

**THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE RECEPTION OF WESTERN CULTURE
AND THE FORMATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE THREE ORIENTAL
COUNTRIES OF CHINA, JAPAN AND KOREA**

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Introduction

Considering that the main theme of the 14th ICUS is ABSOLUTE VALUES AND THE NEW CULTURAL REVOLUTION and that the topic of Committee II is SYNTHESIS AND RELATIONSHIP IN CULTURE, I think that the specific contents to be discussed in this Committee should be derived from one of the three following approaches:

The first is to probe the ways to create a desirable cultural revolution in the future society by assuming that today's world is faced with a Copernican turning point and that there is a need for absolute values integrating those conflicting values.

The second one is, by narrowing our perspective to the Sciences and Arts, to think about the interdisciplinary ways of creating new culture and to find out the concrete examples and models by developing new study fields from a practical position, as many scholars practice nowadays.

The third one is to deal with questions such as whether the heterogeneous or regional cultures will someday be integrated into one homogeneous culture or whether both common and individual cultural will be carried forward in history. Of course, we can approach the question on the assumption that there should be some common direction in the progress of human civilization and culture because we are coming to an era beyond such differences as nationality, ethnic Group, color of skin, etc.

The third question will be my main concern in this humble treatise. Throughout history, there have been innumerable cultural contacts and exchanges between both East and West. And I want to figure out how mankind should develop the new cultural revolution at the time when we are faced with a far greater cultural turning point than ever experienced in the past centuries. In doing that, I want to use the cases of the three major Oriental countries, focusing on "With what kind of paradigms have those countries tried to receive the Western culture?"

As my discussion continues, I would like to consider the historical cases that those three countries experienced. Through them I want to prove that the historical environment within a certain community plays a determining role in giving birth to new culture that is beginning to form when the heterogenous cultures meet each other. And also I want to make it clear that values, especially absolute values, should be given full consideration in dealing with the NEW CULTURAL REVOLUTION, which is our present concern. I have tried also to prepare the basis for the harmonious development and cohesion of many different cultures by examining the variability and fairness in those three individual countries' contacts with Western culture for the past several centuries.

(Appendix I)

I. Three Oriental Countries' Posture in Receiving Heterogeneous(=Western) Culture before the 18th Century.

1. The Case in China

Among those three countries, China represented both the window and the model for receiving Western culture to Japan and Korea on the one hand. But on the other hand, China, owing to the Chinese people's (Han race) peculiar characteristics, shows many differences from the other two countries.

Here, I would firstly like to examine the Chinese contacts with Western culture and the ways the country responded by taking a look at a few instances.

At the end of Ming Dynasty, Matteo Ricci(1552-1610),⁽¹⁾ an Italian, came to China as a Jesuit missionary. He found there that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism coexisted not only in one country and in one community but also in each individual's value-consciousness, and that there was a difference between the monochromatic Western value system and the polychromatic Eastern value system.⁽²⁾

He saw that the Nestorianism which had come to China during Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) had now decayed, and that Islam was widely believed in along the west frontier of the country. Thinking that there would be an inevitable collision between the existing values in China such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and foreign religions such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism which are monotheistic in so far as they claim their own doctrines to be absolute values, he began preaching while respecting peculiar Chinese values such as ancestry worship as well.

Before he entered China, he had learned the Chinese language and writing during his stay at Macao, a Portuguese colony. He travelled extensively, dressed in Chinese costume, and established churches in inland china where even access was prohibited to foreigners. In 1601, he entered Peking, an imperial city, and not only preached the gospel but also introduced the Chinese to Western astronomy, euclidean geometry, and other technologies by translating or writing books. He brought a chiming clock from Europe and made a world atlas by himself and showed them to the Emperor and other high-ranking officials. He received a big welcome from the Chinese government, successfully fulfilling his East and West cultural exchange activities through thirty years of missionary work.

Hsü Kuang-Chi(徐光啓),⁽³⁾ a high official at the close of the Ming Dynasty, influenced by Matteo Ricci, tried to propagate Western civilization and Christianity within China. He converted to Christianity and even changed his name to Paul Hsü, a Christian name.

