

A Treatise on Peace in the East¹

by An Chunggŭn

Introduction

It is an ancient and unchanging principle that in union there is success and in division there is failure.² Today the world is divided into East and West as the different races struggle with each other. People study how to make dangerous weapons instead of agriculture and commerce. Therefore, new inventions, like machine guns, airplanes, and submarines, all have as their purpose the destruction of life and property. Young people are trained and sent off to war and so many of their precious lives are sacrificed that there are rivers of blood and mountains of corpses.

¹ In 1979, Professor Kim Chŏngmyŏng discovered a document with the title “Discourse on An Chunggŭn” (安重根傳記及論說/안중근전기급논설), which consisted of a handwritten copy of An’s autobiography *The Story of An Ŭngch’il* (安應七歷史/안응칠역사) and *A Treatise on Peace in the East* (東洋平和論/동양평화론), in the National Diet Library of Japan. As An’s original manuscript has yet to come to light, it is on this copy that our translation is based. For a copy of this manuscript, as well as for a Korean translation, see *The Collected Biographies of Patriot An Chunggŭn* (안중근 전기 전집 安重根傳記全集),” edited and translated by Yoon Byŏngryŏl (윤병렬) and published in 1999 by the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs (국가보훈처).

² We would like to express our gratitude to the Center for the Study of Korea at the University of Toronto for the selection of our translation as the recipient of the James Scarth Gale Translation Award. The timing is especially meaningful as March 26th, 2010 will mark the 100th anniversary of An Chunggŭn’s execution. We would like to extend our thanks to Dr. Oh Youngsob of the Institute for Modern Korean Studies at Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies for his help with some particularly difficult passages in An’s work and Dr. Kim Inseon of Yonsei GSIS for her providing us office space in which to work on our translation. We would also like to thank Yeh YiChing who helped us obtain information on Chinese place names. Han Jieun is also grateful to Dr. Son Cheolbae, managing editor of *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*, published by the Academy of East Asian Studies at Sungkyunkwan University, for his guidance and warm support. She would also like to extend her special thanks to God for his constant assistance. Franklin Rausch would like to express his gratitude to Dr. Don Baker and Dr. Cho Kwang for their support and assistance and would also like to thank the Korea Foundation and the Fulbright Foundation which funded his research in 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 respectively.

This goes on without ceasing. Since all people love life and hate death how can such things occur in broad daylight for all the world to see? To even think of this chills my heart.

If we inquire into the causes of this state of affairs, we can see that from of old, the people of the East devoted themselves to literary pursuits and to defending their own countries. We have never invaded Europe or taken even an inch of European land. People, animals, and even the very trees and grass know this. But in the last few hundred years, European countries completely forgot about morality. They have turned to military power and cultivate contentious and unscrupulous hearts.

Among the European countries, Russia was the worst. There was no place in the West or the East untouched by its violence and cruelty.³ Its evil crimes were of such magnitude that both God and man were angered. Therefore, Heaven favored Japan, a tiny island nation in the East Sea, enabling it to crush the mighty Russian Empire in Manchuria.⁴ Who could have imagined that this was possible? This was in accordance with the principle that if even a small and weak nation follows the way of Heaven and obtains the approval of Earth, it can defeat the great and powerful. This is a principle of humanity. If at that time, the peoples of Korea and China, both high and low would have united together out of a desire for revenge on Japan and so opposed it and aided Russia, then would it be possible to even imagine how great a victory they would have won? However, not only did the people of Korea and China not do this, they also forgot their

³ Russia, hemmed in by other European powers to the east, increasingly looked to expand into East Asia after the Crimean War (1853-1855). Russia's eastern border was difficult to defend and so it expanded its territory largely out of security concerns. Moreover, it sought a warm water port in the East which would allow it to develop its economic power. In this way, China lost a great deal of the territory it claimed to Russia. For more information, see S.C.M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62-77, and Geoffrey Jukes, *The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905* (New York: Osprey, 2002), 16-20.

⁴ An is referring here to the Russo-Japanese War.

grudges and welcomed the Japanese army.⁵ They spared no efforts in providing it with means of transportation, maps, and intelligence.⁶ Why was this?

