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Russo-Japanese War: Strategy, Superiority, and Its Impact on the Resurrection of Indonesian Nationalism

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Abstract: The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) was an essential milestone in war history in the 20th century, especially in Asia. For the first time in a modern war, Japan, which was positioned as the representative of the colored nation (Asia), succeeded in defeating Russia, which was considered to represent the white nation (Europe) which was identical to the face of imperialism-colonialism. Departing from this reality, this study intends to specifically analyze the history of the Russo- Japanese war and its influence on the rise of Indonesian nationalism. Regarding methodology, this research uses a qualitative approach with critical discourse analysis, which critically-synchronously examines the discourse of the history of the Russo-Japanese War. The collecting data using references and Forum Group Discussion (FGD) by inviting five experts. The results of this study appointment: (1) the spirit of nationalism movement when it is loaded with cosmopolitanism, which is influenced by the global geopolitical constellation; (2) Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War was used by national movement figures to raise nationalism against colonialism; and (3) The strategy and superiority of Japan provided the basis for inspiration on the importance of modernity and the insight of the Indonesian nationality to be equal with European nations. This study implies that in building Indonesian nationalism, Sukarno adopted the spirit of Japanese modernization as part of his strategic culture. On the other hand, Sukarno also gave a critical view of imperialism and the expansionist movement of the Japanese "Lebensraum" in Asia.

Abstrak: Perang Rusia-Jepang (1904-1905) merupakan tonggak penting dalam sejarah perang di abad ke-20, terutama di Asia. Untuk pertama kalinya dalam perang modern, Jepang yang diposisikan sebagai wakil bangsa kulit berwarna (Asia), berhasil mengalahkan Rusia yang dianggap mewakili bangsa kulit putih (Eropa) yang identik dengan wajah imperialisme- kolonialisme. Berangkat dari kenyataan tersebut, penelitian ini bermaksud menganalisis secara khusus sejarah perang Rusia-Jepang dan pengaruhnya terhadap kebangkitan nasionalisme Indonesia. Dari segi metodologi, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan analisis wacana kritis, yang mengkaji secara kritis wacana sejarah Perang Rusia-Jepang. Pengumpulan data menggunakan referensi dan Forum Group Discussion (FGD) dengan mengundang lima pakar. Hasil kajian ini mengangkat: (1) semangat gerakan nasionalisme yang sarat dengan kosmopolitanisme, yang dipengaruhi oleh konstelasi geopolitik global; (2) Kemenangan Jepang dalam Perang Rusia-Jepang dimanfaatkan oleh tokoh-tokoh pergerakan nasional untuk membangkitkan nasionalisme melawan kolonialisme; dan (3) Strategi dan keunggulan Jepang menjadi dasar inspirasi pentingnya modernitas dan wawasan kebangsaan Indonesia sejajar dengan bangsa Eropa. Kajian ini menyiratkan bahwa dalam membangun nasionalisme Indonesia, Sukarno mengadopsi semangat modernisasi Jepang sebagai bagian dari budaya strategisnya. Di sisi lain, Sukarno juga memberikan pandangan kritis terhadap imperialisme dan gerakan ekspansionis "Lebensraum" Jepang di Asia.

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INTRODUCTION

The Russo-Japanese War was one of the most important events of the twentieth century where the Asians were for the first time involved in a major modern battle against the Europeans (represented by Russian) with equal forces. Overview of the conditions at that time, the Asian nation or often referred as colored people is often seen as a colonized nation, a nation whose position is lower, backward and weak. Therefore, Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese war created an important meaning for Asian nations, including Indonesia whereby at that time, movement figures were intensively building nationalism consolidation in order to fight for Indonesian independence.

The explosion of the Russo-Japanese War cannot be justified on a single factor. Behind the launch of the first torpedo on the orders of Admiral Togo on February 9, 1904 (Jukes, 2002, p. 14) towards the Russian warship at Port Arthur, there are various narrative story of conflict of interest between the two sides. Russian side, with its 'warm water politics', is looking for a port that doesn't freeze in the winter (Mainardi, 2019, p. 17) (*warm seaport*) in order to fulfil the needs and ambitions of imperialism. While on the other hand, Japan believes that Russia and other white nations would be a real thsreat after Japan was pressed through the Triple Intervention, three Western Countries: Russia, Germany and France to cancel the Shimonoseki agreement with China. Russian-Japan bilateral diplomatic relations were exacerbated by the Boxer rebellion (Berry, 2008) and the more heightened because the offering of Japanese good will to share power equitably in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula was not taken seriously by the Russians.

This study on the Russo-Japanese War History would be divided into three major parts in order to answer following research objectives. First, an analysis of the strategy and superiority of japan's victory over Russia, which is often referred as World War Zero. Second, the research of historical data elaborates the map of geopolitical constellation globally, the countries involved in the conflict behind Japan and Russia both before and after the war to see the motives and effects of influence in a global context. Third, starting from the victory and the geopolitical constellation, an analysis was carried out using a syncretic historical approach to find the meaning and connection with the movement of nationalism in Indonesia. How the struggle movement for independence, resistence to imperialism and colonialism at that time was also inspired by the Japanese victory over Russia. In this section, it is analysed comprehensively with the facts of the national movements which were in the pre-independence era. Thus, in this study, the context of the Russo-Japanese war is seen in a new perspective compared to previous research, specifically in the geopolitical landscape of the rise of Indonesian nationalism. Japan's victory over Russia inspired Asian nations, as well as Indonesia to adopt the spirit of modernity for the sake of progress, strength and realization of national interests.

