the human resources necessary for the country's development, and focused their efforts on increasing access to education.

The goal in the People's Republic of China was to "raise the cultural standards of the people and train resources in order to build up the country, stamp out feudal, compradorist and fascist ideas, and develop an ideology that will serve the people." Once the government was established, it strove to expand education in the country. In 1951, a new school system was promulgated under the "Decision on School System Reform" that incorporated existing schools into the formal education system and enhanced school education. The new system made efforts to give the children of peasants and laborers access to elementary education. During the First Five-Year Plan for economic growth beginning in 1953, large numbers of students and vocational trainees were sent to the Soviet Union, and 543,300 new university students were recruited in an effort toward both a qualitative and quantitative expansion of higher education. During the same period, however,

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improvements in elementary and secondary school education focused more on quality than quantity.

It was not until the end of the 1950s, during the Great Leap Forward, that there was a major quantitative expansion in elementary and secondary education. Under the banner of a "major revolution in education," the period saw a large-scale increase in school education, and compulsory education was introduced. Improvements were made in early childhood and elementary education, and attention was given to women's education. During the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, children receiving traditional, that is, academic school education did not constitute the typical case and there was an emphasis on ideological education. However, after the Cultural Revolution, it once again became considered important to target everyone for education. Elementary education became compulsory in 1982, and this was extended to nine years of compulsory education (including three years of middle school) in 1985. The law was enforced countrywide on July 1, 1986.

In Korea, elementary education underwent major development after liberation, with demand growing in the 1950s. In June 1950, six years of elementary school became compulsory, which greatly increased access to education. The spread of compulsory education was slow to progress, and middle school was only made compulsory in 1994, with the situation varying from county to county. In 2004, nine years of education – up to middle school – became compulsory nationwide. By 1993, the rate of students advancing to middle school had reached 99 %.

Japan introduced compulsory elementary education ahead of China and Korea, and after the war promoted policies for the expansion of education, with a focus on middle-school and high-school education and the provision of equal educational opportunities to all. In addition to the lengthening of the period of compulsory education from six to nine years, Japanese education reforms established high schools and universities with part-time and correspondence course systems. Universities under the new education system were set up, with at least one national university per region.[69] To

69 These were universities following the American 6–3–3–4 pattern. What had prior to the war been specialized courses taken at universities and professional schools, as well as liberal arts education undertaken at high schools, became four-year college programs.

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meet demand for teachers as the education system grew, teachers' colleges were abolished and education departments established at national universities in their place. Teacher training was also carried out in private schools. This series of educational reforms in Japan resulted in major growth in the number of staff available for secondary and higher education.

Various problems emerged with the rapid expansion of education in the region. One characteristic shared among China, Japan, and Korea in terms of the development of education was the excessively marked centralization of power and standardization of teaching content by the educational authorities. Japan's Course of Study guidelines, China's Fundamental Principles of Education and its curriculum standards, and Korea's curriculum are all legally binding and influence the content of school education. In Japan from the 1950s onward, with the entrenchment of the Cold War situation and the resulting adoption of reactionary policies, the centralization of power and state control regarding education intensified. Members of the Board of Education, who were once elected by the people, were instead appointed, and teachers became subject to efficiency ratings. In South Korea, anti-communist and ethics education was reinforced as the government dealt with the country's division and war. Education was used to justify the government's ideas and policies. In China, the direction of education changed greatly in accordance with national policies such as the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the phase of economic reform.

One of the most difficult problems in all three countries was to keep up with rapid quantitative expansion. All three countries suffered from teacher shortages after the war, and experienced teachers were particularly difficult to find. In response, teacher training programs were expanded, university graduates were encouraged to become teachers, and, where necessary, special teacher training schools were created. In some cases, however, these policies led to a decline in the quality of teachers. To make matters worse, it

Training in professional skills or in academic research, had been available at universities under the old system, was now offered at graduate schools, with improved programs. Private universities, as well as some public ones, were established in 1948, and national universities in 1949.

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was difficult to secure competent teachers due to inadequate pay and the low social status of the profession.

Figure 53: A class in Japan split into two sections. The demobilization and repatriation of Japanese from the former colonial empire and from the war zones resulted in a "baby boom," and when these children reached school age there were not enough schools and teachers for them. This is the afternoon group waiting in the hall for their classroom to open up (1954). Courtesy of Mainichi Shinbunsha.

For cities experiencing sudden population growth, there was a serious lack of educational facilities such as classrooms. For some time, two elementary classes were packed into a single classroom, and classes were held in two sections. By contrast, children in rural communities were often excluded from educational opportunities, as development was slower there than in the cities. National educational policies were not far-reaching enough, and the gap between urban and rural educational infrastructures grew wider. Muchaku Seikyo's "Echoes from a Mountain School" describes the situation of education in farming and mountain villages in postwar Japan. In the 1950s, there was a movement among the people of Japan calling for practical education based on children's life experiences. In the early 1960s in Korea, the government promoted a campaign for education in the provinces as a scheme to encourage education in farming and fishing villages. An urban-

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rural gap was also apparent in the policies promoting education in New China, and the government responded with measures that included creating better environments for the construction of rural schools, supporting rural education by mobilizing volunteers, and improving standards in rural education.

Even today, however, many education-related problems remain in China, Japan, and Korea. Regarding the advancement of compulsory education in particular, much more improvement is necessary at the policy-making level. Educational infrastructures are insufficient due to a lack of government resources allocated to education, and the general public continues to bear a large proportion of the cost of education.

Problems Caused by Competitive Education

During the process of adopting modern education systems, both state and society in China, Japan, and Korea demanded a new sense of values and loyalty from the people. This situation did not undergo fundamental change even after the Second World War. The state had authority over educational administration, regulated education, and focused on transmitting knowledge rather than enabling individuals to act autonomously and ingeniously. Society's strong zeal for education drove students to compete in school entrance examinations. After the Second World War, rather than emphasizing equal opportunities in education, Japan and Korea, influenced by American-style education systems and ideas, instead saw the prioritization of an elite education. People thus came to believe that education was primarily a means for improving one's socioeconomic status. Society's enthusiasm for education led to intense competition over entrance examinations, which was particularly cutthroat when it came to exams to get into the top universities. This led to the growth of "cram schools" in Japan and Korea.

The desire to get into top universities has even led to competition in elementary schools. At one time, there was intense competition in Korea at elementary school level to get into the top middle schools. Entrance examinations for these schools were abolished in the latter half of the 1960s, which reduced the exam burden for elementary school students. In Japan, it

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is possible to attend a public middle school without taking an exam, but intense competition remains in examinations to get into one of the national middle schools affiliated to a department of education of a national university, as well as some private schools. Even in China, the competition to get into a "good" school is severe. This trend has experienced significant exacerbation due to the extreme anxiety in many Chinese families over the future of their single child and, by extension, the anxiety over children's development and education in Chinese society at large.

Some argue that the intensified competition in education has transformed children into self-centered individuals, and various social problems have been observed in schools. The issue of school bullying, which has come to recent prominence, is one such example. Competitive education is very stressful for children and has been identified as a key factor contributing to bullying. Although this was first identified as a problem among high school students, the age group affected has dropped, and bullying has now been observed among elementary school students.

Social Diversity and Resulting Issues in Education

Increasing social diversity, interaction, and globalization has stirred up new issues in education for China, Japan, and Korea. Unlike in Europe and America, minority and multicultural education have, until recently, not traditionally been subjects of great concern to the three countries. However, due to political and social change and an increase in international activities, people of different cultural backgrounds live together in China, Japan, and Korea, and there is an increasing need for minority or multicultural education to address this situation. Elementary education is a particularly important and pressing issue, as it lays the foundations for life in society for successive generations of migrant children.

The number of foreign residents in South Korea has continued to grow and, according to the Ministry of Justice, passed the one-million mark in August 2007. By the end of 2007, foreign residents comprised about 2 % of the population, and South Korea is moving toward becoming a multicultural society. The government and local authorities have therefore begun full-fledged efforts toward multicultural education, mostly focused on

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supporting migrants and members of multicultural families to help them adjust to South Korean society. Typical examples of support offered include Korean language classes for migrants and resident foreigners, and assistance in the linguistic development of children from multicultural families. The various measures include teaching children about Korean culture and encouraging them to engage in deeper interactions with Korean people. There have also been efforts to help change Korean people's perceptions of migrants and multicultural families. It is still, however, early days for multicultural education in South Korea. Migrants are still being essentially assimilated into the existing society and not enough efforts are being made to recognize and advance diversity in society.

In Japan, too, there was increased interest in multicultural education in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The number of migrant workers in Japan grew substantially around the time of the "bubble economy" in the 1980s. In 1989, the government also revised its laws to allow foreign nationals of Japanese descent to work in Japan without restrictions. With this came increasing interest in providing multicultural education for people of different ethnicities, countries of origin, and cultural backgrounds so that they could all live together in one society. This type of education focuses on teaching students about human rights and international understanding. Support is also provided by schools, government bodies, and local communities, to help children in multicultural families to adapt to Japanese society, to establish multicultural support centers, and to help supply the human and physical resources needed for multicultural education. There are large gaps among the various regions, and in many areas the idea of providing multicultural education is not even considered. Japanese language classes for multicultural families are only held once or twice a week, and the tasks still remain of securing funding for and improving support systems for multicultural education, which will allow linguistic and psychological barriers to be overcome. Furthermore, the Japanese government has continued to demonstrate a discriminatory and oppressive attitude regarding ethnic education for Koreans, who represent the largest group of non-Japanese nationals in the country.

In China, education for minority groups emerged as a major issue as soon as the New China came into being. There are 55 minority groups in China, which means groups other than the Han. Before 1949, the economies and

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societies in the majority of areas where these minorities lived lagged behind those of the rest of the country, and modern education basically did not exist. Since the People's Republic of China was founded, meetings to promote ethnic education throughout the country have been held five times over a period of 60 years. The constitution and related laws include provisions that support the development of education for minority groups. Special agencies and specialists were put in place in the central and provincial education administrations and charged with dealing with ethnic education, resulting in major developments for the education of minority groups in China. The number of people in minority groups receiving an education grew substantially. In 1951, there were over 990,000 students from minority groups attending school, but as of 2008, the number had grown to 21.99 million (about 22 times more), of which about 1.3388 million were enrolled in general higher education institutions, representing 6.23 % of all university students in the country. The system of nine years of compulsory education has spread to education for minority groups also, and the low literacy rates among young and middle-aged members of these groups have to some extent been eliminated. Secondary vocational education has rapidly become more available in areas where minority groups live. However, the economic infrastructure and social environment in these areas have continued to trail behind, and many of the areas suffer from inherent disadvantages. The general population's interest in education is relatively low in these regions, and education for minority groups in the western regions is drastically behind that in the rest of the country.

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Timeline

1872 Japan promulgates the Fundamental Code of Education (*Gakusei*).
1879 Japan abolishes the Fundamental Code of Education and promulgates the more liberal Education Ordinance (*Kyoiku-rei*).
1880 Japan revises Education Ordinance to make schooling compulsory. Emphatic instructions given to establish public elementary schools in the towns and villages. Japanese government publishes list of books that are banned from use as textbooks.
1881 Outline of Elementary School Rules established in Japan, stipulating the subjects to be covered and prioritizing ethics education.
1886 School ordinances promulgated in Japan, establishing the modern education system. Textbook screening system enforced.
1890 Imperial Rescript on Education promulgated in Japan.
1894 Preparations begin in Korea for modern education system (after Gabo Reform).
1895 Korea issues Decree of Nation-Building Through Education, based on Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education. Ordinances proclaimed for elementary school and middle school, followed by further ones for teachers' colleges, foreign language schools and medical schools.
1897 The first modern Chinese textbook, *Mengxue Keben* (Elementary Reader), is published.
1898 The Qing, following Japan, introduce the modern school system. Imperial University of Peking established.
1902 The Qing implement the Renyin School System Ordinance, and in 1903 the Guimao School System Ordinance. In Japan, elementary school textbooks begin undergoing government designation process due to doubts regarding selection process.
1902 The Qing draw up plans to screen and publish textbooks under official rules for academies.
1903 The Qing establish system of screening and publishing textbooks under the Renyin School System.Ordinance
1904 Elementary school textbooks in Japan become government-designated.
1905 The Qing abolish the Imperial Examination System. Japanese interference in Korean education intensifies after Japan-Korea Treaty is concluded. Many private schools are established around this time.
1906 Japan controls education in Korea under school ordinances.
1908 Japan suppresses Korean ethnic education through 1908 Private School Ordinance.
1909 Korea promulgates textbook regulations and introduces textbook screening system.
1910 When Korea is colonized by Japan, textbooks in Korea are designated by government. Elementary school attendance rates in Japan reach almost 100 %.

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1912 The Nanjing Provisional Government in China improves elementary education and enforces textbook screening system.
1917 Sawayanagi Masataro establishes Seijo Elementary School in Japan. The liberal education movement begins around this time.
1919 In Korea, interest in education grows after the March First Movement and calls are made for Governor-General of Korea to build more ordinary schools. Dewey gives lectures around China. Western modern education ideas spread and the child-oriented education movement begins.
1920 Korea's Bang Jeong-hwan launches children's literary magazine *Eorini* and children's movement.
1922 China's Renxu School System Ordinance reformed, modeled on America's 6–3–3 school system.
1937 After Sino-Japanese War, Japanese education system reorganized for general mobilization of the people of Japan for war. The Governor-General of Korea establishes "Oath of Imperial Subjects," which people are obliged to recite and chant in unison.
1938 The Chosun Educational Ordinance is revised into three fundamental principles: the clarification of the national polity, the unity of Japan and Korea, and endurance and training.
1941 National Elementary School Ordinances are promulgated simultaneously in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.
1944 In Japan, group evacuation policies for children in National Schools carried out in preparation for US air raids and final battle on mainland.
1947 Japan enacts Fundamental Law of Education.
1947 Japanese Ministry of Education publishes *Atarashi Kenpo no Hanashi* (About the New Constitution) and *Minshushugi. Jo, Ge* (Democracy. Volumes 1 and 2).
1948 Japan enacts Rules on Screening School Textbooks.
1948 Law Concerning Provisional Measures on the Publication of Textbooks enforced in Japan.
1950 In Korea, a six-year attendance at elementary school becomes compulsory.

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Chapter 7:
The Media: Creating Popular Consciousness and Popular Sentiment

During the transition to the modern era, newspapers, magazines, books, and various other forms of media such as film, radio, and television have played the role of transmitting information to the people and acted as the medium for the emergence of popular culture. What has been the impact of these media on East Asian society?

The first modern mass medium was the newspaper. In East Asia, newspapers have been published since the first half of the nineteenth century, beginning in China, with the rest of the region soon following. Films were first shown in Paris in 1895 and reached East Asia the following year. When radio broadcasts began in the twentieth century, people were mesmerized by all the information and music they could access from their homes. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, Japan actively used newspapers, film, and radio as tools to mobilize the population for war. In China and Korea, media also were a means to communicate calls for resistance and liberation.

Following the Second World War, China, Japan, and Korea each regulated the various forms of media according to their specific situation, and there were differences in the extent of these controls. Around the same time, popular culture began to spread across borders. Japan and South Korea were strongly influenced by American media in terms of both the industrial structure and the content of popular culture. In the socialist bloc, an attempt was made to create and disseminate a "new culture" through the media to counter the West. The media also had a tremendous influence on the mobilization of people. When the Cold War ended, the various media-related industries in the region put aside ideological differences to develop into a huge market.

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Mass media are fascinating in that they have the ability to entertain while at the same time acting as a tool for mass mobilization. How will they continue to develop and what impact will they have on the people of East Asia? This chapter will look at the history of the media in modern China, Japan, and Korea and explore the various forms of media and popular culture.

1. The Media and Popular Culture in the Transition to Modernity

Newspaper Regulation and Resistance

The first modern newspapers in both China and Japan were connected to foreigners visiting the region. The first newspaper published in China was the *Canton Register*, an English-language newspaper launched in 1827. China was forced by the Western powers to open its doors after the Opium War (1840–1842), and it is in this context that China's modern newspaper was born. The *North China Herald*, another English-language newspaper, was first published in Shanghai in 1850, and went on to become the most influential foreign-language newspaper in modern China. In 1872, a British merchant published the *Shanghai News*, a paper that valued up-to-date and interesting content, and this gradually attracted readers and led to growth in the market. *Shanghai News* also featured a great variety of advertisements, which helped open the commodity market, and informed its readers of current trends. Ownership of the *Shanghai News* was transferred to a Chinese merchant in 1909, and it is the oldest business paper in China.

As these developments show, early newspapers in China were limited to those published by foreigners in the concessions, and the Qing did not recognize any others. The ban on newspapers was lifted during the 1898 Hundred Days' Reform,[70] but the move was retracted shortly thereafter by order of the Dowager Empress's regime that ended the reform period. When a new government was established in the early twentieth century, the ban

70 Undertaken in the late Qing Dynasty by both reformers and bureaucrats supporting the emperor. It sought a constitutional monarchy and capitalist development.

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was again lifted. In 1908, however, the Qing began controlling newspapers through a law modeled on Japan's press regulations.

When the Republic of China was established in 1912, a provisional constitution was issued. As it recognized various civil liberties such as freedom of speech, it resulted in a major increase in the number of newspapers being published. Several hundred newspapers were launched during this time and were distributed in more than 60 cities across China.

China's national industries (especially the light industries) approached their golden age during the First World War. Cities all over the country expanded, led by the major centers of Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong, and Wuhan, and urban populations grew, mainly due to trade and commerce-related migration. Furthermore, with the spread of elementary school education under the modern education system, the Mass Education Movement, targeting laborers and store clerks in the cities, also grew, and literacy rates in the urban centers surged. The New Culture Movement, which aimed to enlighten the masses, emerged at the same time, and newspapers experienced major growth to become the main mass medium in China. As in the US, some local papers in major cities, such as Tianjin's *Ta Kung Pao* and Shanghai's *Shanghai News* and *Shibao*, took on the role of national newspapers, and local papers were published even in smaller cities throughout the country. The growth of newspapers in China was related to nationalist movements during the First World War, including the opposition to the Japanese government's 21 Demands (1915) and the May Fourth Movement of 1919. In the mid-1920s, *Ta Kung Pao* advocated a press with "no party affiliation, no political endorsement, no self-promotion, no ignorance" and became a leader of Chinese public opinion in terms of critical speech.

When the Guomindang gained power in 1927, however, party bulletins such as the *Central Daily News* began to promote party ideology such as Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People," and private sector newspapers became subject to restrictions, particularly regarding political commentary. In 1933, the Guomindang began censoring the press. The following year, Shi Liangcai, the owner of *Shanghai News*, offended the Guomindang by publishing liberal opinion pieces in his paper, which resulted in his assassination by the Guomindang secret service.

Modern newspapers in Japan began with the publication by the shogu-

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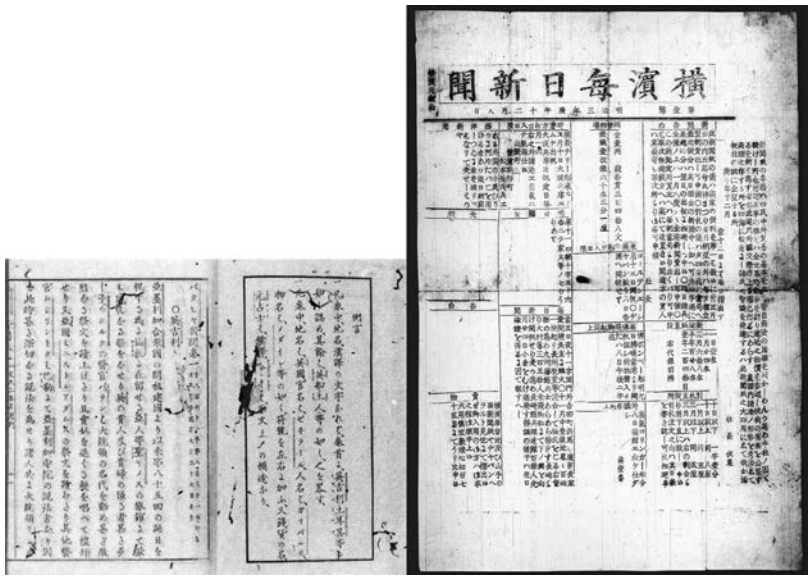

Figure 54: The *Kanpan Batabiya Shinbun* (Official Batavia Newspaper), published by the shogunate (left) and the *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun*, Japan's first daily newspaper, published in 1870 (right). Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

nate of *Kanpan Batabiya Shinbun* (Official Batavia Newspaper) in 1862. This was an abridged translation of the bulletin of the Office of the Dutch Government-General and was published in the Dutch stronghold Batavia (present-day Jakarta in Indonesia). The translation was made in the shogunate's Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books, Bansho Shirabesho (later Yosho Shirabesho, Institute for Western Books). In terms of privately-owned newspapers, Joseph Seco (born Hamada Hikozo) first published *Shinbunshi* (Newspaper) in 1864, which was later renamed *Kaigai Shinbun* (Overseas News). It mostly published information from abroad authored by Western scholars supporting the shogun.

In 1868, after the Meiji Restoration, the new government strictly prohibited the unauthorized publication of newspapers, which led to the disappearance of most newspapers other than governmental or foreign ones.

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Newspaper publication regulations[71] were promulgated the following year, and publication was allowed under a licensing system. Japan's first daily, the *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun*, was launched the year after, followed by *Yubin Hochi Shinbun* (Postal News) and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* (Tokyo Daily News) in 1872. At first, many of the articles in these newspapers were in support of the government, but *Nisshin Shinjishi* (Reliable Daily News), which was launched in 1872 by the British national John Reddie Black, included editorials and a letters-to-the-editor column. When others followed suit, newspapers became an important medium for the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. The government responded in 1875 by issuing more regulations and stepping up control. The Meiji Constitution promulgated in 1889 recognized freedom of speech to a certain extent. However, the press regulations that allowed the government to ban specific articles or suspend publication remained. This was a crucial problem that the Imperial Diet had to address.

Before the First Sino-Japanese War, press commentary in Japan had been gradually leaning toward calling for tougher foreign policies. When the war began in 1894, the main newspapers dispatched correspondents, intensified competition for sensational stories, and made offensive and aggressive assertions regarding China. They increased circulation numbers as a result of reader support, and newspapers and magazines saw a 32 % increase in circulation from 1893 to 1894. When France, Germany, and Russia intervened in the postwar negotiations, which had until then been favorable to Japan (see volume I, chapter 2), the Japanese press became critical of those three countries, particularly Russia, and this facilitated the mobilization of the people for the war between Japan and Russia that soon followed.

To increase their business-related readership, many newspapers focused on economic news; the serialized stories some of them published also drew readers in. The 1909 Newspaper Law stipulated that the Home Minister had the authority to prohibit the publication of newspapers (Article 23) and that

71 These provided for a publication licensing system and stipulated the responsibilities of editors, as well as establishing restrictions on what topics could be covered (political commentary was prohibited). These regulations essentially legitimized government control over newspapers.

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the Army, Navy, and Foreign Ministers had the authority to prohibit the reporting of news related to their areas of activity (Article 27).

After the First World War, critics such as Yoshino Sakuzo and Oyama Ikuo began to publish in magazines like *Chuo Koron* (Central Review) and newspapers and the movement for universal suffrage grew (Taisho Democracy). The print runs of *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* and *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* increased, and in 1924 surpassed the one-million mark. The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 hit newspaper companies in Tokyo hard, but with the support of the above two companies, the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun and Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* increased their print runs and became the two major Tokyo newspapers. This emergence of a newspaper monopoly gave rise to new problems for journalism in Japan.

The first newspaper in Korea was launched by the government in 1883 when the Office for the Management of Diplomatic and Commercial Affairs published the *Hanseong Sunbo.* It contained translations and editorials of articles from foreign and foreign-language newspapers, including *Shanghai News* and the *Chinese and Foreign Gazette* from China, and *Jiji Shinpo* (Current Affairs News) and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* from Japan. The end of *Hanseong Sunbo* seemed imminent when the printing facility of the Office of Culture and Information was destroyed by fire during the 1884 Gapsin Coup, but it was reborn in 1886 as *Hanseong Jubo.* The new paper used both Chinese characters and Hangul, but sometimes published news exclusively printed in Hangul. It was the first Korean newspaper to carry commercial advertising.

The Independent, Korea's first private-sector newspaper, was launched in 1896. Its launch date, April 7, is still commemorated today as Newspaper Day in South Korea. Three-quarters of the paper was written in the Korean language and one quarter in English. In addition to its goals of serving as the voice of the people and enlightening the masses, *The Independent* influenced society through activities such as calling for proactive efforts, pressuring the government for reform, revealing the aggressions of the great powers, and defending Korean sovereignty.

The year 1898 saw the launch of *Maeil Sinmun* (Daily Newspaper), *Jeguk Sinmun* (Imperial Post) and *Hwangseong Sinmun* (Capital Gazette). Of these, the reporting in *Hwangseong Sinmun* gained a reputation for being strongly anti-Japanese. In 1904, when the Korean Empire was forced to sign

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Figure 55: *Hanseong Sunbo*, Korea's first newspaper, and *Hwangseong Sinmun*, published in 1898. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

the Japan-Korea Treaty, *Hwangseong Sinmun* attempted to publicize the facts behind the signing, but although its text was censored, the paper underlined its opposition against the treaty by printing the text, but keeping

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it almost illegible by using upside-down print type.[72] *Hwangseong Sinmun* was forcibly suspended several times because it continued to expose the wrongfulness of Japanese oppression.

Taehan Maeil Shinbo (Korean Daily News) was launched in 1904. It was foundded by a British national, which made it possible to avoid Japanese interference. This daily soon became an influential medium for opposition to Japan's policies of aggression. After Korea's annexation, however, the paper was the target of pressure from the colonial authorities and eventually became a de facto official bulletin of the Governor-General of Choson. Publication continued, but it changed its name to *Maeil Shinbo* (Daily News).