There are two main reasons. The first is that when the struggle began between Russia and Japan, the Japanese Emperor stated in his declaration of war that Japan was fighting for the maintenance of peace in the East and the strengthening of Korean independence.⁷ This noble cause seemed brighter than the sun in a cloudless sky, and the people of Korea and China, whether wise or foolish, were of one mind and were moved to help Japan in its fight against Russia. The second reason is because it was said that the war between Japan and Russia was a contest between the yellow and white races.⁸ Thus, in one morning the enmity of the past melted

⁵ China had been overwhelmingly defeated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. The Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the war, forced China to pay a large indemnity to Japan and cede the island of Taiwan. See Paine, 271-277. As for Korea, before the Russo-Japanese war, Japan had steadily encroached upon the country's sovereignty. Japanese troops had played an important role in the suppression of the Tonghak rebellion of 1894 and Japan precipitated a war with China in order to replace it as the paramount power in the peninsula. In the wake of the war, a Japanese official had even masterminded the assassination of Queen Min (known posthumously as Empress Myōngsōng; her husband, King Kojong, took the title of Emperor in 1897), who was an opponent of Japan, in 1895. For an overview of these events, see Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 66-133.

⁶ The Japanese were very skillful at making use of Chinese spies, as they paid them well and had a better overall knowledge of Chinese languages than the Russians. See Jukes, 84-85. See also David Wolff, "Intelligence Intermediaries: the Competition for Chinese Spies," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. John W. Steinberg, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1:305-330. A pro-Japanese association, the *Ilchinhoe* (The Unity and Progress Society), organized labor teams to build roads and support the Japanese war effort. See Moon, Yumi. "The Populist Contest: The Ilchinhoe Movement and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896-1910." (PhD. diss., Harvard, 2005), 96-150.

⁷ For the complete text of this treaty see <http://www.russojapanesewar.com/jap-proc-1894.html>

⁸ An was influenced by Social Darwinism, a system of thought that sought to apply Darwin's ideas about natural selection, as well as Herbert Spencer's concept of "survival of the fittest" to human societies. Rather than species, Social Darwinism saw either different nations (Korea, Japan, or Russia) or races (black, white, or yellow) in a life or death struggle with each other. This doctrine was often used to justify imperial expansion as the conquering of the weak by the strong was understood to be a law of nature. It could also support Pan-Asianism. See Ch'oe Kiyōng, *Han'guk Kūndae Kyemong Sasang* (Sōul: Ilchogak, 1997), 17-34 and Andrew Schmind, *Korea Between Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) 23-54. For another nationalist Christian perspective, that of Yun Ch'iho, see Kenneth Welles, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), especially pages 50-56. See also Dongju Ham, "Meiji Discourse on Asia: A Study of Asianism" (Phd. Diss., University of Chicago, 1993).

away and in its place arose a great love for those of the same race. This love of the same race is another principle of humanity. Therefore, it was reasonable for the Koreans and Chinese to support Japan against Russia.

How marvelous! How glorious! The vanguard of the white race which had done great evil for hundreds of years was crushed in one fell swoop.⁹ Such a deed, the likes of which has rarely been seen throughout history, will be remembered by all nations. The noble-minded people of China and Korea were as happy as if they had won the war themselves. This was because they considered Japan's political accomplishments and its system of government the greatest and most progressive achievements in the world since the beginning of time.¹⁰

But alas! After its unexpected victory and triumphal return, Japan began to oppress its next door neighbor, Korea, whose people are gentle and unthreatening and are of the same race as the Japanese, by forcing it to sign a treaty.¹¹ Furthermore, under the pretext of leasing Changchun in the south of Manchuria¹² Japan sought to occupy it [permanently].¹³ Therefore, the people of the world became suspicious of Japan and the reputation it had earned from its great achievements changed overnight to be worse than Russia with all its barbarous acts.

Alas! How could a mighty nation with the power of a tiger or a dragon behave like a cat or a snake? Will the people of the East ever have such an opportunity again? How regrettable! How deplorable! The Japanese Empire had told all the nations in the world that it was fighting

⁹ An is here referring to Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

¹⁰ An is here referring to the revolutionary changes that occurred in Japanese society following the Meiji Restoration which allowed Japan to successively modernize and maintain its independence.

¹¹ An is here referring to the November 17th, 1905 protectorate treaty (Ŭlsa Poho Choyak in Korean). See Duus, 188-195.

