



# SURVIVING IMPERIAL INTRIGUES

HAWAI‘I STUDIES ON KOREA

# Surviving Imperial Intrigues

*Korea's Struggle for Neutrality  
amid Empires, 1882–1907*

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and  
Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawai'i

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*I dedicate this book to my parents, who have given me immeasurable emotional support for all these years. I also thank all my friends, who have repeatedly shown a close interest in this project.*

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## ROMANIZATION, CITATION, DATES, NAME ORDER, AND SITES

Chinese terms are romanized according to the *pinyin* system; Japanese, the Hepburn system; and Korean, the McCune-Reischauer system. For the sake of brevity, unpublished primary sources exclude the names of compilers and website links after the first reference. Dates are listed according to the month-day-year order, using the Gregorian calendar. All Chinese, Japanese, and Korean names use the local convention. Modern names are used for all sites (for example, Dalian instead of Port Arthur).



## INTRODUCTION

### AIMS

The late nineteenth century saw an aggressive expansion of Western major power imperialism into East Asia. Benefiting from the economic and technological advancements derived from the Industrial Revolution, Western powers flexed their military and diplomatic muscles to carve out spheres of influence in East Asia and then obtain valuable concessions there. Struggling to survive in this period of imperialism, Korea, on the one hand, maintained traditional relations with China, but on the other, concluded unequal treaties with Japan and Western powers, which were pressuring Korea to open its doors. Regretfully, however, the rivalries for hegemony among the nations bordering Korea resulted in its loss of sovereignty as the country was unable to navigate the contemporary currents.

During this period, Korea became an object of major maritime and continental powers' interest for the geostrategic reason that it could act as a bridgehead into the Asian continent and the Pacific. With Korea's future imperiled, many options were weighed, some by Korea alone, some by foreign countries, and others as joint efforts between Korea and outside parties. Such options included remaining a vassal state of China, declaring itself independent, transforming Korea into a neutralized state, attempting a Russian-led partitioning, and becoming a protectorate of Japan. Among these options, the main concern of this study is Korea's neutralization (also referred to as neutrality, neutral, and neutralized to reflect contemporary intellectual and policy discourse), which, despite receiving some domestic and international attention, still has not been studied in detail.

Korean neutralization never fulfilled its potential, but it is worth re-examining to better appreciate dynamic interstate relations in modern East Asia and their impacts on the West, as well as to show Korea's often overlooked role as an active participant in the changing world of then and now. Moreover, a historical understanding of neutralization as a policy tool warrants extra scrutiny, as it is still discussed as a possible solution in certain parts of the world, including on the Korean Peninsula, where denuclearization is an ongoing issue. Therein lie the primary aims of this study.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Among studies on Korean neutralization, Pak Hūiho's stands out.<sup>1</sup> Based mainly on Japanese and Anglo-American sources, it is the most comprehensive study addressing neutralization proposals covering the period from the late Chosŏn to the Korean Empire (1882–1904). Pak first methodically evaluates the internal and external causes of Korean neutralization's failures and then uncovers several factors affecting Korean neutralization domestically and abroad, making his study an ideal example of historiography. In the past two decades, research on Korean neutralization has shown a new trend of studying neutralization proposals along with their historical backgrounds. Hyŏn Kwangho's research monograph,<sup>2</sup> for example, presents a comprehensive account of the formation and activities of proneutralization forces in Korea by examining previously neglected proposals such as that by Chŏn Byŏnghun, and it demonstrates how major events such as the Boxer Uprising affected Korean neutralization attempts.

Other academic studies have investigated topics that enable a more astute comprehension of Korean neutralization. Acknowledging the power of words in international relations, Alexis Dudden looks beyond the common perception that Japan's military might have trumped Korean independence. She instead analyzes how Japan successfully employed international law to annex Korea with international consent, making Korea's protest to major powers at the Hague Peace Conference futile.<sup>3</sup> Hwang Kyungmun examines the forces that facilitated the rise of the modern Korean state from the late nineteenth to the twentieth century, a devel-

opment closely tied to Korean sovereignty. He argues that modern state making in Korea was epitomized by fluid rationalizations that mixed extralegal, informal, traditional, and irrational impulses.<sup>4</sup> Ch'oe Dökkyu opened a new frontier in Korea's diplomatic history by carefully examining hitherto overlooked aspects of Russo-Korean relations. Synthesizing a large volume of Russian archival sources and individual Russian studies on Far Eastern diplomacy, Ch'oe's research illuminates the perspectives of high-ranking Russian officials who were responsible for Russia's Korean policy.<sup>5</sup>