Because newspapers continued to criticize Japan's policies of aggression, the Japanese authorities applied Japan's press regulations to Korea in 1907 and enacted a press law which served as a basis for a crackdown on Korean newspapers. After Korea was annexed in 1910, the Governor-General of Choson used the press law as the justification for banning the publication of Korean-language newspapers. *Maeil Shinbo* (renamed *Mainichi Shinpo* in April 1934) became the only Korean-language newspaper in Korea, but mainly served to publicize Japan's policies.

After the March First Independence Movement in 1919, Japan changed its methods of colonial rule in Korea. It implemented "cultural rule" and allowed newspapers to be published in the Korean language within a prescribed range. In the 1920s, it allowed the publication of the private sector papers *Chosun Ilbo*, *Dong-a Ilbo* and *Sisa Sinmun.* The latter was suspended in 1921, but in 1924, a Korean edition of *Sidae Ilbo* was launched (later renamed *Jungoe Ilbo*, *JoongAng Ilbo* and *Korean JoongAng Daily*). Because the Korean nationalist movement actively developed an anti-Japanese resistance and domestic public opinion was responding accordingly, the commentary in the three private-sector newspapers also came to carry an anti-Japanese tone. These publications also became more and more inter-

72 This kind of publication was called "brick-wall newspaper." After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan stepped up its interference in Korean affairs and demanded that newspapers come under a system of prepublication censorship. As a result, in March 1906, newspapers whose articles had been subject to censorship printed the respective columns upside down as an expression of resistance.

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ested in the various independence and nationalist movements that were developing in other parts of the world.

The Advent of Movies: A New Form of Entertainment

In 1896, one year after film first emerged in France, a movie was screened in Shanghai at Xu Garden. This is believed to have been the first movie screening in East Asia. Commercial screenings increased gradually throughout China's major cities, and watching movies became an everyday cultural activity of city dwellers, also influencing their lifestyles.

Films were first shown in Japan in Kobe in 1896 using the very first kinetoscope invented by Edison, through which the viewer would watch the film by looking into a box. In 1903, Tokyo's first movie theater opened, and movies became a major source of entertainment for Japan's city dwellers. During a time of rapid modernization, the high entertainment value of films, which embodied Western modernity, was widely welcomed. The first movies shown were silent, and during screenings, a "narrator" (*benshi*) explained the "moving picture." His narration (and sometimes singing) was delivered without any preparation on his part, and thus the *benshi* greatly controlled how the audience perceived the film.

It is believed that films made their debut in Korea sometime between 1897 and 1898. In 1897, a British woman named Esther House, in collaboration with a Korean cigarette company, presented a short film from France. As in Japan, early films were called "moving pictures" and, content aside, people found these fresh images very interesting. When films introducing the unique scenery of various countries were first shown in 1903, people would attend the screenings every night and audiences reached several thousand in number.

It was not long before the birth of this film market in the countries of East Asia prompted the production of films in indigenous languages and on subject matters relating to the daily lives of the people of East Asia.

The first film produced in Japan was made by Konishi Studio in Tokyo in 1898. The first drama shot in Japan was shown the following year. In 1912, Japan's first film studio, Nippon Katsudo Shashin ("Japan Motion Pictures" or Nikkatsu), was founded in Tokyo. Films immediately jumped from the

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periphery of the entertainment industry to the mainstream. The development of Japanese films began in the mid-1910s. In addition to adopting Western techniques, Japanese film-makers gradually began to demonstrate cultural features that were unique to Japan. For example, Mizoguchi Kenji's *Sisters of Gion* (1935) depicted the life of an oppressed geisha in Kyoto and the feelings of a persecuted woman in minute detail, and Ozu Yasujiro's *The Only Son* (1936) brilliantly showed the changes of the times through the life of one family. The 1930s marked Japanese cinema's first Golden Age.

The first film to be produced in China was *The Battle of Dingjunshan*, which was filmed by Fengtai Photography in Beijing in 1905. Before long, however, the core of the Chinese film industry moved to Shanghai, which was better equipped for the industry due to being more developed economically, with a pluralistic society and an open culture.

In 1909, China's first film company, the Asia Film Company, was established in Shanghai. China's first film drama, *The Difficult Couple*, was shot in Shanghai in 1913. By the mid-1920s, over a hundred films a year were being produced in the country, including many period dramas depicting China's unique culture as well as movies in the heroic epic genre. This is when the Chinese film star was born; the era produced a number of actors who were able to draw large audiences. Films portraying social realities emerged in the 1930s, with *Street Angels*, which was about the life of the urban poor, becoming a major hit.

In the Japanese colony of Korea, Kim Do-san produced the first serial drama, *Revenge for Brotherhood*, in 1919. As it was somewhere between a play and a film in nature, however, it cannot be described as a movie from our perspective today. The very first movie produced in Korea, *The Vow Made Under the Moon*, screened in 1923, was a feature-length film based on the script of a play. Many movies made during this time were about the importance of hygiene and preventing disease, and this film was also a typical awareness-raising movie, aimed at encouraging people to save money. With the success in 1924 of *The Story of Jang-hwa and Hong-ryeon*, which was filmed with Korean staff and funding, production of movies based on classic tales moved into the mainstream. The film *Arirang* (1926), directed by Na Woon-gyu, used realist techniques to depict Japan's aggression and colonial rule, and enjoyed great success. The movie's theme song of the same title became a popular folk song, and audiences that were

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strongly moved by the film would sing it during screenings, causing the police to forcibly shut down the showings. In the early 1930s, there were movies being filmed about the resistance, such as those produced by KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federacio, a socialist organization).

Radio: The Birth of Voice Media

The birth of radio in China, Japan, and Korea was not too far behind the rest of the world. The world's first radio station was established in Pittsburgh (USA) in 1920, and within a few years, radio broadcasting had also started in East Asia.

China's first radio station opened in Shanghai in 1923, funded by an American merchant. The first radio station to be established by the Chinese was launched in Harbin in Northeast China in 1926 and was government-run. The following year, Xinxin Department Store in Shanghai launched the country's first commercial radio station, after which the city became the center for China's broadcasting industry. At the time, all private radio stations were established for commercial purposes, under the motto of being "for the entertainment of society to please the ears of people in all walks of life." The majority of the programs broadcast were for entertainment, and included popular music, dramas, and storytelling. Although there was also information on the market and business conditions, there was little news or political commentary.

The Guomindang, which came to power in 1927, regarded the influence of radio to be of great importance. The Central Broadcasting Station, established in 1928, was the first national radio station in the country, and before long it had introduced German equipment and was enjoying the highest transmission rate in all of Asia. Before total war between China and Japan broke out in 1937, however, there were only over 200,000 radio sets in China, which limited the level of coverage the medium could attain. It could really only be enjoyed as a leisure pastime by rich families in the major cities.

Radio broadcasting in Japan began in 1925. Stations opened in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya (in that order), and provided a wide variety of information and entertainment, including news, culture, Western and Japanese music, and dramas. Receivers were still expensive, but expectations

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were exceeded when the three stations succeeded in securing a total of 250,000 contracts by the end of that year.

Japan's government used the 1915 Wireless Telegraphic Communications Law to establish exclusive control over radiotelegraphy and telephone businesses, to the end of making the prescreening of news broadcasts by the Ministry of Communications and Transportation mandatory. It also advocated consolidating the three stations to integrate them into the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK). The fact that radio broadcasting, a form of popular culture, began in Japan under the firm control of the government demonstrates the latter's attitude toward popular culture at the time.

Live broadcasting nationwide began with coverage of the enthronement ceremony of the Showa Emperor in November 1928. *Rajio Taiso* ("radio calisthenics") was also broadcast that same year for the first time; it had been launched by the Postal Life Insurance Bureau of the Ministry of Communications and Transportation, with the cooperation of the Army Ministry, after being inspired by an American life insurance company's radio advertisement. The Radio Calisthenics Association was established in 1931, after which the exercise program was implemented throughout the country. From 1938, *Rajio Taiso* became part of the Movement for General Mobilization of the National Spirit and was used to encourage people to dedicate themselves and their time to the nation's war effort.

Radio broadcasting in colonial Korea began in 1927 with the establishment of the Keijo Broadcasting Station. Newspapers at the time reported that "the steel poles holding up a network of electrical cables reach high into the sky and are hard to miss." In reality, however, there was a limit to the reach of the 45-meter-high broadcasting towers, and their signals could only be received in Keijo (Gyeongseong) and surrounding areas. In 1928, Japan greatly amplified its broadcasting signals, and Japanese radio could be heard even in Korea. This led to the Korean-language broadcasting time of Keijo Broadcasting Station being shortened, and the beginning of live radio broadcasting from Japan. This, however, only led to growth in the number of listeners in Korea who were Japanese.

Korean radio broadcasting was subject to the strict controls of the colonial authorities. All programs that might stimulate nationalist or anti-Japanese sentiment among the Koreans were banned, and programs that publicized the achievements of Japanese colonial rule or that were for en-

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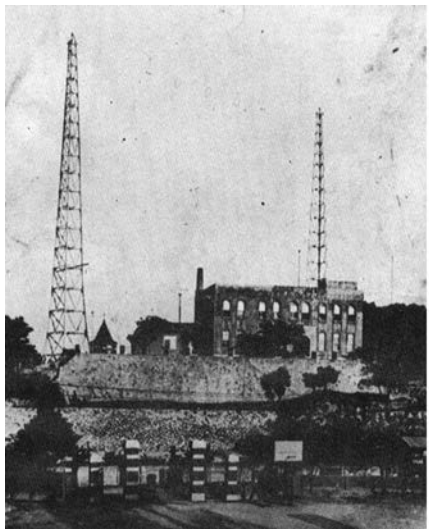

Figure 56: Keijo Broadcasting Station, established in 1927; its tall steel towers were widely discussed. Courtesy of the Korean Textbook Editorial Committee.

tertainment and did not obstruct colonial rule were actively encouraged. Bilingual broadcasting began in 1932, leading to an increase in the amount of Korean-language music and drama being aired.

2. War and the Media

Newspapers: A Tool for War Mobilization and Pacifism

As East Asia headed toward war, newspapers, under the tight control of national governments, became tools for propagandizing the policies of the day. In China and Korea, they also became a medium for communicating information and hope to the resistance movement against Japanese aggression.

The Chinese press was severely affected by the destruction caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War, yet many journalists stuck to their duties and through their reporting called for national resistance. When the Japanese

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army captured Nanjing in December 1937, the Chinese government moved to Chongqing, from where it continued to fight. Many newspapers also moved to Chongqing and continued to publish, report and disseminate information, and the city became the key center for the press. Because the city was subject to frequent air raids by Japanese bombers, it was an extremely dangerous place during the war, and many reporters and editors lost their lives. When the Japanese army invaded Hong Kong, Hu Zhengzhi, the general manager of *Ta Kung Pao*, hid three brass capsules filled with poison in his jacket so that if he were to be found by the Japanese, he would be able to give his life for his country. Later, he and a number of others took the risk of crossing the sea back to the mainland in a small boat. It was under such difficult conditions that, through various forms of reporting and publicity, the press on the home front, including CCP bases for the anti-Japanese resistance, played a valuable role in the resistance and strengthened peoples' faith in it.

Japanese newspapers began to change their course and press for war after the Manchurian Incident of September 1931. From the initial report that the Chinese and Japanese armies had clashed after an attack by the Chinese army, all newspapers published news accounts that accepted the falsehoods disseminated by the Kwantung Army. Major newspapers, printing a total of over 1.5 million copies, took the lead in sensationalizing the situation. Later, the press continued to publish articles that incited hatred for China and praised the Japanese army's hard fight and victory, and were hostile toward the League of Nations.

The Japanese press became even more enthusiastic about spreading war propaganda after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and reporters on the battlefront depicted Japanese aggression in various parts of China as acts of heroism. Photographs these correspondents had taken on the frontlines, had to undergo screening and the authorities censored photographs deemed unfavorable to Japan and prevented their publication. The 1938 National Mobilization Law gave the government power to order the restriction or prohibition of newspaper publications during war by imperial ordinance. When the Cabinet Information Bureau was set up in December 1940, a system to centrally manage all war reporting was established. Newspapers were subject to more bans, and the press was

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pulled completely into the war. There were 739 newspapers in Japan in 1938, but by 1942, they had been reduced and merged into a total of 108.

When the Pacific War began in 1941, the press further catered to the military's wishes, resulting in agitation. In 1942, for example, when the Japanese Navy suffered a crushing defeat by the US at the Battle of Midway, Japanese newspapers reported instead that "Japan suffered slight casualties, but the enemy losses are massive." The fallen were praised as "Gods of War"; "war tales" were widely reported to elevate the fighting spirit of the Japanese people.

Figure 57: The *Asahi Shinbun* reporting on the Battle of Midway on June 11, 1942. Courtesy of Asahi Shinbunsha.

In the 1930s, after the Manchurian Incident, Japan further tightened its control over free speech in colonial Korean in order to advance its policies of aggression on the continent. The Governor-General of Choson strongly urged the Korean press to cooperate with Japan and conform to its structure. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, colonial authorities encouraged prudence in reporting on the war and pressured Korean newspapers to "not spread false rumors" about the war. The press cooperated with the wartime regime by emphasizing the importance of the war

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in its coverage and by contributing to the mobilization of Korean manpower and resources. When it seemed as if the war would drag out, however, the Governor-General of Choson proposed a structural reform of the press in order to resolve supply shortage issues affecting goods such as paper. In August 1940, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-a Ilbo* were forced to cease publication on the grounds that Korean-language newspapers were hindering the Korean people from becoming true subjects of the Japanese empire.

Mobilizing Popular Consciousness through Radio

When the Second Sino-Japanese War was in full swing in 1937, a critical situation emerged for China's broadcasting industry. Major coastal cities such as Shanghai wereoccupied by the Japanese military, so broadcasters faced the question of whether to suspend commercial radio or continue on air under Japan's puppet government. Many of the stations that chose to continue broadcasting became organs for propaganda. Even in entertainment programming, they had to accept many of the aims of the puppet government's educational programs, with repeated airing of songs such as "Shina no Yoru" (Nights of China) and "Manshu Musume" (Manchurian Girl).

Conversely, as Central Radio Station moved to Chongqing with the Nationalist Government, the core of China's broadcasting industry shifted to the west. The Nationalist Government led the resistance propaganda through radio on the home front. During the war, Midorikawa Eiko (Hasegawa Teru), a Japanese woman married to a Chinese man, participated in anti-Japanese propaganda activities, working at the Hankou Radio Station as a Japanese-language announcer. Chinese listeners said that her "gentle voice could, paradoxically, bring thunder and lightning." Many Japanese, however, regarded her as "a traitor with a charming voice."

In Korea, after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, information provision networks were expanded. The Korean Broadcasting Association, launched in 1932, hurried to complete construction of its regional stations in key areas of importance, to increase broadcasting output in Korea as well as controlling the airwaves. Around the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Keijo Broadcasting Station was reorganized into Keijo Central

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Broadcasting Station, and regional stations opened in places such as Busan, Pyongyang, and Chongjin. Listening to radio broadcasts in the Korean language became possible throughout the Korean Peninsula. This was a measure intended to block out Korean-language programs being transmitted from China and the Soviet Union. As the Second Sino-Japanese War dragged on, Korean radio programs also became subject to tighter controls.

After the Manchurian Incident, Japan's public broadcasting station NHK announced that it would cooperate in the war effort: "We will strive to direct the course of public sentiment, mobilizing all the functions of radio to ensure people are aware of the importance of the lifeline of Manchuria and Mongolia, show the national policies of a just Japan to the outside world, and inspire and encourage readiness on the part of the people of Japan." These efforts were increasingly reinforced when the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, with news broadcasts six times a day, as well as occasional and special newscasts, each time calling for more engagement in the war effort.

An Information Bureau was established by the government in 1940 and was in charge of program planning and organization. It also began using radio to convey messages to neighborhood associations by making them listen to the broadcasts all together during their regular meetings. Taking its cue from Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, the government used NHK as a quasi-state organ to "enforce national policies," "guide public opinion," and "elevate the fighting spirit of the people."

Radio was also used to strengthen colonial rule and for external propaganda. Japan established the Taiwan Broadcasting Association in 1931, the Korean Broadcasting Association in 1932, and the Manchurian Telegraph & Telephone Company in 1933, and international shortwave broadcasting began in 1935. In 1940, it broadcast for 12 hours daily in 11 languages. The propaganda struggle in China continued throughout the war, however, led by broadcasts from Nanjing (later, Chongqing), and their growing influence became a cause of worry to Japan.

In summer 1945, Japan was no longer able to continue the war, and on August 15, Emperor Hirohito used radio, once a tool for "elevating the fighting spirit of the people," to broadcast the "Imperial Rescript on Surrender." This was the point at which many of the Japanese first realized that Japan had lost the war.

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Wartime Entertainment and Mobilization

Japan's war of aggression obstructed the development of movies in China, and resulted in Chinese movies becoming essentially divided into three types: 1) Anti-Japanese movies produced in Wuhan and Chongqing, which were the bases for the war of resistance against Japan; 2) movies produced for entertainment in Shanghai's "solitary island";[73] and 3) movies produced in Japanese-occupied "Manchukuo" or, after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, in Shanghai, which promoted the acceptance of Japanese rule, propagandized Japan's war policies, and sought to numb the Chinese people's sentiments.

Japan set up the Manchukuo Film Association (Man'ei) in 1937 as a movie company to promote the implementation of its national policies in Manchukuo. Man'ei monopolized the production, distribution and screening of films in China's northeast. Film personnel from Japan worked together with Chinese personnel to make films in the Chinese language, and this experience led to some of the latter becoming skilled filmmakers who contributed to the development of the Chinese movie industry after the war. Chinese audiences, however, did not welcome Man'ei's films.

In Japan, as the Second Sino-Japanese War dragged on, Tasaka Tomotaka directed a number of war movies, including *Five Scouts* (1938). Many of the films made at this time romanticized war and were aimed at whipping up prowar public sentiment, but Kamei Fumio's *Fighting Soldiers* (1939) sought to depict the actual battlefield to indirectly express criticism of war by way of including scenes with soldiers exhausted from marches and battles, the horrible aftermath on the front lines, and the expressions on the faces of the Chinese people. This led to Kamei's license being revoked. In 1939, a Film Law[74] was promulgated that resulted in a strict licensing system

73 Anti-Japanese activities continued in Japanese-occupied Shanghai through newspapers, plays, films, and art in the International Settlement and in the French concession, where the Japanese could not intervene. These parts of Shanghai developed into a "solitary island" of resistance against the Japanese.

74 This regulatory legislation was based on the National Socialist Culture Law and included a film company licensing system, mandatory screenings of cultural films and news, a registration system for directors and actors, and screening restrictions.

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for producing and distributing films, a registration system for directors and actors, and a pre-censorship system for scripts.

During this time, it became mandatory to show "educational films" before the screening of a movie in a theater. These "educational films" were animated, and the most influential ones were war propaganda films such as *Sora no Shonenhei* (Young Soldiers of the Sky, 1941), which contributed to an increase in the number of young people enlisting as pilots.

When the Asia-Pacific War began in December 1941, the regulations of the Information Bureau became even tighter, which naturally led to greater restrictions on created works, and the production of films glorifying the war of aggression increased. Examples include Yamamoto Kajiro's *The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya* (1942) and Abe Yutaka's *Fire on that Flag* (1944), which legitimized the war by defining it a struggle to liberate Asia. Many of these films led to the Japanese becoming self-absorbed, as well as contributing to the mobilization of the people for war, with the sophisticated techniques used in Japanese films proving highly powerful in this respect.

Korea entered the movie production industry when its first sound film *Chunhyang-jeon* (The Story of Chun-hyang) was screened in 1935. Production costs piled up, however, and it was widely recognized that, if Korea's fledgling film industry was to survive the fierce competition, it either had to feature "Korean attributes" and gain the approval of the Japanese market on this basis, or collaborate with the Japanese film industry. The Governor-General of Choson had already enacted film censorship regulations in 1926 and started censoring films, but under the wartime mobilization system in the early 1940s, it set up the government-controlled Choson Movie Production Company, under which all film staff were registered and forced to make propaganda films that would contribute to the war effort and glorify Japan's aggression. In 1942, the production of films in the Korean language was banned, and until Japan was defeated, only films in Japanese were produced.

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3. The Postwar Media

Postwar Newspapers

When the Chinese Civil War began, both the Guomindang and the Communist Party used the press to spread propaganda and mobilize the people. On the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, all newspaper and publishing activities became state-run. Newspaper companies were allocated funds to help them adapt to the planned economy system, and news content became formalized. Political propaganda disseminated through newspapers and other media served to construct a new state identity and unite popular consciousness. Thus, an image of a new Chinese citizen was created to serve as a model for the people. For example, Lei Feng, a Liberation Army soldier, was promoted intensively in the press of the 1960s as a hero. There was a smaller number of newspapers in publication during this time, but print runs increased with uniform publication throughout the country, and even people in remote villages were reading them.

The Chinese press underwent major development when reform and opening-up policies were first implemented in 1978. The "Criterion of Truth" debate,[75] which took place in the same year, was sparked off by a newspaper commentary, which demonstrated the role of the media in advancing reform and related policies. The importance of the newspaper industry was elevated, and advertising revenues replaced state funding to influence newspaper operations. News content diversified and there was more interest in critical reporting. Even society and celebrity news received more coverage, but tended toward vulgarity at times.

Since the 1840–1842 Opium War, the press in Hong Kong, which as a British colony maintained a capitalist system, had developed in a different way from its course in mainland China. Most coverage was about people's daily lives, and competition between newspapers was fierce. Other types of

75 A philosophical dispute arose in the latter part of 1978 against the backdrop of antagonism between those supporting the authority of Hua Guofeng and senior bureaucrats in favor of the reinstatement of Deng Xiaoping. The latter won, creating the ideological foundation for economic reform policies. Mao Zedong's personality cult declined, leading to the first liberalization of thought after the Cultural Revolution.

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mass media joined in, leading to the stagnation of the previously popular evening papers, and by 1996 they all had disappeared.

During Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan (1895–1945), the publication of Chinese-language newspapers was restricted or banned. After the island was returned to China in 1945 and the Guomindang fled there in 1949, state-run newspapers took over the press. Taiwan's press ban was lifted in 1988 and newspapers could be freely published, but at this point the quality of the news and its content declined.

After the Second World War, the GHQ in Japan regarded the media as key in ensuring its occupation policies could be smoothly executed, and thus set up the Civil Information and Educational Section (CIE). It also issued "Rules for Newspapers in Japan" (known as the "press code"), by which it lifted the ban on speech that had been suppressed before the war, such as criticism of the emperor system, while at the same time severely restricting coverage that was critical of the occupation forces or related to the atomic bomb, especially on the harm caused by radiation. From September 1945 to October 1949, all publications, not just newspapers, were subject to GHQ screening. Until July 1948, newspapers were subject to pre-publication censorship, and thereafter, post-publication censorship. Newspapers and publishers that feared the censorship of their material tightened their self-restraint and held back criticism of the occupation forces and the US. This self-imposed restraint among the press and publishing circles continued on from the controls imposed during wartime, and has not only influenced Japan's modern censorship system in the postwar period, but has also had an impact on the attitude of the Japanese media to this day.

Separated from the Japanese mainland and under US occupation until 1972, Okinawa was subject to censorship until the 1960s. A wide range of media were suspended from publication, ranging from party bulletins to magazines of student groups and song collections compiled by teachers' associations. This said, during the 1960s, when the movement for Okinawa's reversion to Japan was strong, US military censorship was largely nominal.

One of the GHQ's five directives for reform was the encouragement of the formation of labor unions; accordingly, a workers' union was established at each newspaper. Some of these demanded that the paper acknowledge its responsibility for propagandistic acts committed in wartime, or attempted

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to remove the newspaper's president and top-level executives. Upon investigating the wartime record of Shoriki Matsutaro, the company president of Yomiuri Shinbun Co. and a former metropolitan police official, the workers' union, consisting mostly of top executives in the editorial department of the company's eponymous newspaper, demanded his resignation. Shoriki, however, gave five of the editors a notice of dismissal. The union resisted by self-managing the editing and publication of the paper. This became the first major industrial dispute in postwar Japan. It continued for some time and eventually ended in favor of the union when, in December 1945, the GHQ classified Shoriki as a Class A war criminal. On December 12, an editorial of *Yomiuri Shinbun* announced, "From this day, *Yomiuri Shinbun* will become truly a friend to the people and an organ of the people for eternity."

From around 1948, however, when the Communist Party gained dominance in China and the triumph of its revolution became clear, the GHQ's occupation policies in Japan underwent a drastic about-face. A large-scale "Red Purge" began in 1950, under which Communists and those regarded as Communist sympathizers were dismissed from public office or important private enterprises. Employees in organs for public opinion such as newspaper companies, news agencies, and broadcasting organizations (including NHK, Yomiuri, Asahi, Mainichi, Kyodo, and Jiji) who were regarded as members or sympathizers of the Communist Party were abruptly dismissed. A total of 704 people in 50 companies lost their jobs in this way, including 119 at NHK and 104 at Asahi Shinbun. As the "Red Purge" proceeded, those forced from public office as war criminals under the early occupation policies were "depurged," and Shoriki Matsutaro, for example, returned to the post of president of Yomiuri Shinbun Co.

With the beginning of this "reverse course" in US occupation policies and the resurgence of prewar conservative forces in Japan, the pursuit of war crimes was pushed into the background and the idea that the media should protect democratic society as the "Fourth Power," keeping watch over the legislature, judiciary and administration, did not gain a significant foothold. In the autumn of 1955, the "1955 System" originated with the foundation of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), a united front of conservative forces, and of the Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ), a union of the various factions of the political left. The structure under which *Yomiuri Shinbun* served the con-

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servative readership and *Asahi Shinbun* and *Mainichi Shinbun* catered to the progressive readership emerged and continued for a long time thereafter.