¹² The original text actually says "Manchuria in the south of Changchun" but this does not make sense as Changchun is a city in Manchuria, and so was likely a mistake made by An or the copyist.

¹³ See Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 60-86.

for "peace in the East" and "Korean independence" and everyone firmly believed it. Those lofty ideals sank deeply into the hearts of the people of Korea and China. If it is difficult even for a powerful spirit of heaven to destroy such noble sentiments; how could it be possible for one or two people to do it?¹⁴

Now, as Western power expands into the East, even a young child knows that the best plan is for the people here to unite our power so that we can defend ourselves. However, for some reason, Japan, without considering the situation, blindly harmed Korea, its neighbor of the same race, ending the friendly relations the two countries had maintained. This is just like the case where the "fisherman profits from the battle between the mussel and the kingfisher."¹⁵ Japan's actions have shattered the hopes of the people of China and Korea.

If Japan does not change its policy and continues to oppress the East, then the Koreans and Chinese, both high and low, from deep within their hearts will cry out that it is better for them to be destroyed by another race than to suffer insult from their own. If things do not change, it is clear that some will act as the advance guard of the white race's invasion. If that happens, will the just and noble-minded among the hundreds of millions of the yellow race just sit with arms folded and wait for the East to be completely destroyed? Could that be right? Because I could not stand idly by while this happened, I declared a righteous war at Harbin for peace in the East and have decided upon the city of Lüshun as the place where this issue will be resolved.¹⁶ In this

¹⁴ An means that the ideals Japan had claimed to be fighting for still live on in the hearts of the Chinese and Koreans and so now that Japan has turned against those ideals, the Chinese and Koreans will resist the Japanese.

¹⁵ The kingfisher will fight to eat the mussel while the mussel struggles to survive. In the end, they will be exhausted and unable to resist the fisherman, who will catch and eat them both. Japan, by fighting with China and Korea will simply cause all three countries to be exhausted, making them easy pickings for the Western empires.

¹⁶ Harbin is the city in northern Manchuria where An killed Itō Hirobumi. Lüshun, a city in modern day China was known to English speaking westerners as Port Arthur, is where An was incarcerated. An hoped it would become an international city where an organization could be established which would

essay I will present my thoughts on this matter. I ask you to carefully consider what I have written.

The Second Month of 1910 (The year of the dog)

Written in Lüshun Prison

by the Korean, An Chunggŭn

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Mirror of the Past

enable China, Korea, and Japan to take joint action to defend East Asia against western imperialism without threatening the independence and sovereignty of the three countries. See An Chunggŭn, "Chŏngch'wisŏ," in *2lsegye wa tongyang pyonghwaron*, edited by Kukka Pohunch'ŏ, (Sŏul: Kukka Pohunch'ŏ, 1996), 51-57.

¹⁷ By using the word "mirror" in this chapter, An Chunggŭn is saying that he will give an accurate description of the events that threatened peace in the East in his time. In other words, An means that his work will reflect reality so that people who read it will know what to do so they will not repeat the mistakes of the past.

It has always been difficult to predict how the political situation of the various countries of the world will change. It is the same with the minds of men.

The Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894 (the year of the horse). Those thieving rats, the Tonghak bandits, had risen up in rebellion. Because of that the Chinese and Japanese both sent troops to Korea and entered into hostilities with each other, against our country's wishes.¹⁸ The victorious Japanese drove hard into China, occupying the Liaodong Peninsula and taking the mountainous stronghold of Lüshun. After the Chinese Beiyang Fleet was defeated in the East Sea, Japan and China entered into talks in Shimonoseki¹⁹ and concluded a treaty. It was agreed that China would cede Taiwan to Japan and pay an indemnity of two hundred million [ounces of silver].²⁰ This was said to be the greatest event in Japanese history since the Meiji Restoration.

China is ten times larger and richer than Japan. How then was it defeated so easily?²¹ Throughout its history, the Chinese people have referred to themselves as "The Great Empire of China" and call the people of other countries "barbarians." This was the height of arrogance! Moreover, the great officials and their families dared to seize the authority of the state for themselves. Thus, the high and the low have become enemies and there was no peace among the people. Because of this, China met with a humiliating defeat at the hands of Japan.

