

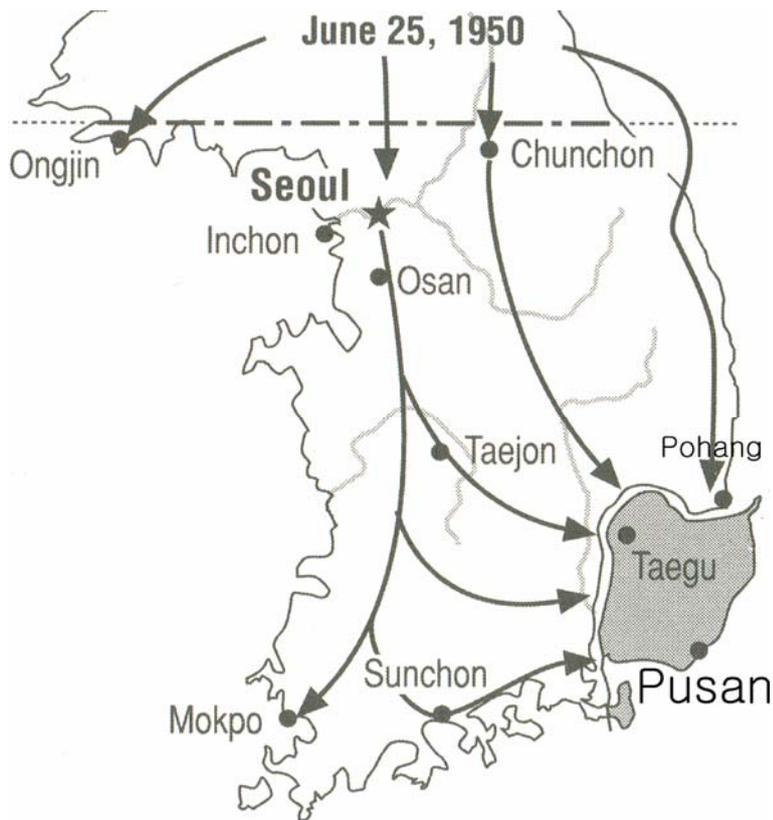
Chapter Fifteen

The People's Republic of China
Taking over the Whole of Qing Empire

End of the Tripolar Framework of Analysis



"Marriage Procession" at Seoul 清溪川 Korea painted by Elizabeth Keith (1897-1956) in 1921.



The Korean War (1950-53)



Opium War (1839-42)



Taiping Rebellion (1851-64)



Beijing 1865



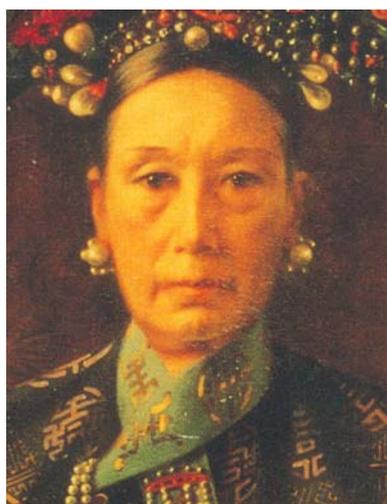
20,000 Foreign Troops Entering Beijing against the Boxers on August 14, 1900

¹ Czarist Russia acquired a portion of western Manchuria lying to the west of the Argun River by the treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689. The conquest of the Zunghars in Inner Asia, the last nomadic empire, by the Qing in 1757, resulted in a bipolar East Asia with Czarist Russia confronting the Manchu Qing. With the treaties of Aigun in 1858 and Beijing in 1860, Russia acquired the parts of Northern and Eastern Manchuria lying to the north of the Amur River and to the east of the Ussuri River.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TAKING OVER THE WHOLE OF QING EMPIRE

END OF THE TRIPOLAR FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS



15.1. Cixi (1835-1908)

1. The PRC Inheriting the People and Territory from the Manchu Qing

MANCHU BANNER'S INVINCIBILITY COMPLETELY LOST

The backbone of the Qing bureaucracy in ruling mainland China was the Han Chinese scholar-gentry, which provided the base of talent for national, regional, and local administration. By passing the civil service examinations, the Han Chinese became functionaries of the Qing dynasty and moved up the ladder through the system, acquiring due privileges.

From the Opium War against the British in 1839-42 to the Taiping rebellion of 1851-64 that followed the flood and famine of 1846-8, the Qing dynasty was overwhelmed by the Han Chinese peasant rebellions and ruthless incursions by Western commercial interests, the *Foreign Devils*. The Qing rulers were able to co-opt the Mongols as a junior partner for their empire building, but then there appeared the Czarist Russians on the trans-Siberian frontier.¹ There was no longer any Xianbei-Tungus antagonist challenging the Qing in the east, but then there appeared the maritime Western imperialists with gunboats, together with their brand new imitators, the Japanese devils, who were much more organized and better equipped than the former pirates. The tripolar framework of analysis apparently became irrelevant to an understanding of

² The White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804) had already destroyed the banner forces' reputation.

³ Cixi was coregent for Tong-zhi (r. 1861-74) and also for Guang-xu (r. 1875-1908) until 1889. Cixi's son, in the name of whose rule the Tong-zhi Restoration 同治中興 of the central and provincial government had been

the evolution of East Asian history.

A mighty “Christian” army of peasants and workers, led by a self-claimed younger brother of Jesus Christ, swept north to establish the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace in 1851. Taipings were the greatest threat to the dynasty’s survival, and hence the Qing rulers negotiated a settlement with the Foreign Devils in order to free the government and its generals to deal with the rebels. When the Taipings swept into a large number of provinces, the Confucian scholar-gentry spontaneously raised local militia to fight against the pseudo-Christian Taipings. The Manchu rulers had to make use of private Han Chinese armies in order to defeat the Taipings, and thus brought into existence the prototype of latter-day warlords.

The Qing managed to overthrow the Taipings with the help of foreigners and hundreds of local militia organized by the Han Chinese gentry to defend their homes and fields. The Manchu banner forces’ reputation for invincibility was completely lost.² The Banners with antique weapons and training were apparently useless as a fighting force, as clearly proved when the Qing emperor fled to Jehol with his family and the Summer Palace was put to the torch by the Allied invasion force in 1860.

By submitting to an unequal treaty system with the Western powers, whereby the Qing unilaterally surrendered the tariff autonomy and extraterritorial jurisdiction, and also by supporting the conservative Han Chinese scholar-generals in the provinces, the new progressive-minded leaders of both the Manchus and Han Chinese at Beijing managed to suppress peasant rebellions and give the Qing Empire a new lease on life.

The Qing rulers including Cixi, the Empress Dowager, were incapable of exerting positive leadership to introduce Western technologies and institutions, in striking contrast with the Meiji Restoration in Japan.³ The Qing court could not function as a modern central government at all. Westernization was left largely to the Chinese provincial authorities where the Han Chinese power had become dominant, and this put the Manchu court on the defensive. The toothless Qing empire was barely maintaining its livelihood by

undertaken, died suddenly at the age of eighteen, to be succeeded by her three year old nephew. See Spence (1990: 216-9) and Fairbank and Goldman (1992: 213).



15.2. Li Hong-zhang (1823-1901) negotiating a treaty with the Japanese officials after the Sino-Japanese War

⁴ Li Hong-zhang was born in An-hui province, started on his official career in 1844 in Beijing, and earned his terminal degree in the Confucian examinations in 1847. When the Taiping rebellion broke out, Li and his father, like many other Han Chinese gentry, organized a local militia to protect their native province. A governor general of central China was organizing irregular anti-Taiping forces in 1860, and Li joined his staff. Leading his private Anhui army, Li liberated Soochow and rescued Shanghai. Li began a 25-year term as governor-general of *Chihli*, the province surrounding Beijing; and as commissioner of trade for the northern ports in 1870. Li enjoyed independent military power and made energetic efforts to modernize the Qing Empire. Yuan Shi-kai was born from a landed military family of Henan Province. He was the first Han Chinese to hold a

vicerealty (of the metropolitan province) and to become a grand councilor without any academic qualification. He enjoyed the unflinching support of Ci-xi until her death in 1908.

Yuan began his career in the An-hui army, commanded by Li Hong-zhang, which was dispatched to Korea in 1882 to prevent the encroachment by Japan.

He was made the Qing commissioner at Seoul in 1885, and his activities there led to the Sino-Japanese War. He slipped out of Korea on July 17, 1894, and assumed the task of training a new Qing army equipped with modern rifles and artillery pieces.