To sum up, contemporary scholarship on Korean neutralization partly sheds light on key neutralization proposals—theoretically, chronologically, and geopolitically—by taking advantage of underused primary sources and influencing factors to analyze these proposals. Even those works that do not directly address neutralization probe international law, modernity, and contemporary geopolitics, themselves important factors that could potentially change the geopolitical landscape of the modern Far East.

Acknowledging the value of these seminal studies, this work delves into the key internal and external factors shaping Korean neutralization, incorporates Russian perspectives on imperialist struggles surrounding the Korean Peninsula and Russo-Korean ties, and retraces the institutional reforms and political changes that transformed modern Korea. At the same time, this study furnishes a more comprehensive understanding of Korean neutralization attempts and the significance of Korean neutralization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It does so by covering a longer time period (1882–1907), by considering hitherto unexplored factors that affected Korean neutralization attempts, and by utilizing multinational primary documents for a balanced perspective.

## QUESTIONS AND SOURCES

Though there have been some important studies on Korean neutralization, the topic still has not received adequate scholarly attention for two main reasons: (1) the idea that Korean neutralization was destined to fail since major powers remained largely lukewarm and (2) the idea that the Korean state was by and large a passive player in international diplomacy during the critical moments of this balance-of-power game between

hegemonic powers. To escape these well-worn ruts and approach Korean neutralization anew, the following questions will be considered:

- What were the internal and external factors that affected Korean neutralization attempts, who proposed Korean neutralization, when, why, how, and where was it proposed, and why did it not materialize?
- What conditions/factors enabled the successful neutralization of states in Europe, and why was this not possible in the Korean case?
- How did Korean attempts to neutralize differ from cases of neutralization in Europe?

In an attempt to produce a dynamic and interactive study that provides an analysis of more factors over a longer time period, this study will detail the neutralization proposals chronologically to demonstrate how the interest in Korean neutralization changed over time and to determine whether any one of the proposals was plausible. This study will attempt to answer these questions in the following ways: a survey of European neutrality, a more multifaceted scrutiny of neutralization efforts through additional exploration of the internal and external factors affecting neutralization attempts, the use of unpublished and underutilized sources to provide a more balanced historical reading of Korean neutralization diplomacy, the careful contextualization of neutralization proposals to reflect the diverse impacts of major events on neutralization, and an appropriate analysis of newly revealed neutralization proposals.

With the exception of the *Kojong sillok* (Veritable Records of Kojong), Yi Pömjin's report from Russia, and Kojong's personal letter to the Italian king, no official Korean government documents deal directly with neutralization. This lack of official sources makes it difficult to apprehend the various responses toward neutralization among Korean officialdom fully. This study will try to overcome this weakness by paying attention to the impact of political factions on neutralization. *Ilsongnok* (Records of Daily Reflections) and diplomatic documents collected in *Ku Han'guk oegyo munsö* (Old Korean Diplomatic Documents) address neutralization indirectly by reporting on issues such as Korean military reforms and bilateral relations. These sources, however, fail to relate the dynamics of Far Eastern geopolitics, and this study will try to fill this gap with an analysis of major-power rivalries. Materials on relations between China

and Korea and compiled documents on Qing foreign relations are used to examine Sino-Korean relations and Korea's efforts to adjust to the Western-oriented treaty system, though they inevitably have a pro-China bias and are imbued with a Sino-centric mindset.

Japan offers many primary sources on Korean neutralization, such as the Japanese Foreign Office's diplomatic documents related to neutralization proposals and selected documents compiled by Itō Hirobumi, Kim Chōngmyōng, and Ōyama Azusa that focus on Korea's relations with Japan and the Japanese establishment's thoughts on Korean neutralization. These documents do not fairly reflect other countries' perceptions of Japan's relations with Korea and other major powers, and thus they ignore the suspicions such powers held toward Japan's motives in Korea. The survey of Japan-originated proposals that were opposed by major powers will reveal these reactions. The Russian National and State Naval Archives holds some diplomatic and government documents valuable for exploring Korea's economy, foreign policy, military, and politics. In particular, they mention the origins and backgrounds of neutralization proposals from Russian officials and the Russian newspaper *Moskovskiy Vedomosti*.