Since the Meiji Restoration, discord and strife have never ceased in Japan. This led to diplomatic disputes.²² When problems arose, however, the conflicting factions quickly resolved

¹⁸ The Korean court requested that Chinese troops be dispatched to help suppress the Tonghak rebellion. China sent troops, notifying Japan in accordance with the Convention of Tianjin they had signed in 1885. Japan also sent troops and later provoked a war with China in order to take its dominant position in Korea. See Paine, 112-133.

¹⁹ Shimonoseki is a city on the southern tip of the island of Honshu and is very close to the Asian mainland. It was there that the treaty ending the Sino-Japanese war was signed.

²⁰ That is, two hundred million taels (ounces) of silver.

²¹ Japan defeated China decisively in the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895.

²² An is probably referring to conflict over treaty revision. The Tokugawa government had entered into unequal treaties with various Western powers before it fell. The Meiji government had sought to

their differences, made peace, and united with each other, creating a single patriotic party. That is why Japan was victorious. It is like the saying, "A fight between brothers is better than being friendly with strangers."²³

We should recall that at that time Russia was building its East Asian fleet. Together with France and Germany, it made a naval demonstration near Yokohama and so lodged a strong protest against Japan, demanding that the Liaodong Peninsula be returned to China and that the indemnity be reduced.²⁴

On the surface, these actions appear to be in accord with international law and just but upon closer examination, we can see that they are no less than the clever trick of a sly fox. A few years later Russia acted shrewdly and obtained a lease on Lüshun where it established a naval base and built a railroad.²⁵ We can guess that for many years Russia wanted a warm water port, such as Dalian, Lüshun, or Wujian, which were all in the south of the Chinese province of Fengtian.²⁶ Russia's desire to accomplish this goal blazed as hot as a fire and was as unstoppable as the tide.

modernize so that it could revise these treaties and enter into equal relationships with Western countries. However, there were conflicts within the Japanese government over this issue. See Marius Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 426-429.

²³ Even though brothers may have a serious argument when there is a problem they can still depend on each other. Though someone may be on good terms with a stranger, he cannot depend on him in times of trouble.

²⁴ This is known as the Triple Intervention. For more information see Payne, 287-293.

²⁵ Russia used Chinese anxieties about Japan, as well as its role as leader of the Triple Intervention to gain control over the Liaodong peninsula and build the Chinese Eastern Railway, which would link up with its Trans-Siberian line and give access to the port cities of Dalian and Lüshun. See Matsusaka, 28-30.

²⁶ Currently the province of Liaoning.

However, Russia did not go boldly forward but instead bided its time. After Britain and France had invaded Tianjin²⁷ China had stationed its modern soldiers and newest military equipment in Guandong so Russia did not dare pursue its desires but waited, salivating, for an opportunity.²⁸ When Russia did at last act, were not the insightful and noble-minded Japanese torn apart by regret?²⁹ But if we examine the reason why this happened we can see that it was all the fault of Japan. This is like the saying, "If there is a hole then the wind goes through," which means if one person attacks then someone else will too. If Japan had not first invaded China, then Russia would not have dared to do this. We can say that "Japan cut itself with its own axe."

This shook up every part of Chinese society, leading to the Emperor Guangxu's reforms,³⁰ the Boxer Rebellion,³¹ and all sorts of anti-Japanese and Western movements.³² And so the army of the Eight Nation Alliance³³ swarmed into China from the Bohai Sea. Tianjin fell and Beijing

²⁷ An seems here to be referring to the fighting that took place around Tianjin during the Arrow War (also known as the Second Opium War), which lasted from 1856-1860. See Jonathan Spence, *The Search For Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 179-184.

²⁸ Guandong (關東) is a region in the south of the Liaodong Peninsula. It is different from the Chinese province which is romanized the same way in English but written with different Chinese characters (廣東).

²⁹ An is here referring to Russia taking control of the Liaodong peninsula, the very area that it had forced Japan to give up in the Triple Intervention, in 1898. See Michael R. Auslin, "Japanese Strategy, Geopolitics and the Origin of the War, 1792-1895," in *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*, eds. John W. Steinberg, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1:30-33.

³⁰ Lasting from June to September of 1898, the "Hundred Days Reforms" represented an attempt by the Chinese state to modernize. These reforms proved too radical and the powerful Empress Dowager Cixi put Emperor Guangxu, under whose auspices the reforms were carried out, under house arrest and had several of the leading reformers executed. See Jonathan Spence, 229-230.