METHOD

In terms of methodology, this study uses a critical paradigm. From ontology point of view, critical theory defines that the reality is shaped by social history, politics, economics, and the discourse of social structures. The epistemology of critical theory defines the relationship of researchers who are transactional, value-mediated and their axiology views that the science is not free of values, ethics and moral choices determine research choices (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009). The critical paradigm conception puts forward the emic/qualitative approach as the main one (Newman, 2013). The qualitative approach in historical research is aimed more synchronic to explore the context of the Russo-Japanese war critically and reflectively. The method used is critical discourse analysis (Crotty, 1998). The research was conducted from February to March 2021. The data was collected using a secondary data source literature (text / documents / books / clippings and chronical notes of the Russo-Japanese war) and Forum Group Discussion (FGD) which invited 5 experts as speakers. The data analysis was performed using qualitative analysis with interactive model analysis and critical discourse analysis.

In order to enrich the data collection method, researcher conducted three times of Forum Group Discussion (FGD) with their respective expertise. FGD I on March 3, 2021 invited historians Bonnie Triyana and Dr. Andi Achdian to complete the historical data of the Russo-Japanese war as a whole. FGD II which was held on March 4, 2021 invited Prof. Leo Agung S, Dr. Andi Widjajanto and Laksda (Purn.) Yuhastiar to confirm the analysis of researcher's point of view regarding the correlation between the Russo-Japanese war and Asian geopolitical developments in the context of regional balance of power. Geopolitics perspective is important to capture the big picture of global constellation behind Russo-Japanese War. While FGD III on March 6, 2021 invited Dr. Makmur Keliat to strengthen the analysis of the relationship between

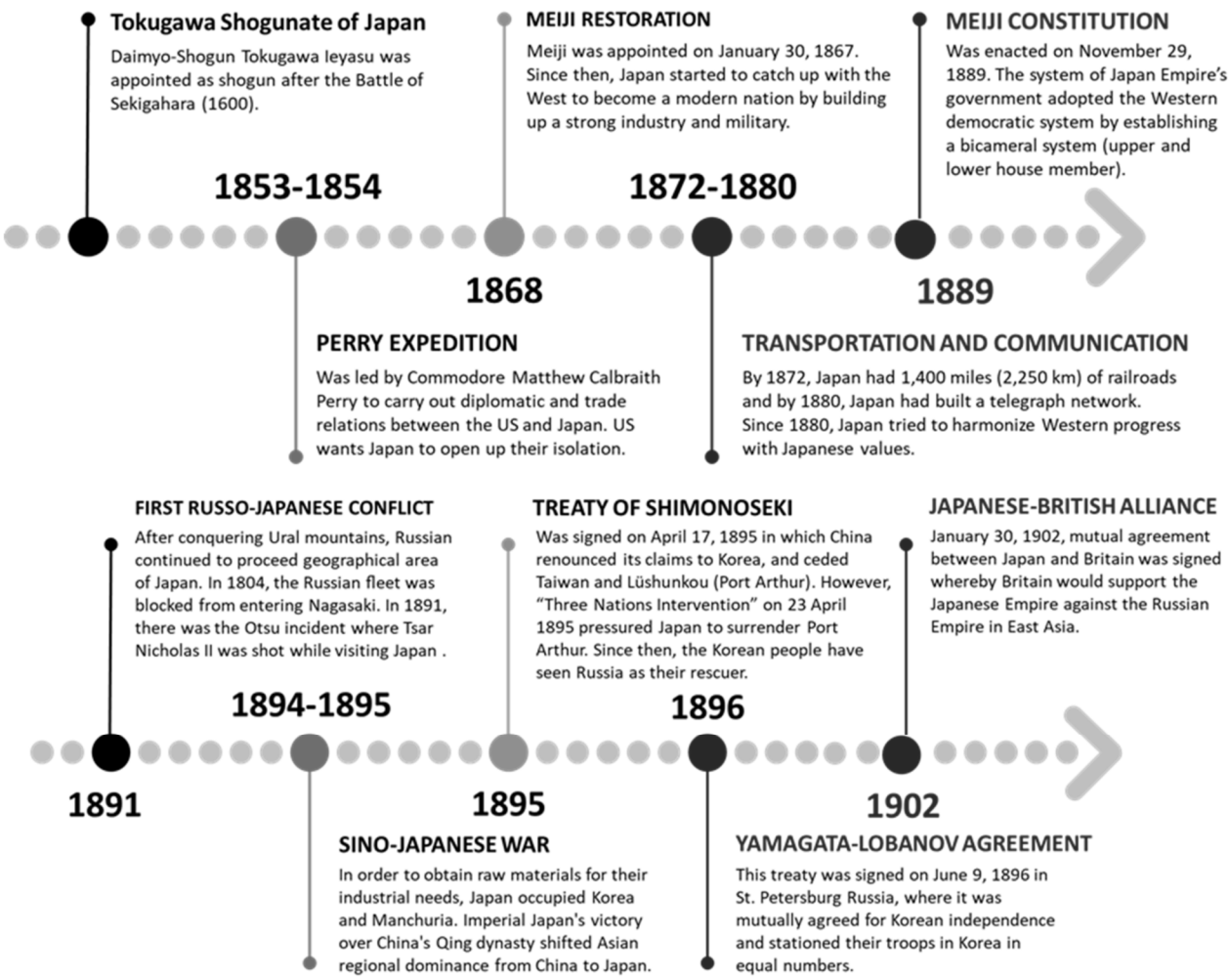

Figure 1. Historical Context of Russo-Japanese War 1&2

the Russo-Japanese War and the rise of Indonesian nationalism. All FGDs series are intended to strengthen the analysis and conclusions about the winning of Japan over Russia with the strategy, superiority and its impact on the resurrection of Indonesian nationalism.