15.3 Yuan Shi-kai (1859-1916)



15.4. Sun's Nan-jing Government, 1912

⁵ Jiang was born into a salt-merchant family of Zhe-jiang province. He entered an army school in North China in 1907, a military school (*Shimbu Gakko*) in Tokyo in 1908 where courses for Chinese students were paid for by the Qing government, and then served

relying on such Han Chinese protectors as Lee Hong-zhang and Yuan Shi-kai.⁴ The Qing rulers lost control of the country, which was dismembered by foreign powers.

Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 threw mainland China and the Korean peninsula into a decade of imperialist rivalries. In order to block the encroachment of Japan, the Qing court invited Russia into Manchuria, but Japan won the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, taking over southern Manchuria and the Korean peninsula.

Jiang Jieshi (1887-1975) joined the 1911 Revolution that led to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty.⁵ Yuan Shi-kai (r. 1912-6) negotiated the abdication of the Qing emperor with the revolutionaries, and emerged as president. Jiang also joined the 1915 Revolution against Yuan, who had declared his intention to become emperor.

THE QING RHETORIC OF "SINGLE FAMILY OF MANCHU AND HAN CHINESE"

After the Boxer Rebellion in 1898-1901 and the humiliations inflicted on the Qing court, many Han Chinese went to Japan for education and military training, and then formed the core of the anti-Manchu revolutionary force. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) could operate freely in Japan, plotting revolts against the Qing over a long period of time (after 1897 until 1907). Sun became the Provisional President of the Republic of China in Nan-jing on January 1, 1912, organized the Nationalist Party (*Guo-min-dang*, GMD) to unify all the republican factions, and then started to argue for multiracial national unity, flying the first five-barred republican flag (of red, yellow, blue, white, and black horizontal strips representing the Han Chinese, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Moslems, and the Tibetans).⁶

The Qing rhetoric of the "single family of Manchu and Han Chinese" may have been the source of inspiration for Sun to propose "the single family of the five races." According to Elliott (2001: 359-60), "the single family of the five races" strongly echoes the Qing formulation of empire, and corresponds to the five languages of the pentaglot *Wudi Qingwen-jian*, compiled at the order of the Qian-long emperor. Sun stated that: "The root of a nation is its people. National

unity means unifying the areas where Han Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Muslims, and Tibetans live as a single nation, and the union of these peoples as one people.”⁷ Jiang Jieshi later argued “five peoples,” denying that there were “five races” at all.

LENIN AND STALIN FINANCE THE GUO-MIN-DANG ARMY

Jiang began his public life in November 1917 by joining Sun Yat-sen’s GMD. Sun could reestablish his Southern Government at Guang-zhou in 1923. Sun’s chief concern was to reunify China, which had become divided among the warlords. In October 1923, Lenin sent Mikhail Borodin to Guang-zhou as the chief Comintern agent in China in order to reorganize the GMD coalition into a centralized and disciplined party organization, and to finance, train, and equip an entirely new GMD army on the Soviet model. The Chinese communists were to coordinate with GMD to become the central force of the revolution.

Sun sent Jiang to Moscow in September 1923 to study the Red Army. Jiang was not received by either Lenin or Stalin, but he met Trotsky and received advice from the Comintern. Jiang also learned the methods of Cheka, the Bolshevik organ of state security and organized terror. Jiang came back in three months to head the new Wham-poa Military Academy that was established in January 1924 on the Soviet model at the site of an old Manchu fort and naval training center on an island in the Pearl River. Stalin financed the Academy, sending Soviet instructors and Red Army generals as the military advisers.⁸

At that time, the GMD party itself was being organized on Leninist lines, bringing in a large number of communists, including a young man called Mao Ze-dong who headed the propaganda department.⁹ When Sun Yat-sen died in March 1925, Jiang succeeded him as leader of the GMD, and launched the Northern Expedition to the Yang-tz valley in the summer of 1926. Stalin, ignoring Zhou En-lai’s proposal for a Communist own army, supported Jiang until April 12, 1927 when he engineered a coup as the commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army and carried out a violent purge against the Communists.¹⁰ Jiang had let the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communists build a modern army for him to eliminate warlords and then fight the Communists.

in the Japanese 19th Field Artillery Regiment during 1909-11. Deserting his regiment, Jiang Jieshi sailed back to Shanghai in 1911 to join the revolution.

⁶ The real power, however, remained in the hands of Yuan Shi-kai in Beijing whose new army controlled North China. Yuan replaced Sun (on February 14) by joining the GMD himself, and making the child emperor abdicate (on February 12). Sun moved out of the presidential office on April 1, and by September was working for President Yuan as director of the national railroads.

⁷ 五族共和/ 五體清文鑒 See Elliott (2001: 359).

⁸ Jiang tried to instill discipline, bravery, authority, and austerity into his cadets, among them young Lin Piao. Borodin could not grasp the student-teacher loyalty bond in Asian society, and hence might have thought that Jiang could be disposed of later. Jiang became chief of staff of the GMD army, and the cadets formed the nucleus of Jiang’s personal officer staff.

Sun brought his brother-in-law T.V. Soong, the Harvard trained economist, from Shang-hai to reorganize the economy of Guang-dong Province. As the GMD Finance Minister, Soong established the Central Bank, and increased the government revenue ten times in two years without raising tax rates, by broadening the tax base and eliminating the “squeeze” by the middlemen.



15.5. Jiang Jieshi and Mao Je-dong

⁹ Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was born into a well-to-do peasant family in Hunan Province. Mao enlisted in the revolutionary army in 1911 to fight against the Qing dynasty. After graduating from a teacher's college, he worked as a school teacher and then a library assistant at Beijing University.

¹⁰ Zhou En-lai (1898-1976) was born to a gentry family, went to Japan in 1917 to study, returned to China in 1919 to participate in student movements, left for France under a work-study program in 1921, became a Communist, and returned to China in 1924 to become deputy director of the political department of the Wham-poa Military Academy 黄埔军官学校, and Borodin's secretary there.

¹¹ Jiang married Mei-ling --daughter of the Shanghai tycoon Charlie Soong and the younger sister of Qing-ling, wife of Sun Yat-sen-- in December 1927.

¹² See Eckert, et al. (1990: 322).

¹³ Soon after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the Tibetans began fighting for their independence until subdued by the PRC army in 1969.

Jiang's Northern Expedition in 1926-7 subdued more than thirty warlord forces in South China, terminating the warlord era of 1916-27. Jiang became the head of a new central government established at Nan-jing in 1928.¹¹ The Communists withdrew to the countryside and formed their own army and own government. By November 7, 1931 a communist soviet area was established in Jiang-xi with Mao heading its government. When Jiang was to renew a full-scale assault against the communists, the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1932, giving Mao a breathing space.

PUPPET MANZHOU-GUO ESTABLISHED BY THE JAPANESE

Japan had taken over the South Manchuria Railway and the leased territory on the Liao-dong peninsula from czarist Russia after the Russo-Japanese War. The staff officers of the Japanese Guan-dong Army engineered an attack on the Chinese garrison in Mukden (now Shen-yang) in September 1931 and, after occupying the whole of Manchuria (down to Shan-hai-guan) and a portion of Inner Mongolia, established the puppet Manzhou-guo in 1932. The province of Rehe (Jehol) was annexed in 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, and the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Pu-yi (r. 1908-11), was installed as the emperor of Manzhou-guo in March 1934.

Japan occupied Manchuria, but Jiang decided to fight against the communists first. After waging a series of battles against Jiang, Mao had to retreat with an army of 200,000 men in October 1934 from southeastern China to the northwestern mountains of Yan'an in what came to be known as the Long March of 1934-5. Communist forces retreated 6,000 miles into northern Shaan-xi province.

The Korean Communists found allies within the Chinese Communist movement in North China, while the Korean nationalists worked with the GMD with a 3,000-man Korean Restoration Army. By 1944, the Japanese mobilized as many as sixteen percent of the entire Korean population, amounting to about four million people, and relocated them outside Korea to serve their war effort.¹² In Manchuria, the number of Koreans had increased from about 0.8 million in the late 1920s to more than two million (out of the estimated

Manzhou-guo population of 43 million) by the early 1940s.

According to Fairbank and Goldman (1992: 312), “the Japanese historians saw” the full-fledged Japanese invasion of mainland China from 1937 to 1945 as “Japan following in the footsteps of the Manchu conquerors of 1644. ... But the times had changed.” The Japanese historians could not bring themselves to recognize that a tripolar East Asia had ceased to exist long time ago.