Unlike the documents from the above three countries, those from the United States, Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Germany take a more neutral view toward Korea. The United States possesses diplomatic documents pertaining to U.S. diplomats and officials' reports and analyses of Korean neutralization, such as the U.S. State Department documents compiled by Scott S. Burnett, George M. McCune, and David Jules, and dispatches from U.S. ministers in Korea. The role of Britain in mediating major-power disputes over Korea can be traced through its Foreign Office files, trade reports, and diplomatic documents collected by G. P. Gooch, Ian Nish, and Pak Ilkūn.<sup>6</sup>

Both published and unpublished French diplomatic documents are crucial for a more balanced comprehension of the impact on neutralization of internal factors such as communications, political factions, and military reforms. In particular, the unpublished diplomatic documents supply vital details on French diplomats' analyses of Korea's position under Chinese domination and later regarding the open hostility between Russia and Japan. These sources lay bare France's role in Korea's wartime neutrality declaration.

Austro-Hungarian documents reveal the intricacies of major-power competitions surrounding the Korean Peninsula. Although the Italian king's letter to Kojong is the only Italian source used in this study, the missive is testament to the importance of major-power support for Korean neutralization. German diplomatic documents show how that country played a marginal but nonetheless meaningful role in Korea's modernization and neutralization. These documents validate Japanese and Western neutralization proposals and include German perspectives on the Russo-Japanese rivalry over Korea.

Personal documents both within and outside Korea also deal with neutralization, though they do not necessarily mirror the formal stances of proponents' home governments; in Korea, Kim Yunsik, Yu Kilchun, and Kim Okkyun's personal documents flesh out their roles in neutralization. In Japan, Kono Atsumaro and Inoue Kagorō's records are devoted to Japanese reactions to Korean neutralization proposals and the tense Korea-Japan relations that dominated Korean foreign policy. In China, Kang Youwei's manuscript introduces a Belgian-style neutralization for Korea. In the West, Paul G. von Möllendorff left writings that epitomize his Russia-led Korean neutralization proposal, and Owen Nickerson Denny's documents describe his neutralization proposal. In particular, the *Allen Papers*, *Allen Diary*, *Sands Papers*, and *Sands' Undiplomatic Memories* further widen the scope of study into Korean neutralization. The insights on Korean economy, politics, and foreign policy of Horace Newton Allen, author of the *Papers* and *Diary*, are especially perceptive. The latter two works depict Sands' futile attempts to push for Korea's permanent neutrality and the harmful impact of concession diplomacy on Korean independence. Finally, the *Mutel Diary*, the personal record of Seoul-based French Bishop Mutel, includes extensive entries about foreign diplomats' activities and their interactions with Korean officials.

Newspapers supply a batch of neutralization proposals that are unavailable in government and personal documents. The Japanese newspapers *Tokyo yokohama mainichi shimbun* (Tokyo Yokohama Daily), *Yūbin hōchi shimbun* (Postal News), *Japan Daily*, and *Yomiuri shimbun* (Daily Yomiuri) formulated their own versions of Korean neutralization, each representing Japan's strategic anxieties surrounding Korea. The Russian newspaper *Moskovskiy Vedomosti* and the Tianjin-based English-run newspaper *Chinese Times* also linked Korea's fate with neutralization. In

addition, many newspapers reported on other neutralization proposals: the *Kobe Chronicle* on the proposals from British and American ambassadors in St. Petersburg, the Chinese newspaper *Shēn bào* (Shanghai News) on European governments' wartime neutrality of Korea, the Japanese newspaper *Ōsaka mainichi shimbun* (Osaka Daily) on Ernest Bethell's proffer, the Korean newspaper *Taehan maeil shinbo* (Korea Daily News) on Yi Sangsöl's contention, and the *New York Times* and the Dutch newspaper *Het Vader Land* on Yi Wichong's assertion.