ANALYSIS OF RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Looking at the background of the Russo-Japanese War, the two countries, both Russia and Japan, fought for their national interests. Russia expanded to the East in search of a port that did not freeze in winter ("Warm Water" politics). As the consequence, Rusia met with Asian powers, China and Japan. Meanwhile, Japan, which has been getting stronger since the Meiji reform, tried to realize the Japanese Emperor's ideology, namely Hakko Ichiu (to unify the eight corners of the world), starting with creating a new order in East Asia and realizing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan, which at that time relied on agriculture, believed that land control was very important. A country that does not have an agricultural base will be easily defeated. The concept of Japanese physiocracy for the purpose of strengthening resources brought out motivation for land tenure and living space (*lebensraum*), expansion to get more land for agriculture.

In the balance of power concept, Japan which was originally a weak state was getting stronger, has become a strong state and then continue to has aspiration for the First Tier Power in Asia Region. Therefore, in the analysis of the Russo-Japanese War, the geopolitical aspect can be seen clearly because behind the conflict between the two nations, there are also the interests of other countries, both regional countries and global powers. Thus, in general, there are some aspects in the framework analysis from a geopolitical perspective: conflicting strategic interests, unstable regional strategic environment, diplomacy and military modernization. The Russian-Japanese conflict in the history context can be depicted in the timeline in figure 1.