At the beginning of the Ching Dynasty in 1619, Adam Schall von Bell⁽⁴⁾ (1591-1666), a German Jesuit missionary, came to China. At that time, China was experiencing a chaotic period as the Juchen race(女真族) rose up in Manchuria, overthrew the Ming Dynasty and began to found the Ching Dynasty. There his missionary work spread. As a prominent astronomer he also played a determining role in introducing the Roman calendar to China after he was appointed director of the National Astronomical Observatory of China by Emperor Shun Chih⁽⁵⁾(順治帝; reigned 1644-61). He was called Ma Fa(祖父; grandfather) by Emperor Shun Chih and got the permission to establish churches in Peking. He even persuaded the Emperor to meditate in the church. However, in 1664, three years after Emperor Shun Chih had passed away, he fell into a trap by anti-Christian officials within the government, was thrown into prison, and was killed and dismembered together with five Chinese.

But the death of Adam Schall von Bell didn't mean the end of the efforts by missionaries to implant Western culture into Oriental society. Emperor, K'ang-Hsi(康熙帝; 1662-1721), who is considered the greatest Emperor in Chinese history, succeeded to the throne in 1661 when he was just 8 years old, began to perform his duties as Emperor from 1669 and turned China into a great country in the world during his 60-year reign. He was from the Juchen race(女真族), a people of less than three million who lived in Manchuria. He was the great Emperor who left behind the dazzling accomplishment of having governed the Han race, which numbered 233 million in 1710. He was taught euclidean geometry directly by Joachin Bouvet and Jean Francois Gerbillion⁽⁶⁾

who were Jesuit missionaries dispatched from France. He even studied the anatomy books written by E. Bartholin.

But, in the end, the propagation of Christianity and the adoption of Western civilization failed in China. The first reason for the failure can be found during the Ching Dynasty(1644-1911) that sprang up right after the fall of the Ming Dynasty. In 1704, Dominican and Franciscan missionaries⁽⁷⁾ came to China. When they reported to the Vatican that Christianity was being propagated in a degenerated form by Jesuit missionaries, the Vatican prohibited the mission in China on the grounds that the monotheistic Christianity could not accept nor coexist with ancestry worship, an anti-Christian doctrine. Moreover, after Emperor K'ang-Hsi, who had been generous to Western civilization and Christianity, passed away, Emperor Shih Tsung, ordered a ban on Christian missionary work in China.

The second reason for the failure in China originates from Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), which is the thought that sees China as the center of the world, and that regards Chinese values as higher than any other foreign ones. Since the glorious age of Yao Hsun(堯舜) this thought generated the nation: that the Chinese emperor could make the world peaceful and safe by exerting his moral influence not only upon his own Han race but also on the other races such as Tung I(東夷; the races in the east of China), Hsi Jung(西戎; the races in the west of China), Pei Ti(北狄; the races in the north of China), Nam Man(南蠻; the races in the south of China). Because of this thought, even Hsi Kang-Ch'i(徐光啓), who was fascinated with Western civilization and Christian doctrine, claimed Chung T'i Hsi Yung⁽⁸⁾(中体西用) and did not accept Western civilization, ideas, and religion outright.

The meaning of Chung T'i Hsi Yung is as follows: Chung(中) means China

or Chinese; T'i(體) can be interpreted as body in modern language, but the real meaning is substance, mental substance, that is, values; Hsi(西) represents the West, Yung(用) to use. Therefore, the phrase means that it is fair to use the Western technology and science, but that it is still more important for the Chinese to keep their own value standard.

Emperor Kang Hsi also inevitably inherited Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想) as it was, though he was from the Juchen race, a minority group in Manchuria. (Appendix II)

And the Western civilization and knowledge that he learned by experience evoked just curiosity among some intellectuals and high-class people in a despotic society where civil society was far from being achieved. It never had a great impact on the majority of people there. In that context, we see that there was difficulty in the fusion of heterogeneous cultures due to the systematic differences, which is the same with the modern age. We also see that the difficulties in overcoming the systematic differences were not one-directional. As was shown above, we can observe it from the realities in which the Vatican, disappointed with the way Matteo Ricci and Adam Schall von Bell did their missionary work, enforced the Catholic values on intrinsic, traditional China, and from the realities that the 18-19th century was transformed into a dark age in the exchange of East and West culture.