THE QING LEGACY: PRC AS A UNIFIED POLYETHNIC STATE

The Communist Party had been gaining local peasant support after the Long March. Mao Ze-dong had emerged as the undisputed leader of the Communist movement. Mao placed the peasantry rather than the proletariat in the vanguard of revolution. When war with Japan broke out in 1937, the Communist army cooperated with Jiang’s forces and with the Allies, but upon Japan’s surrender the Communists defied Jiang’s command. Civil War raged in China in the period 1946-49. Mao brought an end to the Nationalist rule at Nan-jing in April 1949. Jiang’s nationalist forces were routed and fled to Taiwan. The People’s Republic of China was established on October 1, 1949.

The PRC inherited the entire territories conquered by the Qing rulers together with the Manchu homeland itself, and successfully retained Tibet by its own effort at conquest.¹³ The PRC government pushed the idea of a “unified polyethnic state” (*Tong-yi Duo-min-zu Guo-jia* 統一多民族國家/多元一體格局), stating that the PRC is “a state in which many nationalities are united,” and promising equality between the Han Chinese and all of the fifty-five minority nationalities.¹⁴

The Manchu had initiated the redefinition of the Chinese people, the Chinese nation, and the Chinese territory, apparently preferring the concept of “national family” dominated by the Manchu. The former peoples of the Qing dominions became the modern Chinese people. The People’s Republic of China has attempted to redefine the Chinese people, the modern Chinese nation, and the Chinese territory possibly preferring the concept of “national family” dominated by the Han Chinese, believing in eventual sinicization, culturally and genetically. The Han Chinese have sustained



15.6. Emperor Pu-yi (top: 1934) visits Emperor Hirohito (bottom: 1935; Tokyo)

¹⁴ See Elliott (2001: 160).

¹⁵ Ostler (2005: 138) notes that the Altaic words, “at least the nouns and verbs, are built up ... of strings of short elements. ... they make use of extensive use of the principle of vowel harmony, so that vowels in the suffixes echo the vowels of the word’s root. Their word order places the verb at the end of the sentence. In all these respects, they are radically different from Chinese, a monosyllabic tone language with little or no word formation, and a basic order in which the verb comes second in the sentence.”



15.6. Dialects of Chinese: Mandarin
官話方言：華北，西北，西南，江淮
(Blunden and Elvin, 1998: 179)

¹⁶ Okada (1992). See also Elliott (2001: 101, 414) and Hashimoto (1986).

¹⁷ According to Janhunen (1996: 167), “to a certain degree, it is also possible to view Mandarin 北京官話 as a mixed language of the pidgin type, for during its early history many of its users were actually native speakers of various Manchurian languages. As a second language, Mandarin was apparently used not only for communication between the Northern Barbarians and the Han Chinese, but also between the different Manchurian ethnic groups themselves. One of the first regions where a need for the interethnic functions of Mandarin arose

continuous Xianbei-Tungus attacks and rule, but it was the the people from Manchuria rather than the Han Chinese who have lost their cultural and ethnic identity.

According to Elliott (2001: 361), the modern Chinese national myth is that China is “a grand harmony of many lands and many peoples unified under the name *zhong-hua* 中華,” and the foundation of this myth “rests in the specific territorial and ethnic legacy left by nearly three centuries of Manchu rule.”

THE MANDARIN MAY WELL BE CHARACTERIZED AS A MANCHURIAN LANGUAGE!

The early forms of the Chinese language belong to the Tibeto-Sinitic type, characterized by features such as monosyllabic morpheme structure, tonal distinctions, and absence of morphology. The Altaic languages are characterized by a predominantly polysyllabic morpheme structure, absence of tones, and a highly developed suffixal morphology.¹⁵ The 267-year rule (1644-1911) of the mainland China by the Qing dynasty, however, not only fostered the sinicization of Manchurian languages, but also the Altaicization of Chinese.

In 317, the Han Chinese Jin rulers took refuge in the south. It then took 301 years for the Tang to begin ruling unified China in 618 (following the short-lived Sui dynasty). In 1126, the Han Chinese Song rulers took refuge in the south, and it then took 242 years for the Ming to begin ruling unified China in 1368 (following the Mongol Yuan). Linguists should have noticed the presence of the Northern Chinese dialect with Altaic typology long before the Ming period (1368-1644).

In an article with the rather provocative title of “Mandarin, a Language of the Manchus: How Altaic?,” Okada contends that “the Mandarin dialect of Beijing in Qing times ... was a strongly Altaicized form of Chinese.”¹⁶

The Mandarin was carried from the Laio River basin to Beijing by the Qing dynasty. It was the only language with which the Manchus and the Han Chinese banner men could communicate with each other. A northern variety of the Chinese language had apparently adopted Altaic typology, and was polished through the ethnically unifying banner system. One might say that Mandarin was formed upon an Altaic substrate (i.e., an Altaic underlying layer).¹⁷

Mandarin is today the Sinitic language characterized by the least number of tones and the largest share of polysyllabic vocabulary, with a tendency towards suffixal morphology and syntactic constructions of the Altaic type.¹⁸ This structural transformation has been termed the Altaicization of Chinese. Thus Janhunen (1996: 164-8) concludes that, with some exaggeration, Mandarin can even be characterized as a Manchurian language.

2. The Korean War Consolidates the PRC, Embracing Fifty-five Minority Nationalities

A TRANSIENT MULTI-POLAR WORLD

After 1800, the Chosun court was ruled by powerful clans and royal in-law families, who were enriching themselves at public expense and exploiting the peasantry. Local officials and functionaries had also indulged in extorting the farm population in their charge. In the late nineteenth century, however, there appeared conspicuous signs of Korean society beginning to reform along the Western and Meiji Japanese lines, but it was apparently too late to prevent the encroachment of Japan, already enjoying all the advantages of the early bird.

In 1853, U.S. Commodore Perry and his fleet arrived off the coast of Japan and forced the Tokugawa shogunate (1600-1867) to open up the nation. The Japanese people threw out the shogunate, gathered together under the authority of the imperial court, and commenced westernization-cum-industrialization in the name of Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), emulating the Western colonialism and imperialism.

As prime minister for the second time, Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909) led Japan to victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), acquiring Taiwan and Liao-dong peninsula from the Qing court and extracting various concessions from Chosun, a rather unfortunate latecomer in the westernization race.¹⁹

In 1903, Czarist Russia had offered the Japanese the exclusive right in the Korean peninsula below the 39th parallel and neutralization of the area north of it. The offer was rejected by the Imperialist Japanese. Japan achieved victory in

must have been the Liao-dong Peninsula, where speakers of Korean, Ruzhen, Qidan and Mongol may have had no other common language than Chinese. With the expansion of the Qing dynasty, the Liao-dong variety of Mandarin was taken to Beijing.”

¹⁸ Ostler (2005: 145) notes that :

“Mandarin Chinese can distinguish *wǒmen* ‘we (我们) excluding you’, from *zānmen*, ‘we (咱们) including you’, just as Mongol and Manchu do ... And ... one can point to the absence of consonant clusters ... Altaic languages cannot abide more than one consonant at the beginning of a syllable. ... and strings of previously free monosyllables became congealed into longer words.” Ostler (2005: 146) further notes that: in Mandarin “there is still a tendency for direct objects to occur rather often before the verb, and *than*-phrases to occur before comparative adjectives, features that might be attributed to Altaic influence.”



15.7. The First Japanese Embassy to Paris in 1862-3.

¹⁹ Itō Hirobumi was born in a modest samurai family of the present-day

Yamaguchi Prefecture at the western end of the Japanese mainland. Rising to the post of prime minister four times, he played a crucial role in the rapid westernization of Japan. He was sent to England in 1863 by the leaders of Chōshū to study Western naval science. He took government assignments to the U.S. in 1870 and the Mission to Europe during 1871-73 to study taxation, budgetary systems and treaty matters. He joined the group formed to study constitutions in Germany during 1882-83. He served as the first prime minister during 1885-88, helped draft the Meiji constitution in 1889, and brought about the establishment of the national Diet in 1890. The Meiji constitution made the Privy Council (council of the emperor's senior advisers) and the military above the law and answerable only to the emperor himself, bypassing the bureaucracy and legislature, and inviting unfortunate consequences for the Japanese and their neighbors. Itō became prime minister for the second time in 1892-6, and fourth time in 1900-1. When he became prime minister for the third time in 1898, he dissolved the Diet but could not win an absolute majority. Ito resigned, only to appear in China on September 11, 1898 to give the Qing emperor advice on the process and methods of Reform.