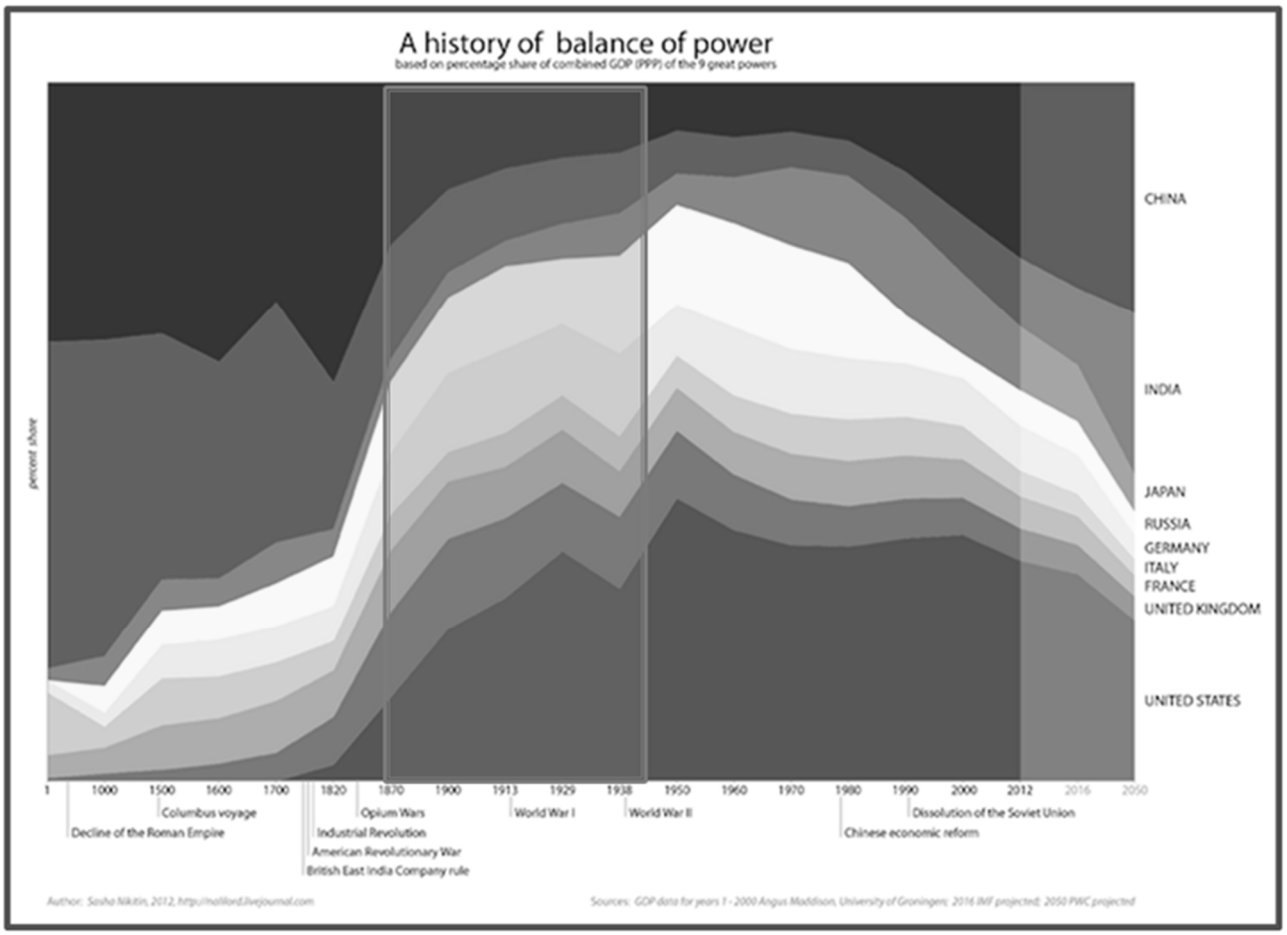

Figure 2. "A History of Balance of Power
Source: GDP data for years 1-2000: Angus Maddison, University of Groningen; 2016 IMF Projected GDP Growth; 2050 PricewaterhouseCoopers Projected GDP Growth cited by Narayanaswami (2013)

Constellation of Global Geopolitics

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War could not be separated from the global geopolitical constellation at that time, which was full of the interests of each state actor. Political, economic, social and cultural factors that are summarized in the impulse of imperialism are one of the basic motives for Western countries to expand into east Asia. In the Russo -Japanese war, behind the counter communication continued between the countries involved, including Russia, Germany, France, America, Britain, China and Korea as well as Japan itself. From a geoeconomic perspective, the passions for imperialism and colonialism were based on motives to control economic resources. That is explain whereby the GDP data of the countries involved in the conflict (Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Britain and America) during the Russo-Japanese War period were actually experiencing good economic growth.

This geoeconomic perspective that is closely related to geopolitics and geostrategy finally explains why Russia wanted to control Manchuria, from Korean Peninsula to the Liadong Peninsula (Port Arthur). The existence of Triple Intervention (Russia, Germany and France) which pressured Japan to cancel the Shimonoseki agreement (Nish, 1985, p. 22) become the reason that made Japan believed that Russia and the Western imperialist countries were a threat and would later annex Japanese strategic area such as Tsushima Island, Sakhalin Island, Khuril Island and also Hokkaido Island. The interest to seize territory in order to expand power and fullfill economi resources sparked a heated Russian-Japanese conflict. The military, in this case the army, was used not primarily for defense but for aggression, a means of conquering the state.

It was not without reason that Japan in its geopolitical strategy first annexed Korean Peninsula. The ambition of Russia to expand its territory into East Asia is the main reason for Japan to stop the pace of Russian expansion on the Korean Peninsula. It was also not suprising that Japan had previously attacked the Manchu-Qing empire as a first steps in its geopolitical strategy for dealing with Russian expansion (Kowner, 2006). Another ideal

reason was to control the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria as a preventive form from Japan so that Korea and Manchuria did not become colonies of the Russian empire. Idealism mixed with their nascent industrial interest become the ambiguous face of Japan when they offered a Pan-Asianism proposal.

Russia's antagonistc attitude towards Japan was seen when Russia, Germany and France intervened in the Shimonoseki Aggreement which urged Japan to return the Liadong Peninsula. However, China as a country that lost the war had to pay compensation of 30 bilion taels or equivalent of 45 milion yen to Japan within 3 years. China received financial assistance from Russia to redeem the Liadong Peninsula. Since then, China forged an alliance with Russia whereby Russia obtained the right to build a Trans-Siberian railway through Manchuria connecting Harbin to Vladivostok.

The European domination such as Germany, Russia, England, France and Japan over China souverign territory gave rise to anti-foreign sentiment and patriotism among Chinese peasants that sparked the Boxer Rebellion (1901). This event was used by Russia to station their troops in Manchuria. This tactic was used by Russia in order to invade the Korean Peninsula. Russia's action in the eyes of Japan will be a barrier stone for them to take control of the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, Russia secretly managed to control the Liadong Peninsula. This increased the anti-Russian spirit among Japanese society. Since then, the conflict between Russia and Japan was inevitable (Latourette, 1951).

On the other hand, Great Britain also had an interest in China. Russia in British sight also posed a threat to Britain to dominate China. This reason led to the formation of the Japanese and British alliance on February 12, 1902. This attitude was responded by Russia by forming an alliance with France on March 16, 1902. As the consequence of the Russo-French Alliance, France did not dare to be involved in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-1905. If France helped Russia, then England would attack France. China and the United States strongly opposed the formation of the Anglo-Japanese and Russo-French alliance.

For this reason, in a geopolitical lens, the Russo-Japanese War is like an iceberg phenomenon. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan has become a developed nation. The Meiji Restoration which was carried out by Japan for 30 years when due to the pressure of the United States to open its isolation politics, also helped prepare Japanese modernity, which in the last 10 years was focused on building up power. Thanks to the Meiji Restoration, Japan managed to equalize its position on par with Western countries and even won the first victory of the Asian nation against the white nation (Europe). This euphoria victory aroused the nationalism of other Asian nations who where still confined or threatened by the practices of Western imperialism-colonialism.

