

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN FIELD OF SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAY COMPANY STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

The South Manchurian Railway Company (Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki-Gaisha 南滿洲鐵道株式会社; hereafter, SMR) was a semi-public stock company established by the Japanese government as part of its colonial management of the southern part of northeast China from Jilin to Liaoning (hereafter, South Manchuria) following the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). According to the Portsmouth Peace Treaty of 1905, Japan acquired all of Russia's rights and interests in South Manchuria, which included a leasehold over the Liaodong Peninsula, the southern branch line of the Russian-built Chinese Eastern Railway, which ran from Changchun to Lüxun and was renamed the South Manchurian Railway, and its railway zone, which included a belt of land along the railroad track and the towns adjacent to the main stations. SMR played a key role in managing not only the railway, but also the railway zone.

As its name suggests, railroad management was SMR's primary task; but the company also operated coal mines at Fushun and Yantai, harbor facilities at Dalian, Andong, and Yingkou, and agricultural and chemical experimental stations. Since Japan exercised "absolute and exclusive administrative power" over the railway zone, SMR was thereby entrusted

with the administration of the zone, which involved running schools and hospitals, managing public utilities, as well as levying taxes, called public expenses (*kōhi* 公費), on households and businesses, all of which were administered by SMR's Local Affairs Department (Chihōbu 地方部) at SMR's Headquarters and Local Administrative Office (Chihō Jimusho 地方事務所) set up in important localities around the zone. SMR also set up departments for socioeconomic research and intelligence gathering on the political situation in China (Chōsabu 調査部), and negotiating with the Chinese government (Kōshōbu 交渉部).

SMR, which had thus developed beyond a simple private corporation into a national-policy agency for implementing the Japanese colonial agenda in South Manchuria, could not avoid attracting the attention of the Japanese public not only while it was in operation before and during the Pacific War, but also in the postwar era as the subject of research investigating the lessons of the past. At the time of this writing, about seventy years have elapsed since the closing of SMR, but the scope of its study has continued to widen over the years. This article is intended to outline research trends in the course of that study, mainly covering the most recent during the 1990s to 2000s and introducing the present condition of SMR-related historiographical materials held in libraries and research archives, in particular the situation surrounding related digital archives which have rapidly expanded since the year 2000.

1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH AND ITS MOST RECENT TRENDS

1.1 Representative Research from the 1960's to the 1980's

During the years immediately following Japan's defeat in WWII, there was little discussion of SMR in academic circles, since information about the company was available only from the recollections of former SMR employees [Okura, Miura, Itō, Yamazaki, Morishima 1950; Yamazaki 1955; Itō 1964; Noma 1964]. The first systematic postwar period academic study of the company was initiated in the 1960s by the "SMR research group," which was led by Andō Hikotarō 安藤彦太郎. The group's work was a pioneering achievement, resulting in a collection of papers on SMR's railway and coal mining operations, the railway zone, the company's relations with Zhang Zuolin, the "ruler" of northeast China, and the Kwantung Army (Kantō-gun 関東軍) and SMR's research activities [Andō 1965].

This last topic of the research conducted by SMR became the most advanced subject of study during the 1970s [Yamada 1977: Kusayanagi 1979] and 1980s [Hara 1986]. A pioneering study on town planning in the railway zone was also published in the 1970s [Koshizawa 1978], and the key work by Harada Katsumasa 原田勝正 on SMR's general history focused on the perspectives of railway technology and management [Harada 1981].

Although SMR has attracted the attention of scholars since the 1950s, SMR studies as a field remained relatively small until the 1980s, with most of the research limited to historical overviews of the company. It was not until entering the 1990s that SMR studies proliferated, and since that time the research has diversified and deepened, leading to the many facets of SMR gradually being revealed. The catalyst for this development was none other than the improved condition and availability of related historiographical materials from the 1980s on.

1.2 Research Trends During the 1990s and 2000s

The research department

A series of research was published by Kobayashi Hideo 小林英夫 [1996, 2006] focusing on aspects of the department's establishment, development, and shut down. He and Fukui Shin'ichi 福井紳一 also studied the "Research Department Incident" (Mantetsu Chōsabu Jiken 満鉄調査部事件), in which several members of the department were arrested by the Kwantung Army as suspected Communists [Kobayashi and Fukui 2004]. As oral history record, Imura Tetsuo 井村哲郎 [1996] interviewed former staff members of the research department and published its results.