In South Korea, various newspapers were launched after liberation in 1945. More than 40 newspapers were published that year, but progressive newspapers were subject to censorship by the US military government. This suppression continued when Rhee Syngman took over in 1948, and there was still a long road ahead before freedom of speech could be secured. Around the time of the Korean War, the South Korean government used "national security" as a reason to crack down on commercial newspapers, and circulation suffered a decline. The situation gradually improved from the mid-1950s, but with Park Chung-hee's military coup in 1961, many commercial newspapers were again suspended. Although these were later revived, newspapers remained subject to strict government controls regarding content and scope. When Chun Doo-hwan became president in 1980, some newspapers were suspended and the companies underwent structural reorganization. A small number of large-scale daily newspapers with pro-government leanings rapidly developed under the restrictions.

Despite this situation, the media and concerned parties fought hard against the regulation of freedom of speech. With the advancement of democratization after the 1987 June Democratic Uprising,[76] media surveillance was eased, the newspaper censorship system was abolished, and the circulation of many newspapers increased. *The Hankyoreh* was first published in 1988, put together by journalists who had been dismissed as a result of government censorship, and its launch was funded by the public sale of stock certificates. *The Hankyoreh* aimed to "realize a democratic nation and national unification" and was the first general daily in South Korea to print its text horizontally, and only in Hangul. Today, however, *Chosun Ilbo*, *JoongAng Ilbo* and *Dong-a Ilbo* occupy the major market share for daily

76 This was a national struggle for democratization against the Chun Doo-hwan regime which took place in June 1987 and saw people calling for the overthrow of the dictator and direct presidential elections. Millions of people participated, and at the end of the month issued the June 29 Declaration to the government demanding structural reform. This marked the beginning of progress in the democratization of the South Korean political system.

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newspapers in Korea, and the power of this oligopoly remains an unaddressed issue in Korean society.

Diversification in Radio Broadcasting

In September 1945, the GHQ in Japan issued a radio code which was analogous to its press regulations. In addition to prohibiting militaristic broadcasting, the code stipulated that broadcasts that were critical of the Allied powers, and US occupation policies in particular, were not allowed. People heard programs that were very different from those aired by the Information Bureau during the war; some of these were *Gaito Rokuon* (Street Recordings), which consisted of vox-pop man-on-the-street interviews, *Nichiyo Gorakuban* (Sunday Entertainment Edition), which was full of sharp humor and satire on contemporary society, and *Shinso wa ko da* (This is the Truth), which revealed the realities of the war. In April 1950, the "three Radio Laws" (Radio Law, Broadcast Law and Law to Establish the Radio Regulatory Commission) were passed and commercial broadcasting began. The Radio Regulatory Commission was inaugurated as a third-party body whose purpose was to loosen state controls and ensure political neutrality and fairness in broadcasting.

After US occupation policies changed tack, however, Yoshida Shigeru's cabinet, which was cooperating in this change of events, stepped up pressure on broadcasters. When the Allied forces' occupation ended in 1952 and Japan became sovereign, Yoshida's cabinet quickly did away with the Radio Regulatory Commission and brought radio and television administration under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. Unable to cope with the unceasing pressure, *Nichiyo Gorakuban*, which had been popular for its sharp satire, came to an end that year with the words "We say goodbye in anticipation [of others to come]."

In China, radio broadcasting underwent major development from the 1950s onward. Live radio broadcasting began on October 1, 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded, with a network covering the capital, and operating at provincial and municipal level. The radio broadcasting industry became state-run and expanded nationwide. Stations were established in all rural districts that met certain conditions, with broadcasts

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made at set times of the day through loudspeakers set up in the villages. Radio became a de facto community information center and encouraged people to exchange information. Broadcasts included news and political propaganda, but radio also disseminated scientific information on farming techniques (including, for example, advice on which chemical fertilizer to use for farming) and introductions to and notices about local businesses, such as notifications of meetings. The industry reached its peak in the 1980s after economic reform and opening-up policies were implemented in China. The most striking change was that with greater segmentation of radio stations' roles and the diversification of radio programming, programs about local news, entertainment, and public information came to form the core of radio broadcasting.

Figure 58: A radio station in rural China, with a photograph of Mao Zedong displayed behind the announcer. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

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After the war, the US military government in South Korea requisitioned Keijo Broadcasting Station and began to make broadcasts about its own policies and activities to the Korean people, who at the time still had a low rate of literacy. When the Korean War began in 1950, the demand for radio broadcasting grew rapidly. The latter part of the 1950s saw a break away from the state-run system as more and more commercial stations began operating. This was South Korea's golden age of radio. After the May 16 military coup of 1961, however, the Korean Broadcasting System (from 1973 Korean Broadcasting Station, KBS) became an effective tool for legitimizing the military *coup d'état*. Commercial stations were established and fierce competition for audiences and programming development ensued between state-run and commercial stations. The market for radio sets and radio advertising also grew. With the increasing popularity of television in the 1970s, however, the popularity and advertising revenues of radio declined, and it had to search out new ways to survive.

Television: The Birth of a New Mass Medium

Television had already been invented by the time of the Second World War, but it was not until after the war that it rapidly gained popularity all around the world to become the mainstay of mass media in the latter half of the twentieth century. It advanced from transmitting black-and-white images into color, and viewing of specific programs went from domestic to international. People were able to access information, culture and entertainment through television, and the format embodied the growing impact of the media on people's consciousness and culture.

After Japan regained sovereignty through the Treaty of San Francisco, the Japan-US Security Treaty allowed American troops to be stationed in the country. Development of television in Japan had begun in the prewar period with NHK and the activities of Takayanagi Kenjiro,[77] and both continued

77 Sometimes called the "father of Japanese television," Takayanagi (1899–1990) developed the world's first all-electronic television receiver in 1925, realized the first TV transmission in Japan in 1926 and developed the main component of a TV camera in 1933, only months after it was invented in the US.

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their work after the war, but there was strong pressure from the US. The American television system (NTSC) was regarded as a powerful weapon for psychological warfare during the Cold War and was promoted by Shoriki Matsutaro. Having returned to the post of president of Yomiuri Shinbun Co, Shoriki pushed to establish the Nippon Television Network Corporation (Nippon TV) using NTSC. When the NHK Tokyo Station began operating in February 1953, Nippon TV was set up in August. Live professional wrestling was particularly popular, and people cheered at the karate chops of Rikidozan, a well-known wrestler. As television sets became increasingly common in people's homes, entertainment programs provided by the US at low cost, such as *Lassie* and *My Three Sons*, were screened daily. American-made programs that promoted the image of a wealthy US with kind people fostered pro-American sentiment among viewers.

Inspired by the British Queen's coronation, the wedding of the crown prince (later Emperor Akihito) in 1959 was produced as a televised event with a horse-drawn carriage. In the 1960s, television sets were considered one of the important goods to be acquired in the era of economic growth and were called one of the "Three Sacred Treasures" (of the household), together with the washing machine and refrigerator. Later, color television was considered one of the "3Cs" together with a car and an air-conditioning system (cooler). By 1970, the proportion of the population with access to a television set had reached 90 %. Through advertisements, television served as a vehicle to promote consumption.

In 1958, the critic Oya Soichi said that "the most advanced medium of mass communication has given rise to the development of 'a nation of a hundred million idiots'." This was a warning that commercial television threatened to turn people into passive consumers with numbed senses. The impact of television from the 1950s to 1960s was significant in terms of the spread of populism, pro-American sentiment and support for the symbolic emperor system. Television also played a major role in drastically transforming the traditionally modest Japanese way of life into a lifestyle characterized by mass consumption.

Television broadcasting in China began with the launch of Beijing Television in May 1958. As the development of the Chinese economy was slow at the time, there were only few sets available, most of which were owned by a small number of high-level government officials and intellectuals. Ordi-

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Figure 59: People watching an NHK test broadcast on a street TV (Japan). Courtesy of Asahi Shinbunsha.

nary people could only buy tickets to watch television in designated places. Nevertheless, television still left a strong impression on viewers. Major developments in television took place after the implementation of market reforms and opening-up policies in 1978, and by the 1980s, the one electrical product that Chinese desired most was a color television.

The "Spring Festival Gala," a program broadcast by China Central Television each spring, was a topic of conversation throughout the country as color television took hold and essentially became a new Chinese "folk custom." Anything said on the Spring Gala program immediately became a buzzword. For example, the expression "No worries about money" was used at the 2009 Spring Gala, expressing the confidence of the Chinese despite their facing a global economic crisis. The development of television in Hong

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Kong and Taiwan also bore its own special features, and the race for ratings in Taiwan is particularly intense.

Korean television broadcasting began in 1954. As the Radio Corporation of America was attempting to break into the Korean market at the time, a television was set up in front of the Bosingak Belfry (a bell pavilion) in Seoul to draw the interest of passers-by. Korea's first television station was HLKZ-TV, which was established in 1956. In 1961, the authorities under the Park regime established the predecessor to the Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS) as "a gift to the people." Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC, 1961), Tongyang Broadcasting Company (TBC, 1964), and Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS, 1990) then followed. When television began gaining popularity in the 1970s, it had a major impact on people's consumption, and before long television had become the most influential form of mass media. A great range of programs was shown at the time, with particularly major developments brought to viewers in on-the-scene reporting, flash reporting and news programs. During the 1974 commemoration events for Korean Independence Day, which is celebrated on August 15, the assassination of the First Lady Yuk Young-soo, the wife of Park Chung-hee, took place live on television, shocking the entire nation.

Soon after the suppression of the Gwangju Democratization Movement[78] in 1980, high-ranking military leaders made it their goal to abolish commercial television broadcasting and reorganized the stations and monopolized the industry, forcibly incorporating them all into a state-run structure. This, however, led to representatives of the media becoming more aware of their social and political responsibilities; they joined the campaign of television viewers who were refusing to pay KBS fees, considered what role they should play to ensure fair and just reporting, and then worked to fulfill that role.

With the growing democratization of the broadcasting industry, the wave of protests of the democratization movement against government interference reached a peak. In the 1990s, the South Korean television industry

78 This movement began as a protest on May 17, 1980, against the army's expanded martial law measures. The popular uprising took place from May 18 to 27, mostly in Gwangju City in South Jeolla Province. Army leaders responded by ordering the full-scale suppression of the demonstrations, which resulted in numerous deaths. This marked the beginning of the South Korean democratization movement of the 1980s.

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was restored to having both government-run and commercial stations, and cable television and satellite broadcasting also began. This was a new age for the media. At the same time, the TV ratings war intensified and audience ratings began to greatly impact program content and advertising revenues. As the industry developed, more and more different program materials and formats emerged. Taking TV dramas as an example, there were a variety of formats, with some shown daily, some on alternate days, some on weekends only, and so on. They also varied in type, including such genres as historical dramas and action dramas. The television drama *Dae Jang-geum* (The Great Jang-geum), a historical drama depicting the success story of one woman tied in with the history and cuisine of Korea, served to ignite a growing popularity for Korean popular culture throughout East Asia.

Movies: The Making of Art and Entertainment

Movies were once the most popular form of mass entertainment in East Asia. In China and South Korea, they were seen as a tool for increasing popular awareness of national policies, yet many people in the industry still made unique films that gained popularity among audiences, some receiving international awards for their work and gaining global recognition. Today, East Asia is becoming a top global market for movies.

The Chinese film industry was revived soon after the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Shanghai remained at the forefront of the Chinese film industry, producing not only entertainment films but also movies reflecting the people's hardships. Cai Chusheng's *The Spring River Flows East* was one such film, with the closing scene showing the heroine plunging into a river to her death, moving many viewers to tears. *Crows and Sparrows* gave a realistic depiction of people's living conditions as it examined the fate of its protagonist against the backdrop of the rapid changes of the times.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the film industry on the mainland passed from private to government management, and Shanghai, Beijing, and Changchun became the three major bases for film production. Movies shot at the time were based on socialist realism and aimed to promote the revolution. The emphasis was on standardizing film content and format, and finding ways to popularize and propagate them to

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the masses. In addition, a greater variety of film genres, including war films, which had once been scarce, were produced and came to be enjoyed by the public in greater numbers. The number of movie theaters and moviegoers increased. Movies became the main form of entertainment for the Chinese people, not just in cities but also in rural areas, where public screenings were held regularly. The photographs of 22 famous film stars that were displayed in movie theaters served to draw audiences in.

Films in Hong Kong underwent rapid development in the 1950s. Kung-fu and action movies from Hong Kong in particular gained worldwide fame, and Bruce Lee became a Chinese icon all around the world. Taiwan's film industry also grew quickly from the 1960s to 1970s as the country's economy experienced rapid growth.

In postwar Japan, the GHQ banned films containing themes such as nationalist propaganda, feudal allegiance and violent retaliation, but constraints on movie production had largely been relaxed. Many producers who had been involved in making war films during the war joined labor unions, and many works demonstrating an anti-war attitude were made, such as *Morning for the Osone Family* (1946), *No Regrets for Our Youth* (1946), and *War and Peace* (1947). Such productions struck a chord with many moviegoers.

This freedom did not last long. Things reversed with the reinstatement of people running the film companies who had previously been purged from public office. With the backing of the GHQ and the Japanese government, filmmakers advocating pacifism and democracy were slandered as Reds (Communists) and shunned. Many were expelled during the Toho labor dispute,[79] including Kamei Fumio and Yamamoto Satsuo. Despite the difficult situation, they went on to make independent productions and created outstanding films such as *Zone of Emptiness*, *Children of Hiroshima*, and

79 A labor dispute at the Toho studios that took place from 1946 to 1948. Members of the management returned to their posts after being "depurged" and proceeded in their turn to dismiss 270 film workers. Members of the union responded by barricading themselves in a studio. Two thousand policemen and members of the occupation forces stepped in, and tanks and planes were also used. Although this was a struggle between employers and workers, the massive use of force disturbed many, and newspapers sarcastically noted that "it was only battleships that were *not* used in the fight against the protesting workers."

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Tower of Lilies, evidence of their regret at having cooperated in the war. These films are still screened today.

Japanese films met with great international acclaim in the 1950s, with Kurosawa Akira's *Rashomon* winning the Grand Prize at the Venice International Film Festival, and Mizoguchi Kenji's *The Life of Oharu*, *Ugetsu*, and *Sansho the Bailiff* also receiving awards. The annual number of moviegoers in Japan surpassed one billion, and the country entered its second golden age of film.

Films depicting war and the social phenomena that it produced continued to be made, including Kobayashi Masaki's *The Human Condition* and Yamamoto Satsuo's *Men and War*, which attracted large audiences. It was not long, however, before the number of such films decreased. There are few films in postwar Japan that sharply depict the truth of Japan's aggression in Asia. The task remains even today for the Japanese film industry to produce films that sincerely confront this dark side of the country's history.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945, the South Korean movie industry appeared to regress on the technical front due to a number of disadvantageous factors, and only filmed 16 mm silent movies. In the meantime, it imported and screened American films. The Korean War was a hard blow to the film industry, and some filmmakers served under the Korean Ministry of National Defense and the US military, producing propaganda movies.

After the Korean War, the South Korean film industry saw rapid growth due to the government's tax exemption policies. By 1959, over a hundred films were being made annually, with an expanding range of themes and methods of expression being used. Movies became an important form of entertainment and South Korea entered its golden age of film. In the 1960s, the Park Chung-hee regime further developed the film industry, but also enacted the Motion Picture Law in order to control it. With strict state censorship and the growing popularity of television, films gradually fell into a slump and there was a decline in both the number of movies being produced and the numbers of their audiences.

The Chinese film industry was revived after the Cultural Revolution. In 1979, the number of moviegoers in mainland China became the highest in the world for the first time, reaching 29.3 billion. With the implementation of reforms, people in the movie industry enjoyed more freedoms. The new generation of filmmakers, represented by figures such as Zhang Yimou and

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Chen Kaige, underwent rapid development, demonstrating unique ways of working in films such as *Red Sorghum* and *Farewell My Concubine* and winning awards at international film festivals. However, in the late 1980s, as the social, economic, and cultural environment changed, the film industry confronted new difficulties in the shape of the growing diversity in forms of entertainment and the popularity of television. Helped by a growing market, it was later able to stabilize its position and escape the adversities created by the influx of Hollywood films.

Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997 and its film industry began to cooperate with mainland China, enabling Hong Kong movies to enter the Chinese market and be screened on a daily basis. In Taiwan, a new film movement began in the 1980s, led by Hou Hsiao-Hsien's *A City of Sadness*, and Taiwanese films gained international recognition. In the 1990s, Ang Lee became the most famous Taiwanese director worldwide with enthusiastically received films such as *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, which revived China's traditional martial arts culture with a new approach.

Films began to lose popularity in Japan in the 1960s due to the growing spread of television, which reduced the number of moviegoers. From the 1990s, however, there was an increase in the number of multiplex cinemas and new recording media such as DVDs, and because there were so many different ways to watch movies, Japan's film industry gradually began to stabilize. Japanese animation films and documentaries have had strong international impact for their uniqueness and have many fans in China and South Korea as well.

South Korean democratization progressed after the June Democratic Uprising in 1987, leading to favorable conditions for the development of the film industry. Film censorship duties shifted from the government to the Korean Film Council[80] and the screening criteria were gradually relaxed. This resulted in more freedom of expression and a variety of themes being dealt with in movies, and audiences enjoyed the visually appealing films that still maintained a certain Korean quality. South Korean film thus entered its second golden age. In 1999, the screening of *Shiri* became a groundbreaking

80 The Korean Film Council (KOFIC) works toward improving the quality of films and aims to advance the film industry of South Korea. It was established in 1973 as a quasi-governmental organization under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

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event for South Korean films, as they went on to take a 40 % share of the domestic movie market. South Korea is unusual in that it is one of the few countries in the world where domestic films are more popular than foreign ones. The works of Korea's principal film directors, such as Lee Chang-dong, Kim Ki-duk, and Park Chan-wook, have received multiple awards at major international film festivals, and South Korean films have gained global recognition and are also popular in China and Japan. Since 1996, South Korea has been hosting the Busan International Film Festival, which is gaining increasing regard in Asia and globally as an important event. The screen quota system, i. e. the imposition of a duty on cinemas to screen Korean-made films, has played a major role in protecting South Korean films from the monopoly of American movies, but during the South Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiations in 2006, the government agreed to put an end to the system, despite strong opposition from members of the South Korean film industry and international opinion supporting cultural diversity. Representatives of the film industry have, however, managed to overcome social and economic difficulties to preserve the independence of South Korea's movie industry and continue to produce popular films to this today.

4. New Challenges for the Media

Newspapers: Commercialization and Public Trust

Today, the newspaper is still the principal medium for mass communications. Its most important function is to disseminate news and information. Through the information and commentary newspapers contain, they can have a major impact on the behavior and value judgments of its readers. Further, because of their entertainment and educational functions, newspapers influence readers without them knowing it, and thus they shape the psychology of people and their understanding of their country and the world. The press is a cultural industry that generates huge profits, and newspapers have the character of commodities. At the same time, due to their public nature, they are strongly political.

While there are certain shared factors in the history of newspapers in

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Figure 60: A magazine sales stand on a street corner in China. Courtesy of the Chinese Textbook Editorial Committee.

China, Japan, and Korea, there are also obvious differences. Affected by its unique environment and the historical circumstances which have predominated in modern times, the press in China has been strongly influenced by politics and played an important role during the struggle for national independence and the implementation of economic reform. Extreme politicization during specific times, however, has hindered the development of a free press and increased public distrust toward it. The Japanese press was once under military control and acted as a propaganda organ for Japan's war of aggression. Postwar reflection and the pursuance of the issue of responsibility for war crimes have also been inadequate. The South Korean press underwent great change during the democratization process, but the relationship between the government and business circles continues to impact press freedom.

With the development of various forms of new media, today's paper-based press is facing new challenges. Amid fierce competition, newspapers in China, Japan, and Korea are confronted with the question of how to sustain their development and how to preserve independence from large corporations who fund newspapers through advertising. Further, they must also deal with the question of how to maintain autonomy as well as with issues surrounding the public nature of news reporting, and how to prevent corruption. In addition to these issues, which the three East Asian countries have in common, each country also has its own specific problems to address. In Japan and South Korea, there is a need for the press to avoid being influenced by the government and corporate advertisers so that it can provide journalism for the people. In recent times, there has been growing concern about a phenomenon that has emerged in South Korea in which

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media bodies linked to certain organizations or political groupings have created new media in an attempt to monopolize public opinion. In Japan, the March 2011 accident at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant provided impetus for major newspapers to scrutinize national policies on the promotion of nuclear power, and issues have reemerged regarding the public's right to know and the downplaying of security weaknesses by the press, which has been a long-standing problem. In China, the diversification of news sources and the impact of newspapers on the public domain are issues that have to be addressed.

The Diversification of Radio and Television

Despite their different political systems, broadcasting in China, Japan, and Korea shares many common characteristics, with relatively strict state control of the radio and television industries. China's CCTV, Japan's NHK, and South Korea's KBS are not the same in form, but they are all public stations and have served to publicize government policies.

There is a close relationship between Japan's commercial broadcasters and the press, and newspaper companies were behind the commercial radio and television stations that emerged after the war. As there are no controls for media cross-ownership[81] in Japan, when television broadcasting began, networks were established between the newspapers and television stations: *Yomiuri Shinbun* and Nippon TV; *Asahi Shinbun* and TV Asahi; *Mainichi Shinbun* and TBS; *Sankei Shinbun* and Fuji Television; and *The Nikkei* and TV Tokyo. Newspaper companies therefore monopolize television broadcasting. Television stations that are independent from newspaper companies cannot enter into nationwide broadcasting, and there are many hindrances to the development of independent television. The "newspaper plus television" formula has secured a dominant position for large media corporations in Japan's mass media.

81 This means that one company or individual can own a number of different types of mass media (for example, newspapers, television, radio). Most industrialized countries regulate this because it hinders diversity of opinion and can lead to a monopoly on public speech, but no controls are in place in Japan.

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As early as 1958, the Japanese jurist Kaino Michitaka said that to realize freedom of speech in television, the most important thing was to guarantee the freedom of its staff to display their creativity and to secure their employment. These words make us think about the principal premise of guaranteeing the freedom to create and the right of the viewer to know, and bring to mind an incident in 2001 when a politician from the ruling party of the time interfered with an NHK program reporting on the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery and demanded that it be revised. The important issue remains of how to create a screening system that is transparent to the public and independent of the government.

The structure of radio and television in South Korea involves the coexistence of the public and private sectors. Radio and television companies and the government are neither dependent on each other nor rivals; media sometimes criticize the government, but at other times cooperate with it. In the context of the market economy, the questions in China for state-run radio and television are how they can respond to competition and how they can perform their functions as radio and television broadcasters within a state-run system.

Unlike newspapers, television can be understood through tools such as dubbing and subtitles (while broadcasting in another language), and even if the viewer is unable to read, it can be understood directly through visual images. Television has therefore played a dramatic role in promoting the exchange of popular culture. The saturation level of television in China, Japan, and Korea has now reached virtually 100 %. *Oshin*, a serialized morning television drama on NHK that began showing in the spring of 1983, was soon also televised in China, causing an "*Oshin* Boom." Chinese television did not air many entertainment programs at the time, so Japanese singers and actors such as Yamaguchi Momoe and Sakai Noriko became very popular, as did Japanese animation films such as *Doraemon* and *Chibi Maruko-chan.* At the same time, in Japan, Chinese television dramas such as *Three Kingdoms* gained a strong following, and the Korean television drama *Winter Sonata* kickstarted a boom in Korean pop culture in other Asian countries.

In general, television broadcasting has promoted the exchange of East Asian popular culture and made the sharing of various information – be it

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political, economic, or educational – possible, and has the potential to encourage the formation of a new East Asian cultural sphere.

Movies: A Globalized Exchange

The movie industries of China, Japan, and Korea have undergone rapid growth since the beginning of the twenty-first century, and East Asia is now one of three major cultural spheres for film in the world, together with the US and Europe.

The three countries are located in close proximity to one another, and have relatively similar cultural backgrounds. Film, as a culture that is consumed by the masses, should have seen more active exchange and cooperation between the three countries from the start, but due to the influence of various factors that have already been discussed, this interaction did not go smoothly. Before the Second World War, the films of each country only had small shares in the markets of the others, but the situation began to change gradually after the war. Due to historical factors, the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and South Korea placed strict controls on the screening of Japanese films. As circumstances changed, however, it became easier to export and import movies and screen them in each of the three countries. Before China's Cultural Revolution, Japanese films were aired relatively often in mainland China compared to movies made in other capitalist countries. Additionally, after China's economic reforms and opening up, Japanese films were the first from a capitalist country to be shown in mainland China. Films such as *Kimi yo, Fundo no Kawa o Watare* (Manhunt) and *Sandakan Prostitute House No.8* were well received by the Chinese. The Japanese actor Takakura Ken was the favorite male movie star among young Chinese women at the time. Meanwhile, the Chinese movie *If You Are the One* was filmed amid the beautiful scenery of Hokkaido in Japan and brought about a boom in Chinese travel to Hokkaido. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, South Korean films have had a great impact on China and Japan. Chinese and Japanese audiences have come to love the handsome men and beautiful women, scenery, warm-heartedness and optimistic outlook of South Korean films. Many women in Japan are fans of Korean actors such as Bae Yong-joon. Chinese films are also beginning to be shown

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in Japan and South Korea, and *Red Cliff*, which was based on the famous Chinese novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, was a hit movie in all three countries.

Today, there are more and more opportunities for China, Japan, and Korea to collaborate with each other in movie-making, and representatives of the film industry and investors have become interested in bilateral or trilateral productions. A true collaboration could be achieved, for example, with the investment of Japanese capital in a film with a director from Hong Kong, a Taiwanese camera team, and actors from mainland China, which might also serve as the film's location, while technical processing could take place in South Korea. To truly convey East Asia's culture to the world, however, China, Japan, and South Korea will have to overcome their differences in historical awareness and mutually recognize their cultural differences. They should consistently refer back to the experiences gained over the years in order to successfully tackle the various issues they face.