Japanese Strategy and Superiority

During the Russo-Japanese War from 1904 to 1905, the Japanese Navy in a timeline faced at least 4 major battles against Russia: 1) Battle/blockade of Port Arthur February 9, 1904. 2) Battle of the Yellow Sea August 10, 1904. 3) Battle of Ulsan or the Sea of Japan August 14, 1904 and 4) the Battle of Tsushima May 26-28 1905 as the peak which also became the last battle of the Russo-Japanese War. In this war timeline, domination won by Japan, which was not just merely because of military strength but firstly an integrated war strategy from the various aspects such as doctrine, technology, social, political and even intelligence communication to support military forces capabilities. The war process can be described in figure 3.

Look at the strength posture of each country, it is reasonable that some sources said that the Russo-Japanese War is pretty much like the story of David's heroic battle against Goliath (World War Zero – More Incredible Facts About The Russo-Japanese War - MilitaryHistoryNow.com n.d.). Regarding national strength and resources, Tsar Nicholas II's Empire had three times the number of warships, six times the number of troops and three times the population of Japan. Japan's population at that time was 46.5 million while Russia was 130 million. Russia's larger naval naval force is divided into only three: Baltic Sea, Black Sea and Pacific. Meanwhile, Japan is concentrated in domestic waters (Jukes, 2002, p. 21). However, it should be noted that this war was initiated by Japan's first with a lightning attack to Port Arthur. This means that not only by faith, but Japan has also seriously devised a strategy, carried out calculations and prepared its armed forces in all possible wars that will occur. One proof is that between 1897-1904, Japan had ordered warships mostly from England (Sondhaus, 2001, p. 187).

Researchers share at least 3 major strategies that support Japan's victory. First, intelligence strategy. Japan realized the importance role of intelligence, so the number of agents was increased and spread out from Manchuria, Liadong, the Korean Peninsula, Port Arthur and event to Vladivostok

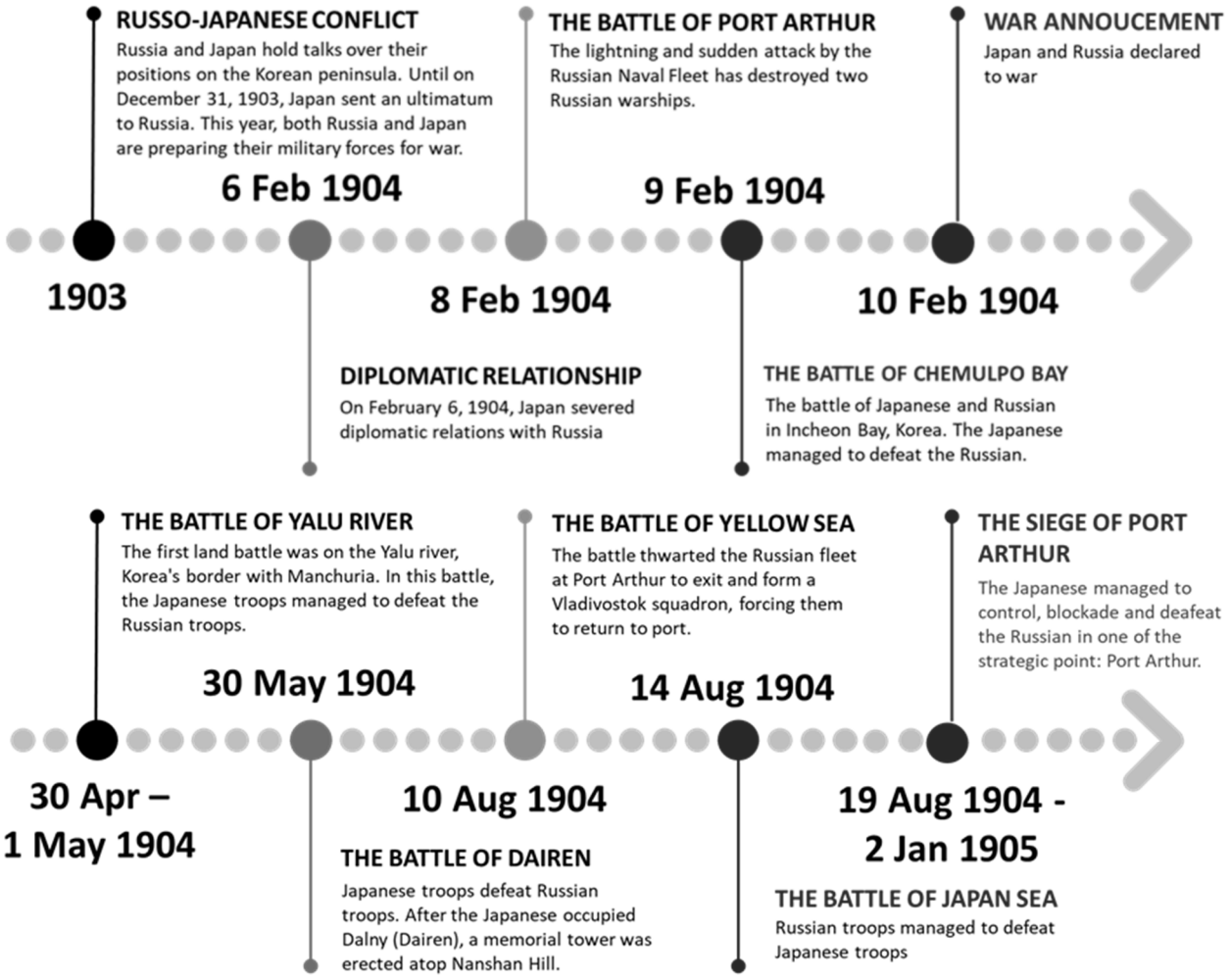

Figure 3. Historical Context of Russo-Japanese War 1&2

and Kabarovsk. Notonly the quantity, the quality of agents was also improved, from the determination of the agents, camouflage with the local resident, to the operation of 'dispatch boats' in each of the marine fleets. To support intelligence operations, wireless telegraph technology, a network of coastal detection systems and a strict information dissemination system are also prepared in the Tsushima Strait (Busch, 1969, p. 137).