Economic history

Kaneko Fumio 金子文夫's book [1991] focuses on SMR's investment activities in Manchuria, while Takahashi Yasutaka 高橋泰隆's business history [1995] looks at the operations of SMR as well as other colonial railways operating in East Asia. Although during the 2000s, Hirayama Tsutomu 平山勉 [2000, 2009, 2010] did study SMR's administrative affairs and capital fund raising problems, there has been little discussion of such economic historical themes due to a lack of documentation, meaning that Hirayama's achievements should be highly appreciated.

Collections of papers

Three collections of comprehensive research were published during the period in question. The first, edited by Okabe Makio 岡部牧夫 [2008],

comprises a detailed study of SMR's business activities, including soybean exporting, port facility management, enterprise groups, central experiment station, and Research Department, while the second, edited by Matsumura Takao 松村高夫, focuses on SMR's industrial relations, including labor management, labor governance, and the imposition of corvée labor [Matsumura, Jie, and Eda 2002]. The last, edited by Eda Kenji 江田憲治, looks into the affairs of the Research Department, including its adopted methodologies, chosen subject matter, and findings [Matsumura, Yanagisawa, and Eda 2008].

General history

Katō Kiyofumi 加藤聖文's book [2006] analyzes the relationship of SMR to domestic Japanese politics, while Harada Katsumasa's previously mentioned work [2007] was revised and enlarged.

Natural science

Research covering SMR's ventures into the areas of nature, pure science, and technological development commenced in the 2000s with the work of Iizuka Yasushi 飯塚靖 [2003] and Yamamoto Yū 山本裕 [2003] on the company's oil shale business, then expanded in scope to the activities of the company's agricultural experiment station in articles published by Yukawa Makie 湯川真樹江 [2011] and Yamamoto Haruhiko 山本晴彦 [2013].

Public administration

Concerning SMR's administration of the railway zone, there is research on town planning and architecture [Nishizawa 1994], educational administration [Takenaka 1993], and fiscal consolidation [Hirai 2010].

In relation to the SMR's health administration, the work on colonial medicine done by Iijima Wataru 飯島渉 [2000, 2005] focusing on preventing the plague and malaria describes SMR's hospital in Dalian, its Manchuria medical college and epidemic prevention station, and facilities which previously had not been discussed in detail. Iijima also highlights SMR as an important administrative factor in providing public health in northeast China at the time.

As mentioned above, SMR studies have quickly expanded in both depth and scope. In 2006, a compilation of essays in popular magazine form geared to general readers was released by the publishing house Fujiwara Shoten [Fujiwara 2006], as SMR attracted attention in the light of the centenary of its founding in 2006.

2. FUTURE PROPECTS FOR SMR STUDIES

As mentioned in the introductory section, SMR studies have quickly progressed since the 1990s. However, certain problems concerning the field have yet to be discussed in sufficient detail. To begin with, most of the recent research has failed to discuss the influence of SMR on Chinese political leaders and local communities in northeast China, in light of the significant impact exerted by the transportation capacity of the Railway on the economy and society of the region.

2.1 Social Change Wrought by the South Manchurian Railway

For example, Chen Jingyan 陳景彥 [1993] has highlighted the influence of SMR's freight operations on commodity distribution in northeast China, while Tsukase Susumu 塚瀬進 [1997] has shown that such economic measures as the establishment of exchanges allowed the railway zone to be developed as a commercial center, attracting Chinese merchants from other regions.

Recently, Yoshii Ken'ichi 芳井研一 and other scholars have published collections of papers on the influence of the railroad's construction and the founding of SMR from the perspective of urban and social lifestyle. This research deserves appreciation for highlighting problems posed by the characteristic features of SMR and its railroad for Chinese political leaders and society [Yoshii 2013].

2.2 The Railway Zone

In addition to the SMR freight and commercial facilities, Japan's "absolute and exclusive administrative power" over the railway zone attracted Chinese merchants to the region, meaning that the zone also showed extra-territorial facets, which attracted many Chinese merchants to the zone for the purpose of avoiding taxes levied in Chinese governed regions. The present writer has studied the lives of Chinese merchants residing in the railway zone and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce that was established there [Ono 2004, 2006].

There has yet to be much focus on the fact that before the Manchurian Incident, most residents of the railway zone were of Han Chinese descent, despite being placed under Japanese administration, while a community of white Russians also developed there, albeit modest in size. To understand the public administration of the zone in more depth, it will be necessary to investigate those Chinese and white Russian communities

in more detail. In this respect, the present writer has studied SMR's administration over mainly Chinese residents residing in the railway zone during the 1920s and Manchukuo era [Ōno 2007, 2009].