²⁰ About 7,500 persons were killed, 15,000 injured, and 45,000 were arrested by the Japanese armed forces.

See Eckert, et al. (1990: 279).

the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), taking over Russia's leases in Port Arthur and Dalian, as well as its control of Manchurian railways, and making Chosun a Japanese protectorate. Itō became Resident General in Korea in 1906, a position directly under the Korean king. Itō was in charge of diplomatic affairs at first, but eventually of the entire internal administration of the nation as well. Itō was shot at the Harbin railroad station in 1909 by a Korean, Ahn Chung-keun. General Terauchi, the war minister in the Japanese cabinet, effected the planned annexation of Korea, and in 1910 became the first Governor-General. Korea, which had never experienced a foreign conquest dynasty, became a colony of Japan.

Eckert, et al. (1990: 334) notes: "although the United States had been the first Western nation to sign a formal diplomatic treaty with Korea in 1882, it had also been the first foreign embassy to leave in November 1905 after the Japanese had forced the Koreans to sign a protectorate treaty. This policy of acquiescence in the Japanese seizure of Korea had been formalized in the Taft-Katsura Memorandum of 1905, by which Japan had agreed, in turn, to respect America's control of the Philippines."

Wilson became the President of the United States (1913-21), and enumerated the Fourteen Points in January 1918 declaring that the principle of humanism, respect for the self-determination of peoples, and international cooperation must become the basis of a new era of world peace. Wilson lifted the spirits of colonized peoples around the world by emphasizing national autonomy and self-determination. Massive demonstrations for independence erupted in Korea on March 1, 1919 and sparked a nation-wide movement in the following months.²⁰

The world powers including the United States, however, possessed their own colonies and hence ignored the Korean independence movement. Syng-man Rhee was elected president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea established at Shanghai in 1919.²¹ He held that post for 20 years until pushed out by nationalists centered in China. At the Cairo Conference of December 1, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Jiang Jieshi stated that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

AT THE PERIPHERY OF A BIPOLAR WORLD

In August 1945, in the final days of World War II, the Americans and Soviets agreed to take the 38th parallel as the dividing line of the Korean peninsula between Soviet and U.S. occupation zones. On May 10, 1948, a general election was carried out in the South under the auspices of United Nations, and the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established on August 15 with 73-year-old Rhee Syng-man as president. Stalin established a Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North on September 9, 1948 with 33-year-old Kim Il-sung as the chief of state.²²

Kim Il-sung broached the possibility of a military invasion of the South with Stalin in March, 1949. Kim tried to persuade Stalin that a popular uprising in the South would immediately be triggered by the invasion. NATO was formed in April, 1949. Stalin did not reject Kim's idea in principle but, even after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South in June, kept encouraging his client to pursue guerrilla warfare.²⁰ Between June and September, Kim indeed dispatched 1,200 specifically-trained fighters across the 38th parallel to intensify the on-going communist guerrilla war in the South, but most of the organized guerrilla units were eventually wiped out by the ROK army.²³

“THE WAR WASN'T STALIN'S IDEA, BUT KIM'S”

In his memoirs, Nikita Khrushchev (1971: 400-1) recalls that: “at the end of 1949, Kim Il-sung arrived with his delegation to hold consultations with Stalin. The North Koreans wanted to prod South Korea with the point of a bayonet. Kim said that the first poke would touch off an internal explosion in South Korea. ... Naturally Stalin couldn't oppose this idea. ... Stalin persuaded Kim that he should think it over, make some calculations, and then come back with a concrete plan.”²⁴

On January 12, 1950, the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, made a speech in the National Press Club stating that the U.S. would not guarantee areas beyond Japan, the Ryukyus and the Philippines against military attack, a position that placed Korea outside the U.S. defense perimeter. According to

²¹ Syng-man Rhee was born in 1875. He completed a traditional classical education and then entered an American Methodist high-school in Seoul where he learned English. In 1896, he joined the Independence Society to reform the monarchy and repel the Japan's colonial designs, but ended up in prison between 1898 and 1904 for supporting the idea of a popularly elected national assembly. On his release, he went to the United States, where he received a B.A. from George Washington University in 1907 (studying humanities and social sciences), an M.A. from Harvard University in 1908 (studying international relations and history), and a Ph.D in international law from the department of political science, Princeton University, in 1910, the same year that Japan annexed Korea. His thesis was titled “Neutrality as Influenced by the United States” and was published by the Princeton University Press. He was a close friend of President Woodrow Wilson's family. Rhee came back to Korea in 1910, but fearing arrest by the Japanese colonial rulers, he fled to the U.S. in 1912. Rhee met the Democratic candidate for president and his former teacher, Woodrow Wilson, in an effort to gain his support for Korea, but Wilson told Rhee that international intervention to gain Korea's independence from Japan was inappropriate. See Burton I. Kaufman.

²² Kim Il-sung was born in 1912, and his family moved to Manchuria in 1919.

When Japan occupied Manchuria in 1932, Kim joined guerrilla resistance against the Japanese. Kim escaped from the Japanese extermination campaigns to the Soviet Far East sometime in 1939 or 1940, and led a Korean contingent as a captain in the Soviet Army. See Goncharov, Lewis, and Lita (1993: 131).

²³ See Stueck (1995: 30-1) and Goncharov, Lewis, and Lita (1993: 135-6). According to Suh (1988: 121), more than 3,000 guerrillas were sent south from September 1949 to March 1950.

²⁴ Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, commentary by Edward Crankshaw, translated by Strobe Talbott (1971). Stueck (2002: 2-3) notes that their legitimacy and/or accuracy was questioned in some circles.



15.8. T. F. Shtykov, Kim Jeong-suk, Kim Il-sung, Park Heon-yung's bride & Park

²⁵ See Goncharov, Lewis, and Lita (1993: 213-4, 136-7, and 138-54). **Ciphered Telegram** from Shtykov to Vishinsky, January 19, 1950: "Kim stated that when he was in Moscow, Comrade Stalin said to him ... in case of an attack on the north of the country

Gaddis (2005: 42), Stalin read the speech carefully, as well as (courtesy of British spies) the top-secret NSC study upon which it was based, and authorized his foreign minister, Molotov, to discuss it with Mao Ze-dong. Stalin then informed Kim that the prevailing mood in the U.S. was not to interfere, and Kim in turn assured Stalin that "the war will be won in three days (ibid: 42)." Two months later, in April, Kim visited Moscow again, together with Park Heon-yung, the leader of the South Korean Communists. Stalin gave approval to Kim's invasion of South Korea on condition of obtaining the approval of Mao also. Kim made a trip to Beijing in mid-May and obtained Mao's full support.²⁵

Khrushchev remembers it this way (ibid: 401-2): "Kim went home, and then returned to Moscow when he had worked everything out. He told Stalin he was absolutely certain of success. I remember Stalin had his doubts. He was worried that the Americans would jump in, but we were inclined to think that if the war were fought swiftly—and Kim was sure that it would be won swiftly-- then intervention by the USA could be avoided. Nevertheless, Stalin decided to ask Mao's opinion about Kim's suggestion. ... Mao also answered affirmatively. He approved Kim's suggestion and put forward the opinion that the USA would not intervene since the war would be an internal matter... We [the Soviets] had already been giving arms to North Korea for some time. It was obvious that they would receive the requisite quantity of tanks, artillery, rifles, machine guns, engineering equipment, and antiaircraft weapons."

According to Suh (1988: 112, 121), the key factors that have contributed to Kim's decision to attack South Korea were the U.S. troop withdrawal, the success of the Chinese Communists in mainland China, and the Acheson declaration regarding the U. S. defense perimeter in Asia. Furthermore, Park Heon-yung, a founding member of the first Korean Communist Party in 1925 and the undisputed leader of the Korean Communist movement who had to flee to the north in 1946, assured Kim that some 200,000 loyal followers of his organizations in the South would rise up once the invasion began. Kim also believed that the war would be won too swiftly for the U.S. army to return to the Korean peninsula.

Kim had been trying to undermine the legitimacy of the Rhee regime by amplifying the stigma of collaboration of key figures of its government with the Japanese during their occupation of Korea, and tried to rid the U.S. and her forces from the minds of the South Korean people by propagating nationalism and the danger of colonial enslavement under American imperialism. The U.S. military forces had finished their withdrawal on June 29, 1949. Kim, on the other hand, had been proposing a peaceful unification from June 1949 until June 19, 1950, six days before the invasion (see Suh, 1988: 105, 113, 120).