On the other hand, the ability of Russian intelligence agenst was minimal, they had no clear plan, few were able to speak Japanese, lack of information gathering techniques (interrogation of prisonars), poor information dissemination, did not even have geographic map of Manchuaria even thought they had lived for years. They did not take advanted of Alexander Popov's telegraph teknologi which was relatively sophisticated at that time and failed to counter-intelligence the sabotate of the Japanese telegraph cable disconnection. This results in poor acuray and completeness of data (Evans & Peattie, 1997, p. 64).

Second, logistics strategy. In war mobilisation, a strategy of logistic is one of the vital elements. In this regard, Japan with its long stretch of coastline, has four main bases and eleven docking fasilities (Lardas, 2018, p. 22). This geographical position is also strategic because the range of mobilisation of military and logistical forces to the battlefield is relatively close and simple. For Russia, geographically, the position of the battlefield is quite difficult. Sea logistics support bases only located in Port Arthur and Vladivostok, while Trans-Siberian railroad as one of the key elements had small capacity still (Westwood, 1990, p. 4). All these various conditions drained the mental stamina of the soldiers and made them exhausted on the battlefield.

Third, operational strategy that includes combat power, war strategy, doctrine and tactics. Some modern fast ships of the Japanese fleet were coming from British navy. Japanese warships were only half number of Russia's, but Japan has many cruisers, destroyers and also torpedo boats that are

fast and have high attack power. Meanwhile, the Russian Naval Fleet, especially the Baltic Fleet are mostly old ships made in the 1880s. The Japanese strategy was to finish the war as quickly as possible due to limited resources, the lack of a naval fleet and reserves. The main strategy was to blockade and encircle the Port Arthur Fleet from land and sea, ensuring that the Rusian Naval Force remained fragmented so that it was easily destroyed. Therefore, another strategy was defending central position (choke point) in the Tsushima Strait. From the aspect of doctrine and tactics, both relatively applied the Mahanian and Nelsonian viewpoint with the basic naval battle.

Apart from these three strategies above, Japan has more superiority power in several aspects such as: enthusiasm, technology, experience, and alliances. In fighting spirit, the Japanese troops had the Bushido spirit: way of warrior (Storry, 1979, p. 17) that instilled in the spirit of the military. Meanwhile, the advancement of Japanese technology was the fruit of the modernity principle of Meiji Restoration which was studied in Western science. The superiority of technology was not only showed from the modernization of warships, but also by the spirit of modernity which was implemented in political and defense policies, thereby increasing effectiveness in the command-and-control aspects and combat power.

Japan implemented merit system in the selection of war commanders, chosen based on quality and experience, not because of close connections with the center of power. Just mention the name Vice Admiral Togo (Kowner, 2006, p. 379) who was appointed as a commander of the Joint Fleet of the Imperial Japanese Navy (Kaigun). Knowledge about the tactics of naval warfare obtained as the result of seven years studying in England, while the combat experienced obtained during the Franco-Chinese War of 1884 to 1885 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to 1895 whereby the average Japanese commander involved in. Thus, they got sense of military leadership that produces direction based on experiences related to the field in facing Russia.

The superiority of the alliance was also the strength and the key factor in Japan's victory. The alliance with Britain was particularly instrumental in the context of the Russo-Japanese War. The British provided modern wireless telegraph technology, information on the movement, strength and sea position of the Russian Naval Fleet (Chapman in Erickson, 2004, p. 41). Britain also provided fast, modern and sophisticated ships, completed with guaranteed fuel supplies. In addition, Britain also provided foreign loans as war support. The British also did not allow the Russian Fleet to cross the Suez Canal (Pleshakov, 2002, p. 157) which resulted in the Russian fleet from the Baltic Sea having rotate almost half of the world to be able to assist the troops at Port Arthur and Vladivostok.

INFLUENCE ON THE AWAKENING OF INDONESIAN NATIONALISM

Russia's defeat in Northeast Asia triggered a domestic political crisis. Tsar Nicholas II was forced to make concessions with liberal politicians by forming the Duma (Parliament) due to the Bloody Week incident that took place on January 9, 1905 in Saint Petersburg. The 1905 incident became a revolutionary experience for the anti-Tsarist II movement and became a stepping stone for left radical groups to continue their next revolutionary project. It was proven that in 1917, the power of the Romanov dynasty was successfully seized by VI Lenin. Since then, the first socialist country in the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (URSS) was born.