2. The Case in Japan.

Koo-Kai(空海; 774-835), a high monk was the first Japanese who had come into contact with Western people. During his stay in China at Tang Dynasty, for monastery life, he noticed that the Nestorian Christianity was already being propagated in China at the time. And he came to know about the other world (Western world) through his contacts with Central Asian and Persian

girls. In the sixteenth century Xavier Saing Francis (1506-1552), a Spanish Jesuit priest came to Goa, India, in 1542, and landed at Kagoshima,⁽⁹⁾ Japan, in 1549, and preached Christianity there. Since then, owing to active missionary work by Portuguese and Spanish missionaries, the number of believers in Japan exceeded 200,000.⁽¹⁰⁾ But the over-competition between missionaries of Dutch and English Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations finally brought on much public criticism in Japan. From then on, horrible persecution began. Christianity and the Japanese Christians had to suffer religious martyrdom in many cases, thus leading to consistent national isolation policy. Meanwhile, Japan was beginning to receive Western knowledge, such as astronomy, euclidean geometry, mathematics, and medicine through commercial contacts with the Dutch at Nakasaki(長崎), located on the south-western tip of Japan. In the process, Japan heard the news that the great country Ching(清) had been defeated by England, and became very sensitive to the international situation in the East thereafter.

However, the biggest event in the process of the transmission of Western culture into Japan was probably the arrival in 1553 of three shipwrecked Portuguese at Danggashima Island(種子島) in the southern tip of Japan and their introduction of flintlock and its manufacture to the Japanese. When they came back to Japan ten years later, they were greatly shocked to find that already the flintlock had not only spread all over Japan but also more than 20,000 pieces had been sold to Loo-Choo(琉球) Island.⁽¹¹⁾

Japan, thereafter armed with flintlock, changed its cavalry-centered military strategy into an infantry-centered military strategy, and embarked on the aggression of Korea(朝鮮)(1592-1598), with Hideyoshi heading 300,000 soldiers mobilized from all over the Japan.

At that time, the Korean people had their first contacts with Catholicism from Japanese soldiers who were Catholics.

3. The Case in Korea

In East Asia, Korea has been developing a separate culture and history which is quite distinct from China and Japan, and shows a different pattern in receiving Western culture over the past several centuries.

The Korean race's encounter with Western civilization was not through the direct contact with Western people but through the indirect one both by way of China and under the Japanese domination.

The first encounter was in 1644 when the crown Prince Chao Hsien(昭顯世子), son of King Jen Tsu(仁祖), returned home from China carrying book of Western science and Catholic doctrine written or translated into Chinese by Matteo Ricci, Amdam Schall von Bell, and others. He intended to inform the Korean race of the developments of Western civilization and the Christian doctrine.⁽¹²⁾ But he was killed a month later after a dispute with the King and conservative politicians. Here Korea missed its best chance of getting in touch with Western culture.

The second opportunity for Korea to receive Western culture was in 1778 when Je Ka Park(朴齊家 ; 1750-1815),⁽¹³⁾ a young scholar, went to Peking, the capital of the Ching Dynasty, as an envoy. There he was deeply absorbed in reading various books on Western civilization, and thought that there was a big need for reform in politics, economy, military, and so forth in his own country. He proposed to the King of Korea that the government invite the Western missionaries in Peking to Korea. But his proposal rather aroused opposition from King and government officials, who responded by prescribing Western science as evil science. From then Korea closed its door to the Western world, and was looked on as a country of seclusion.

Catholicism was brought into Korea not by Western missionaries themselves but by Korean envoys who came and went between Peking and Seoul. The envoys

secretly brought in books on Catholic doctrine. Since 1784, some scholars who had indulged in studying the writings and world map of Matteo Ricci, gathered and studied Catholic doctrine, and formed an assembly at Myeong Dong, Seoul, thus delivering the gospel of the Lord to the general public.⁽¹⁴⁾ This developed into full-scale missionary work when they smuggled Jacques Vellezo⁽¹⁵⁾ in 1791 into Korea. The missionary's face resembled that of a Korean because he was Chinese. At that time, the number of Catholics in Korea reached thousands, and the social status among them varied from royals and nobles to the farmers and the peasants.

II. The Peculiarity in the Attitude of Receiving Western Culture among three Oriental countries, China, Japan, Korea after the 19th Century.