Stalin had been providing Kim with planes, heavy artillery and tanks, while Mao was handing over 40,000 veteran Korean soldiers in the ranks of the Communist Chinese army. In May, Stalin dispatched a new team of Soviet army officers to finalize the details of the invasion plan.²⁶ The heavily armed 200,000-man North Korean army unleashed an attack on the lightly armed 100,000-man South Korean army at 4:00 a.m. on June 25, 1950.

Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 401-2): “I must stress that the war wasn’t Stalin’s idea, but Kim’s. Kim was the initiator. Stalin, of course, didn’t try to dissuade him. ... I don’t condemn Stalin for encouraging Kim. ... We wished every success to Kim and toasted the whole North Korean leadership, looking forward to the day when their struggle would be won.”

General MacArthur remembers (1964: 328, 330): “The South Koreans had four divisions along the 38th Parallel. They ... were equipped and organized as a constabulary force, not as troops of the line. ... The decision ... had been made by the State Department. The argument advanced ... was that it was a necessary measure to prevent the South Koreans from attacking North Korea.”²⁷

The Soviet explosion of an atomic device in August, 1949 had ended the American atomic monopoly. There followed the expulsion of Jiang Jieshi from mainland China, and the concentration of Communist Chinese forces along the border of Indochina, where the French were waging a losing battle against the Viet Minh.²⁸ Communist rebels stepped up pressure on British Malaya and the pro-U.S. Philippines. Now

by the army of Rhee Syngman, then it is possible to go on the counteroffensive to the south of Korea.

But since Rhee Syngman is still not instigating an attack, it means that the liberation of the people of the southern part of the country and the unification of the country are drawn out, that Kim thinks that he needs again to visit Comrade Stalin and receive an order and permission for offensive action by the People’s Army for the purpose of the liberation of the people of Southern Korea. Further Kim said that he himself cannot begin an attack, because he is a communist, a disciplined person and for him the order of Comrade Stalin is law.”

Kaufman (1999: 120)

Ciphered Telegram from Stalin to Shtykov, January 30, 1950: “...he must understand that such a large matter in regard to South Korea such as he wants to undertake needs large preparation. The matter must be organized so that there would not be too great a risk.” Kaufman (1999: 121)

²⁶ See Stueck (1995: 62). About 10,000 of these veteran soldiers were from the 166th Division of Communist Chinese Army and designated as the 6th Division, the 1st Corps of the North Korean Army that took Seoul in three days. See Noh (2000: 411).

²⁷ See Douglas MacArthur (1964). MacArthur was born in 1880 as the son of a general who had won the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Civil War and later served as

commander of the Philippine Islands. MacArthur served as aide to Theodore Roosevelt, and commanded a brigade during World War I, being made a brigadier general at the end of the war. In 1930, he was named by Herbert Hoover as chief of staff of the army. He retired from the army in 1937, but was recalled by Franklin D. Roosevelt to active duty in 1941, named Supreme Commander of the Southwest Pacific Theatre, and then appointed by Truman as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan in September, 1945. He drafted a constitution for Japan, allowing Hirohito to remain as emperor.

²⁸ As the result of Sino-French War (1883-5), French colonial rule had been substituted for Chinese suzerainty over An-nam. Ho Chi-minh founded the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930, believing in the importance of the revolutionary role of oppressed peasants. He stayed in Yan'an for a few months in 1938 with Mao.



15.9. Syng-man Rhee and MacArthur

²⁹ Park Heon-yung, the leader of Communist operation in South Korea,

the North Korean invasion across the 38th parallel thrust the Korean peninsula into global center stage.

Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 402-3): “when Kim was preparing for his march, Stalin called back all our advisors who were with the North Korean divisions and regiments.... I asked Stalin about this, and he snapped back at me, ‘It’s too dangerous to keep our advisors there. They might be taken prisoner. We don’t want there to be evidence for accusing us of taking part in this business. It’s Kim’s affair.’ ... The designated hour arrived and the war began. The attack was launched successfully. The North Koreans swept south swiftly. But what Kim had predicted—an internal uprising after the first shots were fired and Syng-man Rhee was overthrown—unfortunately failed to materialize.”²⁹

On June 28, the North Korean forces occupied Seoul, and on July 1 proclaimed a general conscription, dragging young men from the streets of South Korean cities into the North Korean army.

The first contingent of the U.S. Eighth Army, the Smith Company of the 24th Division, landed at Pusan on July 1st. Stalin had never wanted to fight the U.S. army in the Korean Peninsula. On July 4, Stalin made Kim the supreme commander of the North Korean army, and cleared himself and the Soviet Union out of the war. Few people have paid attention to the fact that Kim became the Supreme Commander only ten days after the date of invasion. From that date on, Kim had to handle the fighting against the UN forces until he handed the command over to Peng De-huai on October 24th, 1950, months after the complete destruction of the North Korean army.

TRUMAN BELIEVED THAT APPEASEMENT WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

Truman believed that appeasement *à la* the Munich Agreement of 1938 would only lead to further communist aggression, and hence made a swift decision to send the U.S. troops to Korea. Truman approved the dispatch of the U.S. army, and acquired a Security Council resolution to send in UN forces by June 28.³⁰ General MacArthur inspected the Han River frontier on June 29, and the first contingent of the U.S.

army landed on Pusan on July 1. MacArthur was selected on July 14 to command the UN forces. The ROK-U.S. forces managed to form a defense perimeter along the Nak-tong River in the southeastern corner of the peninsula. Jiang Jieshi offered to send the Nationalist Chinese troops to join the UN forces. The world speculated on a vast Asiatic Dunkirk.

The American forces might have had to abandon the perimeter altogether had it not been for a brilliant maneuver by MacArthur. On July 23, MacArthur (1964: 346) cabled Washington: "Operation planned mid-September is amphibious landing of a two division corps in rear of enemy lines for purpose of enveloping and destroying enemy forces in conjunction with attack from south by Eighth Army. I am firmly convinced that early and strong effort behind his front will sever his main lines of communications and enable us to deliver a decisive and crushing blow. The alternative is a frontal attack which can only result in a protracted and expensive campaign."

MacArthur's ingenuous amphibious landing operation at Inchon on September 15 trapped the North Korean army below the 38th parallel, and completely reversed the tide of war. The UN forces began advancing almost unopposed into North Korea. According to Gaddis (2005: 43-5), Stalin was shocked by this sequence of events, and was on the verge of accepting a lost war, even the prospect of the Americans occupying North Korea itself. "So what," Stalin commented wearily. "Let it be. Let the Americans be our neighbors."

It was Mao who decided to intervene with 300,000 troops to rescue Kim. According to Gaddis (2005: 45), Mao had told his advisers early in August: "We should not fail to assist the Koreans. We must lend them our hands in the form of sending our military volunteers there."³¹ According to Gaddis (ibid.), Mao for a time had difficulty convincing his own advisers, a fact that led Stalin, early in October, to tell Kim that he would have to evacuate North Korea altogether: "Shortly thereafter, though, Mao prevailed, and so was able to inform the Russians and the North Koreans that the Chinese would be soon coming to the rescue."

Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 405): "Zhou En-lai had flown to see Stalin on the instructions of Mao. By this time the

"would have preferred a popular uprising to a military conquest to reclaim his leadership in the South, but since his followers and his underground agents were all arrested in the South, Park would have to agree to military action. ... Park is alleged to have told Kim that once the Korean People's Army started a military action to liberate the South, some 200,000 loyal followers of his organizations in the south would rise up and overthrow the South Korean Regime. Kim [on February 8, 1963] ... told ... that Park was a liar and there had not been even 1,000 members, let alone 200,000 (see Suh, 1988, p. 121)."



15.10. D. MacArthur and H. Truman

³⁰ Harry Truman was born in 1884 in Missouri, and operated a family farm and then a shop until 1921. Truman was elected to the Senate in 1934, picked by Roosevelt as vice-president, and then elevated to the presidency in April 1945 on Roosevelt's death in office. Truman made the decisions to drop the atomic bombs against Japan,

implement the Marshall Plan in 1947, overcome the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948 with massive airlifts, and build the H-bomb in January 1950. On December 1, 1950 (*New York Times*), Truman even made a statement that he would not rule out the possibility of using atomic weapons. The U.S., however, had possessed only 298 atomic bombs at that time, a number deemed insufficient to prosecute a Third World War if that were to come about. After leaving the presidency in January 1953, he returned to his home in Missouri, and lived another twenty years in quiet retirement, reading military history and giving talks to college students.