## STRUCTURE

This study is organized into eight chapters. After the introduction, chapter 1 will briefly survey general neutralization theory, give an overview of neutralization attempts in the imperial age, examine the background and contributing factors behind successful cases of neutralization in Europe, and give an overview of neutralization attempts in Korea to compare with the European cases. In this way, we can see how, despite being consigned to a marginal status in international relations, neutralization in fact has a long history, the frequent application of which demonstrates its continued relevance in shaping the geopolitics of a hot spot such as the Korean Peninsula. This section also briefly examines the distinctiveness of Korea's neutralization, explaining why the limited economic and military strengths of the Korean state undermined its prospects for neutrality.

Chapter 2 explores neutralization discourse from the Imo Mutiny to the Kapsin Coup. Mindful that neutralization during this period was a foreign-driven endeavor (Japan and the West), this chapter illustrates which factors compelled foreigners to adopt Korean neutrality. Primarily aimed at countering Chinese suzerainty over Korea, though some proposals targeted Russian imperialism in the Far East, Korean neutralization was perceived to be an ad hoc measure to benefit foreign powers' disparate interests. When we add the budding Sino-Japanese rivalry over the Korean Peninsula and deepening multilateral imperialism in the Far East, we can understand how neutralization was a byproduct of geopolitical developments during this era.

Chapter 3 covers the period that witnessed the rise of neutralization as mainstream policy discourse both within and without Korea. Whereas

the previous chapter was dominated by the Sino-Japanese rivalry, this chapter's major diplomatic players are Britain and Russia. Triggered by Britain's occupation of the Korean island Kōmundo, Russia engaged in a fierce hegemonic struggle with its European rival, treating the Kōmundo issue as a platform for supremacy in Eurasia. Most importantly, egged on by Britain's foreign secretary, Korean neutralization came close to fruition; while spurred by the powerlessness of the Sino-centric tributary system to protect Korea's territorial integrity, the Korean establishment came out in favor of neutrality.

In chapter 4, after vacating Kōmundo, Britain assumes a more passive, behind-the-scenes role in Korean affairs. As was the case in chapter 2, China and Japan filled the strategic vacuum left by Britain. Their competition would lead to the Sino-Japanese War, and Japan replaced China as the leading Asian power, one looking to cement its domination over the Korean Peninsula. While Japan's ambition was momentarily thwarted by the Triple Intervention, Tokyo had no intention of abandoning its hegemonic ambitions in Korea. Squeezed between China and Japan, Korea tried to chart a more independent course by enacting institutional reforms and reaching out to third powers such as the United States and Russia to counterbalance Beijing and Tokyo.

Chapter 5 depicts the rise of a new hegemonic rivalry, the Russo-Japanese competition over Korea and then Manchuria. After returning from the Russian legation, Kojong sought to counteract the unbridled imperialist rivalry encircling his country by proclaiming the Korean Empire and enacting military and political reforms to buttress the fragile Korean sovereignty. Painfully aware of the gap between his country's economic and military capabilities with those of Japan and Russia, Kojong resorted to concessions and neutralization diplomacy, putting his faith in foreign advisers and handpicked Korean officials to execute these policies. For all his efforts, however, both Japan and Russia relentlessly pursued their own hegemonic interests in the region, inevitably blockading Korea's avenue toward a balanced diplomacy.

Finally, in chapter 6, readers are exposed to the full-throttle Russo-Japanese rivalry over Korea that threatened to rob Seoul of its fragile autonomy. Feeling desperate and running out of time, Kojong and his close aides reached out to neutral powers like Italy, Belgium, and even an international body to win international support for Korean neutrality.



Knowing that an independent military capability was indispensable for neutralization, the Korean government continued its military reforms, though they were hobbled by weak finances, half-hearted governance, and indecisive leadership. In the end, Korea could not secure its territorial integrity during the Russo-Japanese War despite its wartime neutrality declaration. Kojong would attempt to engineer Korea's permanent neutrality one more time during the Hague Peace Conference, but no major power would come to Korea's rescue.

The conclusion will review Korean neutralization by briefly comparing it with European neutrality and probing its historical significance as a lesson for future neutralization candidates, especially for a denuclearized and unified Korean Peninsula. Above all, this section will stress the increasing imperative for policymakers to use changing geopolitical dynamics as a rare opportunity to reset the contemporary power dynamics of the Far East through permanent neutrality. Thus the conclusion seeks to demonstrate to scholars and policymakers alike the continued relevance of neutralization as a creative solution for changing the status quo in international diplomacy.