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Timeline

1815 *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (in Chinese) launched in Malacca by Robert Morrison, an English missionary in China.
1827 Launch of *Canton Register*, an English-language newspaper (China's first modern newspaper).
1850 Launch of *North China Herald*, an English-language newspaper, in Shanghai.
1862 *Kanpan Batabiya Shinbun* (Official Batavia Newspaper) published by the shogunate.
1864 *Kaigai Shinbun* (Overseas News) launched by Joseph Seco in Japan.
1869 Regulations on newspaper publication promulgated in Japan (1875 Newspaper Law).
1870 *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun*, a daily newspaper, launched in Japan, followed in 1872 by *Yubin Hochi Shinbun* (Postal News) and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* (Tokyo Daily News).
1872 *Shanghai News* launched in Shanghai by a British businessman (ownership transferred to a Chinese businessman in 1909).
1883 *Hanseong Sunbo* launched by Korea's Office of Foreign Affairs and Newspapers (renamed *Hanseong Jubo* in 1886).
1896 *The Independent*, Korea's first private-sector newspaper, launched. First film screening in China at Xu Garden in Shanghai.
1897 First film in Japan screened in Osaka. First film screening in Korea.
1898 *Maeil Sinmun*, *Jeguk Sinmun* and *Hwangseong Sinmun* newspapers launched in Korea.
1899 Screening of *Sadakichi Shimuzu, the Armed Robber*, a fictional movie made in Japan.
1904 *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* launched in Korea.
1908 The Qing promulgate a press law and begin to regulate the press.
1909 Newspaper Law promulgated in Japan. Asia Film Company is established in Shanghai.
1910 Korea is annexed by Japan; the publication of Korean-language newspapers is banned.
1912 The Republic of China is established with a provisional constitution that recognizes freedom of speech, leading to a major increase in the number of newspapers published.
1913 China's first film drama, *The Difficult Couple*, shot in Shanghai.
1919 The Governor-General of Korea allows newspapers to be published in the Korean language within a prescribed range under its "Cultural Rule."
1923 First screening of a Korean film, *The Vow Made Below the Moon.* A Chinese radio company is established in Shanghai, funded by an American merchant.
1925 Radio broadcasting begins in Japan.
1926 Na Woon-gyu's *Arirang* is a major hit in Korea.

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1927 Xinxin Department Store launches radio station in Shanghai. Keijo (Gyeongseong) Broadcasting Station starts radio broadcasting in Korea.
1928 China's first nationwide radio station (Central Broadcasting Station) launched. In Japan, the ceremonial enthronement of the Showa Emperor is broadcast live nationwide, and broadcasting of *Rajio Taiso* (Radio Calisthenics) begins.
1933 China's Guomindang launches newspaper censorship system.
1935 Korea's first movie with sound, *Chunhyang-jeo*n (The story of Chunhyang), is screened.
1939 Japan promulgates Film Law.
1940 Cabinet Information Bureau is established in Japan and a system for the central management of all war reporting is set up.
1942 Production of films in the Korean language banned.
1945 The Emperor of Japan declares surrender in a radio broadcast.
1945 Guomindang and Communist Party both use press reporting and propaganda to mobilize for China's Civil War.
1945 The GHQ regulates news in Japan through press and radio codes.
1949 The People's Republic of China is established, and newspaper publication and film production are nationalized.
1950 The Korean War begins. In Japan, a "Red Purge" in the mass media is enforced.
1952 With Japan's independence, the Yoshida cabinet does away with the Radio Regulatory Commission.
1953 Television broadcasting begins in Japan (NHK and Nippon TV established).
1956 Television broadcasting begins in South Korea.
1958 Television broadcasting begins in China.
1978 After the implementation of reform and opening-up policies in China, the press and television broadcasting undergo major development.
1987 In South Korea, the democratization of the media progresses after the June Democratic Uprising.

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Chapter 8:
War and the People: Experiences and Memories

For the duration of the "Fifteen Years' War" that began with the Manchurian Incident (1931), the separation of the battlefront and what was called the "home front" in the "Total War" was so blurred that not a single person was left untouched. Under the system of national mobilization, the people of Japan were conscripted as soldiers or sent to work at munitions factories, making them complicit in wartime massacres. In China, it was not just soldiers, but also civilians who were caught up in the gunfire. The Japanese slaughtered people in China with firearms and swords, but also used poisoneous gases and biological weapons (bacteria). People also died in human experiments aimed at developing these weapons. Many of those who were mobilized as soldiers and conscripted as laborers in Japan's colonies of Korea and Taiwan never returned to their homes. Many women in the colonies and occupied areas were unable to escape sexual violence.

Japan's war of aggression brought misery to the lives of many people. The rallying cry for the "Liberation of Greater East Asia" was a superficial one. Inhumane acts were carried out by order of the Japanese empire. The people of Japan, although they supported the war, also became victims, through air raids and the atomic bombs.

The war finally came to an end on August 15, 1945. Many did not survive to return to their homes, leaving behind a large number of bereaved families. The fifteen years of war caused scars in every country, whether victorious or defeated, that would be difficult to heal. Those who survived had to confront their experiences as perpetrators and victims. Some of the pain grew worse over time, because the victims continued to feel it in their

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memories and minds. The beginning of the Cold War created further differences in each country's memories of the war.

How do we remember those who died? How do we understand the meaning of past wars? How should nations deal with the aftermath of war, and how should a nation's people and civil society become involved in that process? Both perpetrators and victims must earnestly ask themselves these questions and find answers, because a peaceful life for all people in East Asia should be a goal shared by all.

1. War Mobilization: Experiences of the People

People and the Battlefields

During Japan's war of aggression in China, far more civilians than soldiers lost their lives. Ordinary Japanese people mobilized as soldiers killed ordinary Chinese people who had nothing to do with the war, and ravaged their villages. Let us have a close look at how life on the battlefield revealed a clear distinction between perpetrators and victims.

In 1943, Mori Isao of Miyagi Prefecture received a draft notice. His neighbors held a grand send-off for him. The local shrine held a ceremony to pray for his good luck in battle, and Mori was sent off at the train station with the town mayor's farewell and a drum and flute band performance. War songs were sung with vigor, with the national flag aflutter and unremitting, joyous cries of "*Banzai!*" With a heart "full of pride," Mori believed that if he "made a blunder in the army," he might never be able to return home.

After being drafted, however, most soldiers were constantly reminded that they were expendable, worth no more than the stamp used to send their draft notice. At the time, soldiers were far less valuable than even horses, because they could not be replaced at the cost of a stamp (the stamp to send the letter informing the soldier of his being drafted). At the barracks, soldiers ranked lower than horses and were subject to daily punishments and beatings and had to endure harsh drills and difficult labor. Relations between officers and enlisted men were characterized by discipline and hierarchy: the officers gave orders and the soldiers had to obey. The harsh

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physical training, the grim daily life, and the regulation of their actions blunted and dulled the soldiers' emotions and consciences.

Soldiers were trained as "killers." Soldiers had to become accustomed to the battlefield and in order to achieve this, the division commander sometimes ordered prisoners of war (POWs) to be killed. New recruits were ordered to stab Chinese captives tied to posts with their bayonets. Those who hesitated were pushed to act by the angry voices of their superiors, who would yell, "Fool! He is the enemy! Stab him to death!" When they did so, they were praised by veterans and told, "Congratulations. You are finally a soldier." The expression "Army life is about luck" (*guntai wa untai*) frequently comes up in the testimonies of Japanese soldiers who experienced the battlefield: whether one lived or died depended on one's assigned military unit or area and the luck of one's commanding officer. The new recruits developed a strong sense of mutual affinity and a "love for fellow soldiers," which was based on the community of soldiers "eating rice from the same kettle" and "being punished and beaten in the same way." The sudden death of a fellow soldier transformed those young men, who originally "would not even hurt a fly," into bloodthirsty killers. It felt to them as if they were avenging the deaths of their comrades in arms as they stabbed, beat, and killed Chinese POWs pleading for their lives. These conditions created a living hell, where even the most basic standards of humanity were eradicated.

It is estimated that about 2.12 million soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy lost their lives during the Asia-Pacific War. As many as 1.28 million – over 60 % – died of illness, malnutrition, or starvation. Of the 460,000 at the Chinese front, almost half died from illnesses due to malnutrition, and in the Philippines, it is estimated that 400,000 of the 500,000 lost starved to death. Ironically, it was not a lack of guns or artillery that was the main cause of the loss of so many Japanese soldiers, but the military strategy of ordering attacks impossible to win, or of defense until the last man, which neglected attention to logistics and ignored the need to aid wounded soldiers.

The "Emperor's Army" brought "living hell" to Chinese people. For example, when the Japanese military occupied Yu County in Shanxi Province in January 1938, the city became the frontline of anti-Japanese guerilla warfare carried out by the Eighth Route Army. In the summer of 1940, the

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Eighth Route Army's large-scale assault, known as the "Hundred Regiments Offensive,"[82] began, and anti-Japanese forces secured Xiyan town, in central-western Yu County. Later that winter, however, the Japanese army reentered Hedong village to establish its position and build a long-term base there. Hedong and the area around it were forced to endure a nightmare.

There were two major objectives to the Japanese strategy of the time. The first was to bring villages under the control of the anti-Japanese forces back under Japanese domination, and the other was to eradicate anti-Japanese forces and underground groups of the Communist Party from such villages. Two typical incidents resulting from these strategies were the so-called massacres of Xiyanzhen and Nanshe, which took place within two days of each other. In April 1941, the Japanese army and military forces of the Japanese-controlled Chinese puppet regime of Wang Jing-wei based in Hedong bore down on Xiyanzhen and slaughtered over 40 people. One woman hid in her house after witnessing her elderly neighbors being killed. After the Japanese forces had injured her adoptive parents, she was gang-raped, then hoisted onto a donkey and abducted to Hedong, where she endured forty days of cruel sexual violence.

Two days later, the same tragedy unfolded in Nanshe. The Japanese army and forces of the Chinese puppet regime attacked separately, killing dozens of people and abducting dozens more to Hedong. The Japanese army cruelly tortured the men in order to extract information about the Communist Party. The abducted women suffered sexual violence for days and were sent home once ransom had been paid.

The people of Yu County, which was in the war zone, had three options. One village decided to cooperate with the Eighth Route Army to become an "anti-Japanese village" and face violent purges and subjugations. Another village nominated someone to serve as the "official" village head and another to be the "underground" village head to avoid the violence of the Japanese army yet continue its relations with the anti-Japanese forces. Fi-

82 A battle that took place from August to October 1940 between the Eighth Route Army and the Japanese military throughout Hebei and Shanxi. It is known as the Hundred Regiments Offensive in Chinese because a hundred units are said to have participated. The Communist Party, which had devoted its efforts to small-scale guerrilla warfare, launched a major offensive for the first time and extended its influence to northern China.

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nally, some villages, such as Hedong, decided to protect themselves by creating "self-preservation societies," organizations that would cooperate with the Japanese. Such villages, however, still experienced suffering, as their supplies, labor, and even women were commandeered.

Life behind the Frontlines

In times of war, even the lives of the people who are not at the frontlines are affected. Before they even realized it, female students in Japan were transformed into *gunkoku shojo* ("military schoolgirls") under the system of mobilization. Colonial rule emphasizing the duty of loyalty to the emperor drove young people in Korea and Taiwan to join the war of aggression. The war twisted and distorted the minds of many human beings. Below is a passage from the diary of a 16-year old girl, a fourth-grade high school student, written on June 11, 1942:

> I heard it on the radio news this evening, too. This morning, the school principal told us what our Imperial Army did in Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands, as well as about the attack on Midway. How could I show my gratitude to the strong Japanese military? They have gone all that way beyond the Indian Ocean, to Madagascar, and to Sydney Harbor, Australia. Now, we must also strive as hard as our soldiers.
> I was in a pinch today because I forgot to bring the materials for flower arrangement in the third period. But my teacher praised me for making the best arrangement, so I was really pleased. I was so embarrassed to transfer my flowers to the teacher's vase in front of everyone that I really started sweating.

As the girl vividly describes her flower arrangement and her teacher's praise, her joyous feelings coexist, seemingly without contradiction, with her nature as a *gunkoku shojo* glorifying the war, as expressed in her "gratitude" to the "strong Japanese military."

The deteriorating situation as the war continued drove many schoolgirls into becoming war workers, which led to the foundation of the so-called "Women's Volunteer Corps." Instead of pens, these young girls picked up tools and sometimes worked more than ten hours a day. The work affected the menstrual cycles of some of the women, yet instead of worrying about missed periods, they were often happy not to get them so that their work

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would not be affected. The cover of the April 1945 edition of the journal *Shufu no Tomo* (Housewife's Friend) featured a member of the Women's Volunteer Corps assembling an aircraft tail, electric drill in hand. The cover slogan read "Everybody living for tokko" (*ichioku tokko no seikatsu*), referring to the suicide kamikaze (*tokko*) pilots who would use the plane she was building.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, efforts to mobilize people in Korea grew day by day. One such attempt can be seen in the February 1938 promulgation of a special volunteer draft that read "Share your zeal: The gates of the military nation are open to the youth of this peninsula of 23 million." Of the volunteers that signed up for war service, 80–90 % were tenant farmers, which shows that the severely impoverished youth of farming villages was under the misapprehension that becoming volunteer soldier might open new doors for them in life. Harsh colonial rule had made normal thinking impossible.

Figure 61: Girls of the Korean Women's Volunteer Corps mobilized to work at the Nagoya airplane factory of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. The photograph appears to have been taken during a visit to Atsuta Shrine. Source: private collection.

In a letter sent to his mother, one volunteer wrote, "If anything happens, I, a child of His Majesty the Emperor, give my life to His Majesty, and will fulfill

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my duty as a soldier." He also wrote: "Mother, always remember what an honor it is to surrender [me] to the Imperial Army. I sincerely ask that you not tarnish this honor." When this much-admired Emperor visited Kyoto, however, Korean laborers could not even see his face. Unable to set foot outside the workers' barracks, they were not treated as "children of the Emperor," but instead remained "insubordinate Koreans."

The fate of Taiwan did not differ much from that of Korea. The indigenous Taiwanese were separated from the Han Chinese who had migrated from the mainland, and a number of schemes were employed to make them cooperate with the Japanese. Below is composition by an elementary school student.

> I hope I can become a soldier and go to war. Our grandfathers and fathers know all about the bad things that the Chinese soldiers did. That's why I'm glad that we weren't born in China. I'm so happy we were born in the country of Japan. We have His Majesty the Emperor to thank for this, and the soldiers in the battlefields.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, about 6,000 to 10,000 indigenous youths from the so-called Takasago tribes were mobilized to the Southeast Asian front as the Takasago Volunteer Corps. Although their death rate was even higher than that of the Japanese military, the Japanese government only gave them or their families two million yen per person as wartime condolence money for being killed or seriously injured, and to this day has refused to pay further compensation.

Exploitation of Lethal Labor

For the Koreans and Chinese, the total war that began between China and Japan in July 1937 was the start of a nightmare that differed from all others experienced during these times. In order to be able to send Japanese laborers to the battlefield, under the 1939 plan for labor mobilization, the Japanese government drew up and implemented a systematic labor mobilization plan to recruit Koreans and Chinese for work in coalmines and factories. Up until 1938, the number of Koreans living in the Japanese archipelago had been increasing by tens of thousands each year, but with the implementation of the 1939 plan, the number jumped to 160,000 in 1939 and

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thereafter increased rapidly by increments of 200,000 per year. Thus, from 1939 to 1944, over one million Koreans had to leave their homes to cross the straits between Japan and Korea (Genkai Sea). Most were sent to work in coalmines, where they carried out unbearably difficult labor under squalid working conditions. Many of them never made it home alive.

Having determined that its labor requirements could not be met with Korean workers, the Japanese business world also set its sights on Chinese laborers. The Japanese government decided to "transfer" Chinese workers to the Japanese mainland in 1942. A plan was drawn up to have them do hard manual labor. The 1944 plan provided for the mobilization of 30,000 people. Eventually, about 40,000 Chinese were forcibly mobilized, of whom about 7,000 lost their lives, unable to cope with the hard labor and inhumane treatment.

What was life like for those taken away to work in another country? Looking at the wages of the Koreans, it can be said that they were not adequately compensated for the hard labor that they performed under harsh conditions. There was a considerable gap between what they received and the average wages of Japanese workers. The highest amount received by Korean workers was often not even as high as the lowest amount received by Japanese ones. In some cases, their wages were later reduced still further under the pretext of deduction of job placement fees and transportation costs and sending or depositing money back home. In the worst cases, they were forced to work without being paid at all.

The situation of the Chinese forced to work in Japan was not very different from that of the Koreans. According to one man, one morning in January 1944, he was at work when two or three Japanese military policemen suddenly took him away and tortured him. He was sent to a prisoner-of-war camp in Shimen (present-day Shijiazhuang). Later, he was taken by cargo ship to Shimonoseki, then transferred by train to Hiraoka in Nagano Prefecture, where he dug up and transported stones from dawn until dusk. He slept with other workers in an internment camp that was unheated even in the winter, and was fed just one steamed bun of rice bran three times a day. Six or seven of the eighteen men in his group died of disease.

Kajima-gumi (the present-day Kajima Corporation) took on construction work at the Hanaoka River in Akita Prefecture, and from July 1944, 986 Chinese were forcedly mobilized to work in the area. By June 1945, 137

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of them had lost their lives. Unable to endure the harsh labor, on the evening of June 30, 1945, 800 Chinese rose up in revolt, killing four Japanese supervisors and attempting to escape. This is known as the Hanaoka Incident. On 1 July, the police and military police were dispatched to Hanaoka and violent fighting ensued. The Chinese who were captured were tortured and questioned for three days under the glaring sun without water, and many were killed. Together with those who had died up until June that year, the total number of deaths rose to 419. Over 40 % of the Chinese forced laborers died. A cenotaph later erected reads, "We rose up together in revolt to preserve human dignity and fight back against Japanese militarism."

The management bureau of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted in a 1946 report that the cause of death of the Chinese workers was, among other things, their weak constitution, but not the severe working conditions. The ministry claims that "it can be asserted without doubt that the majority [of the workers] were already in a bad condition at the time they were recruited." A doctor who examined the Chinese laborers after the war, however, testified that not one of them had died in the two months during which they waited for their return home after Japan's surrender, which cast severe doubt on the ministry's claim.

2. Suffering Inflicted by War on the General Population

Civilian Massacres and the Japanese Military's "Comfort Women"

With war comes the death of many civilians, because the intense stream of bullets and bombs that rains down does not distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. Civilian deaths are often justified as "collateral damage," but in some cases, such as in the North China conflict during the Asia-Pacific War, not even this kind of deceptive language was applied.

Extending its aggression throughout China, the Japanese army began a purge of resistance and the application of a scorched-earth policy in order to stamp out anti-Japanese strongholds. From the beginning, it implemented a strategy of killing and wounding everyone living within certain areas, mainly in northern China. In China, this was known as the "Three Alls Strategy," meaning "kill all, burn all, loot all." Unlike the Nanjing Massacre,

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which was a subject of prosecution during the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo Trials)[83] and the story of which has continued to emerge to a certain extent until the present day, the investigations into the effects and consequences of the "Three Alls Policy" have made only slow progress. Immediately after being inaugurated in 1957, the Association of [Japanese] Returnees from China[84] published the book *The Three Alls Strategy*, in which former soldiers revealed the crimes they had committed. But it was not until the 1990s that serious research into the issue began.

The May 1998 edition of the Japanese magazine *Sekai* (World) featured excerpts from written statements by soldiers who had participated in the war and been captured at the time of the "Three Alls Strategy," thus bringing the atrocities to the public eye. For example, regarding a massacre in Beituan village, Ding County, Hebei Province, which took place on May 27, 1942, Rear Admiral Uesaka Masaru, commander of the Fifty-Third Brigadier Batallion of the Fifty-Ninth Division at the time, gave the following statement:

> The First Battalion left Ding County in the early morning of May 27, and encountered the Eighth Route Army in the southeast, about twenty-two kilometers away, on its advance. The battalion immediately concentrated its efforts on surrounding and attacking the enemy, not only annihilating the Eighth Route Army but also killing many peaceful [*sic*] local inhabitants. The battalion used red and green canisters of poison gas in this battle. This was combined with machine gunfire, and it was not just soldiers of the Eighth Route Army but also local inhabitants who had lost their way in their escape who were shot. We carried out a mop-up operation in the village and threw red and green canisters of poison gas into the tunnel where many local inhabitants were hiding, suffocating many, and massacring those who ran out, unable to stand the poison gas, by shooting,

83 The Tokyo War Crimes Trials were held from May 1946 to November 1948; forty-seven people were accused of A-class war crimes and put on trial. Of these, twenty-five were found guilty and seven were given the death sentence. Together with the Nuremberg trials, under which the most prominent war criminals of Nazi Germany were tried, the Tokyo trials marked a new milestone in the punishment of war criminals.

84 The Association of Returnees from China consisted mainly of former soldiers of the Japanese army who had been interned in China's Fushun and Taiyuan War Criminals Management Centers. Their mission was to work toward the confession and prosecution of war crimes. The group disbanded in 2002 but its efforts continue under its successor organization, the "Continuing the Miracle of the Fushun Society."

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> bayoneting and hacking them. During this battle, I ordered the First Battalion to kill over 800 people, including soldiers of the Eighth Route Army and local inhabitants, and to plunder weapons and supplies.

Around the time that the details of the "Three Alls Policy" were made public, survivors of Beituan-cun were invited to Tokyo to take part in a gathering where they testified that, in addition to the village being subject to poison gas attacks, more than a thousand local residents had been slaughtered.

There were also countless incidents of sexual violence against women at the battlefront. The Army Law stipulated penalties for Japanese soldiers committing rape, but the commanding officers who should have been controlling their men, as an army doctor wrote in a report, "turned a blind eye to what their troops did in order to keep up morale." In the case of many military units, there was virtual chaos. Some soldiers were afraid of being punished for their crimes and thus killed the women they raped. An extreme form of sexual violence against women can be found in the Japanese military's system of "comfort women." Emerging after the first Shanghai Incident in 1932, also known as the January 28 Incident, "comfort stations" began to grow in number and were systematically organized. They further increased in number after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War. The reach of the "comfort stations" followed the same trajectory as Japan's war of aggression.

In the "Wartime Service Outline" published by the Inspectorate-General of Military Training of the Imperial Army in May 1938, there is a sentence that reads: "To prevent sexually transmitted diseases, it is necessary to completely eradicate contact with the native population and prostitutes other than at places licensed by the military, as well as, of course, establishing sanitary comfort stations." The ability to appropriately manage "comfort stations" was also a virtue required of accounting officers of the Japanese army. The above is an expression of the internalization and systematization of sexual violence against women in the Japanese military.

The Japanese government and military set up "comfort stations" in areas it occupied and forcibly recruited women as sex slaves for the Japanese military. In the case of women from Japan's colonies, such as Korea and Taiwan, much of the recruitment was done by way of employment fraud and human trafficking. Many women were forcibly recruited. In China and the

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Southeast Asian countries occupied by Japan, village heads were ordered by the army or the navy to send girls from the village. The Japanese military also directly forced the women into becoming sex slaves by abducting and imprisoning them. The Japanese military's "comfort women" system was a system of sexual slavery that was a violation of human rights based on gender and ethnic discrimination – a war crime in violation of international law even at the time.

Were the Japanese Military's "Comfort Women" Liberated?
With Japan's defeat in 1945, the war that had brought suffering to the people of East Asia came to an end. For the "comfort women," however, "liberation" and the war's end were still a long way away. Upon their return home, the victims were unable to speak of the suffering and pain they had endured and were forced to remain silent for half a century. They could not even raise families due to the dire economic difficulties to which they were subject. Although the women had managed to survive, their bodies and minds were broken.

All at once in the 1990s, grassroots movements emerged in both the countries from which the victims came and the country that was the perpetrator to bring the "comfort women" out into the open and restore the humanity of the victims. This was a revolutionary turning point. Victims in the various countries overcame their internal struggles to courageously speak in public about what had happened. They called for justice and compensation, saying that it was not they who should be ashamed but the Japanese government. Some women went beyond opening up about their own sufferings to become women's rights activists.

For the Japanese military's "comfort women," August 15, 1945 did not signal liberation. Their memories were denied in their home countries due to prejudice or indifference, and Japan continues to reject their demands for an apology and compensation even today.[85]

85 A renewed attempt to settle this issue between Japan and South Korea was undertaken in December 2015, when the foreign ministers of the two countries signed an agreement, in which Japan promised an apology and the payment to provide care for surviving former "comfort women."

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This is precisely why the resolution of the "comfort women" issue is inextricably linked to a true reconciliation over historical events in general.

The Chimera of the "Liberation of Greater East Asia"

The scars of war can be found throughout Southeast Asia. One example is the area of Singapore's Changi International Airport, where Chinese residents of Singapore were murdered en masse in February 1942. In a place known as the Tanah Merah Coast Road, at least several hundred Chinese were taken by the Japanese army to be executed by machine gun. Their bodies were thrown into the ocean. Only some of them were washed ashore and later buried. This happened where the immigration inspection area and the taxi stand of Airport Terminal 1 of Changi International Airport are located today. But the slaughter of Chinese people took place not just on the coast, but inland as well.

According to members of the Japanese army stationed in Singapore at the time, they received the following order upon arrival: "Kill them all, even women and children." Many civilians had already died at the hands of the Japanese army during the siege of Singapore and after its fall. On February 18, 1942, Yamashita Tomoyuki, Lieutenant General and Commander of the 25th Japanese Army, who was executed after the war for war crimes in the Phillippines, issued an order to the Japanese Governor in Singapore to conduct "secret operations" to "annihilate anti-Japanese elements." Through roundups and inspections, it was determined that there was "unmistakable evidence of hostility" against the Japanese among the Chinese. Overall, it is estimated that at least 5,000 overseas Chinese lost their lives in Singapore. Criticized even in the Japanese military at the time as a "serious crime of brutal injustice," this massacre reflects the real nature of the "Liberation of Asia" for which Japan claimed to wage war.