³¹ Gaddis (2005: 45) notes that Mao had supported the invasion of South Korea, anticipated the Inchon landing and warned Kim to be ready for it, and had begun moving troops from the China coast opposite Taiwan up to the North Korean border. According to Goncharov, Lewis, and Litai (1993: 216), however, it was Stalin who asked Mao to rescue Kim, promising air cover for the Chinese troops and even direct Soviet involvement should the Chinese be defeated.



15.11. Mao and Stalin

North Korean army was nearly decimated. Zhou asked Stalin whether Chinese troops ought to be moved into North Korean territory in order to block the path of the Americans and South Koreans. ... Then they agreed that China should give active support to North Korea. Chinese troops were already stationed along the border. Stalin and Zhou believed these troops could manage the situation completely. ... Zhou En-lai flew back to Beijing. He was Mao's most influential and most brilliant advisor, and Stalin regarded him with respect. We all considered him a bright, flexible, and up-to-date man with whom we could talk seriously."

WAR BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was born in Georgia, and came to power in 1924 following the death of Vladimir Lenin. In July, 1918, Woodrow Wilson had decided to send allied forces, including the Japanese troops that eventually numbered 70,000 men, to Vladivostok in order to support the counterrevolutionary forces and the 50,000 Czechoslovak troops, as well, that had deserted the Austrian armies to join the czarist forces and then moved eastward to get to the Allied front in Europe via Vladivostok. During 1918-20, the U.S. government had sent 9,000 troops to Siberia as part of an allied expeditionary force to support the Counter-Bolshevik Revolution in the Russian Far East, and it was only in 1933 that the U.S. recognized the new Soviet Union.³²

Stalin believed that a Third World War between communism and capitalism was inevitable, but he wanted to determine the time and place for the final showdown. Unification of the Korean Peninsula by Kim would provide a springboard for an invasion of Japan, but Stalin did not want the Korean War to become the main battleground between the Soviet Union and the U.S.; Europe within one or two decades, Stalin thought, was the right place to deliver the death blow to world imperialism. Stalin did not want to see Mao improving relations with the U.S. and achieving a hegemonic role in East Asia. The progress in the Korean War had to be carefully manipulated as to let Mao carry the greatest part of the burden of diverting the U.S. forces from Europe to Asia and at the same time burn Mao's bridges to West.³³

On October 19, about 200,000 "Chinese People's

Volunteer Army” started to cross the Yalu River.³⁴ Mao’s elder son was killed by a bomb attack on November 25. On November 29, MacArthur wired Washington, urgently recommending the incorporation of the Chinese Nationalist troops into UN command. On January 4, 1951, the UN forces lost Seoul once again. The Soviet air force did not enter operations until January 10, 1951.³⁵

MacArthur (1964: 378) received the following message from the Joint Chiefs of Staff: “if thereafter the Chinese Communists mass large forces against your positions with an evident capability of forcing us out of Korea, it then would be necessary under these conditions to direct you to commence a withdrawal to Japan.” Mao began entertaining the idea of wiping out the ROK forces and expelling the U.S. army from the peninsula, but General Ridgway, who took command of the Eighth Army on December 26, 1950 following the accidental death of General Walker, could stabilize the defense line and began limited offensives.³⁶ With the failure of the Fifth Offensive, that was launched from April to June in 1951, Mao arrived at the conclusion that it would be impossible to win the war. Stalin stationed 12 air force divisions in Manchuria on rotation, and the Soviet air force commander later boasted to have shot down 1,300 American airplanes during the War, at a loss of 345 Soviet fighter planes.³⁷

Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 406): “China didn’t declare war but simply sent volunteers into Korea. These troops were commanded by Peng De-huai, whom Mao held in the highest esteem. ... Peng gave his situation reports to Mao. ... declared categorically that the enemy would be surrounded and finished off by decisive flanking strikes. ... Unfortunately, the war wasn’t ended quickly at all. The Chinese suffered many huge defeats. ... The war began to draw out. As the two sides dug in, the fighting became bloodier and bloodier. The fronts seemed to be stabilizing.”

Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 393 and 232): “The Americans had the atomic bomb, and they knew we didn’t. ... To make matters worse, the President at that time was Truman, who had neither an ounce of statesmanship nor a flexible mind and who was hostile and spiteful toward the Soviet Union. I can’t imagine how anyone ever considered Truman worthy of

³² See Eckert, et al. (1990: 333).

³³ See Goncharov, Lewis, and Litai (1993: 207, 210 and 212).

³⁴ “For Kim the war ended as early as October 1950 when the Chinese volunteers took over the fight. ... they ... demanded that Kim stay clear of their management of the war. ... Peng is alleged to have told Kim that the Korean War was a fight between himself and General MacArthur, and Kim had no part in it.” See Suh (1988: 137).

³⁵ See Chen (1994: 289).



15.12. Peng De-huai and Kim Il-sung

³⁶ Chen (2001: 85) notes that: “When China entered the Korean War in October 1950, Mao Zedong and the Beijing leadership intended to win a glorious victory by driving the Americans out of Korea. Nine months later the cruel reality of the battlefield forced the Beijing leadership to adjust this goal.”

³⁷ See B. C. Noh (2000: 175).

³⁸ Khrushchev remembers (ibid: 232-3): “I frequently heard Stalin speak about Eisenhower’s noble characteristics in conversations with his inner circle. [On

the final days of World War II] ... The Germans had concentrated their forces against us as they prepared to surrender to the Americans and British. Stalin appealed to Eisenhower ... Eisenhower then held his troops back and halted their offensive, thus allowing our troops to take Berlin. If he hadn't done this, Berlin would have been occupied by the Americans before we reached it, in which case, as Stalin said, the question of Germany might have been decided differently and our own position might have turned out quite a bit worse. ... Stalin ... made a similar request to Churchill. The Germans were fleeing from Rokossovsky and surrendering to the English in a region occupied by Montgomery. ... said Stalin ... 'Montgomery took them all, and he took their arms. So the fruits of our victory over the Germans were being enjoyed by Montgomery!' ... Whenever I had dealings with Eisenhower in later years, I always remembered these actions of his during the war."

³⁹ MacArthur returned home giving the much publicized speech on April 19, 1951 to a joint session of the U.S. Congress. He lived in seclusion at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City until 1964.

⁴⁰ See Noh (2000: 400) for the number of atomic bombs. The son of James Van Fleet, who assumed the command of Eighth Army on April 11, 1951, was killed by the Soviet air attack.

the Vice-Presidency, much less the Presidency. ... Stalin had no respect at all for Truman. ... Truman didn't deserve respect. This is a fact."³⁸

MacArthur remembers (1964: 384): "I now began to formulate long-range plans for destroying the Chinese forces in Korea. My decisive objective would be their supply lines. ... I would sever Korea from Manchuria by laying a field of radioactive wastes across all the major lines of enemy supply. ... Then, reinforced by Nationalist Chinese troops ... and with American reinforcement on the way, I would make simultaneous amphibious and airborne landings at the upper end of both coasts of North Korea."

By the middle of March, the UN forces reached the 38th parallel. MacArthur believed that the Cold War would be won or lost in the Korean War. He wanted to bomb Manchuria and use the Chinese Nationalist forces in Korea. Congressman Martin released the letter from MacArthur dated March 20 that contended: "if we lose the war to Communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable... There is no substitute for victory." MacArthur was sacked for insubordination on April 11, 1951 and replaced by Ridgway. Truman relieved MacArthur of his command because of his adhesion to expanding the scope of war, a position strongly opposed by Winston Churchill.³⁹

The truce negotiation that began on July 10, 1951 dragged on. Japan regained independence by signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty of September 8, 1951. The communists behaved like a victor at the truce talks, and the war of attrition continued.

A NUCLEAR ULTIMATUM FOR A QUICK CONCLUSION OF TRUCE NEGOTIATION

General Dwight Eisenhower had served MacArthur as an aide. Eisenhower was elected president in 1952 with the implicit promise of ending what had become a most unpopular war, the Korean War, as quickly as possible. His son John was fighting in the War as a lieutenant. In less than a month after taking office in January, Eisenhower raised the nuclear option at a meeting of the NSC. By this time, the U.S. had stockpiled 1,161 atomic bombs, deemed enough to wage a Third World War, if necessary.⁴⁰ Secretary of State John Dulles delivered a

nuclear ultimatum to Mao through Premier Nehru of India to coerce the Communists into a quick conclusion of truce negotiations.