Japan's victory over Russia in Northeast Asia was not only commemorated by the Japanese people but its influence extends to China, the Philippines, India, Turkey, Indonesia and even to the African continent (Ambarman, 1980). For Chinese nationalist leaders like dr. Sun Yat Sen, Japan's victory over Russia is a symbol for the future progress of the Chinese nation. That victory momen heard from an Arab while visiting the Suez Canal. Sun Yat Sen was very obsessed with the progress that the Japanese had made. According to him, the Meiji Reformation has elevated the Japanese nation to become one of the strongest countries in the international political constellation. The Japanese learned from the West, they reformed the state administration, created armies and fleets, and reorganized finances over a period of 50 years. China has to learn from Japan to become a very strong country (Yat-Sen, 1953; 65).

The obsession to modernize China became even more intense when Sun Yat Sen as the leader of the Revive China Society was exiled to Japan due to the failure of the First Guang Zhou rebellion. The rebellion was triggered by the defeat of Tiongkok from Japan in 1894-1895. As a consequence, Manchuria and Korea, which were in the northern part of China, became a contested area for Japan and Russia. During his exile in Japan, Sun was helped a lot by Pan-Asian activists such as Toten Miyazaki. In Japan, Sun and several Japanese Pan-Asian activists assisted Philippine nationalist Mariano Ponce to obtain weapons and ammunition for use in the

armed revolution against the Spanish colonial government (1896-1898). Sun hoped that the Philippines would become a rear base for the revolution he would lead later. However, the Sun's aspiration foundered because the Republic of the Philippines which was proclaimed on January 23, 1899 was dissolved by the United States Army on March 23, 1901.

Three months after the victory of Japanese troops in the Tsushima Strait, Sun together with Song Jiaoren and Chinese revolutionary activists against the Manchu-Qing dynasty founded an underground revolutionary organization called the Tongmenghui (League of Chinese Unions) (Zongtang et al. n.d.). Branches of the Tongmenghui organization spread throughout the China province to foreign countries including in Southeast Asia which organized by Chinese immigrants. Sun's thoughts about 'San-Min Chu-I' or the Three Principles of the People consisting of Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism became the material for the agitation and propaganda of the Tongmenghui cadres to ignite the spirit of the Chinese nation to overthrow the Manchu-Qing imperial regime. In Sun's view, China would easily fall into the hands of major foreign nations such as Britain, France, the United States, Russia and Japan if the Manchu-Qing empire was not overthrown (Nasution, 2006, p. 28). This revolutionary organization succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu-Qing empire in 1911 through an armed revolution, known as the Xinhai Revolution.

The echoes of the Japanese victory in Port Arthur and the Tsushima Strait also reached the ears of the Indonesian independence fighters. Dr. Abdul Rivai, a doctor as well as a journalist, deliberately published news of Japan's victory over Russia regularly in the *Bintang Hindia* newspaper published in the Netherlands. The calls for the progress of the Japanese nation and the rise of the colonized people in the Dutch East Indies were constantly voiced. Rivai even suggested that the colonized people in the Dutch East Indies establish an organization as a means of struggle as had been done by the Chinese to rejuvenate their country. This call was also echoed by dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo in a newspaper in Solo who became a source of inspiration for Sutomo, a STOVIA student, to establish the Budi Utomo organization on May 20, 1908. It is not a coincidence that traders in Solo changed the name of their organization from Sarekat Dagang Islam to Sarekat Islam on September 10, 1912 (Abdullah, 2018).

Seventeen years after the Xinhai Revolution, Ir. Sukarno and dr. Samsi with Indonesian Chinese descendant political figures celebrated China's National Independence Day. The celebration was a form of Indonesian Pan-Asia solidarity for the progress that had been made by the Chinese nation. Sukarno tried to relate it to the theories of the nation of Ernest Renan and Otto Bauer which had been the source of his reference since 1926 (Sukarno, 1926). Renan in Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? (1882) said that the nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Nation is the result of a historical process from a series of unified events. Thus, according to Renan, the nation is solidarity on a large scale every day which is formed because of the awareness that people have sacrificed a lot in the past, and are willing to make sacrifices in the future. The nation was formed not because of ratial unity, language, religion, common interest and territorial borders, yet formed because of the will to unite (le désir d'étre ensemble). While Bauer defined nation in Die Nationalitiitenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie (1924) as a group of people who have the same character or personality (a national community of character) which formed because of the same feeling of fate (gemeinschaft).

From those Nation theories, Sukarno gave his critical point of view. Both of them, according to Sukarno, have not yet seen the human aspect of their homeland as well as the other nation's forming factors, cultural elements. Sukarno realized that when the two Western thinkers formulated the theory of the formation of nation, a new science of geopolitics was still underdeveloped, namely the study of human interaction and the relationship between humans and the place or location of land and water (geography) and the natural resources contained therein, as well as various factors that influence his life, namely political, economic and cultural aspects (Sukarno, 1945, 1958 and 1965). The nation was interpreted by Sukarno and being formed by historical awareness because of the existence of a common fate, a desire to be united and bound by the place of his birth. However in the Asia context at that time, the unity of fate and character within the boundaries of colonial administration in Asia had transcended these colonial boundaries into solidarity between Asian nations in the form of Pan-Asiatism.

So that for Sukarno, the peak of Japan's victory over Russia in the Tsushima Strait was not only a victory for the Japanese people but also a victory for Asian nations over Europe and became a source of inspiration for the Indonesian people to achieve

independence and be equal with foreign nations (Sukarno, 1928, p. 73). The same thing was also expressed by Drs. Mohammad Hatta that Japan's victory against Russia was Asia's first victory against Europe and had opened the eyes of Asian youth and instilled confidence in their hearts that a new era had arrived (Notosusanto, 1979, p. 14).