The Philippines experienced part of the Asia-Pacific War under American rule, as the US had taken over the country in 1900 following 350 years of Spanish rule. With the outbreak of war, the country became a battlefield and the bombings and ground war reduced Manila to ashes. Philippine in-

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Figure 62: Civilian War Memorial (Blood Debt Tower), Singapore: A tower erected to remember those killed during the Japanese occupation of Singapore. "Blood debt" refers to the sacrifice in blood paid by the people. Source: private collection.

dependence, promised by the US since the 1910s, became a distant prospect. Under the pretext of the "Construction of a New Order in East Asia," Japan presented itself as the leader of Asia, encouraging the idea of an independent Philippines and spreading propaganda about the American and British people's "savagery." In October 1943, Philippine independence was eventually declared.

The Japan that the Filipino people encountered daily, however, was a force of colonial rule, and the situation was far removed from independence and liberation. The Filipinos saw documents depicting them as brothers of the Japanese people, but violent Japanese soldiers would kick and punch people on the street for no reason. Stories of rape, torture, looting, executions, and other atrocities committed by the Japanese military inspired

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fear throughout the country. Resistance groups such as the Hukbalahap (Nation's Army Against the Japanese) and Free Philippines gradually grew in number, and their guerrilla raids led to even more retaliations by the merciless Japanese army.

Japan withdrew from the Philippines after the US army landed in 1944, but due to the mass killings committed by the Japanese troops, many lives had been lost and the country was devastated. The economy was ruined and social infrastructure and traditional culture had suffered major damage. Survival was the priority, even if one had to loot, prostitute oneself, or even murder to survive, and people's morality collapsed. The psychological damage caused by the war is difficult to uncover and heal, and is perhaps the most latent and serious war damage of all.

Between 1942 and 1943, the Japanese army built a 415-kilometer-long railway in a steep mountain range in order to occupy Burma (Myanmar). Allied POWs and local laborers were mobilized to construct the Thai-Burma Railway, which became famous as a result of the movie *The Bridge on the River Kwai.* Many people of Indian origin were among the laborers taken to the worksite. With the motherland struggling for independence from British colonial rule, the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose placed its trust in Japan. Tens of thousands endured the "labor of death," and the Indian National Army took that very railway to move into Burma. Bose himself visited the worksite.

Standing tall and dressed in a white uniform with a long sword at his side, Bose criticized British colonization and called for India's independence wherever he went. Many Indian people listened to his public speeches. However, there was always a Japanese officer beside Bose when he traveled on the Thai-Burma Railway, and the Indian laborers were unable to set foot outside their lodgings. They were under the surveillance of Japanese soldiers who threatened to shoot them dead if they came out. It is said that some of the Indian workers felt that Bose should take responsibility for the railway, and even planned an attack on him.

The reality behind the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere was that the Japanese did not treat the people enduring hard labor conditions in a humane manner, let alone demonstrate interest in liberating their motherland.

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Victims in the Perpetrator Nation

The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 took the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in an instant. The meaning of the bombings in the conflict is debated even to this day. One of the main points of contention is whether the bombs really served to hasten or achieve the war's end. Regardless of the conclusions arrived at, however, nothing can justify the slaughter of civilians, who are non-combatants in war. No one can deny that the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki resulted in one of the biggest civilian massacres of the Asia-Pacific War.

Figure 63: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. In the center is a cenotaph for those killed by the atomic bomb, inscribed with the words "Let all the souls here rest in peace for we shall not repeat the mistake." The A-Bomb Dome can be seen in the background. Source: private collection.

The damage was not just in human casualties. Ikeda Sanae was twelve years old when the bomb fell on Nagasaki. She testified that she remembered wrapping the body of her three-year-old brother up in a mat which she then set alight.

> My youngest brother died in the first week. My parents were too busy caring for my other siblings, so I wrapped my dead brother in a mat and cremated him. The

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> setting sun was glowing as the fire that took my brother turned my tears bright red. My brother was born on December 8, 1941, the evening of the attack on Pearl Harbor. He died on August 16, 1945, the day after the war ended. He only lived during the war. He didn't know a single day of peace. My brother died so quickly, and I had to cremate him when I was twelve years old. This is the tragedy of the atomic bomb.

The atomic bomb created a hell on earth, killing and wounding innocent people with its extreme heat rays, immense blast, and radioactive dust. Those who survived were haunted by that picture of hell for the rest of their lives.

It was not just Japanese people who fell victim to the atomic bomb. Korean and Chinese residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as Allied POWs (mostly US soldiers), also succumbed to or were injured by the heat rays, bomb blast and radiation. In the case of the Koreans in particular, it is unclear how many people suffered. It is estimated that 40,000 Koreans were among the victims of the bombs. Even today, they have not been provided with the same amount of support as Japanese victims. This could be regarded as a second victimization of the Korean victims by the Japanese government.

Okinawa also suffered heavily during the war. One woman lost eleven relatives during the Battle of Okinawa, which began at the end of March 1945. Below is the testimony regarding the fate that befell Asato Toshie and her family, who lived on the main island of Okinawa.

In August 1944, an American submarine sank a boat that had been evacuating Toshie's nephew, who was a fourth-grade elementary school student at the time. His body sank into the sea. The family decided against leaving the prefecture and remained in Okinawa. In late March 1945, they hurried to seek refuge as the US forces approached. Until they were rescued on June 23 of that year, the family – her sick husband, his parents, the women and five children – spent more than three months trying to escape from hell, witnessing dead bodies scattered by the roadside and experiencing the terror of air raids and bombardments.

The shadow of death fell over Toshie's family in June. On June 8, 1945, she lost her mother, who was hit by an artillery shell. On June 9 and 11, she lost her parents-in-law. Her nine-month-old daughter "died a natural death, like the flame of a candle going out." She had been hidden in a cave since June 11

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and died of starvation. Toshie said that she could not let go of the fact that she had been unable to see her dying daughter's face in the pitch dark. The fear of death did not go away even after they were rescued and began living in a shelter. At the end of June, her father-in-law's wife went missing, and in August, her husband, who was barely surviving as an evacuee, died of malnutrition. In October, her four-year-old son, who had been in pain after being hit in the face by a shell fragment, also died. Her sister-in-law and youngest daughter died of malnutrition after that. Her brother-in-law's wife and oldest daughter died on the battlefield.

Japan's surrender did not prevent the deaths of more people of Okinawa. A lone survivor, Asato Toshie later spoke about her wartime experiences around the country, reminding her listeners that "Humans stop being human when it comes to war." Japan was the instigator and perpetrator of this war of aggression, but has yet to fulfill its war and postwar responsibilities in good faith. The war experience divides perpetrators and victims. The people of Japan must properly address the country's mistakes, and it is they who must undertake efforts to rectify them. But are the hundreds of thousands of victims of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Japanese who lost their lives in Okinawa, really perpetrators of the war? Or are they victims, too? Are the people who lost their lives to the atomic bomb – the Koreans, the Chinese, the Allied POWs, and the Japanese – different "types" of victims? Answering these questions is not an easy task, but by sincerely confronting rather than ignoring them, our voice as we pursue the issue of Japan's wartime responsibility will become clearer and stronger.

3. Memories of Japan's War of Aggression and Colonial Rule

Ruptures in the Memory of the War during the Cold War and Domestic Suppression of Memories

After the war, regardless of whether a survivor was a perpetrator or a victim, or living in the country that perpetrated war or in one that had fallen victim to it, those survivors had to go on with their lives. Under different living circumstances, they remembered the past individually.

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For the Koreans who had experienced the war under colonial rule, the past was, first of all, something that had to be erased. Upon liberation in 1945, Japanese (Shinto) shrines in Korea were swiftly dismantled. For a period of eight days beginning on August 16, there were 136 incidents reported of shrines being destroyed or set on fire. The antipathy of the Korean people toward these shrines is evident in light of the fact that during this same period 149 incidents were reported of raids on and occupations of police stations. On October 7, the Governor-General of Korea himself ordered the demolition of the Chosen Shrine at Namsan Hill in Seoul. The statue of Ito Hirobumi found at the Jangchungdan monument at the foot of Namsan, as well as a temple erected in his honor here, were also removed. The Korean Empire had originally built the Jangchungdan monument in 1900 as a sacred space to commemorate patriotic officials and the Korean war dead. In the late 1920s, however, the Japanese Governor-General of Korea developed the space into a park, erecting the Ito statue and building the Hakubun-ji temple there in 1932 (Hakubun is an alternate reading of Ito's first name, Hirobumi).

On October 11, soon after Chosen Shrine was demolished, a civilian movement emerged for the erection of a monument of liberation in its place and the reconstruction of a space that would represent the people's desire for independence in a location that once symbolized colonial rule. This monument of indepdence was supposed to become a tool for the integration of various forces aiming at establishing a new state. Further, some Koreans suggested to rebuilt the Jangchungdan monument to "infuse the blighted people with the spirit of patriotism," and to erect a bronze statue there of An Jung-geun, the independence fighter who had killed Ito Hirobumi in 1909.

The attempt to establish a new institution, however, failed to produce a significant result due to political forces' inability at the time to establish a political body that would push the agenda forward. This was due to conflict between the right and left in Korea, which reached its height in 1946 as a result of discussion about trusteeship of the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, after Korea's liberation, many Koreans were more interested in founding a democratic-republican state instead of discussing loyalty to the Joseon dynasty or the idea of restoring the old kingdom. The focus of the Korean people's patriotism had changed.

In the midst of this, housing was needed to accommodate all the people

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returning home. A temporary housing area was built in Jangchungdan, in an athletics field that had been used by the Japanese Army. Some people still refer to it as "Jangchungdan camp." During the Korean War, it was used to settle war victims. With the end of the Korean War and the country's gradual recovery from the ravages of conflict, the Rhee Syngman administration attempted to use political symbolism to reinforce the political hegemony through anti-Communist and anti-Japanese efforts. In 1956, President Rhee erected a bronze statue of himself on the site of the former Chosen Shrine and in 1959, one of An Jung-geun. He also compelled the people to learn the following pledge:

1. We are the children of the Republic of Korea; let us protect our country to the death.
2. As strong as steel, let us band together to defeat the Communist invaders.
3. Let the Flag of South Korea (Taegukgi) flutter on Mt. Baekdu as we unite North and South.

Rhee developed a symbolic political space in the Namsan area, attempting to reinforce anti-Communist and anti-Japanese nationalism, establishing an autocratic system of rule, and calling for national unification. However, he was forced to resign from the presidency in 1960, due to popular resistance in the April Revolution, and his bronze statue in Namsan was removed.

The forces that were behind the 1960 April Revolution and the May 16 Coup of 1961, including General Park Chung-hee, built a gymnasium in Jangchungdan that was devoid of any historical meaning. They also built the Freedom Center and the Tower Hotel (an accommodation facility) as symbols of the ruling anti-Communist ideology and in an attempt to promote the country's position in Asia as a leading force of anti-Communism.

The growing competition in the 1970s between Korea's North and South led to the reinforcement of a self-centered and exclusivist historical consciousness. The Park Chung-hee administration put strong emphasis on its high regard for the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (established in 1919 in Shanghai) for its "supreme command over the independence movement" and stated that the Korean socialist movement under Japanese imperial rule had divided the people, and thus he attempted to exclude socialism completely. The North Korean regime, on the other hand, praised exclusively Kim Il-sung's armed struggle against the Japanese

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and created a historical narrative emphasizing socialist agency, on which it based its *Juche* (literally autonomy, or self-reliance) ideology.

In 1949, with the Korean Peninsula divided into a Soviet-occupied north and a US-occupied south, in 1949, the Rhee administration in the South designated March 1 and August 15 as public holidays (Independence Movement Day and Liberation Day, respectively) and introduced commemorative events. However, hardly anything was done to commemorate the nationalist movement in specific places or facilities. Although the Park administration also emphasized the nationalist movement, focusing on the role of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, hardly any monuments were built that reproduced memories related to independence and the anti-Japanese movement. Even in the 1970s, rather than building commemorative spaces to express the collective memory of pre-1945 colonial rule and the anticolonial struggle, the focus was on building structures that promoted and defended state-led anti-Communist measures. But this is not to say that the Korean people have forgotten Japan's war of aggression and colonial rule. Massive scars still remain deep inside them. Japanese right-wingers and some conservatives argue that these scars have resulted from anti-Japanese education. However, this attitude represents a refusal to confront the historic trauma experienced by the Korean people during the war of aggression and during thirty-five years of harsh colonial rule. It is an attempt to evade responsibility for past actions and to put the blame for friction over history on the Korean people.

By the time the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the Cold War had already begun. China became subject to an economic blockade by the US-led capitalist camp. The US considered Japan its key partner in East Asia and rebuilt the country as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in Asia. Thus, although the Chinese people continued to harbor memories of Japan's aggression and crimes, they did not have the opportunity to express their trauma and their anti-Japanese sentiment toward the outer world.

The Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s in China led to a deepening of class struggle and an emergence of political movements. Production had to be adjusted to the demands of the revolutionary movement. This is when many museums and monuments referring to the class struggle and the revolutionary movement were built. History education, too, focused

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on the revolutionary class struggle and the barbaric acts of Japanese imperialism during the war of resistance. A large number of war movies made at the time, such as *Tunnel Warfare* and *Mine Warfare*, depicted the Chinese people's resistance against Japan and played an important role in the development of the Chinese people's collective memory of the war.[86]

After the Chinese government normalized relations with Japan in 1972, it took the following stance regarding the issue of historical consciousness: First, it separated Japanese imperialism from the Japanese people, and the government ringleaders who decided on policies and launched the war of aggression from the common bureaucrats. In doing this, it clarified the historical fact that Japan was the aggressor, as well as the responsibility of Japan's imperialists. Second, taking into consideration the example of Germany and Europe after the First World War, it was felt that demanding a huge amount of compensation from Japan would result in an increased burden on the Japanese people, meaning that later generations, which were not directly responsible for the war, would have had to shoulder this burden. It was feared that this might undermine the Chinese government's hopes to establish long-term friendly relations with the Japanese people.

The Chinese government's slogan for the symbolic expression of the above policy was "Do not forget the past and use it as a lesson for the future," a quotation from Zhou Enlai and an instructive guide to always be deeply aware so that the tragedies experienced by China during Japan's invasion might never happen again. Zhou Enlai's words can also be interpreted to mean that people should not let their experiences of suffering in the war lead to anti-Japanese sentiment. Against the backdrop of worsening relations with the Soviet Union in the 1960s, China attempted to improve relations with the US and Japan. This also served as an important factor for the containment of the people's memories and the failure to confront the issue of Japan's responsibility for the war.

As can be seen from the above, the Korean and Chinese experiences with Japan's aggression and (colonial) rule on the individual and collective level remained a latent issue and did not surface to become a major issue until

86 In recent years, attempts have been made in China to record the sufferings of war at the level of individual exeriences, such as through interviews. Studies continue regarding complex memories that cannot be subsumed into the collective memory.

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1982. Reasons for this included the emergence of the Cold War, the extreme experience of the Korean war, and poverty. However, with the emergence of the history textbook controversy in Japan in 1982, Korean and Chinese attitudes changed. Until then, neither country had been particularly active in shaping the public memory of Japan's aggression and colonial rule or building commemorative facilities. China and Korea then shifted the focus of historical memory away from anti-Communism (Korea) and class struggle (China), adjusted to subsequent global changes such as the end of the Cold War, and reconstructed historical memory with a focus on independence and victory in war. At the same time, they continue to give attention to the efforts of Japan's right wing and conservative groups to distort the country's historical consciousness regarding Japan's war of aggression and colonial rule. Part 4 of this chapter will address this in detail, with a focus on how Japan typically represented postwar history and how South Korean and North Korean governments responded.

Insufficient Engagement with the Past and the Shaping of Diverse Collective Memories

Even before the Second World War, Japan's Yasukuni Shrine silenced the deeply-held grief of bereaved families on the grounds that it was meaningful and an honor to die fighting for the nation and to become an *eirei*, a heroic spirit. This belief system served to mobilize people for war. Directly after the war, however, Yasukuni Shrine became concerned that it would be unable to enshrine all the war dead. In November 1945, the shrine held an extraordinary memorial service in which over 2 million of the war dead (who had fallen since the Manchurian Incident) were enshrined together. People from Japan's colonies also had been enshrined at Yasukuni before 1945. Since the large-scale enshrinement of Korean civilian navy workers in 1959, there are now more than 21,000 Koreans and more than 27,000 Taiwanese enshrined there. As they were officially Japanese at the time of their deaths during the war, the logic was that they had to be enshrined together with the other war dead at Yasukuni Shrine because they were "logically Japanese in death."

We can analyze the Yasukuni Shrine's approach to historical consciousness by considering the above together with its war history exhibition

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in the Yushukan museum, the memorial space at Yasukuni Shrine. Yushukan launched new exhibits in 1986 and 2002 that displayed the belongings and last wills of members of the Japanese Army and Navy, as well as panel displays depicting the war situation in chronological order. The exhibit on the history of Japan's war glorifies the aggression and deifies the soldiers, sailors and civilian personnel who lost their lives while performing military-related duties. However, the immeasurable suffering caused to neighboring countries and their people, or, in other words, historical facts on the damage caused and on the victims of Japan's aggression, are absent from the display. The Yasukuni Shrine's approach to remembrance does not even allow for the opportunity to commemorate the loss of Okinawan civilians, who were also Japanese subjects. Critical reflection has been excluded from the repository of memory at Yasukuni Shrine. The ways in which the Shrine has rationalized and romanticized the war have made it more difficult for contemporary Japanese to properly understand the miseries and dangers of war. Japan's conservative right-wing politicians visit Yasukuni Shrine on August 15 to mark the day the war ended, and thereby legitimize this manner of remembrance. One of the reasons that the Chinese and Korean people are sensitive to politicians' visits to Yasukuni Shrine on August 15 is that this date for them signifies liberation and victory.

Lawsuits over the Yasukuni Shrine's Approach to Remembering and Mourning the Individual

The very first legal action regarding the enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine of those who had died in combat or of diseases contracted at the front was filed in June 2001 by the family of a South Korean person. This became the impetus for ten bereaved families of Okinawan, South Korean, and Taiwanese military or civilian military personnel who had died in the Asia-Pacific War to visit Yasukuni Shrine in March 2005 and request the removal of their relatives' names. A succession of lawsuits followed. The families began working together, overcoming national borders to demand the removal of names, all the while recognizing each other's differences as victim or perpetrator.

Na Kyong-in, a relative of one of the Korean victims, has countered the

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reasoning of the Japanese government that uses the nationality clause to hold Korean military and civilian military personnel and their families outside the scope of the Relief Law and Pension Law: "If you are going to argue that you won't pay compensation because we are of a different nationality, then remove our names from the shrine immediately, too. It is as if my father is still being held captive under colonial rule. I can't bear to think of how he must have wanted to go home to my mother and his daughter." Further, Yang Yuanhuang, a relative of an indigenous Taiwanese victim who had joined the Takasago Volunteer Corps, argued that there was no concept of "god" among his people, so he brought an action for the spirit of the dead to be returned so that a traditional mourning ceremony could be held back home. The plaintiffs in the Okinawan action asserted that they could not allow the victims of the Battle of Okinawa – those sent to their deaths as members of the Himeyuri Corps or "group suicides," or brutally murdered as suspected spies – to be regarded as "collaborators in battle" and enshrined as members of the Japanese military, the perpetrators of the war. The families seeking the removal of their relatives' names from Yasukuni Shrine protest that the Japanese state and the shrine are working together to deprive the families of their feelings and right to freely mourn and remember the dead, and that they are being used to make a political point.

It can be said that Yasukuni Shrine has consistently, both before and after the war, denied people the basic human right and simple desire to have the freedom to etch in their hearts memories of those who have passed on, to mourn in peace, and to allow them to be remembered.

Built in 1954, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park is different from Yasukuni Shrine in terms of how it remembers the war and in how it provides a space for the collective memory. As in Nagasaki, traces of the atomic bomb remain in Hiroshima even today, and one can see the damage that it caused in certain places. Highly aware of its being the world's first city to fall victim to the atomic bomb, Hiroshima is actively involved in issues such as the campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons. It disseminates critical messages pertaining to global trends on nuclear proliferation, including nuclear testing.

The indiscriminate bombings of Japanese cities carried out by the US also influenced many Japanese people to regard themselves as victims of the war rather than perpetrators. As this victim mentality became more pronounced

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and combined with a pacifist mindset, this led to the neglect of critical reflection on the acts of the Japanese military as an aggressor during the Asia-Pacific War. The fact that Allied POWs and Korean people were also victims of the atomic bomb was also ignored for a long time. Today, in the exhibit "Hiroshima until the bomb" located on the first floor of the East Wing of the Peace Memorial Museum, there are items displayed that recognize the Korean and Chinese people who were mobilized and lost their lives during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War, as well as the Korean victims of the atomic bomb. The exhibit points out, to some extent, the multilayered nature of the damage inflicted on and suffered in Hiroshima.

The primary purpose of the museum, however, is "to show what happened on August 6, 1945." Thus, the museum does not deal with the reality that the atomic bombs were dropped during a time when Japan's war leaders had showed no regard for the lives of the Okinawan people, using them to buy time to prepare for a battle with US forces on Japan's main island and rejecting the Allied forces' demand for unconditional surrender, though some attempted to negotiate an end to the war on condition that the emperor system was preserved. Ultimately, the museum only displays one side of the history of Japan's aggression, restricting it to its effect on the city of Hiroshima. Its method of display employs an approach similar to that often used in Japan's national and public museums, which tend to avoid exhibiting the actual war. Although the island of Okunoshima, where the poisonous gases used during the war in China were manufactured, is part of Hiroshima Prefecture, there is, for example, nothing in the Hiroshima museum about the Japanese army's use of poisonous gases during the war. The museum also fails to raise issues of Japan's postwar responsibility and does not deal with the lack of a conscious, active effort on the part of Japanese society to critically examine the complications emerging during the process leading to the erection of a cenotaph for Korean victims of the atomic bomb and to the provision of medical treatment to them.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, a symbolic space often contrasted to the way memories are represented at Yasukuni Shrine, is of central importance for peace movements in Japan and around the world. However, the park also serves to dilute awareness among the Japanese regarding the fact that it was the Japanes people that were the perpetrators inflicting damage

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on others during the war; it is a space where victim mentality is continuously reproduced. If Yasukuni Shrine is an attempt to eliminate the war's aggressive history and glorify war, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum can be seen as tending to glorify peace through a victim mentality that eliminates historical context. The approach to remembering the war taken in Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park can be clearly separated from the Yasukuni Shrine approach of affirming and glorifying the war of aggression, yet by only focusing on the events of August 6, the former also fails to deal properly with the issue of war responsibility. Through its approach of remembering the past by highlighting the Japanese as the first victims of the atomic bomb, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park goes hand in hand with Yasukuni Shrine in its lack of coherence and its exclusion of certain parts of history.[87]

At Okinawa Peace Memorial Park, the two approaches to memory taken by the Yasukuni Shrine and the Hiroshima museum intermingle in one space. In commemorative and memorial institutions in the park, the war dead are mourned without a distinction being made between the self and the enemy.

The Yasukuni Shrine aspect can be observed in the National Cemetery for the War Dead that was built in the park in 1979, as well as the many memorial monuments and cenotaphs from different prefectures erected there to remember the members of the imperial military who died in the Battle of Okinawa.The epitaphs explain that their actions were undertaken as part of a battle to protect the motherland. At a more elevated location, we find the Tower of Dawn (*Reimei no To*), a monument that praises the patriotism and military spirit of the Japanese army commanders who committed suicide when they had to surrender. This memorial reproduces memories of the Battle of Okinawa from the perspective of Japanese imperialism and excludes the victims. On the other hand, the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum located in the park is a memorial space in contrast to the mourning-centered institutions such as the National Cemetery. It opened in

87 Peace studies began to emerge in Japan's schools and communities around the 1980s; through these, the Japanese military's actions during the Asia-Pacific War and colonial rule have gradually come into the spotlight, and it should be noted that Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park has been widely used in the context of these efforts.

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1975, when the World Maritime Expo in Okinawa and the Crown Prince's visit were upcoming. When it first opened, its displays followed in the footsteps of the Yasukuni Shrine, exhibiting the Rising Sun flag and photographs of deceased military commanders. After protests at the prefectural office and the prefectural assembly by scholars and groups representing the peace movement, the exhibit was radically revamped in 1978. The reopened museum exhibited items such as original documents that conveyed Japan's harsh control of the people during the war as well as vivid oral testimonies through which the massacres perpetrated by the Japanese army could be understood, and explored displays that differed from the prefectural cenotaphs and the institutions of mourning that adopted the Yasukuni Shrine approach.

As can be seen from the above, most of the facilities initiated and constructed by the Japanese state do not show any clear self-reflection and do not portray Japan as a perpetrator of a war of aggression. Instead, most of them glorify the war and dilute Japanese responsibility. Further, by widely presenting the Japanese as victims, they attempt to bring together memories of the war based on the Japanese experience. Within this perspective, however, the people of Asia, who suffered from Japan's aggression, cannot be properly seen. Why is this the case?

As a result of resistance on the part of the East Asian people, the dropping of the atomic bombs by the US, and the Soviet Union's entry into the war, Japan surrendered and lost its colonies. It had agreed to surrender unconditionally and let its colonies go rather than face a fierce battle on the mainland as Germany had. Many Japanese did not directly experience the pain of losing the colonies or have the opportunity to fully see and understand the miserable conditions endured by the people of its former colonies or the countries that it had invaded. The majority of the wartime leaders were able to continue their lives without their responsibility being properly questioned. Most of the members of the prewar leadership remained in positions of power after the war. Rather than rejecting the emperor system and the wartime government, the Allied forces used both emperor and prewar leaders during the occupation and allowed both to hide the truth of the damage they had caused and maintain their positions in Japanese society. The Tokyo trials were held in 1946 to pass judgment on Japan's key war criminals, but with the US occupation's policy of attempting to build an

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anti-Communist camp in East Asia, the trials ended without many former war leaders having been brought to account about their crimes against humanity. A "generous" treaty was also concluded with Japan at the San Francisco Peace Conference in 1951.