³¹ The Boxer Rebellion, had its beginnings in 1898 and was formally ended in 1901 with the Boxer Protocol. It was primarily an anti-foreign, particularly anti-Christian movement, which began among peasants in Shandong province. It eventually received approval from the Chinese court and sought to drive all foreigners out of China but was defeated by the imperial powers (Spence, 231-235).

³² For example, there were anti-Russian protests in 1901 and 1903 and an anti-American boycott in 1905 to protest American immigration policy, which discriminated against Chinese people. See Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 37-41.

³³ The Eight Nation Alliance was made up of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

was invaded.³⁴ The Qing Emperor fled to Xi'an.³⁵ The number of casualties, both civilian and military, reached into the millions and the damage done to property could not be calculated. There are few disasters as great as this in the history of the world. This was not only a great disgrace for the people of the East but was an omen that in the future the yellow and white races would be at war; struggling without end. How can we not lament this? How can we not be on our guard?

Russia had stationed one hundred and ten thousand soldiers in Manchuria under the pretext of protecting the railroad there and would not withdraw them.³⁶ Kurino Shinichiro, the Japanese minister in St. Petersburg, exhausted himself trying to get Russia to pull its troops out, but the Russians not only did not listen but even brought in more soldiers.³⁷ Alas! This horrible war between Russia and Japan could not be avoided. We must look to the East to discover its cause. This war was an omen of things to come.

Japan and Russia both sent troops to Manchuria. The Russians dispatched eight hundred thousand soldiers and their supplies along the only available route: the Trans-Siberian Railway.³⁸ The Japanese had to send their troops, about four or five divisions, and their provisions, across the ocean and then overland into the Amur River region. Even though the Japanese planned

³⁴ Tianjin was a strategically important city that protected Beijing from invasion by sea.

³⁵ Emperor Guangxu and the Empress Dowager Cixi fled to Xi'an, an inland city which would be difficult for Western forces to reach, where they established a temporary capital after the fall of Beijing. See Spence, 91-92, and 235.

³⁶ Boxers had done some damage to its railroad so Russia moved more troops into Manchuria to protect it. Though at first it was willing to withdraw some troops, in the end, it ended up sending more. See, Auslin, 33-39

³⁷ For more on the negotiations, see Auslin, 39-43.

³⁸ The Trans-Siberian railway linked Russia with Manchuria. Construction was begun in 1891 and had mostly been completed by 1904. Because it had not been finished and much of the work that had been done was of poor quality, it took a long time for troops to reach their destination. This was a factor in Japan's victory.

carefully, was this not risky? It most certainly was not a well thought out plan. It was indeed a reckless war.

If we look at the route that Japan's land forces took, we can see that they landed at the Koreans ports of Sŏngkyŏng and Kŭmju, and then marched about four or five thousand *li*.³⁹ What the troops suffered on land and water can easily be imagined.⁴⁰ The Japanese army met with good fortune and won several important victories in a row. Nevertheless, it had not yet been able to leave Hamgyŏng Province, storm Lüshun, or win its victory at Fengtian.⁴¹

If at this time,⁴² the Korean officials and common people had called in one voice for vengeance on the Japanese for having, without cause, killed Empress Myŏngsŏng in 1895⁴³ and sent out a declaration throughout Hamgyŏng and Pyŏngan provinces [they would have risen up against the Japanese].⁴⁴ The Russians could then launch a series of surprise attacks in different places. The people of China, both high and low, could also have their revenge on the Japanese by rising up as they did during the Boxer Rebellion. If the people of Northern China had risen, they

³⁹ One *li* was equal to about 0.39 kilometers (about 0.24 miles). Therefore, four to five thousand *li* would have been between 1,570 to 1,960 kilometers (970 to 1,200 miles).

⁴⁰ For more on the logistical difficulties facing both countries see Richard Michael Connaughton, *The War of the Rising Sun and Tumbling Bear* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 12-21 and Steven Ericson, "Riding the Rails: The Japanese Railways Meet the Challenge of War," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. David Wolff, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:225-250.