## CHAPTER 1

# Neutralization

### NEUTRALIZATION THEORY

Neutralization is an international status designed to enable stakeholder countries to grant neutrality to countries, territories, and waterways through agreement. Such neutralized countries are armed only for self-defense and are exempt from any treaties that might infringe upon their neutrality.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, neutralized countries can maintain political independence and contribute to regional stabilization. Neutrality was conceived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and codified in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into international law through judicial rulings and international conventions.

To adopt neutralization, a candidate country must be in an area suitable for neutralization and meet subjective, objective, and international requirements.<sup>2</sup> The subjective requirement necessitates that the country's leaders and people support neutralization. Furthermore, a neutralized country must independently demonstrate its political, economic, and diplomatic abilities and its willingness to fulfill domestic and international rights and duties. The objective requirement refers to a country's geographical position, which must contain strategic assets that could increase national and neighboring countries' interests. A newly established country, a divided but independent country, a country subject to intervention or potentially subject to intervention from a neighboring major power, or a country that could serve as a bridge linking one major power to another could opt for neutralization.<sup>3</sup>

Though fulfilling the subjective requirement might be enough to effectuate the customary (wartime) neutralization of a country, permanent neutralization requires an international guarantee through an agreement between a candidate country and the neighboring countries that will act as guarantors. A permanently neutralized country must also possess a

military strong enough to protect itself.<sup>4</sup> A neutral country is furthermore required to abide by international expectations. If a neutral country violates its duties, such as by giving assistance or providing any advantages to warring countries, neutrality will no longer be valid.<sup>5</sup>

Banned from becoming involved in armed conflicts, neutral countries, by sustaining the status quo, allow larger powers to maintain the prevailing balance of power, the even distribution of power, and equal allocation of major powers' influence. Balance of power can be categorized as either the policy of Britain that held a largely noninterventionist stance in Europe from the sixteenth to early twentieth century or the European state system. First mentioned at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, balance of power became a fundamental prerequisite for peace.<sup>6</sup> From the Congress of Vienna in 1815, it emerged as a mainstay of foreign relations, with Britain and Russia the two main axes. After the Beijing Treaty in 1860, East Asia encountered the Western principle of balance of power. W. A. P. Martin, the translator of Henry Wheaton's book on international law, thought that balance of power might be similar to *ijjei* (using one barbarian to check another).<sup>7</sup>

In selecting neutrality as a security guarantee, such countries must pledge not to join any type of political bloc.<sup>8</sup> Neutrality is divided into customary and permanent. In customary neutrality, a country remains neutral during wartime, neither directly taking sides nor indirectly abetting warring countries. At war's end, neutrality can be terminated. The position of neutrality can become more obvious during hot wars, but the status of neutrality can be more ambivalent during psychological warfare and cold wars, because such conflicts make it more difficult to differentiate between belligerents and nonbelligerents.

Under permanent neutrality, a neutral country and other relevant countries agree on one-off rights and duties through treaties. While customary neutrality is only applied during wartime, permanent neutrality exists during both peacetime and wartime, its status guaranteed by agreements between a subject country and the surrounding major powers.<sup>9</sup> The relations accorded to a neutral country and the countries acting as its guarantors shape the legal status of permanent neutrality. Collective agreements and treaties are needed to grant permanent neutrality, but this is not an absolute requirement. (Whereas permanent neutrality is only applied to countries, neutralization can be applied to a

territory where a possible conflict between major powers could occur.) Permanent neutrality was widely used as a method of conflict management under the balance-of-power system in the nineteenth century. Switzerland was the first example, but the case of Belgium is the most applicable. Belgium's neutrality and independence were established in the 1830s, when Britain was keen on giving Belgium the status of a buffer state.<sup>10</sup>

### OTHER NEUTRALIZATION ATTEMPTS

In the age of imperialism, when Western powers competed with each other to extend their influence through colonization, efforts to apply neutralization were widespread. From the early nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, Western imperial powers attempted neutralization around the globe. Basically, major powers singled out for neutralization areas the size and location of which made them prone to potential conflict. This was done to frustrate the territorial ambitions of expansionist powers, preserve their respective commercial interests, and maximize their influence over strategic areas without excessive economic and military costs. Among several attempts at neutralization during this period, the success of neutralization in Switzerland and Belgium and the role of Bulgaria as a buffer state are already well known in academic circles, but Korea was unable to replicate those successes.