Thus, while there was no opportunity in postwar Japan to properly address Japan's war responsibility, the damage caused by the atomic bombs and US air raids was discussed, and a widespread mood of "weariness" about war emerged. A shared consciousness of opposition to war developed among the Japanese people, so that they would "never make the same mistake again." Yet despite this, there was no clarification in Japanese society regarding why the war began, what its purpose was, or the issue of the damage inflicted on others. Neither were these issues were properly communicated through history education.[88] Ultimately, while clearly rejecting war on a personal level, most Japanese did not develop a clear awareness of their responsibility as the people of the aggressor nation. This is evident in, among others, the disputes over erecting memorials for the Koreans who perished in the war in the two parks dedicated to peace in Hiroshima and Okinawa.

Memories of Minorities Excluded by Japanese Society and the North-South Divide

In 1972, the Zai-Nihon Chosenjin Sorengokai (General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, Soren),[89] which had sent activists to Okinawa, formed an investigative team to look into the truth behind the forced mobilization and massacre of Okinawan and Korean people during the Second World War, and this team later published a report. Working with local

88 Research in Japan continues as to when an awareness of being the perpetrator nation formed among the Japanese people. According to studies, although such self-awareness emerged before the Vietnam War among some individuals and organizations, it had its limits. Furthermore, as war memories faded in the 1980s, attempts were made in history classrooms to encourage students to think about Japan's infliction of suffering on others during the war through the conservation of war-related sites.

89 An association formed in 1955 among people in Japan who support North Korea. It still exists today.

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Japanese labor unions, they engaged in fundraising and other efforts to erect a war memorial. The Park Chung-hee administration in South Korea reacted sensitively to this. The Zai-Nihon Daikanminkoku Kyoryu Mindan (Korean Residents' Union in Japan, Mindan)[90] provided 100,000 US dollars in support to complete a war memorial in 1974, before the opening of the World Expo in Okinawa.

The Park administration's motives for erecting this war memorial can be gleaned from the first diplomatic documents declassified by South Korea's Foreign Ministry in the twenty-first century, which read:

> According to information obtained by the government, the evil Northerners are proposing to build a memorial for the mourning of the Korean victims of the Second World War in Okinawa, where reformist forces are strong. The [South Korean] government wants to stop this and prevent an infiltration of Okinawa by the evil Northerners and Soren. To that end, we plan to build a memorial ourselves before the evil Northerners and demonstrate the traditions [of] our Great Korea [the Republic of Korea] and the fact that we are the only legitimate government [of Korea].

The Park administration built the memorial because it had to win in a contest with North Korea – the building of the memorial was a "political aim in a battle against time." The Park government was not thinking about building the memorial to appease the spirits of the Korean people who had died during the Battle of Okinawa and remember their sacrifices. Initially, the government submitted a plan to Okinawa Prefecture to build the memorial within the Peace Memorial Park. It attempted to build the memorial for Korean victims in the same place as the memorial for those who had died on the aggressors' side. To the Park government, the memorial for Koreans was nothing more than a political means to "use the dead" in its competition for political legitimacy with the North.

Okinawa Prefecture eventually refused to build the memorial for Koreans in the park, reasoning that the plans for the park had already been finalized and that tree planting had already been completed. In the end, the memorial

90 An association formed among people supporting South Korea in order to promote the rights and interests of Koreans in Japan. It was established in October 1946 as the *Zai Nihon Chosen Kyoryu Mindan* by those with an anti-Communist stance. It took on its current name when the government of South Korea was established in 1948.

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Figure 64: A memorial for Koreans erected on Mabuni Hill in Okinawa. Many people brought to Okinawa from the Korean Peninsula died during the Battle of Okinawa. Source: private collection.

for Koreans was built in August 1975 across from the main entrance of the Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum.

Another example of Japan's exclusion of minorities in its memorials can be seen in the process of establishing a monument for Korean victims of the atomic bomb. In 1967, the Mindan headquarters in Hiroshima Prefecture applied to erect a cenotaph in Hiroshima City, but the city authorities replied that there were too many memorials and cenotaphs in the Peace Memorial Park already, so the "peace clock"[91] would be the last it would approve (but not the Korean memorial).

91 Built in 1967, in response to measures to permanently preserve the A-Bomb Dome. It is

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Figure 65: Monument to the memory of the Korean Victims of the Atomic Bomb in Hiroshima: It is estimated that there were 40,000 Korean atomic bomb victims in Hiroshima. The cenotaph was originally located outside the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, but was moved into it in 1999. Source: private collection.

A monument was eventually constructed outside Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in 1970, and an annual memorial service has been held there ever since. At the time, its sponsors were not aware of the problem of racial discrimination that surrounded the establishment of a Korean memorial; rather, their motives are believed to have stemmed from loyalty to the Korean royal family, as the chosen site was where the remains of Yi Wu, a Korean prince, were found after the bombing. In 1974, there was an attempt to move the memorial into the Peace Memorial Park and correct the text on

a watchtower that chimes each morning at 8:15, the time that the bomb was dropped on the city.

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the epitaph that referred to the history of colonial rule in Korea, but this ended in failure and the Koreans in Japan only managed to erase the content of the epitaph.

The location of these two memorials implies that Japan marginalized Koreans in the process of memorializing the Battle of Okinawa and the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. These are symbolic examples of Japan's attitude of hiding the truth of its colonialism and war of aggression and its exclusion of Koreans from the Japanese people's memories.

In 1975, the Soren-affiliated Hiroshima Prefectural Korean Atomic Bomb Victim Association began efforts to construct a memorial for Korean victims in the Peace Memorial Park. The Mindan-affiliated group declared its opposition to Hiroshima City and requested that the memorial it had previously erected be relocated to the park. It argued that at the time the memorial was built, it did not distinguish between north and south, and that building a new one would be akin to drawing a line between the spirits of the war dead at the thirty-eighth parallel (the demarcation line of North and South Korea).

This dispute over building a new memorial or moving the older one continued for some time, until, in 1989, the Mayor of Hiroshima agreed to reevaluate the location of the memorial if the two Korean groups could come to an agreement over a unified monument. The reaction from among the Japanese people ranged from attempts to set fire to the memorial to confirmations of the necessity of "moving the memorial for Korean victims into the Peace Memorial Park to demonstrate Japan's wartime responsibility as [the] perpetrator." The division of the Korean Peninsula and the competition between North and South over which system was the legitimate one added to the issue of Japan's responsibility as the perpetrator of war crimes to create an even more complicated situation.

The dispute over the war memorial for Koreans finally ended in 1990, when Hiroshima City proposed to move the existing monument into the grounds of the Peace Memorial Park. The sudden proposal was the result of a political decision[92] related to the approach of the Asian Games that were to be held in Hiroshima in 1994, and the city's preparations for the fiftieth

92 Mindan and Soren came to an agreement regarding the transfer of the memorial into the park in 1998, and the move was realized the year after.

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anniversary of the atomic bombing to be held the year after. It was also a result of the open criticism regarding the marginalized location of the memorial for Korean victims made by visitors to the park from Asian countries around this time.[93]

4. The Feud over War Memory and the Japanese History Textbook Controversy of 1982

The Feud over Memory

In 1982, there was a strong reaction from many countries, including China and Korea, against the official approval in Japan of high school history textbooks that were vague about Japan's responsibility for aggression and colonial rule. In particular, these textbooks used the term "advance" instead of "aggression" in the context of Japan's actions in China. As a result, relations between China, Japan, and Korea began to deteriorate. In reaction, the Japanese government announced the introduction on a new textbook screening criterion according to which textbooks should, when "addressing historical events in the modern period relating to [Japan's] Asian neighbors, give sufficient consideration to the question of international understanding and international cooperation" This is called the "Neighboring Countries Clause" – a promise to the global community which helped settle the textbook controversy for the time being.

South Korea's response to the incident reflected the fact that its people, who were gradually breaking free from poverty to enjoy more economic prosperity, were beginning to feel more aware of how they were being perceived globally. At the same time, the Chinese people had left the Cul-

93 Studies have been made in Japan regarding not only the process of establishing the memorials and the content of their inscriptions, as well as their political context, but also the ideological efforts of individuals and movements promoting them. Diversity of responses, and limits to these responses, can be observed in people's confrontation with history during each moment in time and in the search for different ways to depict history according to diverse experiences. In all cases, researchers aim for a study that goes beyond simple analysis of discourse and representation.

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tural Revolution behind and were heading for economic reform, so that they began to discuss issues unrelated to the foundational ideology of the system.

Since the history textbook controversy erupted, concrete efforts have been seen in Japan among textbook writers to increase self-reflection over past aggression and colonial rule. In line with the new textbook-screening criterion cited above, the have begun to stop avoiding the word "aggression" in textbooks. Their efforts have resulted in gradual improvements in text that had justified, minimized, or failed to mention Japan's aggression and rule over Korea. From the 1990s, there were more textbooks that described the "comfort women," and by 1997, such information appeared in the history textbooks used in all middle schools (junior high schools). In addition to rejecting war, the Japanese people thus became more aware of Japan's aggression and the damage that it caused.

Despite this, however, the 1982 textbook dispute was only "patched up" on a diplomatic level rather than being genuinely resolved. The emphasis placed on political and diplomatic ties was not accompanied by a basic reexamination of historical understanding. The textbook controversy was not just about the historical understanding of Japan's aggression and colonial rule, but also about nationalism, which has made it difficult to fundamentally heal scars. No efforts were made to begin a dialogue over history in order to fundamentally resolve the conflict at hand and deal directly with each side's assertions and understanding.

The measures taken to deal with the history textbook issue also brought about negative consequences that came to the surface around the mid-1990s. One of them was the emergence of a camp of historical revisionists. Backed by right-wingers and conservative political circles, the revisionists aroused Japanese nationalist sentiment, glorified aggression, opposed the proper conveyance of facts regarding Japan's role as a perpetrator, and criticized Japan's history textbooks as "masochistic." They also argued that the Neighboring Countries Clause was a result of external pressure and interference in Japan's domestic affairs by China and Korea, and demanded its abolition.

Under the pressure of continuous attacks by revisionists regarding various pieces of text in textbooks, the descriptions in middle school history textbooks again became more conservative. There were more and more descriptions that were left vague about who had perpetrated the war, or that

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evaded clear statements on war responsibility by not mentioning the issue or saying that the war had been unavoidable. This attitude of refusal to confront the truth of Japan's aggression and the damage it caused was also apparent in the fact that during this period, hardly any war movies that revealed Japan's aggressive nature were shown to the public.

Ultimately, with the support of right-wingers and conservative circles, historical revisionists now are not only denying Japan's role as the aggressor in war, but also attempting to erase the Japanese people's feelings of rejection of war by removing or weakening memories of the harm caused in the last war. Further, the fiercer the revisionists' attacks on textbooks and their attempts to distort history have become, the stronger the collective memory in China and Korea became.

Figure 66: A statue in the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall made of bronze and over two meters tall, representing the head of a victim whose mouth is twisted in pain. Source: private collection.

Reinforcing the Collective Memory of Aggression and Resistance

The 1982 Japanese history textbook controversy served as an impetus for China to excavate remains of people who had died in the war of resistance against Japan around the country and actively conserve historical sites. In China's northeast, forts left by the Kwantung Army (the Japanese armed

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forces in Manchukuo) were preserved, and monuments were built where massacres by the Japanese army had taken place. Large-scale museums documenting the war were also built. These include the "Museum of Victims [of the] Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders" and the "Sino-Japanese War Museum," opened in 1985, the "Museum of the War of [the] Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression" in Beijing, opened in 1987, and the "9.18 History Museum" in Shenyang, opened in 1991. Further, with the growth of the Chinese economy, exhibitions funded by private citizens have increased in number. The largest private war museum in China is in Dayi County, Sichuan Province, and has eight exhibition halls. According to its founder, "the reason that people do not touch red hot iron is because they remember being burned by it as a child. And yet, our collective memory as a nation is still weak and people lack reflection of and interest in history. The war of resistance against the Japanese is the very iron that is red and hot and can remind us of many things."

To date, 353 sites around China have been designated as "sites to promote patriotic education," including museums and memorials. About eighty of them are directly or indirectly related to Japan. Many memorials convey the suffering of the Chinese people during Japan's war of aggression, and display their courageous resistance. These sites reflect China's will to create a public memory that directly confronts the aggression and damage inflicted and remembers the national humiliation and suffering it brought, instead of emphasizing victory in war.

China makes use of these memorials to promote patriotic education in line with the ideas of Deng Xiaoping, to build the people's pride and self-respect, and to cultivate patriotism and a spirit of devotion to the fatherland among young people. In August 1994, China promulgated its "Guidelines for Patriotic Education," which raised these policies to a strategic society-building level. With the progress of reform and open-market policies and the resulting decline of socialist ideology, patriotic education became an important tool for securing collective identity.

The 1982 Japanese history textbook controversy also served as an impetus in South Korea for the development of facilities related to the topics of Japan's aggression and rule and Korean resistance against the Japanese. This is evident in the opening of the Independence Hall of Korea in 1987, the construction of Seodaemun Independence Park in 1992, and the removal in

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1995 of the former building of the Government-General of Korea, which had been used until then by the South Korean government.

The Independence Hall was "built through joint efforts from all around the country to bring focus to the tenacious will and capacity of the people to overcome outside invasion and preserve its self-respect and independence, and make [the Hall's site] the soil upon which to cultivate the national strength and spirit." It is located away from Seoul in Cheona, the birthplace of Ryu Gwansun, who is remembered as an icon of the March First independence movement (1919). Donations collected from private citizens during the textbook controversy in 1982 funded its construction. The Chun Doo-hwan administration, which had come to power through a military *coup d'e´tat* and whose legitimacy had been called into question, was able to recover somewhat from its weak position by consolidating public opinion on the construction of memorials in its favor and responding quickly to the textbook controversy.

The Independence Hall serves as a place for learning about Japan's aggression and colonial rule, with displays discussing the anti-Japanese movement and showing the legitimacy of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. Originally, it excluded any mention of the history of the socialist movement. After the June Democracy Movement of 1987, however, the democratization of society progressed, and with the end of the Cold War at global level, research on the socialist movement flourished even in South Korea. The Independence Hall has added exhibits regarding the history of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army in Manchuria and the Korean Volunteer Army in the Taihang Mountains in Shansi Province to its Fifth Exhibition Hall.

This shows that the 1982 history textbook controversy in Japan became an opportunity in China to consider the calamities of the war and reinforce patriotism through a memory separate from the memories of victory in the class struggle. In South Korea, it was a trigger for the creation of spaces reproducing the collective memories of oppression and suffering as well as of independence and liberation. China and South Korea no longer repress their experiences of aggression and colonial rule under the Japanese due to ideological considerations, such as anti-Communism, but rather focus today on recalling their experiences in the context of a narrative of independence and victory.

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This historical awareness, which is a response to Japan's distortion of history, places emphasis on independence and victory and had a major impact on history education in China and South Korea. Modern history occupies half of the history education curriculum in these two countries, and there has been a tendency to emphasize nationalist and patriotic education in particular. However, the historical understanding that highlights independence and victory has led to the emergence of a view framing Japan's aggression and rule in a nation-versus-nation conext – the Japanese (people) against the Korean (people) and the Chinese (people). The state in China and South Korea, which experienced Japan's war of aggression and harsh colonial rule, have encouraged a nationalist historical consciousness which has spread among the people. It is not easy to be opposed to this consciousness, or to find gaps in it to which to draw attention. Japanese society is different on this point, as it has experienced discord regarding how the Battle of Okinawa is presented in textbooks.

Peace Awareness Today

While the Chinese and South Korean memorials that address Japan's aggression and rule reproduce memories of the suffering and warn against war, they also pay tribute to the war dead and revere them as heroes. Sites such as these promote a collective awareness that is confrontational rather than encouraging coexistence and genuine reconciliation. The state is also preventing awareness of the relativity of historical consciousness by subsuming the diverse memories of the people under one official memory. Above all, Japan's right-wingers and conservative circles are a major cause of this.

The memorials in China and South Korea do not go beyond the state level to consider broader societal perspectives, nor do they incorporate peace awareness of a sufficiently high standard to contribute to the stabilization of peace in the region. They continue to address peace in a self-centered manner, exclusively using the political discourse of independence and anti-Japanese resistance. They do this because they have not been able to surmount the nationalist perspective to seriously examine the sacrifices made by each and every individual from a humanitarian perspective.

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The peace awareness of the Japanese people is characterized by a clear stance against war. Because of Japan's war experience as an aggressor nation and as the first victim of an atomic bomb, many Japanese people have memories of the war as victims, leading to an anti-war consciousness. The desire for peace took root quickly in Japanese society compared to China and South Korea. In the Japanese-style antiwar/propeace consciousness, however, no clear distinction is made between the consciousness of a perpetrator and that of a victim. This can be seen in the way that the Battle of Okinawa is remembered.

In the 1990s, the Peace Memorial Museum in Okinawa was revamped on the basis of a new concept, and efforts were made to clarify the truth about the Battle of Okinawa with a focus on the suffering of the Okinawan people. In 1995, however, a conservative governor, who had been elected the previous year, began to exert pressure on the museum to create a Yasukuni Shrine-style exhibition. He argued that "although the exhibition shows the truth, it must not become too anti-Japanese" and emphasized that "Okinawa is just another prefecture of Japan, so the displays (descriptions) of Japan's history as a whole must be given consideration." The prefectural authorities thus made drastic changes to its plans for the parts of the displays entitled "The Historical Process Leading to War," "The History of the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Region," and "Japan's War Responsibility and the Suffering Inflicted on Asian Countries." However, those who wished for Okinawa's history to be remembered according to the memories of the (local) people strongly protested against the politics of the prefectural authorities. They were successful and when the museum opened in 2000, the exhibition shown was based on the original plans. This was a setback to those who wanted to remember Okinawa as one of numerous battlegrounds during the Asia-Pacific War instead of as the only part of Japan where a ground war was fought.

In place of serious reflection on the victimization of individuals, there are instances of coercion toward the acceptance of a nation-centered historical consciousness. In a 2007 examination of high school history textbooks, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology pushed for the deletion of a passage in one book that stated that the mass suicides of Okinawans during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945 were at least in part a result of coercion by the military. This event shows that tendencies to

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apply pressure for the development of a historical consciousness emphasizing the perspective of the center (as opposed to that of the periphery) remain strong. This tendency obstructs the emergence of memories of Japanese perpetratorship and restricts the activities of people working for peace.

Established in 1995, the Cornerstone of Peace[94] is an example that can be contrasted with the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum as a memorial that runs the risk of decontextualizing peace. It is made up of granite blocks on which are inscribed the names of those who died in the Battle of Okinawa, including Koreans, to properly remember them as victims. At the same time, with its inscriptions of the names of all who lost their lives, including US soldiers and Okinawans, the memorial brings to mind the different kinds of suffering brought about by the conflict. However, in failing to distinguish friend from foe, with no divide between the Japanese perpetrators and Korean victims, and in uniformly engraving all the names of those who died in the Battle of Okinawa, all the casualties have been lumped together and the issue of war responsibility is left untouched. Further, in doing away with the line between perpetrators and victims, the memorial erases, or at least obscures, the historical context of the Battle of Okinawa. Paradoxically, in failure to clearly and concretely remember the past, the future is also forgotten. This is why it is dangerous to romanticize peace.

Despite this, we must not forget that various efforts are being made in China, Japan, and Korea to overcome the "fading of history." This can be seen in the legal action taken by Korean and Chinese people after the end of the Cold War, with the help of the Japanese people, as they called on Japan to reflect on the past, offer an apology, and pay compensation. These efforts continue today. Of major significance also is the cooperation in 2008 between Korean and Japanese individuals and civil society to erect a monument dedicated to the "comfort women" on Miyakojima Island, Okinawa Prefecture. From the point of view that it was a voluntary initiative to mourn

94 A monument erected in 1995 in Okinawa Prefecture to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war and to pray for eternal world peace, mourning the souls of the dead regardless of nationality and not differentiating between military personnel or civilians, and conveying the desire for peace. The names of 241,000 war dead are inscribed here.

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Figure 67: The Cornerstone of Peace in the Peace Memorial Park in Mabuni, Okinawa Prefecture, unveiled on June 23, 1995. Source: private collection.

the victims and ensure that the painful past is known to future generations, it demonstrates the possibility of a history that is not buried under the "collective memory diseminated from above" as encouraged by the state and local governments. Efforts such as this signal hope for a different approach in China, Japan, and Korea to the issue of how war is remembered, so that rather than the imposition of a collective memory, which binds nationalism to the history of Japanese aggression and rule, attempts to give voice to the diverse memories of individual people are allowed to emerge.

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Comments by the Chinese and Japanese Editorial Committees on the Content of this Chapter

The late submission of this chapter meant time for its discussion among the authors from the three countries was limited. Our Korean colleagues had already determined the timeframe for the book's publication (Korean version), so that a version of this chapter that fully incorporated the opinions of the three parties, as was the case with all other chapters, could not be completed in time. Thus, the Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee decided that the Chinese and Japanese members should append their principal comments in response to the text submitted by the Korean historians.

The Trilateral Committee believes that the situation that arose regarding this chapter demonstrates how difficult it is to achieve a historical awareness that can overcome national borders. Through over six years of hard work, the Committee has managed to transcend the majority of the problems in this book's narrative, as can be seen in the results presented here. The Committee intends to continue working on this chapter, and the following comments are published here in the belief that openly laying out the difficulties in the discussions over historical awareness is a valuable contribution to raising awareness of the problems both in discussing multinational history textbooks and in creating a joint history textbook for China, Japan, and South Korea in the future.

1. Comments by the Japanese Committee

(1) Identifying the Issues

On completion of the first draft of this chapter, the Japanese Committee submitted its opinions in April 2011, covering the structuring of the chapter's content, its approach to the issues, and its methodology of assessing them, and thereafter repeatedly raised these issues. The Japanese Committee also submitted arguments calling for revisions to a number of facts and descriptions in the text. Although these were reflected in parts of the text, the fundamental problems have not been resolved. Excerpts from the

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Japanese Committee's comments are thus provided below to show the areas that were at issue.

Excerpts from Comments by the Japanese Committee, April 19, 2011

I. Overall Content

1) The biggest problem with the chapter as a whole is that the first half (parts 1 and 2) is at odds with the second half (parts 3 and 4). Whereas the first half highlights the history and memory of individual people, they are not mentioned in any detail in the latter half, which appears to deal exclusively with the issue of collective memory. The second half of the chapter should also discuss how the memories of individuals (that are in the center of the first half) were dealt with after the war, with the collective memory then discussed in terms of its relationship to them. It is indispensable that the perspective of chapter 8 is adjusted and unified, otherwise the reader will not be able to grasp the trajectory of the overall narrative and the message it attempts to convey. In addition, the difference in writing styles between the first and second halves of the chapter due to their different authors is of considerable concern.

2) There are major problems in the approach taken and the assessment methodology used in Part 3 ("Shaping the collective memory"), and the Japanese Committee is unable to accept this section in its current form. There must be a thorough discussion regarding differences in evaluation and opinion, upon which the text has been developed. The account is currently one-sided and categorical, and is at odds with Japanese research on the topic. In particular, a serious discussion (including from the perspective of Japan's peace movement) is necessary regarding how this chapter simply puts the approach of Yasukuni Shrine in the same category as the situation in Hiroshima and Okinawa. The Japanese Committee is unable to accept the current text. We request it to be reconsidered based on the material (…) submitted to replace Part 3 and the end of Part 4.

II. Chapter Sections

1) The Japanese Committee believes that it is better to clarify the core content that shall be conveyed to the reader in Parts 1 and 2 and to promote a structural understanding. For example, "Life away from the frontlines" in Part 1 ("War Mobilization; Experiences of the People") could be clearer

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about why it is raising certain examples or what it wishes to convey about the war experiences of people in the three countries through the examples given. It is difficult to identify what each section is trying to tell the reader through the examples.

2) Related to 1), the content in each section under Parts 1 and 2 needs reorganization. Please consider the suggestion below on how to revise the structure of these sections.

1. War Mobilization of the People

Conscription (Japan, Korea, Taiwan)

Labor mobilization (Japan, Korea, China)

2. Suffering among the General Populace

The Three Alls Policy etc. (Yu County and Beituancun, China)

The so-called comfort women (Korea, China)

On the home front (daily life) (Korea, Japan)

Air raids and atomic bombs (China, Japan)

Damage inflicted on other countries (brief summary of the slaughter of Overseas Chinese, the Philippines, and the Thai-Burma Railway).

3) Section 3 provides an account of how war memories are shaped in each country in a easily comprehensible manner, but because it does not go so far as to explain how these memories were expressed by the people, it diverges from the chapter's title, "War and the People."

4) An explanation should be given regarding why war memories in China, Japan and South Korea are compared in sections 3 and 4 through their museums and memorials. Furthermore, although we may understand how museums and memorials can serve as devices for preserving memories, there are other aspects in the war memories of the people. Is it not necessary in this chapter to discuss, for example, how we are to understand the passing down of war memories through the people – through education and discussions in the family?

5) Section 4 focuses on post-1982 war memories in China, Japan, and South Korea. The most remarkable aspect of this section is that sympathies among the three peoples over war memory have developed and that nationalism has become an issue and subject of debate in all three countries. Is there not a need to touch upon these topics in this chapter? The current text raises the situations in China, Japan, and South Korea in a disconnected manner.

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6) The sections in 1 and 2 regarding the situation before and during the war comprise various individual examples. Sections 3 and 4 on the postwar situation, on the other hand, are written from the perspective of how war memories have been shaped, and the style of the historical account is different. There is a need to explain why this style was adopted and what its purpose is. The relationship between sections 1/2 and 3/4 is difficult for the reader to grasp.

(2) Examples of Suggested Revisions

The Japanese Committee sent its suggested revisions to the South Korean authors of this chapter in September 2011 to serve as a reference. The Committee's main points that were not reflected in the published text are shown below, together with the relevant sections of the text. Due to space constraints, the proposed text (including specific examples) has been abbreviated and only a summary is provided below.