Stalin died on March 5, 1953. Rhee, on the other hand, hindered the truce talks by releasing, on June 18, 1953, the 26,930 anti-Communist prisoners of war who did not want to return to the North.⁴¹ On July 4, the communist negotiators agreed to the provision of returning POWs on a voluntary basis only. Rhee, after winning some major concessions from the U.S., including a mutual defense pact, promised not to disrupt the truce talks any more. On July 27, the ceasefire was agreed to and implemented.⁴²

KOREAN WAR CONSOLIDATES THE NEWLY BORN PRC

Ledyard (1983: 335) contends that: “It is striking that the first foreign excursion of the Chinese army after consolidation of its political victory in 1949 was an invasion of Korea, as if Han Wu-di, Tang Tai-zong, and Ming’s Hong-wu emperor were all together down in the prompter’s box voicing out the script. ... Their object ... was to keep the Americans at a safe distance from their Manchurian frontier and to make sure that the state that bordered ‘Northeast’ (*Dongbei*: the term ‘Manchuria’ was no longer used) was friendly and supportive of its goals.”

According to Chen (1994: 220-3), “China’s participation in the war caused the loss of tens of thousands of its soldiers on the battlefield, forced the expenditures of billions of dollars on military purposes at the expense of China’s economic reconstruction, prevented Beijing from recovering Taiwan... But from Mao’s perspective, China’s gain was considerable. China’s involvement in the Korean War stimulated a series of political and social revolution in China that would have been otherwise inconceivable during the early stage of the new republic. During the three years of the war, along with the ‘Great Movement to Resist America and Assist Korea’...CCP had effectively strengthened its organizational control of Chinese society and dramatically increased its authority in the minds of the Chinese people... Mao was therefore more confident and enthusiastic than ever before to take a series of new steps to transform China, including the

⁴¹ Stueck (2002: 172-4) notes that: “Zhou En-lai initiated exploration of possible concessions on the POW issue, but ... Stalin advised firmness on the POW issue, Mao offered no dissent. ... Stalin consistently advised Mao to take a tough position in the armistice talks. At the same time, the Soviet premier always showed determination to avoid direct Soviet embroilment with the Americans over Korea. ... What is certain is that Stalin’s successors moved quickly to advocate moves to end the war, and the Chinese offered no resistance.”

⁴² By the time of the ceasefire, approximately 200,000 North Korean soldiers, 250,000 Communist Chinese soldiers (being reduced from the peak of 300,000), 600,000 South Korean soldiers, and 300,000 U.S. soldiers were present in the Korean peninsula. About 60,000 to 180,000 South Korean soldiers and 54,000 to 100,000 American soldiers were killed and wounded, while 520,000 North Korean soldiers and 360,000 Communist Chinese soldiers were estimated to have been either killed or wounded. Total human casualties are estimated at more than 3 million. See Noh (2000), pp. 133, 146, 372, and 401. According to Gaddis (2005: 50), 36,568 Americans died in combat, and it is likely that some 600,000 Chinese troops and well over 2 million Koreans, civilians and military personnel, perished during the three years of fighting.

⁴³ Chen continues: "They could not forget that as the result of Stalin's 'betrayal' at a crucial junction, China had to begin military operations in Korea without Soviet air support ... As a result, Mao and the other Beijing leaders would put more emphasis on 'self-reliance'... the prelude of the future Sino-Soviet split."

⁴⁴ Park Chung-hee was born in 1917 into an impoverished rural family. He graduated from the Taegu Teacher's School in 1937, and taught briefly in a primary school. Park entered the Manchu-guo Military Academy in March 1940, joining a class composed of 240 Japanese, 229 Manchurian Chinese, and 11 Koreans, taught by fewer than 10 Japanese instructors. Among the graduates of this class, the entire 240 Japanese students and 70 non-Japanese, including Park, entered the Japanese Military Academy in October 1942. After graduating the Academy on April 20, 1944, Park returned to Manchuria to serve from July as a second lieutenant and an aide to Commander Tang in the 4,000-man strong 8th Group of the Manchu-guo Army stationed at Rehe. When the Soviet army began attacking the Japanese army on August 9, 1945, the 8th Group decided to go over to the KMD army and surrender. The Korean officers and soldiers were incorporated into the Korean Independence Army. Lieutenant Park served 8 months as a company leader. Park returned home in May, 1946, and became a second

collectivization of agriculture, the nationalization of industry, the anti-rightist campaign, and the Great Leap Forward. ... The Korean War also symbolized China's rise to prominence in the international arena. ... For the first time in its modern history China had succeeded in confronting a coalition of Western powers and emerging undefeated."⁴³

3. Formation of a New East Asia in a Globalized World

DR. RHEE REPLACED BY GENERAL PARK IN KOREA

With the outbreak of the Korean War, President Syng-man Rhee made Herculean efforts to save the new nation from communist conquest. In face of the (April 19) Student Revolution against what the people saw as authoritarianism and corruption, however, he resigned on April 27, 1960, and then went exile in Hawaii, where he died in 1965.

Park Chung-hee had been arrested on November 11, 1948 and sentenced to death in 1948 for taking part in the revolts in which the communist officers in the South Korean army had conspired. Park swiftly became a turncoat, revealing the entire list of communist officers and party leaders. He was pardoned, recalled to active duty when the War began, and became Brigadier General in 1953.⁴⁴

Park Chung-hee led a coup on May 16, 1961. He won the first of his three terms as president in 1963. The last free election was in 1971, when Park narrowly beat his opponent, the populist Kim Dae-jung. Park dispatched in secret the chief of the Korean CIA to Kim Il-sung in the north on May 2-5, 1972, and engineered the intriguing July 4th South-North Joint Communiqué of peaceful coexistence and ultimate unification. On October 17, 1972, Park declared martial law, and one month later enforced a new constitution that gave him absolute authoritarian powers. As if to confirm a conspiracy with Park in the south, "Premier" Kim Il-sung assumed the title of "President" in December 1972, cementing one-person rule. Park was assassinated in 1979 by the head of the Korean CIA.

After the assassination of Park Chung-hee in 1979, Korea was ruled until 1992 by two major generals in succession who were classmates in the military academy. Korea was

thereafter been ruled by two old activist politicians and a young populist, all with high school educational background.

NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

Jiang Jieshi died in 1975, and was succeeded by his son Jing-guo (1910-88) who had graduated from a military and political institute in Leningrad and married a Russian woman in 1935. Jiang Jing-guo kept ruling Taiwan under martial law until his death. Jiang father and son achieved Taiwan's economic prosperity in their lifetime, and also the full-blooming of democracy posthumously.⁴⁵

Park Chug-hee adhered to the ideology of "Nation Building through Export Expansion" and could transform South Korea into a newly industrialized country (see Hong, 2002). Kim Il-sung adhered to the ideology of "Self-Support" and led North Korea into an extremely isolated and impoverished nation. To the development economists, Park affirmed the supremacy of "outward-looking export-oriented growth strategy" and Kim the disaster of "inward-looking import-substitution-oriented strategy."

GENERAL GIAP DEFEATING THE FRENCH AND THE U.S.

When France was defeated by Germany in 1940, Ho Chi-minh (1890-1969) and his lieutenant, Vo Nguyen Giap, returned home from exile, and organized the Vietnam Independence League (called Viet Minh). With the end of World War II, Ho declared Vietnam independent, and started fighting against the French.

Khrushchev remembers what Zhou En-lai had told him in early 1954 (1971: 533-4): "Comrade Ho Chi-minh has told me that the situation in Vietnam is hopeless and that if we don't attain a cease-fire soon, the Vietnamese won't be able to hold out against the French. Therefore they've decided to retreat to the Chinese border if necessary, and they want China to be ready to move troops into Vietnam as we did in North Korea. ... We've already lost too many men in Korea—that war cost us dearly. We're in no condition to get involved in another war at this time."

Giap won the final victory at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, but the country south of the 17th parallel fell into the

lieutenant in the newly created South Korean Army, after receiving a 3-month retraining program. He rose to captain after nine months and then to major in August, 1948. In the meantime, Park secretly joined the Communist officers' cell in the South Korean army, possibly believing in the ultimate unification of the peninsula by Communist forces.