⁴¹ A part of the Japanese army had been landed in Korea in February of 1904 and planned to march north to attack the Russians in Manchuria. However, they were delayed by heavy rains, flooding, and mud and so did not reach the Yalu river, the border between Korea and Manchuria, until late April. The Japanese then attacked the Russians, and, in what is known as the "Battle of the Yalu," won a decisive victory. See Jukes, 32-34 and Connaughton, 47-65. It is not clear what An means about Hamgyŏng province, as Japanese forces seem to have attacked the Russians from Pyŏngan province, which is located to the west. An's statement about a "victory at Fengtian" seems to refer to Japan's decisive victory at Liaoyang, which is located in Fengtian province (now known as Liaoning province).

⁴² An, referring to the previous sentence, probably means sometime before the Battle of the Yalu, which occurred in late April of 1904.

⁴³ Empress Myŏngsŏng, known in life as Queen Min, was assassinated under the orders of the Japanese consul to Korea, Goto Miura. For a near contemporary account of the assassination of Queen Min, see F.A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (1908; reprint, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969), 51-75. See also Duus, 108-112.

⁴⁴ Presumably they would then form righteous armies and attack the Japanese.

could have scouted out the Japanese defenses and attacked them where they were weakest, launching surprise assaults in the area around Gaiping and Liaoyang.⁴⁵ The Japanese army would have been split in half, and faced enemies to the north and the south. It would have been difficult for it to escape.

If things would have turned out this way then the morale of the Russian troops, most especially in Lüshun and Fengtian⁴⁶ would have doubled and they would have become more active and hemmed in the Japanese army which would have fallen into disarray and confusion. Japan's plan to supply its army with equipment and provisions would have been reduced to shambles. Then the schemes of Yamagata and Nogi⁴⁷ would have certainly failed. Moreover, the Qing government would have wanted to restore its sovereignty [over Manchuria] and Japan, its old enemy, would not be able to stop it.⁴⁸ China would not miss such an opportunity!

Such terms as "International Law" and "Strict Neutrality" are merely cunning tricks used by contemporary diplomats and so nothing more needs be said about them.⁴⁹ Soldiers do not disdain

⁴⁵ Gaiping and Liaoyang are cities located in Liaoning province, which borders Korea and was once known as Fengtian.

⁴⁶ Lüshun had been under siege since August 16th 1904 and surrendered on January 2nd 1905. See Jukes, 48-53 and 59-60. The Russian commander, General Alexy Kuropatkin, attempted to relieve the besieged at Lüshun but was defeated at the Battle of Liaoyang which lasted from late August until early September. See Jukes, 49-53.

⁴⁷ Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922) was one of the most important Meiji leaders and the founder of the modern Japanese military. See Jansen, 395-401. Maresuke Nogi (1849-1912) was the army commander who took Lüshun. He and his wife committed suicide when Emperor Meiji died. See Connaughton, 169-207, Jansen 494 and Y. Tak Matsusaka, "Human Bullets, General Nogi, and the Myth of Port Arthur," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. John W. Steinberg, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1:183-185 and 201.

⁴⁸ Despite the fact that Manchuria was the homeland of the ruling Qing dynasty, China had essentially lost control over it by the time of the Russo-Japanese War. In fact, control over Manchuria was a central cause of that conflict. See Matsusaka, 30-35. It is important to note that the Russo-Japanese war was fought entirely on land that was not the territory of either of the belligerents. This shows the weakness of China and Korea at this time and the willingness of imperial powers to act without considering the rights of weaker nations.

⁴⁹ China declared its neutrality during the Russo-Japanese war as did Korea, though Japan forced the latter to take its side after occupying Seoul. Thus, Korea's neutrality was not respected. Because the imperial powers seemed only to follow international law when it suited them, An concluded that it, and

tricking their enemies, attacking unexpectedly, or utilizing clever strategies. If the officials and the people had united together and raised an army and attacked the Japanese aggressively, then the winds of war would have blown throughout East Asia for one hundred years.

If it had come to this, the great powers would have competed with each other to be the first to take advantage of the situation by quickly mobilizing their militaries. The British would have taken their army and navy in India and Hong Kong and concentrated them around Weiheiwei.⁵⁰ Such decisive action would have forced the Chinese to negotiate with them. The French would have mobilized their land and naval forces in Saigon and Cambodia and moved them into Xiamin⁵¹ and its environs. The United States, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Portugal, and Greece, and other nations would have gathered their eastern fleets together in the Bohai Sea and made agreements to divide up East Asia between them according to their own interests.