2.3 Relations between SMR and Chinese Political Leaders

As a matter of course, the SMR presence in their territories posed a threat to local Chinese political leaders both economically and militarily, and it is a fact that conflict between SMR and such local leaders as Zhang Xueliang was rife. In addition to the pioneering research done by Ogata Yoichi 尾形洋一 [1976, 1977] concerning the negotiations conducted between Japan and Zhang Xueliang's government on the construction of railways in northeast China, the present writer has published an article on the conflict caused by incessant attempts by Chinese administrators to collect taxes from Chinese merchants residing in the railway zone [Ōno 2005]. For example, conflict ranged from the boundary delimitation of the railway zone to the governing of Chinese residents living there. Since such themes have yet to be discussed in detail, we anticipate more research dealing with regional conflict engendered by SMR's presence in northeast China.

2.4 Intelligence Gathering

SMR's intelligence gathering organization and its activities were the objects of caution for Chinese political leaders. SMR gathered intelligence on the political circumstances of such leaders as Zhang Zuolin, Zhang Xueliang, and the warlords of central China. The agencies involved in the collection of information were SMR's Public Offices (Mantetsu Kōsho 満鉄公所) in Mukden, Jilin, Taonan, Zhengjiatun, Qiqihar, and Beijing, and SMR's Local Offices (満鉄事務所) in Harbin and Shanghai. These activities also have not been studied in detail, with only two research notes on the subject written by Imura Tetsuo [2006a, 2009].

To develop the above themes further, it will be necessary to analyze SMR's colonial management from the perspective of Chinese political leaders and society, stressing the use of Chinese source materials, like archives in the northeast containing official documents written by the governments of Zhang Zuolin, Zhang Xueliang, and other leaders, which have also been made available to the public since the 1990s. Although it is not as convenient to use source materials held in Chinese archives compared to those in the USA, other western countries, and Taiwan, conditions have recently improved.

In addition, many Japanese source materials remain in China, including official documents related to SMR's Local Offices, Public Offices, and main Administrative Affairs Office held in libraries and archives in Beijing or northeast China.

3. CONDITIONS SURROUNDING SMR-RELATED HISTORIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

As is well known, many SMR-related documents were lost and scattered due to 1) destruction by Japanese agents to conceal important classified information, 2) capture by China and the Soviet Union, and 3) requisition by the Allied Powers. Therefore, as mentioned above, no systematic study of SMR was possible during the first decades immediately following the end of WWII. However, conditions are now improving.

3.1 The National Diet Library

The National Diet Library (hereafter, NDL) has three main collections of books and SMR-related documents; namely, 1) books and materials transferred from the Imperial Library (帝国図書館) to NDL after WWII; 2) books and documents which NDL purchased from the Mantetsu Liquidation Commission (満鉄整理委員会) after the war, and 3) microfilm of books and materials requisitioned by the Allied Forces that are presently held by the U.S. Library of Congress (hereafter, LC).

1) Approximately 1,000 SMR-related books donated to the Imperial Library before and during the war.

2) Because SMR was designated as an organization earmarked for closure (閉鎖機関) by the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces, the Mantetsu Liquidation Commission was formed to put the company's assets in order. In the process, the commission collectively sold to NDL 23,000 foreign language books which had escaped requisition by the Allied Forces and approximately 3,300 source materials owned by the SMR Tokyo Branch and East Asia Economic Research Bureau (東亜経済調査局) held at the company's Iidabashi warehouse. NDL staff members then cataloged these titles, completing the work during the 1980s [Shiraiwa 2008].

3) The compilation of this collection began at the Institute of Developing Economies (アジア経済研究所, hereafter IDE) Books and Source Materials Department, whose research activities have contributed significantly to bringing the present conditions of the SMR materials to light. Its investigation of the SMR materials held at LC, as well as approximately 50

institutions in Japan, led to the publication of a catalog based on the findings [IDE Books and Source Materials Department 1979]. According to the catalog's introduction, after pinpointing some 3,000 books and documents held at LC, copies of which do not exist in Japan, NDL transferred them to microfilm with the cooperation of LC between 1978 and 1984. The microfilm was then cataloged and made publicly available via NDL [IDE Books and Source Materials Department 1979: Shiraiwa 2008].

Thanks to the efforts of NDL and IDE library scientists, it is now possible to study almost all of the extant SMR-related materials here in Japan since the mid-1980s.