The Japanese hegemony in the Asia Pacific region was not without criticism from the Asian freedom fighters. In the perspective of Li Dazhao's, pioneer of the communist movement in China, the Pan-Asianism proposal put forward by Japan was more expansionist. However, Li still hopes that the regional cooperation of Asian nations will fight against domination of the Western imperialist nations. Likewise, Sun and other colleagues such as Wang Chingwei still hope that Pan-Asianism will play a constructive role in Asia's struggle against Anglo-Saxon imperialism (Saaler & Szpilman, 2011).

Likewise, Sukarno who initially sympathized with Pan-Asian Japan, but later he criticized Japan's expansionist character. In his pledoi, when he was arrested on charges of subversion, Sukarno had already seen the phenomenon of ultra-nationalism and the imperialistic character of Japan as the first country in Asia to be included in the economic category with a modern capitalist system. From a historical perspective, Japan reformed their political, economic and cultural systems from a feudal society system transformed into a limited monarchy by adopting a capitalist economic system as practiced in European countries. With the increase in industry, energy sources such as kerosene and charcoal are needed outside of Japan. In addition to the need for cheap energy for industrial purposes in Japan, demographic factors, namely the increasing population growth of Japan, have implications for increased large-scale emigration to other countries such as the Sakhalin Islands-Russia, Korea and Manchuria (Sukarno, 1989, p. 28).

It is not surprising that blood and iron politics were practiced by Japan to solve their economic and demographic problems in the East Asian region. This was stated by Mr. Ahmad Subardjo while reading the Tanaka Memorial document which contained Japan's political planning strategy within 10 years of dominating the world. First, Japan had to defeat China by capturing Manchuria and Mongolia. After China can be defeated, Asia and Europe will be in the grip of Japanese imperialism (Djojoadisuryo, 1978, p. 2013). Even though the document is considered inauthentic by experts, in the 1930s and '40s, the Tanaka Memorial was considered authentic because the Japanese actions were in line with the strategic plan contained in the document.

Sukarno was also suspicious of Japanese economic activity in Indonesia. As a result of the Japanese commodity boycott in China, the Japanese government was looking for new markets in southern Asia, such as Indo-China, India and Indonesia. For Sukarno, the dumping tactic used by Japan was aimed at increasing the volume of their international trade in an effort to overcome competition between global capitalist countries. Sukarno had projected that Japan's dumping tactics would end when Japan beat their competitors at the international trade level. Apart from that, Sukarno also saw it from the standpoint of the independence of the Indonesian nation. With the flood of commodities from Japan at low prices, this has implications for the demise of industry in Indonesia (Sukarno, 1933, p. 237).

From a geopolitical perspective, using analysis from Karl Haushofer, Japan's geographical position takes a political strategy as an archipelago with a barrier position in front of the Asian continent. This geographical position, according to Sukarno, was used as an excuse by them to protect all of Asia and maintain the safety of Asia. In fact, according to Sukarno, behind the Japanese geopolitical strategy there was hidden the face of Japanese imperialism which had an expansionist character (Sukarno, 1965).

CONCLUSION

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese battle with their strategy and strength in the global geopolitical constellation map shows two conclusions regarding the nationalist struggle movement in Asia and especially in Indonesia. First, modernity aspect. The Meiji Restoration which has brought modernization and military superiority strengthens the thesis that modernity is the key for Asian to be able to stand equally with Europeans. Modernity means the renewal of the face of the backward colonized nation, not just a matter of technology, but science that opens up mind to bring civilization progress. The dualism of war brings aggression, domination and destruction, but on the other hand triggers the rapid development of civilization in all aspects, economic, socio-political and cultural. In Indonesia, the echo of modernity can be seen from the birth of various revolutionary movements such as Budi Utomo in 1908, Indische Partij and Sarekat Islam in 1912. It was this spirit of modernity that encouraged freedom fighters to increase geopolitical litera-

cy in order to read the global political constellation where nationalism at that time was cosmopolitan. which is then used to carry out movements and diplomacy for the main goal of independence.

Second. Aspects of Nationalism. The Russo-Japanese war evoked the feeling of one nation: the Asians. In the Russo-Japanese war, Japan as an Asian nation that represents colored people, has won over Russia, the white people (western) with associated with the face of imperialism and colonialism. This feeling of fate ignited the hopes of the homeland fighters that the Asian nation would be able to defeat the European nation. This then triggered an alliance movement of nations with the same fate who were both shackled by Western colonialism to defend sovereignty and fight for independence. One popular movement is Pan-Asianism. The Pan-Asianism proposal was welcomed by intellectuals and activists who fought for the independence of Asian nations. However, Japan's expansionist movement to establish a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Area began to encounter opposition. The spirit of Pan-Asianism which is anti-colonialism and imperialism was continued in the form of solidarity and cooperation between Asian and African countries which was concretized at the Asia-Africa Summit on April 18-24 1955 in Bandung. Thus, it is concluded that the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 had a strong influence on the rise of nationalism and the spirit of struggle, both in Asia and in Indonesia itself, not to defeat the West, but to open awareness of sovereignty and the right to fight for the independence of their country, free from the shackles of imperialism and the exploitation of colonialism.

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