1. The case in china.

I think we can examine the Western influences on modern China in terms of three stages. The first stage started from the defeat in the Opium Wars⁽¹⁶⁾ (the first Opium War 1840-1842, the second Opium War 1856-1860) with Great Britain. It was unbelievable at that time that the great country Ching(清), very proud of its 4,000 long years of history and civilization, developed since Hsia(夏, 20C-16C B.C.), Yin(殷, 18C-11C B.C.), and Chou(周, 11C-3C B.C.), had been miserably beaten and made to surrender by the humble English fleet consisting of 16 warships and 32 transport ships of the British East India company. Because, from the standpoint of China, England just meant nothing but a small tribe living in Nam Man(南蠻, an uncivilized tribe in the south of China). Even today, in the outskirts of Peking the remains of Yuan Ming Yuan(圓明園), a detached palace of the Ching Dynasty, can be seen. The remains were left intact as a symbol of the barbarious acts of the allied

forces of England and France.

Spurred by the defeat, the Ching Dynasty changed its existing military systems and arsenals into Western ones, and began to receive Western civilization actively by propelling the Industrialization for Self Strengthening Movement, so-called Yang Wu Yun Tung⁽¹⁷⁾(洋務運動). But followed by the Russian erosion of its northern and western territory,⁽¹⁸⁾ by domestic insurrections, and by the severe defeat in the war(1894-1895) with Japan, the Ching Dynasty was beginning to decline. The fall of Ching(清) was speeded up by the confrontation with the newly rising intellectuals such as Kang Yu Wei(康有為), Sun Wen⁽¹⁹⁾(孫文), who insisted on building new China by the Han race(漢族). The Ching(清) finally perished in the period of 1909-1911.

We might think that if China had had a small territory, a unified language and customs, and a proper population, it could have overcome the regional differences and the confrontation between old and new. However, the Chinese, though in the same cultural sphere in terms of the written Chinese character, had much difficulties in communication even within the same Han race(漢族), had different kinds of food regionally, and had built invisible but rigid social strata determined by those differences in cultural level. Added to that was the common attitude shared by the Chinese people. That is, they have for thousands of years never cared about "Who took political power?" but just "How can we live peacefully and safely without government intervention?". The people have been living in a long historical tradition in which change of power was just a game played by the upper class.

Among the general public, the important values were the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, the mercy of Buddha, the longing of the Taoist hermit, and ancestry worship. Because of that, there was a deep-rooted naturalism, stand-off attitude and moralism in their consciousness. The people were even uncon-

sciously convinced of the eternity of the Han race, obsessed with Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), thought of China as being the center of the world, Among the general public, the love of home province took priority over the love of country, the love of family over that of home province. Therefore, no matter how loudly the pioneers shouted about patriotism and cried for reform, the general public was still on the defensive, maintaining the status quo.

But if the issue related to the livelihood of the people, there came about severe civilian uprisings in the midst of foreign troubles at the end of the Ching Dynasty. We can find examples of internal rebellion during that period. Such as teh T'ai P'ing T'ien Kuo Civil War⁽²⁰⁾(太平天國亂; 1851-1864), and the I'Ho Tuan⁽²¹⁾(義和團), an absurd secret religious group, instigated by the declining Ching Dynasty, attacked all the foreign public offices in Peking in 1900 and thus stirred up much trouble in the name of reviving the Ching Dynasty and driving the Western people out of China.

The second big event in the modern history of China is the establishment of the Chinese Government following the fall of the Ching Dynasty. We see also here those peculiar characteristics that China had. They indicate disorder, not unification. After the fall of Ching(清) there were many military factions in the provincial regions who strengthen their own power, with the new central government unchanged despite some ambitious intellectuals.

Frightened by this, Kang Yu Wet(康有為), Sun Wen(孫文), Liang Chi Chao(梁啟超), and Chang Ping Lin(章炳麟), and others who were the pioneers from the Han race, began to encourage the people's strong national consciousness, and published across the country magazines which insisted that they end the domination of China by different races and establish a new republic of Chinese people. Among them, Chang Ping Lin issued Hsien Pao(勸報) in Shang Hai(上海), Sun Wen issued Min Pao(民報) in Kuang Tung(廣東) in 1905,

Lu Hsiün and his friends issued Hsin Ching Jen (新青年) also in Shang Hai (上海) in 1915. Through those magazines, they developed the ideas of Civil Society by criticizing their own traditional Confucianism in many respects from the standpoint of Western nationalism, democracy and science. (22)

In the meantime, the Western superpowers were making desperate efforts to derive rights from helpless China. So the Peking University students, who were against the Unequal Treaty following Japan's acquisition of dominance over China after World War I, gathered in front of the Tien An Men (天安門) gate, and began a demonstration march. Following that, the national Wu Ssu Yun Tung (23) (五四運動; the civil movement which inherited the spirit of opposition against Japan and the Unequal Treaty) awakened China to the need for a new society.