3.2 Toyo Bunko

Toyo Bunko, well known as one of the world's largest and most prestigious Asian research libraries, has an SMR-related materials collection. Most noteworthy is the microfilm collection entitled "South Manchurian Railway Co. Dalian Library Collection: Category MT (In-house Publications)," which was purchased by the committee. This microfilm also contains many SMR-related materials not extant in Japan, in particular, documents created by local administrative and public offices. The microfilm can be searched online at the Toyo Bunko website using the keyword "micro1007." Incidentally, the same microfilm collection is also held by the Library of Economics at the University of Tokyo.

3.3 The National Archives of Japan

The National Archives of Japan holds the SMR internal documents originally managed by the Mantetsu Liquidation Commission and later by the Ministry of Finance. Most of these documents may be accessed only after careful screening, due to the sensitive personal information they contain, meaning that they have yet to be widely used for research.

3.4 Private Collections

A collection of documents originally in the possession by former SMR employees is available for public perusal at the Modern Japanese Constitutional Source Materials Room (憲政資料室) at NDL, as well as public libraries and university libraries. For example, there are documents related to former SMR director Murakami Giichi (Keio University Library) [The Study Group for Murakami Giichi-Related Documents 1976], the last SMR president Yamazaki Motoki (Odawara Municipal, Waseda Uni-

versity, and IDE libraries) [Katō 2002].

The materials related to former SMR director Matsuoka Yōsuke have been the object of a document collection series [Itō, Ogiwara, and Fujii 1966–67]. Recently, documents related to the Yamazaki Motoki held by the IDE Library were published with bibliographical introductions by Imura Tetsuo and Katō Kiyofumi [IDE's Library 2011]. The materials belonging to Matsuoka and Yamazaki also include documents created by SMR's branch offices, which are very useful in studying the issues taken up in section 2.

The documents belonging to Nangō Tatsune 南郷龍音, a member of SMR's Economy Survey Committee (満鉄経済調査会), have been published by Kobayashi Hideo and his colleagues [Kobayashi, Katō, and Nangō 2004]. Kobayashi also edited and published the Economy Survey Committee-related documents originally held in the Liaoning Provincial Archive in northeast China [Kobayashi 1998].

Accordingly, the availability of SMR-related source materials is indeed improving and has aided greatly in the development of SMR studies since the beginning of the 1990s. However, as mentioned in section 2, many Japanese language SMR-related materials are still held in China, while others are thought to be held in Russian archives. The search for primary sources is expected to improve in the near future. Incidentally, [Imura 2006a] is a very useful guide to understanding both source availability and the ongoing compilation of related catalogs in China.

4. SMR-RELATED SOURCE MATERIALS IN DIGITAL ARCHIVES

Thanks to the development of digital archives, the historians science will soon be able to search and browse a whole bodies of source materials on one's home computer using online digital archives. What this all means is rapidly improving efficiency in the collection of primary sources. This section will discuss the state of the art regarding the SMR-related historiography.

4.1 The National Diet Library

NDL has been promoting the digitization of its collections since 2010, including many SMR-related source materials. Although some sources remain inaccessible due to copyright sanctions, considering the fact that in the past researchers were required to travel to Tokyo to study NDL holdings, remote accessibility to its collections has rapidly lessened the

burden. NDL's digital archive includes documents created by SMR's research, local administrative, and negotiation departments. It is possible to browse the archive entitled "NDL digitized contents" at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/?__lang=en.

4.2 The Institute of Developing Economies Library

The IDE Library also operates a digital archive entitled "Japan in Modern Asia" at http://d-arch.ide.go.jp/asia_archive/. It contains for download digitalized images of 3,201 documents held by LC and 627 of Iidabashi warehouse documents held by NDL.

4.3 Toyo Bunko

Toyo Bunko has also begun offering digitalized sources. Its Documentation Center for Chinese Studies has released 425 documents in a database entitled "Digital Library of Modern Chinese Historical Materials" at <http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/toyobunko-e/search/bibliographs/index.html>, including some SMR-related documents. There are plans to increase the digitization of its collections in the near future.

4.4 Japan Center for Asian Historical Records

Founded in 2001, JACAR (<http://www.jacar.go.jp/english/>) has already released digital images of official documents provided to the center by the National Archives of Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Archives, and the Ministry of Defense National Institute for Defense Studies. These sources span a period from the beginning of the Meiji era to the end of WWII, and their content covers domestic and international political, diplomatic, and military affairs. As of December 2013, JACAR has produced approximately 1,800,000 items of text and 27,000,000 images accessible online.