If that happened, then Japan would have to mobilize all of its military and economic resources overnight and pour them into Manchuria and Korea. If China sent out a proclamation to Manchuria and such places as Shandong, Henan and Jingxiang,⁵² to quickly mobilize both regular and irregular troops, then the war would have become as fierce as a battle between dragons and tigers. If things turned out like that, we can easily imagine how terrible it would have been for the East.

the concept of neutrality, which was a part of that law, were just empty terms and did not really protect weak countries as many Koreans had hoped. See Ku Daeyeol, "A Damocles Sword?: Korean Hopes Betrayed," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. David Wolff, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:442-452, and, in the same volume, Kim Ki-jung, "The War and US-Korea Relations," 471-475.

⁵⁰ Weihaiwei was a strategic port city in Shandong province. It is now known as Weihai.

⁵¹ Xiamin (Amoy), is a port city on the coast of Fujian province.

⁵² Shandong and Henan are provinces are located southwest of Manchuria. Jingxiang is the old name for an administrative region that would have included the provinces of Hubei and Hunan.

However, at that time, China and Korea did not act in this way. On the contrary, they not only strictly observed the treaties, they did not even lift a finger to oppose Japan.⁵³ This enabled Japan to win its great victories and establish itself in Manchuria. If we inquire into the reasons for this, we can see that it was because scholars of those countries were so enlightened and hoped for peace in East Asia.⁵⁴ We should be on our guard against acting in this way in the future.

The hopes of these Korean and Chinese men of reason were crushed by the treaty between Russia and Japan that ended the war. If we discuss its progress, we can say that after the war began, there were hundreds of battles, both great and small, in which the Russian army was consistently defeated. The morale of the Russian soldiers was so low that they would run away even at the sound of the wind. On the other hand, the Japanese army met with a string of victories and drove its way close to Vladivostok in the east and Harbin in the north. This was an opportunity that Japan could not afford to lose. It was blindingly clear that if Japan poured all its strength into launching an all or nothing attack, in one or two months, Vladivostok and Harbin could have been taken. If that happened, then the hundred-year plan of Russia to extend its rule into the East would crumble into dust in just one morning.

But, for some reason, Japan did not do that. Instead, in secret, it desperately sought peace talks first and did not successfully complete its plan of forever ending the troubles caused by

⁵³ An seems here to be referring to the various agreements Japan forced Korea to sign during the war that gave Japan various privileges in the peninsula that allowed it to more effectively fight the Russians (while at the same time reducing Korean sovereignty). See Kim, 471-475.

⁵⁴ While some Chinese supported Japan out of a belief in racial affinity or because they were anti-Russian, poor behavior, both by individual Japanese soldiers and the Japanese state, led to a loss of much of this goodwill. See Li Anshan, "The Miscellany and Mixed: The War and Chinese Nationalism," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. David Wolff, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:503-510. Koreans, especially progressives who wanted to modernize the country were often supportive of Japan, but they too came to see that Japan was merely taking Russia's place as an imperialist, rather than acting unselfishly. See Ku, 452-463.

Russian expansion.⁵⁵ This was regrettable indeed! Moreover, it was decided that the peace talks between Japan and Russia would be in Washington. How could this be? It was because at that time it was said that America was neutral in regards to the international situation and so would not be partial to either side. When animals struggle with each other, there is either a winner or a loser. How much more when people fight? Japan was the victor and Russia the vanquished so why could not Japan just do as it wanted? Was there no suitable place in the East to have the peace talks?⁵⁶

When Foreign Minister Komura Juntarō⁵⁷ took that long miserable journey to Washington and signed the peace treaty, it was perfectly reasonable for Japan to receive half of Sakhalin⁵⁸ as a prize. However, when it came to Korea, Japan claimed it had a "paramount" position.⁵⁹ This was unreasonable and completely groundless. At the time of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Korea was a tributary state of China so it made sense to mention it in the treaty. But Russia and Korea had no such relationship so why was Korea a part of the treaty? Why, since Japan harbored such

⁵⁵ Japan's situation was actually much more dire than An realized. Despite its succession of victories, Japan had committed most of its available troops. Moreover, its economy was strained to the breaking point by the war. Russia, while suffering from the threat of revolution, as seen in the famous mutiny on the *Potempkin*, still possessed fresh troops and was capable of continuing the war if peace terms were not acceptable (Jukes, 76-78). The Japanese public also thought Japan's position was better than it actually was, leading to riots after the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth became public (Jansen, 448-449).