1) Add to the end of page 189:
How should we deal with past wars at a time when the overwhelming majority of the population has not experienced war? It is not enough to discuss war only in an abstract manner. The history of war and the reality of the scars it has left behind can only be remembered by telling the concrete experiences of people who lived during its time. On the other hand, the state has often rearranged the experiences and memories of individuals to construct a collective memory. By learning about how the state assembles the experiences and memories of individuals, we can understand how it evaluates and passes down such individual war experiences. Furthermore, if we are able to grasp, beyond national borders, the relationship between the national memory and the experiences of individuals, we will surely come closer to each other's histories, even if we have different war experiences and historical backgrounds.

2) Add to the end of Page 199 ("Victims in the country that perpetrated war")

(Create a new section entitled "Air raids and atomic bombs" and end with the following text after providing a detailed reference to Japan's bombing of Chongqing)

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The bombing of Chongqing destroyed family bonds and livelihoods regardless of age or gender. It had a major impact in determining people's lives even after the war, and memories of the bombing were passed down through the generations. Even if war is a thing of the past to the generations today who did not experience it, those who lived through it, and particularly its victims, still clearly remember it.

3) Add to the end of Page 200, Part 2:

As this chapter has detailed thus far, the war robbed people in various parts of Asia of their freedom and choices on how to live their lives, and it was difficult for them to recover. To understand the situation of war, it is essential that we learn what its individual victims were robbed of and how this took place. By understanding the variety of such experiences, not only can we learn to comprehend the many facets of war, but it might also become possible for us to give more than a passing thought to those who lost their lives in the many battlefields and sites involved.

4) Replace Page 204 Lines 5 to 13 with (TEXTBOX: Peace movement led by war criminals)

Introduce the gradual efforts calling for peace and opposing war that were led by Class B and C war criminals in Sugamo Prison as they confronted their past. (Proposed text omitted.)

5) Replace Page 206 Lines 4 to 27

The exhibitions in the museum are not without issues. For example, Hiroshima Prefecture suffered the atomic bomb being dropped, but it was also the prefecture in which Okunoshima is located, the island where the poisoneous gases used at the Chinese front were manufactured during the war. However, there is no display in the museum about Japan's use of poisoneous gases. Furthermore, there has been no critical self-examination regarding the process it took for the Korean victims of the bomb to be able to receive medical treatment. In other words, the issue of postwar responsibility has not been raised.

The war-related exhibits and memorials in museums reflect the will and intent of their creators. In Japan's case, they also asked how the Japanese people should confront their individual experiences after the war. They were not, however, necessarily proactive in dealing with this question. Memories of war were thus forgotten.

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6) Replace Page 208 Lines 2 to 8 ("A joint consciousness that opposed war developed among the Japanese people…")

This meant taking war experiences to the grave without discussing them from the perspective of having caused the war, which resulted in the shutting away of people's memories and a lost opportunity for dialogue among people despite their having lived side by side after the war. Proper teaching through history education of the damage Japan had caused was also lacking.

7) Add to the end of Page 210, Part 3 (TEXTBOX: Efforts to pass down the memories of Chu Sok, a Korean victim of the atomic bomb):

Introduce to students the personal history and "storytelling" efforts of Chu Sok, a Korean in Japan who was a victim of the atomic bomb and lost his younger brother to it. In particular, discuss how he devoted half his life to antinuclear and peace activism by making the existence of the bomb's Korean victims known. (Proposed text omitted.)

8) Add after Page 212 Line 18 ("Reinforcing the collective memory of aggression and resistance"):

On the other hand, since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, there has been no mention of the "comfort women" in history textbooks for junior or senior high school students, other than for one period of time in Shanghai. This signifies that the individual experiences of "comfort women" victims were buried in the shadows of history as the state assembled the war memories of the people. A country having fallen victim to a war of aggression does not necessarily mean that its people know about all the suffering caused. Rather, precisely because the country suffered the aggression, it is often difficult to pass down stories of such harsh experiences in schools or in the home.

9) Add to the end of Page 213:

The reinforcement of war memories served to promote nationalism in each of the countries in accordance with their specific domestic conditions. These reverberated against one another to give rise to a relationship that differed from the framework of Japan's aggression versus China and South Korea's suffering. For example, there was not just the history textbook issue in Japan; the dispute that emerged between China and South Korea over the Northeast Project of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences[95] led to a

95 The reports of the Northeast Project of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences con-

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movement for the revision of the South Korean school curriculum. In other words, connections at East Asian level can be observed through the various efforts in these countries that revolve around war memory. The issue of how to pass these war memories on to the next generation is emerging as one that involves all people in East Asia, and not just the individual countries.

10) Replace Page 214 Line 21 to Page 213 Line 24:

The Cornerstone of Peace memorial was erected in the Okinawa Peace Memorial Park in 1995, and upon it were inscribed the names of all those who had died during the Battle of Okinawa. The memorial was established to remember all the war dead regardless of what side they were on, yet by inscribing, without explanation, the names of those from the Korean Peninsula who had been exploited as military porters or "comfort women" right next to the names of the Japanese military war dead, the issue of war responsibility is left vague. This encourages the invisibility of the difference between aggression being inflicted and damage being suffered, and omits the historical context of Japanese aggression and colonial rule leading up to the Battle of Okinawa.

The administration of Okinawa Prefecture, where the Cornerstone of Peace was built, has explained that this missing historical context can be found in the Peace Memorial Museum located nearby. The contents of the museum exhibition, however, are constantly under threat of being changed as a result of pressure from those advocating state-centric values such as the idea of war death being "a precious sacrifice for the nation." In 1999, when the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum was being developed as described above, there was a plan for an exhibit that would vividly show the process of Japanese aggression that led to Okinawa becoming an arena of war, as well as the realities of the damage suffered by Okinawans in the battlefield. The exhibition was almost altered due to the wishes of the conservative prefectural governor of the time. However, due to strong opposition from a wide range of people from the prefecture, the exhibit was eventually opened according to the museum's original plans. Still, the wish

cluded that the states of Goguryeo (37 BCE–668 CE) and Balhae (also known as Bohai, 698–926) were Chinese dynasties. The South Korean government and people were angered by the reports and protested strongly. After 2000, this "territorial dispute" caused a significant diplpmatic problem.

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to present Okinawa as one of many battlegrounds during the Asia-Pacific War, instead of as the only part of Japan where a ground war was fought, stands in striking opposition to the state-centric view of history. In 2007, during the process of examining Japanese history textbooks for use in high schools, the Japanese government demanded the deletion of a passage that stated that the mass suicides of Okinawans during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945 were at least in part a result of coercion by the military. Although this resulted in a major opposition movement, it is clear that the state-centric view of history is deeply rooted in Japanese society. In neglecting efforts to properly leave a detailed account of the past, there is a permanent danger of it being forgotten.

11) Add to the end of Page 216 (TEXTBOX: Experiment in Miyakojima, Okinawa: What can monuments tell us?):

In 2008, a monument dedicated to the "comfort women" was erected in Miyakojima, Okinawa. It serves to question us about the significance and difficulties of passing down the history of wars and of the people who lived through them (proposed text omitted).

2. Comments by the Chinese Committee

(1) Chapter Structure

1. Although the chapter title mentions "the people," the text does not deal adequately with war memory at the popular level. It lumps individual memories and the collective memory together, and, above all, it is lacking description of the war memories of the Chinese people, which suffered the most during the war. The Chinese Committee asked that the relevant part of the text be supplemented and provided materials on war experiences and historical memories at the popular level in China, but the authors did not use them.

2. The Chinese Committee agrees with the point of view and assertion of the authors of this chapter that it is not just the people of the countries invaded that are victims of war but also the people of the aggressor nation. However, as the Chinese Committee pointed out at the multiple meetings held to discuss the text, the people who participated in the war as military

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personnel, and the general public who supported it as Japan mobilized the whole nation for the war of aggression, as well as the people in Japan's colonies who were mobilized for the military, were both victims and perpetrators. We cannot equate the damage that they suffered with the damage suffered by the people of the countries invaded.

If we blur our understanding of this, it will be difficult to achieve a mutual understanding of history among the peoples of these countries. The authors of this chapter, however, did not show an understanding of the Chinese Committee's view. The current text is thus still quite distant from what the Chinese Committee asserts in terms of perspectives and examples provided, and cannot be regarded as adequate.

3. There is no connection between the perspectives of the first two parts and those in the latter two parts, showing a lack of consistency throughout the chapter.

4. Much of the content in Part 3 on understanding and evaluating the collective memory consists merely of the opinions of the authors or their country.

5. Compared to the war damage suffered by the people of Japan's colonies, there is relatively little mention of the Chinese people, who suffered the most damage during the war. The supplementary material provided by the Chinese Committee was not used.

(2) Chapter Content

1. War mobilization in section 1: People were mobilized for war in both China and Japan, but the slogans and methods used, as well as the purpose and significance of the mobilizations, were fundamentally different. Whereas in Japan mobilization served the war of aggression, in China it was carried out for a defensive war. However, according to one section in the text, although Japan's war mobilization is described, there is no mention of China's mobilization of its people to further the resistance throughout the country. The Japanese army's persecution of the people of Yu County is introduced to readers in the part describing the war mobilization, yet this content and the section's title are inconsistent.

2. Section 1 – Life away from the frontlines: The people at the home front discussed here are only those living on the Japanese mainland and in Japan's

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colonies (Korea and Taiwan). However, there was also a frontline and a home front in the battlefields of China, and while the home front supported the war going on at the front, the people there were also being invaded by the Japanese army and threatened by aerial bombings. Fleeing for safety during air raids was an integral part of life for those living away from the frontlines. The Chinese Committee has submitted materials to supplement the depiction of these points on several occasions.

Regarding the damage suffered by women, the chapter mainly discusses the establishment of "comfort stations" by the Japanese military and the forced, organized violence against the "comfort women." This, however, was only one form of damage suffered by women during the war. The sexual violence of the Japanese military was a universal phenomenon, and they assaulted women regardless of time or place during the war. The concept of "comfort stations" and "comfort women" emerged from the perspective of the Japanese military at the time and is itself tinged with extremely insulting and deceitful characteristics. It is inaccurate to refer to the women in the villages at the frontline who were raped by Japanese soldiers as "comfort women."

3. Part 2 – Suffering among the General Populace: This section discusses the damage incurred by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the atomic bomb. The Chinese Committee's opinion is as follows:

The damage incurred by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the atomic bombs is typical of that sustained in war and representative of the damage suffered by the people of a country that causes war. Regarding the "tragedy" of Hiroshima, however, the authors have not reflected their observations from the point of view of historians. The Chinese Committee already raised this opinion at the meeting held in November 2010.

4. The collective memory discussed in parts 3 and 4 is an extremely important social phenomenon for the three countries of East Asia. However, the current text only explains the situation in Japan and South Korea and its contents lacks balance. The Chinese Committee has submitted materials regarding this, but they were not used.

5. Although Part 3 should have discussed war memory in the three countries of China, Japan, and South Korea, there is insufficient mention of the situation in China. In some places, the authors deal with China and South Korea in the same manner, stating that war memories were frag-

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mented and suppressed under the Cold War structure. The Chinese Committee has clearly and repeatedly expressed the following opinion regarding this:

Although war memories might have been fragmented or suppressed during the Cold War, the reasons for this were fundamentally different in China, Japan, and South Korea. It is thus impossible to regard the postwar processes in China and South Korea in the same way. Regarding the admonition of China's former Premier Zhou Enlai to "not forget the past and use it as a lesson for the future," the authors state that this was a sort of a directive to "seal off people's memories." The Chinese Committee cannot agree with this. Zhou Enlai's warning is consistent with that of the Chinese government in admonishing Japan that it can never forget its historical responsibility for the war of aggression caused by Japan's militarists. It is a stance that calls for future generations to bear this responsibility. Thus, it is incorrect for the authors to have concluded, from the South Korean perspective, that for both China and Korea the Cold War was "an important factor for the containment of the people's memories and the failure to confront the issue of Japan's responsibility for the war."

The third section of Part 3 is entitled "Memories of Minorities Excluded by Japanese Society / The North-South Divide." It mainly narrates the historical memory surrounding the war in which people from Japan's colonies (Korea and Taiwan) served in the military, and emphasizes that they were victims of the war. However, it is necessary to clarify the fact that, given the historical circumstances at the time, the Chinese people (upon which the war was inflicted) considered them also to be perpetrators of war.

6. Section 3 of Part 4 is entitled "Awareness of Peace Today" and states: "While the Chinese and South Korean memorials that address Japan's aggression and rule reproduce memories of the damage and suffering caused and warn against war, they also pay tribute to the war dead and revere them as heroes." It continues, "Sites such as these promote a collective awareness that is confrontational rather than encouraging coexistence and genuine reconciliation. The state is also preventing awareness of the relativity of historical consciousness by subsuming the diverse memories of the people [editorial addition: under one official memory]. Above all, Japan's right-wingers and conservative circles are a major cause of this." The Chinese Committee considers this description one-sided. Not only is it necessary to

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explain the commonalities between the memorials in China and South Korea, it is also necessary to note and explain their differences.

The authors of this chapter write, "The memorials in China and South Korea do not go beyond the state level to consider broader societal perspectives, nor do they incorporate peace awareness of a sufficiently high standard to contribute to the stabilization of peace in the region," but the reason given for this is that the memorials in China and South Korea "continue to address peace in a self-centered manner, exclusively using the political discourse of independence and anti-Japanese resistance. They do this because they have not been able to surmount the nationalist perspective to seriously examine the sacrifices made by each and every individual from a humanitarian perspective." The Chinese Committee respects the author's analysis and evaluation of the peace memorials in Korea, but cannot agree with the commonalities between China and South Korea as mentioned several times by the author. We believe that there is a need to attach importance to our differences, that is, the fact that China and South Korea regard war responsibility from different perspectives.

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Timeline

1931 Manchurian Incident.
1932 Establishment of the first "comfort station" in Shanghai by the Japanese Army.
1937 Chinese Communist Party establishes branch office in Yu County, Shanxi Province. Outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War. Nanjing Massacre. The First Regiment of the 109th Brigade of the Japanese army attacks Yu County.
1938 Japanese army occupies Yu County castle. Promulgation of special volunteer draft in Korea.
1939 Japanese cabinet approves plan for labor mobilization.
1940 In China, the Hundred Regiments Offensive begins. The Japanese army occupies Hedong village.
1941 Massacres by Japanese army in Xiyanzhen and Nanshe, China.
1942 Massacre by Japanese army of Chinese in Singapore. The First Takasago Volunteers (consisting of 500 Taiwanese) sent to the Philippines. Occupation of the Philippines. Construction of the Thai-Burma Railway begins. Japanese cabinet approves the forced mobilization of Chinese.
1944 Promulgation of Women's Volunteer Corps in Japan.
1945 Battle of Okinawa (April to June). Hanaoka Incident. Atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August). Japanese army withdraws from Yu County. With Korea's liberation, Shinto shrines are destroyed. Extraordinary memorial service at Yasukuni Shrine, Japan.
1949 South Korean government designates March 1 (Independence Movement Day) and August 15 (Liberation Day) as national holidays.
1954 Construction of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park begins.
1959 Large-scale enshrinement of Korean civilian navy workers at Yasukuni Shrine without informing the South Korean government.
1970 Monument for Korean victims of the atomic bomb established outside the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park.
1975 Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum officially opens. South Korean government builds a memorial for Korean victims in the vicinity of Okinawa Peace Memorial Park.
1982 The approval of history textbooks in Japan causes diplomatic issues in East Asia. Japan introduces the Neighboring Countries Clause.
1985 The "Museum of Victims [of the] Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders" and "Sino-Japanese War Museum" open in China.
1987 The "Museum of the War of [the] Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression" opens in Beijing. In South Korea, the Independence Hall of Korea opens.
1991 A former "comfort woman" gives testimony for the first time using her real name, and brings legal action against the Japanese government, demanding an apology and compensation. The "9.18 History Museum" opens in China.
1992 Seodaemun Independence Park is established in South Korea.

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1994 China promulgates "Guidelines for Patriotic Education."
1995 Removal of the office building of the Governor-General of Korea. Cornerstone of Peace established in Okinawa Peace Memorial Park.

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Chapter 9:
Overcoming the Past and Moving into the Future

People have harbored strong expectations for peace, prosperity, and improved living standards since the Cold War ended in the 1990s. Along with rapid technological and economic progress, globalization has had an enormous impact on international relations and has created closer links among people all over the world. The development of a human rights consciousness has encouraged dialogue between people regarding questions of historical awareness and international political issues and hastened the development and unification of human civilization. This has led to the emergence of new forms of international dialogue and cooperation and to new formats of regional political and economic integration. People, local governments, and civic organizations in China, Japan, and Korea frequently engage in cross-border interactions and are establishing close ties through such networks. These in turn have formed the basis for major changes taking place in formal bilateral relations.

Despite deepening relationships of interdependence between the three East Asian countries, however, a "sense of community" has not emerged. In particular, a political and emotional chasm regarding history-related issues remains between Japan and China, and Japan and Korea. Will these countries be able to overcome the obstacles caused by differences in historical consciousness? Does the idea of nurturing a community consciousness, as well as the necessary social foundations to do so, exist among the countries of East Asia?

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1. Political Changes in East Asia since 1990

The total population of China, Japan, and Korea reaches over 1.5 billion, and their total GDP accounts for about 20 % of the world economy.[96] They are all key trading partners with one another: The total sum of their intraregional trade, compared with extra-regional trade, is more than that of the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) region, though not quite as much as the EU, and it is already the third largest free trade region in the world after the European and North American economic spheres. It may, in the near future, become a driving force for growth in the world economy. From a cultural and economic perspective, the East Asian region, in comparison to North America and the EU, possesses a certain historical and practical basis upon which relations can be molded into a tighter community. The goal of building a community in the East Asian region – a region with a long history – is receiving broad public attention today, and thus we must engage in comprehensive reflection on our historical experience.

Before the emergence of the modern nation state, China controlled the East Asian region through the Sinocentric world system, that is, the division of the world into the "civilized" center (China, or the Middle Kingdom) and the "barbarian" periphery (see volume I, chapter 1). In this system, China maintained stability and demonstrated its influence in the region through tribute relationships with neighboring countries. States and peoples on the periphery could gain economic benefits while maintaining national security and autonomy in domestic and diplomatic affairs. Although this system was different from modern-day imperialism, which saw more direct control of countries and peoples, it cannot be considered the ideal model for international order in East Asia.

In modern times, Japan drew on the strength of its alliance with Britain (concluded in 1902) to prevent Russia from moving south, while at the same time advancing toward the region's center, into China. With the occupation of Taiwan, the annexation of Korea, and the invasion of Manchuria (Northeastern China) in 1931, the traditional East Asian order was altered. Following the social Darwinist idea of the "survival of the fittest," Japan created a "New Order in East Asia," claiming to advocate the liberation of

96 Almost 25 % in 2017.

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the East Asian people. Led by a hegemonic state, the "New Order" was eventually unsuccessful. Japan was defeated in the Asia-Pacific War due to the resistance of the East Asian people, and the "New Order in East Asia" ultimately collapsed.

During the Cold War period, international relations in East Asia were characterized by the antagonism between the two major world powers – the United States and the Soviet Union. Using economic, technical and military cooperation, among other means, the US attempted to persuade the societies of East Asia to adopt an American-style political, economic and cultural system. In other words, a vertically structured system of a division of labor with the United States and Japan at the center came into being on the economic level, and an East Asian security order led by the United States was established on the military level. This is why East Asia failed to develop an independent identity, which still has not clearly emerged to this day. With the impact of internationalization and economic globalization, post-Cold War East Asia saw major transformations in the national strengths of China, Japan and South Korea. From the perspective of an East Asian order, the biggest difference between the East Asia of today and that of the past is that an arrangement no longer exists whereby one powerful country leads the rest.

The close associations between the countries and people of contemporary East Asia provide a solid basis for the overcoming of the obstacles of geography, history, and identity and the realization of an East Asian Community. Even so, China, Japan, and Korea face common problems within the economic globalization process. In terms of security, for example, the issue of peacebuilding in East Asia to the end of avoiding conflict, antagonism, and war remains a key issue. From an economic perspective, the countries must cooperate to deal with issues such as financial crises, market development, unemployment and poverty alleviation, and the depletion of energy resources. In terms of the environment, they need to work together to tackle issues such as climate change (global warming) and influenza, pollution and natural disasters, and the Fukushima nuclear accident brought about by the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011. To secure the survival of humankind, they must cooperate over issues such as poverty and human trafficking, transnational crime, and drugs. For political security, territorial disputes must be resolved. Finally,

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the three countries must confront their various history-related disputes, which should not be played down.

As economic interdependence between the three great economic powers Japan, China, and Korea continues to grow, it is first and foremost the history-related political and emotional divides that must be overcome in order to nurture the development of a consciousness of an East Asian Community. How can the three nations overcome these difficulties and bring about the development of a shared sense of community with its roots in thought and society?

2. Overcoming History Controversies

The Effects of the Discussions around the "Military Comfort Women" Issue

People in East Asia have engaged in efforts to address divergent perceptions of history since the end of the twentieth century, with civic organizations actively involved in the debate. Bearing in mind trends in Europe, and particularly the establishment of the European Union, they have asked themselves: Can the European model be realized in Asia? Does Asia have an identity in the same way that Europe does?

The issue of differing historical perceptions in East Asia is primarily the result of Japan's war of aggression and colonial rule. Although Japan normalized diplomatic relations with Korea and China after the war, concluding peace and friendship treaties and legally bringing the war to an end, reconciliation over historical understanding has yet to be reached. The people of East Asia still face the task of overcoming the past and moving forward into the future.

Since the end of the Cold War, which led to the beginning of China's "reform and opening" as well as the democratization of South Korea's political system, Japan has seen the emergence of political forces seeking a return to prewar days. During the 1990s, the victims of the Asia-Pacific War demanded an official apology and compensation from the Japanese government, filing several lawsuits and going public about how they had been affected by the war. Amid such lawsuits and other activities, the people of Japan, the perpetrator state, began to turn attention to these war stories.

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Many in Japan were greatly shocked by what they learned at this time, and it provided an opportunity for the Japanese people to reflect upon their country's history and ethnic discrimination.

Regarding the issue of the "comfort women" forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military, the people of Japan (the country that had perpetrated the crimes) and the people of Korea and China (the countries of the victims) paved the way toward settling the scores of the past by taking legal action. In 1991, a Korean woman by the name of Kim Haksun, who died in 1997, broke almost 50 years of silence and courageously launched the first "comfort women" lawsuit. Kim was the first person to testify and share her painful experiences on an issue that the Japanese government had been concealing. Other female victims later came forward to file suits for damages against the Japanese military. To date, there have been ten lawsuits filed by a total of ninety-three women from Korea, China (including Taiwan), the Philippines, and the Netherlands, accomplished through cooperation between people from both Japan and the victims' countries. In Japan, civil society called on the state to respond to lawsuits in the victim countries, and ordinary people were encouraged to correct their inaccurate perceptions of history. Scholars also furthered their studies of the history of ordinary people as a result of these lawsuits.

The pursuit of the "comfort women" issue was not just about settling the controversy over history in Japan. It also brought the matter to the attention of international society and stimulated interest in the issue of women's rights and the improvement of women's status. Women around the world were greatly shocked by the "comfort women" issue, which gained major international prominence in 1991, and the incidents of organized rape during the armed conflict in former Yugoslavia which were taking place around the same time. Women gathered at the Second UN World Conference on Human Rights and NGO Forum in 1993 to discuss sexual violence as a women's rights issue of global concern. The participants observed that there has long been a lack of mention of sexual violence as a structural form of discrimination against women, that sexual violence is used systematically in times of war, and that the failure to punish past actions has allowed sexual violence to be perpetuated.

At the 1993 conference, owing to the tireless efforts of women's NGOs, the "Vienna Declaration and Program of Action" was adopted, which asserted

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that the human rights of women are an inalienable, integral, and indivisible part of universal human rights, and that sexual violence against women, such as rape perpetrated during armed conflict, is a violation of human rights. Moreover, the document clarified that systematic rape, sexual slavery (such as the Japanese military's "comfort women" system), and forced pregnancy in particular require an effective response, expanding the principles of basic human rights to include the perspective of the female gender. Further, acts of sexual violence such as rape, sexual slavery, and enforced prostitution were clearly specified in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted in 1998, as "crimes against humanity" with prescribed penalties for offenders.

In 2000, "comfort women" system survivors and NGOs from various countries, together with internationally recognized lawyers and scholars, participated in the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal, initiated by women's organizations in Japan to inquire into the responsibility of both the Japanese state and individuals for the sufferings of the "comfort women." Witnesses were examined, and the evidence scrutinized in light of the principles of international law. The following year, the Tribunal delivered a guilty verdict for the Japanese government and ten former Japanese military officials, including Emperor Showa (Hirohito). This served to rectify the Tokyo trials, which had been inadequate in investigating the "comfort women" system. The Tribunal acknowledged that the system was one of sexual slavery and a crime against humanity. The "Regulations respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land" (part of the Hague Conventions) and other documents were also reconsidered from the perspective of securing the human rights of women, and attention was paid to women suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

A number of lawsuits filed by former "comfort women" since the 1990s in Japan failed to achieve compensation for the victims. However, many of the judgments established the historical factuality of the suffering and damage sustained. There were also rulings that, for example, assigned responsibility to the Japanese government for its omission of legislation, or rejected the application of the so-called "state immunity doctrine," that is, the principle, stipulated in the 1889 Constitution of Japan, that the state cannot be liable for damages sustained by individuals due to acts of the state. Other rulings included postscripts stating that it is desirable that the legislature or the

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government provide relief to the victims. In 1997, Japanese history textbooks for junior high school students included descriptions of the Japanese military's "comfort women," causing right-wing forces to rally against them. Due to their demands regarding the approval and selection of such textbooks, publishing companies gradually removed mentions of the "comfort women" in the years thereafter. Furthermore, Japan's national public broadcasting organization NHK began to conceal the issue, in one case changing the content of its program about the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal after pressure from conservative circles.