But, after the Pacific War (World War II) following the Japanese occupation (1931) of Manchuria and the invasion (1937) of the Chinese mainland, these civil movements developed into a struggle for sovereign rights between the Kuo Min Tang (國民黨) government led by Chiang Kai Shik (蔣介石) who advocated democratic capitalism and the Communist Party led by Mao Tse Tung (毛澤東) who advocated socialism.

The third big event in modern China was the emergence of the Socialist Communist Party headed by Mao Tse Tung (毛澤東) as the ruling power of China in 1949. He tried to build a new China by canceling all the unequal treaties with foreign countries. Mao's regime participated in the Korean War in 1950, and built the atomic bomb, that masterpiece of Western civilization, in 1964, together with ballistic missiles. On the other hand, he developed the collectivization of the whole country, and followed it with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (文化大革命; 1966-1969). Since his death, China has made great efforts to realize modernization with a new socialist line based on

pragmatism. China, we might say in a word, is in the process of blending Western socialism with its own Oriental traditional ideas. Nobody knows at this moment what kind of results it will bring about. One thing which seems to be clear is that the Chinese will continue their own traditional policy of Chung T'i Hsi Yung(中体西用) based upon Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中华思想), I feel there is much need to think about this. (Appendix III)

2. The Case in Japan.

I think that with Japan, too, the cultural or physical shocks brought by the Western world can be divided into three stages.

The first one was in 1853, when the U.S. East Indies Fleet headed by Perry Matthew C(albraith) appeared in the sea off Eto(江戸; the present Tokyo). The Japanese had heard from Dutch merchants that the Ching(清), had been severely defeated by a small English fleet in the Opium War, and began to think that they could not but rely on the new Western weapons to prevent in advance that kind of defeat. When they knew the Kurobune was threatening them, they tried to receive Western civilization actively by changing their slogan from Wakon Kanshai(和魂漢才) to Wakon Yoshai(和魂洋才).

Wakon Kanshai is the thought to strengthen Japan by adding Kanshai(漢才), the skills of Han race, to Wakon(和魂), the Japanese spirit. Accordingly, Wakon Yoshai is the thought to build a new and strong Japan by adding Yoshai(洋才), Western technology and skills, to Wakon(和魂), the Japanese spirit. The first undertaking was to build a steamship, at the same time as building the guns in 1851 and installing them in many places along the strategic coast line. At that time, the steamship was, in fact, regarded as a symbol of national power. It even was identified with the notion of national defense. Japan put all its effort into this construction.

The Japanese at last completed the steamship which was of little value to them in 1855, one year after The Kurobune's arrival at the sea of Tokyo Bay.⁽²⁴⁾ And the Japanese Government began to train the navy in modern techniques. In 1885 the Japanese came to possess a naval fleet comprising five steamships. They had continuously increased the number of new steamships since they purchased in 1857 the first steamship "The Japan" that was armed with 12 cannons.⁽²⁵⁾

But the changes brought brought by The Kurobune's arrival meant more than physical ones to Japan. It also meant the beginning of the Meiji Restoration (明治維新; 1868) in which the Tokugawa Shogun Regime (徳川幕府政權) transferred political power to the Emperor. Since then, Japan westernized every system. For example, it westernized its educational system on the basic of the German model and its military system based on the French. It even transformed its existing political system into a British-style constitutional monarchy in 1888.

The second Western influence on Japan might be building the foundation for so-called Western Civil Society by adopting the constitutional monarchy. At that time Japan was very sensitive to the international situation in the Far East, and so strengthened its national power, emphasizing a wealthy country and a powerful army, thus leading to the Sino-Japanese War(1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War(1904-5), its involvement in World War I(1914-18), the occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the invasion of mainland China in 1937 followed by World War II in 1940. Though Japan's involvement in a series of wars makes us believe that Japan preferred militarism to Western democracy, however, constitutional monarchy was the biggest present by the West to Japan.

The third shock by Western culture to Japan was the U.S. occupation of the islands in 1945 after the defeat in World War II and the declaration, under

its Peace Constitution, that Japan would give up any kind of war forever.

3. The Case in Korea.

Here, too, I think the impact of the Western culture upon Yi Dynasty of Korea in modern times might be divided into three stages.