⁵⁶ The Japanese wanted the peace talks to take place in a city in Asia and the Russians in Europe. They eventually compromised on the United States, in the city of Portsmouth, which is in the state of Maine. See Norman E. Saul, "The Kittery Peace," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. John W. Steinberg, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1:495-496 and Tosh Minohara, "'The Rat Minister': Komura Juntarō and US-Japan Relations," in *The Russo-Japanese War in global perspective: World War Zero*, eds. David Wolff, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 552-554.

⁵⁷ Komura Juntarō (1855-1911), though known as "the Rat Minister" because of his stature and habit of wearing an old black coat, was a skilled diplomat. He was fluent in English and a graduate of the Harvard law school. For more on his life and role at the peace talks see Minohara, 554-561.

⁵⁸ Japan and Russia both laid claims to this island which is located to the north of Japan. It was an important sticking point at the treaty because losing it would have meant giving up Russian territory, a severe embarrassment to the government. It is currently under Russian control. See Saul, 504-505.

⁵⁹ The word "paramount" is used in article 2 of the Treaty of Portsmouth. The full text can be found at <http://www.portsmouthpeacetreaty.com/process/peace/TreatyText.pdf>.

greed for Korea, did it rely on making a treaty with the white people of America and Europe rather than taking the initiative and doing things its own way? Japan, by acting as it did, created a problem that will not go away anytime soon.

This was unwise. Moreover, the American president, who acted as mediator, must have been astonished that the issue of Korea would be of concern to the West.⁶⁰ Japan did not follow the principle of love of the same race.⁶¹ Furthermore, the American president cleverly tricked Foreign Minister Komura into accepting a part of the island of Sakhalin, a few scraps of land,⁶² the Russian ships Japan had seized during the war, and a railroad.⁶³ And as for an indemnity to pay for the damage done to Japan, there was not to be any at all!⁶⁴ If Russia were the victor and Japan the vanquished, and the talks were still held in Washington, would Japan have been able to escape without paying an indemnity? Why was Russia treated so leniently? It is because the "justice" of the world is not just. That is the only reason; there is no other.

Russia invaded the East and attacked the West. The great powers of Europe were so afraid of it that when it attacked one, the others would not help but would instead maintain strict

⁶⁰ President Roosevelt does not actually seem to have been surprised by this and fully supported Japan taking control of Korea. See Kim, 479-485.

⁶¹ An seems to have made this accusation based on the fact that Japan had asked a white person to become involved in an Asian issue. An does not seem to have realized that Japan would have had difficulty in continuing the war for much longer and so was forced into seeking negotiations. An likely believed that Roosevelt would favor the Russians because they were also white. Despite declaring neutrality, he appears to have actually favored the Japanese. See Kim, 468-475.

⁶² It appears that An is here referring to Japan taking over Russia's lease of Dalian and Lüshun.

⁶³ Japan would reorganize the Chinese Eastern Railway that it had seized control over into the Southern Manchuria Railway. Control of the railway would enable Japan to extend its power into Manchuria and establish an informal empire there. See Matsusaka, 60-102.

⁶⁴ An likely believed that since Roosevelt was white he favored the Russians. Since he did not know that Japan could not continue the war for long he looked for a racial cause to explain why, despite Japan's numerous victories, it was unable to extract an indemnity from Japan. Roosevelt actually was pro-Japanese as he believed that it would counterbalance Russian influence on the Asian mainland and seems to have given some preferential treatment to the Japanese delegation at the Portsmouth peace talks. See Saul, 485-507 and Kim, 467-489.

neutrality.⁶⁵ Now that it has met defeat at the hands of the yellow race, the matter has been settled. How can people be without love of the same race? Such is human nature. But alas! Japan does not understand the principles of the world and so harms its neighbors of the same race. In the end, Japan will alienate all those who would be its allies. It certainly cannot escape the fate of being alone, without any friends.

⁶⁵ Russia was not actually as powerful as An thought. Much of its expansion into Central and East Asia was because of the ability of other European powers to check its attempts to move into the West and Near East (Payne, 62-77).