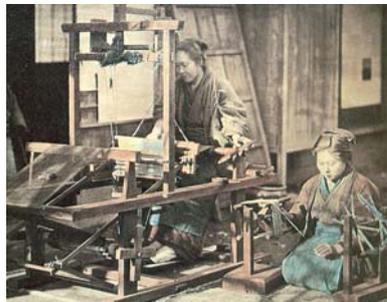
⁴⁵ The GMD rulers in Taiwan came to believe that hyper-inflation, if not wholesale corruption, was the very cause of losing the mainland to the Communists, and hence, ever since they fled to the island in 1949, any smell of inflationary financing has been anathema to them. Price stability therefore became the hallmark of the Taiwanese economy.

⁴⁶ Khrushchev continues: "Then a miracle happened. When the delegation arrived in Geneva for the conference, the Vietnamese partisans won a great victory and captured the fortress of Dienbienphu. ... Mendès-France, proposed to restrict the northern reach of the French forces to the 17th parallel. I'll confess...we gasped with surprise and pleasure. We hadn't expected anything like this. ... France pulled out of the war and evacuated its troops. ... After two years, general elections should have been held, and we had no doubt that Ho Chi-minh would have emerged victorious. But then that sinister man Dulles and the United States stepped in and imposed a long, bloody war on the Vietnamese people."

Giap was born in 1912 as a son of an anti-colonist scholar, received a law degree at the Lycée Albert-Sarraut in Hanoi in 1937, and began teaching history at a Lycée before he went into exile. Giap, without any military training, came to command the entire armed forces of Ho's new government, and engraved his prodigy of military tactics and strategy on the mind of people all over the world, first by bringing down the French colonialist regime in 1954 and then driving out the 500,000-men strong U.S. army from Vietnam in 1973 and unifying the country in 1976.

⁴⁷ See Hong (2002).

⁴⁸ See Hong (2005a).



15.13. Japanese Women Boiling Cocoons and Weaving Silk, c.1890

hands of the U.S.-sponsored regime of Ngo Dinh Diem. Ho started guerrilla war in the South, but died in 1969 without seeing the victory of the Viet Cong led by Giap.⁴⁶

In 1964-65, Lyndon Johnson had launched a major diplomatic effort to secure international troop commitments for the Vietnam War. Park Chung-hee yielded to the pressure of Johnson to send combat troops to Vietnam, and by 1966 the size of the Korean army in Vietnam reached 48,000 men. During the eight-year period until March 1973, about 340,000 Korean soldiers participated in the Vietnam War on the side of the U.S. army.

In the early 1990s, I participated in an International Seminar on “*Doi Moi* (Reform and Opening-up)” at Hanoi that was organized by Swedish economists and hosted by the Vietnamese government. I heard General Giap, who was still alive and at that time a senior minister without portfolio, say that he “has realized that it is more difficult to win the war against poverty than the war against the French or the U.S.” The Vietnamese participants listened politely to my story on the “Korean Miracle,” seeming to harbor no grudge that Korean soldiers fought against them on the side of the U.S. As the victor of the war, apparently they could afford to be gracious.

5. Over the Mountain Another Mountain

After more than a 100-year journey of a government-guided catch-up commencing with the Meiji Restoration, Japan became an economically advanced state c. 1980. It had boasted its MITI-MOF-led turnpike of rapid economic growth, if not its one-party rule, but has come to experience the so-called lost decades since the early 1990s that perhaps signal the necessity of a fundamental restructuring of its traditional system led by bureaucrats and financial elites, and of an economy clustered around gigantic conglomerates (*zaibatsu* turned *keiretsu*), subject to manipulation, intimidation and corruption.⁴⁷

Mao was chairman and chief of state from 1949 to 1959, and chairman of the party until his death in 1976. In 1958, Mao broke with the Soviet model and attempted a radical

transformation of Chinese society. He attempted collectivization of agriculture and decentralization of the economy by launching the ill-conceived Great Leap Forward. Its failure caused his eclipse in the early 1960s. He reasserted his control in the upheaval of the disastrous Cultural Revolution which began in 1966, and posed for pictures with Richard Nixon in 1972.

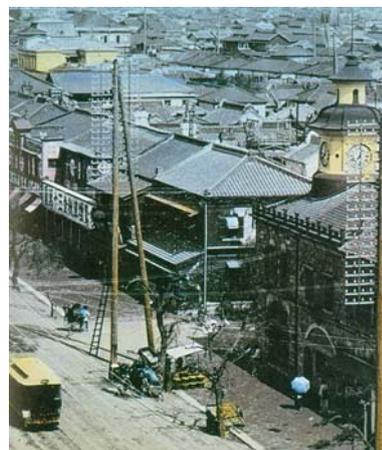
China had Mao to drive it on to the Socialist-Nation-Building turnpike, but found another driver named Deng Xiaoping at an opportune time to switch to the Socialist-Market-Economy turnpike. China may still need yet another driver to switch to the Democratic-Market-Economy turnpike in order to reach the final destination.

The Soviet Union had drivers called Lenin-Stalin to get on to the Centrally-Planned turnpike. Unfortunately, they could not find an adept new driver at an appropriate time to switch to the next turnpike. The old comrades ignored the warning road signs and kept on driving the first turnpike, eventually falling into chaotic self-destruction. Russia was born out of the shambles, and Vladimir Putin, fitted out with all the powers Russian electorates can bestow, seems to be taking the country on a ride down an Authoritarian-Market-Economy turnpike.

At least in terms of formality, Russia, a latecomer to a market economy compared with China, has already established a democratic polity, while China, the early starter, still maintains an archaic Communist dictatorship. It will be interesting to see which one of these two giants will first realize an “affluent and democratic” advanced society.

Korea had a driver named Park Chung-hee to take it to the Export-Oriented turnpike, but by failing to find a new driver at an appropriate time to switch to the Democratic-Market-Economy turnpike, it has been aimlessly meandering along the old turnpike under a series of vagrant-opportunists-turned-robber-rulers.⁴⁸

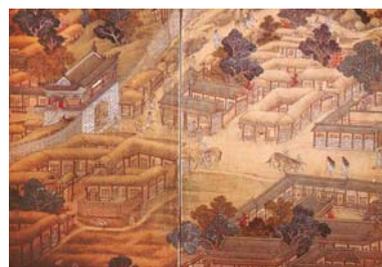
Kim Il-sung had resisted de-Stalinization efforts begun by Nikita Khrushchev in the mid-1950s. Kim had ruthlessly carried out purges, building up a rather primitive personality cult around him. After his death in 1994, he was succeeded by his son, Jung-il (born in 1942), who had spent the



15.14. Ginza, Tokyo 1900



15.15. Ginza, Tokyo 1910



15.16. Seoul circa 1800



15.17. Seoul 1890



15.18. Seoul 1900



15.19. Seoul 1904



15.20. Seoul 1930

latter part of his high school years in East Germany and Romania before he began college life in North Korea in the late 1960s. Among the international community, the North Korean regime has been notorious for its inhuman totalitarian character, accused of being a terrorist country by the U. S., and sharing with Iran and Iraq the honorary label of “Axis of Evil,” officially bestowed by George W. Bush in January 2002.

After World War II, the United States tended to support any autocrat so long as the devil was willing to fight against Communists. Consequently, it was very easy for any opposing devil or any Communist to wage a war against an American stooge by impersonating a freedom fighter for democracy until he could grab power and install an autocracy yet worse than the one replaced. A new robber ruler could secure his regime by lining up with one of the two Cold War superpowers. With such a “fail-safe” system, there was almost no way out for the third-world souls suffering under the tyranny of autocracy.

Had the Cold War taken the course of a full-scale nuclear war, homo sapiens would have been extinguished much earlier than expected by Darwin’s natural course of evolution. People are appalled when they learn how narrow was the escape from Cuban missile crisis and how close we came to a nuclear showdown.

The demise of the Soviet empire in 1989 ushered the world not into an era of peaceful coexistence among homo sapiens, but into an era of an arrogant pax-Americana, replete with vengeful terrorists all over the world and miserable chaos created by autocratic tyrants or populist politicians (the *robber rulers* is Mancur Olson’s metaphor) in most third-world nations.

The perversions of Marxism inflicted by Stalin on the Soviet Union and by Mao on China might be repeated in the perversions of pax-Americana-cum-Terrorism inflicted not only on the United States but also on the entire world. I only hope that my gloomy perception proves to be just another Orwellian false alarm.