Elsewhere, the major powers opportunistically trained their sights on contested areas they viewed as strategically valuable. Each neutralization objective was the byproduct of Western powers' desires to outstrip potential competitors by cementing geostrategic and commercial footholds in selected locations. The Polish city of Krakow gained neutrality in 1815 after the Treaty of Vienna with the consent of major powers.<sup>11</sup> Britain and the United States, to protect their commercial interests and reduce unnecessary tension between them, agreed to neutralize the Great Lakes in 1817.<sup>12</sup> Other U.S. interests led to a bilateral treaty with Columbia to neutralize the Isthmus of Panama in 1846,<sup>13</sup> and the United States concluded another treaty with Britain to neutralize the Nicaragua Canal four years later.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, through a series of treaties, European powers neu-

tralized both the Black Sea<sup>15</sup> and Aland Islands in 1856,<sup>16</sup> Ionian Islands on November 14, 1863,<sup>17</sup> Corfu, Paxo, and their dependencies on March 29, 1864,<sup>18</sup> and Luxembourg in 1867.<sup>19</sup>

Some Americans, to preserve U.S. commercial interests, proposed neutralization of Hawai'i in 1881<sup>20</sup> and in May 1895.<sup>21</sup> The neutralizations of the Congo Basin in 1885 and the Samoan Islands in July 1889 were also suggested to prevent any one colonial power from dominating Central Africa or the southern Pacific Ocean.<sup>22</sup> Owing to the Suez Canal's strategic and commercial value, it was neutralized through a multilateral treaty on October 29, 1889,<sup>23</sup> while Honduras was neutralized by a U.S. initiative to forestall European intervention in the Panama Canal in 1907.<sup>24</sup> Though the possibility of neutralization of the Philippines was debated in the United States—in 1906,<sup>25</sup> September 1907,<sup>26</sup> February 1908,<sup>27</sup> April 1908,<sup>28</sup> and on March 24, 1934<sup>29</sup>—it did not succeed. Germany, France, and Russia approved a partial neutralization of Norway in 1907.<sup>30</sup> U.S. secretary of state Philander Chase Knox proposed the neutralization of the Manchurian railways to ensure equal commercial rights in China for all major powers in February 1910.<sup>31</sup> Finally, Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia neutralized Albania in 1913, though the action proved to be ineffective.<sup>32</sup>

## SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM, AND BULGARIA

To settle conflicts under a balance-of-power framework, major powers allowed Switzerland and Belgium to become permanently neutral countries through international agreements. In the same vein, Bulgaria, a buffer state, achieved autonomy. These three European countries, viewed as models for Korean neutralization, are worth studying to understand all the factors that contributed to the international acceptance and domestic success of their neutrality or autonomy. A continent away, Kojong looked favorably toward the Belgian and Swiss permanent neutralities and thus sent envoys to both countries, opened diplomatic relations with Belgium, hired a Belgian adviser to help prepare for Korean neutrality, and requested the support and advice of the Belgian king regarding Korean neutrality.

245. *Taehan maeil shinbo*, July 27, August 3, December 11, 1907.
246. Koen de Ceuster, quoting *The Daily News*' article (July 25, 1907). Koen de Ceuster, "1907 nyön Heigŭ tŭksa ūi sönggong kwa chwajöl" [Success and Failure of the Korean Delegation at the 2nd Hague Peace Conference], *Hanguksa hakbo* 30 (February 2008): 311.
247. *New York Times*, August 2, 1907, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F10A16FE3B5A15738DDDAB0894D0405B878CF1D3&scp=2&sq=Korea%20Hague%20Peace%20Conference&st=cse> (accessed July 14, 2011).
248. The Dutch newspaper *Het Vader Land*'s article (September 5, 1907) touched on Yi Wichong's assertions. Yun Pyöngsök, "Man'guk p'yönghwa hoeüi wa Han'guk t'ŭksa ūi yöksajök ümi," 46.
249. Besides, Japan's actions could not be faulted, as implementing imperialist policies in the name of enlightened exploitation was widely recognized. Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea*, 12.

## CONCLUSION

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