The documents pertaining to SMR that can be searched in JACAR's database mainly concern company business and financial affairs and can be found in *Kōbun Ruishū* 公文類聚 (official records compiled by topic), *Kōbun Betsuroku* 公文別録 (commentaries on official records), and other series edited by the cabinet, while SMR-related diplomatic sources are contained in the *Gaimushō Kiroku* 外務省記録 (records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Documents concerning the relations between the SMR and the army are mainly contained in *Rikugunshō Dainikki* 陸軍省大日記 (document files of the Ministry of the Army).

As mentioned in section 2, such SMR branches as local administration, public, and business offices remained in close contact with Japanese diplomats and military commanders, which means the documents created by those branches would be included in the diplomatic and military records contained in the JACAR database, offering an excellent opportunity to uncover previously unknown facts about SMR's history.

4.5 Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica

When viewing SMR from the Chinese government's perspective, the digital archives of Academia Sinica's IMH (<http://archives.sinica.edu.tw/en/>) are very useful. These archives offer diplomatic records created during the late Qing period and Peking government era; that is sources dating from the 1860s to the first half of 1928. Although researchers are required to visit the institute in person to read diplomatic documents created after that time, the IMH digital archives remain a very useful study resource for historians of Chinese studies.

In recent years, significant improvements to digital archives are being made not only in Taiwan and Japan, but also in Europe, the USA, and Australia. Since utilizing primary materials held in countries like China and Russia can be rather troublesome, it is at least this writer's view that accessibility to online digital archives should certainly improve there, for the sake of promoting a better understanding of their own historical development and historical science in general.

CONCLUSION

SMR operated as a representative of Japan's colonial regime in East Asia, and then was dissolved along with that regime's dismantlement following Imperial Japan's defeat in the Pacific War. Although 70 years have passed since its closing, SMR still attracts the attention of scholars studying East Asia in modern times.

Thanks to such scholarly attention to both documenting and researching SMR-related source materials, the field of SMR studies has developed rapidly since the 1990s, and there is a distinct possibility that new approaches to the field through the utilization of digital archives and information technology will be developed during the 2000s. Consequently, considerable light can now be shed on the overall images of SMR as the main factor in the business management of railways, harbor facilities, and coal mines, as an administrative body dealing with educational and

medical services, as well as governing residents of the railway zone, and as a think tank promoting research, intelligence gathering, and public relations.

However, some problems that have not yet been discussed in sufficient depth still remain, one of which is the crucial importance of understanding SMR's influence on China's ruling class and Chinese society, in order to analyze the aggressiveness of SMR as an agent of colonial management. The more progress made in the use of Chinese materials the clearer this problem will surely become.

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- Chap. 1. Nichiro Sensō to Mantetsu 日露戦争と満鉄 (Russo-Japanese War and SMR).
 Sec. 1. Nichiro Sensō to Mantetsu.
 Sec. 2. Mantetsu no sōritsu 満鉄の創立 (The establishment of SMR).
- Chap. 2. “Manshū” 「満州」 (Manchuria).
 Sec. 1. Kadai 課題 (Problems to be solved).
 Sec. 2. Mantetsu ōkoku: Tetsudō fuzokuchi 満鉄王国：鉄道附属地 (SMR kingdom: The railway zone).
 Sec. 3. Mantetsu Konzerun 満鉄コンツェルン (Group of companies of SMR).
 Sec. 4. Chō Sakurin gunbatsu 張作霖軍閥 (Zhang Zuolin as a warlord).
- Chap. 3. “Manshū Jihen” to Mantetsu 「満州事変」と満鉄 (The Manchurian Incident and SMR).
 Sec. 1. Kyū Ichi Hachi 九・一八 (September 18).
 Sec. 2. “Manshū” no tetsudō to Mantetsu 「満州」の鉄道と満鉄 (Railways in Manchuria and SMR).
 Sec. 3. Mantetsu no gunjiteki yakuwari 満鉄の軍事的役割 (Military roles of SMR).
 Sec. 4. Chūgokukei ginkōgō no sesshū 中国系銀行号の接収 (Requisition of Chinese banks).
 Sec. 5. Hokuman tetsuro no “jōto” 北満鉄路の「譲渡」 (“Transfer” of North Manchurian Railway).
- Appendix 1. Mantetsu chōsabu 満鉄調査部 (SMR research department).
 Appendix 2. Hanman kōnichi busō tōsō 反満抗日武装闘争 (Armed con-

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