The Japanese government continued to refuse to make an official apology and offer compensation to the victims. In 2007, the US House of Representatives, the European Parliament, and parliaments from other countries adopted resolutions that called on the Japanese government in clear words to accept historical responsibility for wartime sexual slavery and issue a formal apology. Further, various UN human rights treaty bodies such as the Commission on Human Rights and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), as well as the International Labor Organization (ILO), issued recommendations to the Japanese government to effect a prompt resolution of the issue. This interest on the part of international society in the "comfort women" was a result of the solidarity of women's NGOs in countries such as Korea and Japan.

Since January 1992, the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan ("Korean Council") has held gatherings each Wednesday in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. It continues to demand that the Japanese government apologize for forcing women to serve as "comfort women" in the Japanese military during its war of aggression, compensate the victims, and punish those responsible. The Council also demands that the story of the "comfort women" be included in Japanese history textbooks. On December 14, 2011, the Korean Council and concerned citizens held their 1000th "Wednesday Demonstration" in front of the embassy, where they erected a statue of a young girl known as the "Peace Monument."

In this way, the solidarity movements of women in Asia and across the globe, including the survivors, have helped the voices of the people in the countries affected to be heard so that their memory has become part of world history. Although ethnic and gender discrimination is stimulated by

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Figure 68: The 1000th Wednesday Demonstration and Peace Monument: Simultaneous demonstrations of solidarity were held in eleven countries (including Japan and Korea) and over seventy cities in Asia, Europe, and elsewhere. Source: private collection.

xenophobic nationalism, efforts are being made in connection with the "comfort women" issue to eliminate this kind of discrimination.

Action for a Peaceful Future: Postwar Compensation

In addition to lawsuits brought against the Japanese military for sexual violence, a number of other cases were filed the Japanese government between the 1990s and the 2000s. War survivors in China, for example, led suits demanding apologies and compensation for matters such as forced labor during the war, damage sustained due to poisonous gases abandoned by the Japanese military in China at the end of the war, the Nanjing and Pingdingshan Incidents, and the indiscriminate bombing of the city of Chongqing. Former Class B and C war criminals in South and North Korea filed similar suits. Korean victims of the atomic bombs claimed compensation from the Japanese government for its arbitrariness in failing to address the needs of victims who had been forcibly mobilized, that is, non-Japanese victims. As with the "comfort women," these actions came about

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through joint campaigning by people from both the perpetrator and victim countries.

From the late 1990s onward, the main focus of the movement was to demand an official apology from the Japanese government, who would be obligated to admit the historical truth. Many lawsuits were successful in forcing Japan to face its historical responsibility.

Although the number of those who understand and support the legal action of the war victims may seem small compared with Japan's total population, some Japanese do recognize the country's responsibility for its wartime aggression and colonial rule. A series of movements aimed at raising people's historical awareness has emerged. One example is the associations of former soldiers such as the Association of Returnees from China. From the 1970s, attention turned to the existence of Koreans left behind in Sakhalin and atomic bomb victims in Korea. The truth about the Nanjing Massacre and Unit 731 was researched and victims testified at gatherings. The 1980s saw the advancement of a variety of local peace movements.

While most lawsuits failed to reach the objective of compensating victims, there were some exceptions. For example, when a former forced laborer claimed compensation for injuries sustained from the atomic bomb while working at a plant belonging to the industrial conglomerate Mitsubishi in Hiroshima, the Supreme Court in 2007 decided that the Japanese government had a responsibility toward atomic bomb survivors living abroad after the war, and ordered reparations to be paid in the same degree as those paid to Japanese bomb victims. In the Kajima Hanaoka Mine trial, a claim for compensation for forced labor, Kajima Corporation admitted corporate responsibility and, as a demonstration of respect, provided a fund of 500 million yen to the Red Cross Society of China for survivors and relatives of the victims to share. Further, in the Nishimatsu Construction trial, even though the plaintiff's claim for compensation for being forcibly taken from China for labor in Hiroshima was dismissed, a "compromise" was reached between the parties due to a remark in the Supreme Court judgment. The compromise included the recognition of historical facts and a sincere apology, the payment of costs to ascertain the location and identities of the victims, and the building of a monument to educate future generations about what had happened. This outcome influenced other

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similar cases against different branches of the Nishimatsu Construction Corporation, such as its Shinanogawa office. There are, however, voices in both China and Japan that are critical of these compromises.

In Japan, victims in Hiroshima argued that the atomic bomb was an act of indiscriminate bombing in violation of international law, and asserted that the San Francisco Peace Treaty, in which Japan assented to waiving individuals' right to claim reparations,[97] was a violation of their right to the pursuit of happiness and property as guaranteed by the Constitution of Japan. They also argued that as the Japanese government had given away their rights as atomic bomb victims in order to conclude of the treaty, then the Japanese state must provide reparations to them. Their claim for damages against the state began in 1955. The suit also drew attention to the wrongfulness of the Japanese government's continued rejection of demands made by victims throughout Asia on the basis of on the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and other treaties between Japan and the US.

The application of the Atomic Bomb Survivors Relief Law, which was finally enforced in 1995, is narrowly limited, especially in terms of the eligibility criteria relating to location and medical diagnosis. Victims are thus engaged in various class actions calling for state reparations for all victims. The government's view is that the damage from the atomic bomb falls within the limits of war damages sustained by the Japanese people. The law also failed to tackle the issue of compensation for atomic bomb victims living abroad, which did not commence until 2007.

The anti-nuclear movement of the 1950s and 1960s failed to note the existence of victims in Asia other than in Japan. In 1972, however, the poet Kurihara Sadako wrote from the perspective of atomic bomb survivors: "When we say 'Hiroshima' / Do people answer, gently / 'Ah, Hiroshima'? / Say 'Hiroshima' and hear 'Pearl Harbor' / Say 'Hiroshima' and hear 'Rape of Nanjing' / Say 'Hiroshima' / and hear echoes of blood and fire." The poem became well known among civic movements, and helped the Japanese people to imagine the damage and suffering inflicted on the people in the

97 Article 14 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty waived all claims to reparations at national and individual level, but neither China nor Taiwan were invited to the meeting, and neither South Korea or North Korea were able to attend, which has led to problems in the application of the treaty.

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countries that Japan had invaded, and not just what was suffered in their own country.

All over Japan, civic movements began collecting records on wartime air raids, and in 2007, victims in Tokyo, Osaka, and other locations filed for state reparations in their various districts. The lawsuits criticized the government's argument that such damage fell within the (normal) limits of war damages and asserted that suffering from the effects of the inhumane, indiscriminate bombings continues today. Victims in Japan of the indiscriminate bombings of the US military are still engaged in exchange activities with survivors of the indiscriminate bombings of Chongqing by the Japanese military. At international conferences held since around 2000, there have also been debates on indiscriminate bombings in Europe. Such dialogue points to the victims' denunciation of cruel and inhumane war. But this is not to say that the countries perpetrating the massacres and the countries that were victim to them are without distinction, although the people of the perpetrator country certainly also suffered in war.

Directly after the liberation of Korea, in the course of the establishment of a democratic state, accusations were made against "pro-Japanese groups" – traitors to the ethnic community who had, during colonial times, collaborated with the invaders for profit and self-preservation. Investigations ensued, but, due to the intervention of the US military and the Rhee Syngman administration, nothing further was done. Later, many pro-democracy supporters were oppressed by the dictatorial regime, deprived of their rights and subjected to human rights violations, and suffered damage to their reputation. Progress was made in the 1990s, with compensation being provided for lives lost during the democratization movement and measures being taken to restore the honor of victims massacred by the South Korean military during the Korean War. In the ten-year period of the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations (1998–2008), people who had cooperated with Japan's colonial administration or participated in the postwar dictatorship, as well as any governing bodies that were vestiges of the dictatorship, came to be acknowledged as impediments to the democratic progress of Korean society. Many government-level committees were established to settle issues relating to the past, and fact-finding missions took place. A comprehensive biographical dictionary of pro-Japanese collaborators was published by the private sector through public donations. There

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are ongoing efforts in Korea to overcome the past through close investigation into not just those who aided Japan's colonial rule, but also those who participated in Korea's own dictatorial regime.

The twenty-first century has seen new efforts in Korea to overcome the problems of the country's history. The 2000 International Women's War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo served as an impetus for survivors' groups, lawyers, civic organizations, and the academic world to join forces and create a movement focused on jointly establishing a special law to settle the past, soothe victims' wounds, and fill the social chasm. This resulted in the enactment of the Disclosure Act of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Imperialism in 2004. Pushing for the truth and partial compensation, the committee charged with carrying out the Act's provisions later changed its name to the Commission on Verification and Support for the Victims of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Colonialism in Korea. This type of cooperation, whereby the victim country takes the initiative, to, for example, establish a body for the investigation of the damage incurred by those forcibly mobilized and provide partial compensation to them, is rare even at international level. The Korean movement for the settlement of issues related to the past has an active role to play in cultivating future trilateral relations between China, Japan, and Korea and in building the foundations for peace in the East Asian region.

In China, the China Foundation for Human Rights Development, an NGO, was set up to serve as the contact point for the disbursal of several funds, including compensation awarded under the Nishimatsu Construction Corp. Shinanogawa Office trial ruling to those forcibly taken for labor. Further, in November 2009, the Taihang War Museum of the Eighth Route Army in Shanxi Province and the Changzhi City International Friendship Association, together with various Japanese groups that have supported the lawsuits filed by Chinese women, held a panel exhibition on the Japanese military's sexual violence during the Second World War. The success of the exhibition can be attributed to Japanese groups such as the Group for the Investigation of the Truth about Sexual Violence by the Japanese Army in Shanxi Province, and the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (in Tokyo), as well as scholars from Shanxi University. People from China, Japan, and Korea have steadily undertaken a number of small attempts to link the past to the future, such as this initiative.

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In Korea, the very first Museum of Sexual Slavery by the Japanese Military was launched at the House of Sharing (a group home for female survivors) in 1998, and in 2012, the War and Women's Human Rights Museum was inaugurated in Seoul. The Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM) was established in Tokyo in 2005, and affiliated museums were later founded in Shanghai (2007), Manila (2008), Taipei (2009/digital), and Longling County in Yunnan Province, China (2010). These museums are now passing on the memories of survivors to younger generations and undertaking the task of reflecting on the past while building historical awareness for the future. The people of China, Japan, and Korea have begun to think about history through a direct, hands-on approach, and are continuing their efforts to preserve the memory of the war.

3. Promoting a Cross-Border Historical Consciousness

In order to build a peaceful East Asian community, it is necessary to create a historical consciousness that transcends borders. In 2006, Germany and France published *Europe and the World since 1945* as a jointly edited contemporary history textbook. The two countries have been engaged in such efforts at various times since the 1930s. Germany and Poland began joint research on history education in 1972: The outcomes of this work have already influenced the editing of history textbooks, and in 2010, the joint research committee presented proposals regarding the process of editing history textbooks. The above are all acknowledged as success stories in building cross-border historical awareness.

Compared to Europe, in Asia – and between China, Japan and Korea in particular – obvious differences in historical understanding persist. Will dialogue among these countries make progress? Will it be possible to create a transnational historical consciousness? In recent years, scholars and educators in the three countries have undertaken meaningful attempts and efforts toward achieving this aim.

In the Japanese Ministry of Education's examination of high school history textbooks in 1982, a textbook was identified that simplified and omitted content related to Japan's invasion of Asia and colonial rule. After the matter appeared in the media, attention turned to the issues of Japan's

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history of aggression and rule and history education in Japanese society. The 1982 textbook controversy served as an opportunity for scholars, teachers, and the general public in the various countries of East Asia to start a dialogue on the issue of historical consciousness.

In particular, researchers and history teachers in Japan and South Korea investigated the issue of history textbooks and attempted to engage in dialogue on the topic. They mainly examined portrayals of contemporary history of Japan-Korea relations in Japanese textbooks. Through these discussions, they built connections to enable academic exchange among diverse networks in both countries. China has also increased its academic exchange with Japanese and Korean scholars since its economic reform, and has become aware of the need to broaden its perspective on historical awareness.

In the mid-1990s, another history textbook controversy erupted in Japan, again drawing attention in East Asia to the issue of historical consciousness. In 1997, the Korean National Commission for UNESCO hosted an international symposium, and invited the academics and teachers involved in the dialogue over history textbooks between Germany and Poland as well as those from the Franco-German project. No one from Japan participated, but it became the first symposium to explore the possibilities of similar cooperation in East Asia. After the symposium, Korean and Japanese scholars continued exchange activities and in 2007 published *Nikkan Koryu no Rekishi* (The History of Japan-Korea Exchange) in both Japan and Korea.

In the late 1990s, as joint cross-border efforts intensified, several Japanese universities organized research on "Mutual Awareness and Misunderstandings in East Asia" with scholars from Japan, the United States, China (including Taiwan), and Korea, discussing problems related to East Asian historical consciousness and publishing research reports.

The beginning of the twenty-first century saw new progress and outcomes in joint research conducted by of scholars and teachers in East Asia. In 2001, the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform (Tsukuru-kai) published a history textbook entitled *Atarashii Rekishi Kyokasho* (A New History Textbook), which propagated parochial nationalism and emperor-centered historiography and which received approval from the Ministry of Education, giving rise to a renewed dispute over history in the East Asian region. Intellectuals and citizens in China, Japan and Korea criticized the

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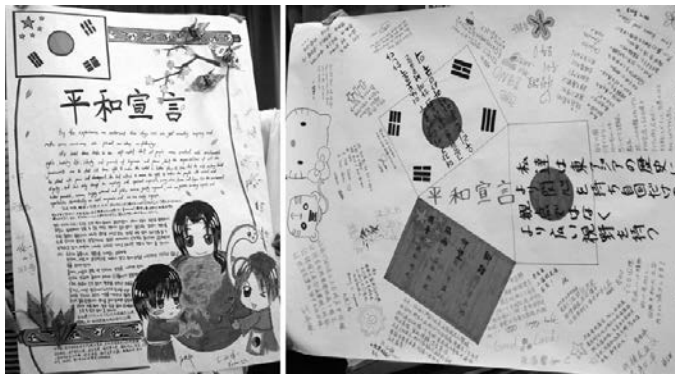

Figure 69: Joint works created at youth camp: A Peace Declaration for East Asia's Future, produced by six mixed groups of participants from the three countries at the Ninth Japan-China-Korea Experience History Youth Camp (2010, Awa, Chiba Prefecture). Source: private collection.

attempt by right-wing organizations and conservative forces to distort history that they perceived in the textbook and rallied to oppose these developments. Historians, teachers, and representatives of civic groups in the three countries organized the Historical Consciousness and Peace in East Asia Forum in Nanjing, China, in March 2002. The participants agreed on cooperation and vowed to continue discussions on building a transnational historical consciousness, also creating a framework for an annual forum to debate issues such as the state of affairs in East Asia and the current situation of history education. There are also exchange activities such as an annual youth camp from the three countries with history study activities. At the same time, a group began to jointly edit materials for the supplementation of history textbooks targeting young people and the general public in China, Japan, and Korea. Published in 2005, *Mirai o Hiraku Rekishi* (A History to Open the Future) is the outcome of the first phase of this joint research project. This two-volume textbook is the result of the continued efforts between scholars from China, Korea, and Japan.

Methods of compiling and editing materials in the context of endeavor to pursue transnational joint historical research and of compiling educational materials are varied and the depth of research is not uniform. However, our goal of creating a historical consciousness transcending national bounda-

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ries has remained the same. This is apparent, first, in the attempt manifest in all these endeavors to cast the powerful influence of a Eurocentric view of history aside and raise the relative importance of descriptions of Asian history in the world history accounts disseminated in each country. Second, in dealing with the relationship between each country's history and the history of East Asia as a whole, this work gives greater weight to questions of how to construct a framework for East Asian history that *transcends* the history of each individual country. Overcoming boundaries is the most important matter in this context.

Government-initiated joint historical research also began in the twenty-first century. First, in 2002, Japan and Korea initiated a bilateral commission that completed its work in 2005. A second period of joint research began in 2007 and ended in 2009. Joint historical research between Japan and China began in 2006 and ended after three years of joint research and discussion with the publication of a report. It has drawn interest both domestically and abroad for making clear statements on Japan's aggression toward China and unveiling the truth behind the invasions, as well as establishing basic principles for resolving the disagreements between Japan and China over history. Responses to these cross-border efforts have varied. Some people welcome them, others find them incomprehensible, and some criticize or oppose them. This is because there are three different, though interrelated, levels of dialogue on the issue – political, emotional, and academic.

At the political level, the dialogue is influencing political decisions regarding the nature of Japan's colonial rule and war of aggression. The Japanese government and politicians must be clear in their stance, and critical of the war of aggression and colonial rule. Issues must be addressed based on fundamental principles; vague statements are inexcusable.

At the popular level, there is a need to resolve differences in awareness brought about by the skewed historical experiences of the people in each country. Such differences are clearly closely linked to emotional factors, and mutual understanding can only be achieved through profound dialogue between people. Being responsible for the war as well as having suffered from it, the people of Japan are affected by both perspectives on the debate and must face up to the fact that many have forgotten that Japan was the perpetrator.

At the academic level, there is a need to resolve the gap in understanding

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that results from how historical materials are used in research in the three countries, from variations in research methods, and from discrepancies in historical experiences. Joint research by scholars and teachers in the three countries is underway, and there is ongoing cooperation with the aim of resolving this issue.

In reality, these three aspects of the debate over history cannot be easily separated. They mutually affect one another and are interconnected, which complicates the situation. If political issues are discussed as issues of academic research, we lose sight of our direction and fall into a never-ending argument. It is desirable that emotional issues are alleviated by people engaging in face-to-face discussion. Scholars must engage in research at the academic level and not allow their differences to escalate to the emotional level, nor become a political issue.

More than sixty years have passed since the war's end (more than seventy since the publication of this translation), and today the number of people who have experienced war in their lifetime is decreasing. As a result, the influence of the wartime generation on the postwar generation is gradually waning. According to statistics, over seventy percent of today's population belong to the postwar generation. Those aged forty to sixty years have some emotional understanding of the war obtained through the previous generation, but it is impossible for the generation around the age of twenty years today to acquire emotional perceptions of the war from their parents. It is thus unavoidable that the majority of people have a hollowed-out, abstract historical perception of the war. For the younger generation, the war is something from the distant past that often can be found only in online pseudo-space, like computer games. With this abstract view of the war, young people are easily misled and can be swayed toward a narrow-minded nationalism. In order to eradicate this dangerous tendency, scholars should make efforts to ensure that young people acquire a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of wartime history. It is hoped in particular that history education might serve to broaden young people's outlook and make them think about the history and future of East Asia from a wider perspective.

The textbook you are now reading represents the second stage of an attempt to create a forward-looking history textbook. Major differences continue to exist between the three countries regarding both research and educational practices. Engaging in joint research and writing and editing

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materials for history education is therefore by no means a simple task. For example, if a new development on an issue in one country emerges, the other countries may not know about or recognize it. An inability to integrate one country's research into shared teaching materials may even be akin to backpedaling, perhaps inviting criticism. However, the movement for the creation of common teaching materials has a different orientation to that of historical studies from, and focusing on, a single country. It is not possible to establish a history of Japan that is separate from that of the Korean peninsula and mainland China, and research and education in Japan cannot focus solely on its own existence. If scholars and researchers are not aware of this pitfall, it may lead to their work being impacted by ethnocentricity.

What we, the Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee, are advocating is a "common history" of East Asia. This does not imply the unification of all views into one single view. It is only through dialogue that we in each country can come to understand the fact that our counterparts in the other countries live in different environments, that they have acquired a different education, and that, and why, they have different perspectives on history. We cannot get past these differences by making others change what they believe. We can only change our views individually and then consider others' responses.

After the publication of *Mirai o Hiraku Rekishi* (A History to Open the Future) in 2005, a high school student in Korea read the description in the book of the Battle of Okinawa and learned about the link between the damage sustained by Japan during the war and the issue of US military bases in Okinawa, which continues to be a problem today. This had effectively never been discussed in Korean history education before. The girl, learning the historical truth that many Okinawan people were killed by the Japanese military during the Battle of Okinawa, wrote the following letter to a deceased student member of the Himeyuri Student Corps, a corps of female middle school students mobilized during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945 as nurses:

> It has been over 60 years since the Battle of Okinawa and the clinging bitterness of the girls of the Himeyuri Student Corps is being buried with the passage of time. No, actually, selfish adults are trying to hide this truth. Okinawa, which has suffered so much in the past, has been transformed into a tourist destination. But please don't worry too much. We intend to do our best to make sure that your

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> death was not in vain, that another [tragedy like] Okinawa will not occur, and that no more innocent people are hurt by war. Please cheer us on from heaven.

This shows us that this Korean high school student was beginning to understand that schoolgirls in Japan, Korea's colonial master, were also victims of the war. This transformation only emerged once she had acquired new historical knowledge. Japan's younger generations thus face the crucial question: How should we respond to her?

The effort to move beyond the limitations of the individual (the self) in order to understand and become aware of history in this way is by no means masochistic or something to be criticized. The recognition of one's lack of knowledge and the subsequent active effort to engage in discussion with others is an important task. One's opinion may sometimes be negated or give rise to strong reactions of rejection, or it may baffle others. But achieving a dialogue about the past is indeed evidence of growth. The process of human development through such sharing of historical experiences constitutes historical dialogue, leading to the emergence of a common historical awareness.

In recent years, the term "East Asian Community" has been receiving growing attention. In most cases, the term's use is related to a strengthening of economic ties. There is a need, however, to discuss the East Asian Community not only from a state (historical) perspective, but from the perspective of individual experiences as well. The economy and economic development are not the only things that matter. There is no fixed form for the East Asian Community. It is constantly changing and it continues to be modified. Different people have their own understanding of the notion of "East Asia," which is why it can be assigned a variety of meanings and is in no way a fixed notion. In this sense, East Asia is like a table to which dialogue can be brought; a door opening to the future.

What is East Asia? What characteristics should an East Asian Community have? These are the matters we must discuss today. And we must recall our history because we earnestly believe there is a need to engage in cross-border dialogue on history as we look to the future. To do this, we must confront the history of war and other unresolved issues that continue to haunt us. The promotion of a transnational historical consciousness is an issue that we must look squarely in the face today.

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Afterword

As we had anticipated when we decided to publish *A New History of Modern East Asia*, the process of completing the textbook was characterized by a number of difficulties. We had believed that our prior experience of publishing *Mirai o hiraku rekishi* (A History to Open the Future) would simplify the editing process of the new book, but this remained a mere hope. Despite four years of experience of working together, at our project meetings we were once more made aware of how difficult it is to jointly compile a history textbook. Not only did we come from three different countries – China, Japan and Korea – but we also came from different social environments, with different backgrounds in historical research and education. To resolve the problems, we held multiple meetings and exchanged opinions over and over, using all kind of communication methods.

Once we had decided to publish the new book in two volumes, we discussed how to divide the timeframes for the first one, which was to deal with the structural transformations in the three countries. We agreed that war, revolution, and abrupt changes in the international order were important historical factors changing the structural relations of China, Japan and Korea. In some sections, however, opinions differed considerably. The question of how much space in the book should be dedicated to the impact of the First Sino-Japanese War was one such example. Although we were unable to reach a complete agreement, we calibrated our opinions through numerous meetings, eventually agreeing to divide the modern history of East Asia into eight chapters.

Regarding the themes to be dealt with in the second volume, we decided that the representatives of each country would propose themes, which we

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would then fine-tune by comparing the different proposals. Through this process, we selected eight themes. While leaving the emphasis on peoples' daily lives and culture, we also chose topics regarding the influence of the state, of ideas and policies on society as a whole. A final chapter was added expressing the hopes of the three countries' representatives for the future.

Once the composition of the chapters was decided, we allotted the writing tasks. Each chapter was to be drafted by project members from one country and the draft manuscript would then be revised by all members. This would reinforce the aim of writing a joint publication and avoid multiple historical accounts. Writing began in earnest once the countries in charge of each chapter had been finalized. Full-scale discussions of the draft manuscript for the first volume began in March 2009 at a meeting in Seoul, then for the second volume later in August in Beijing.

Suggestions for revisions were repeatedly and openly stated at each meeting, and the manuscript was developed taking these into consideration. Even after specific edits had been discussed for the final version, a new view emerged and major revisions were then made to certain chapters. As the chapters were each drafted by different authors, their structure and contents often reflected the individual writers' ideas and opinions. These country-specific results were the foundation for each chapter, and they were completed after discussion, mutual examination and revision. In this way, the book has gone beyond the individual writers' efforts to become the joint publication of all the people involved in creating it.

Completing this book involved many difficulties, not only from the perspective of determining the content, but also at the practical level. For example, the different natures of the three languages involved meant that there was a danger of differences emerging in the amount of text. Compiling and discussing the text was also a troublesome process. In addition to carrying out these tasks, the secretariats in each of the three countries spent much time and energy in hosting meetings and preparing materials. We highly appreciate the support of the members of the secretariats in the three countries. Without their support, the book could not have been completed in just over six years. Meetings were conducted in Chinese, Japanese and Korean. Depending on the author, chapters were also written in different languages, so we took steps to translate them for review. The assistance lent by translators and interpreters was therefore vital for the publication of this

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book. We once again express our gratitude to them here. We are also deeply grateful to the publishers in the three countries that undertook this publication. They went beyond simply editing the book to become part of the publication process from an early stage. They examined the manuscripts from an independent perspective, offering a great deal of constructive input.

We hope that readers in China, Japan, and Korea will use the portrayal of recent contemporary history in East Asia provided by the present book to actively promote further discussion of the topic matter. Our most cherished wish is that this book contributes to an overcoming of the conflicts over historical consciousness in East Asia and stimulates the growth of an atmosphere of peace.

The Trilateral China-Japan-Korea History Textbook Editorial Committee
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