The first one began with the ban on Catholicism and the adoption of a selfisolation policy in Korea. We have seen that the Western aggression and civilization brought about a big shock both in China and Japan. However, here in Korea, the beginning of the impact took the form of persecution of Korean Catholics who were secret believers.

The Yi Dynasty of Korea, in the early 1800's, ordered the ban on Catholicism⁽²⁶⁾ due to the increase in the number of followers, leading to the famous persecutions of 1846, 1861, 1866, and in 1876.

What did Catholicism mean to Korea at the end of the Yi Dynasty(in 1800's)? Seen from the position of the people, it meant the hope and belief that they could overcome their own oppressive reality and reach Heaven. It gave comfort to the followers who sought peace and salvation from the hardships of life. Seen from the position of the public-spirited people on the other hand, it meant the opportunity to receive Western civilization and knowledge and to revive Shih Shih Chiu Shih(实事求是 ; Probing the truth by focusing on factual knowledge. This is the political principle held by today's Chinese Communist Party Government). Disappointed with the existing scholars who were deeply doctorinature based on Chu Tzu Hsüsh(朱子学), the intellectual pioneers attempted to build a wealthy nation by stabilizing the livelihood of the people and by reviving industry in a practical way. Many of the pragmatic scholars, in that period were converted to Catholicism. They even unhesitatingly died as martyrs for their belief, thinking it lamentable that Korea could not receive Western civili-

zation and culture directly from Western people seeing as Korea lay in the same geographical and international situation as China and Japan.

Those pragmatic pioneers were convinced that the spirit of Christian love was a new advance in values, ahead of Confucian goodness and Buddhist mercy. The values and thoughts held by the early Christians in Korea have been unceasingly carried into the hearts of Christian people today.

The first direct contact with Western people, in Korea, occurred in the late 1880's, 30 years after the Chinese Opium War and 20 years after the Japanese reception of The Kurobune. Of course there were the missionaries who came to Korea before that time. But they had smuggled themselves into the country. During this period Korea was deeply imbued with the idea of rejecting foreigners. This attitude became further entrenched after an illegal archeological dig by a German merchant, Ernest Oppert, in which he, along with the seven other people, including a French Catholic priest who had escaped the persecution in Korea, fled after a failed attempt to dig up the Royal tomb of Nam Yern Kun(南延君), father of the influential Ta Yuan Kun(大院君) whose son was the present King of Korea. Griffie, in his book "The Hermit Nation, Korea" called this incident The International Bodysnatching.⁽²⁷⁾ The incident prompted the ruler to stick to the isolation policy that never allowed any kind of Western approach.

In fact, there were some, intellectuals who wanted to receive Western Civilization on the basis of Tung Tao Hsi Chi(東道西器), just as the Chinese were for Chung T'i Hsi Yung(中作西用). Tung Tao(東道) represents the Oriental ethic, morality and values, while Hsi Chi(西器) stands for Western science, technology and skills. Prior to the International Body-snatching incident there were many people in Korea who favored Tung Tao Hsi Chi(東道西器). The incident fundamentally prevented the development of this movement.

In 1883, Korea faced turmoil when the Japanese warship Un-Yo-Maru(雲揚號)

came to Kang Hwa island, west of Seoul.⁽²⁸⁾ It reminds us of the arrival at Tokyo Bay of Kurobune, headed by Admiral Perry. (Perry made peaceful contact with Japan at that time, while the Japanese used military force from the beginning.) Here, Korea at last opened its door to the West by entering into treaties with England, France, U.S.A., Russia, as well as Japan.

The second shock from Western civilization can be seen from the fact that Korea came to lose its own independence and became a Japanese colony. Though in form the Japanese annexation of Korea appeared to be a case of territorial domination by one Oriental nation of another, in substance it was completely different from the mutual relationship that had been maintained for hundreds of years between China and Korea. It was the one-sided conquering by Japan, wearing a Western mask.

The Orientals have a queer psychology. That is, as we see from Appendix II, they are assimilated to a different race which they have conquered but are not assimilated to different race when they are the ones who are conquered. Japan effectively conquered Korea in 1905 and dominated her for almost 40 years. But the Korean people, faced with Japanese repression, began a movement to get back their own Korean spirit just as the Israeli people, after being sent to Babylon as hostages, reformed Judaism there by strengthening their belief in God and by revitalizing the root of the Israeli spirit. The Korean people developed a nationwide Independence Movement in 1919, demonstrating their civil spirit, and then raised their power cautiously, hoping that they would someday get the country back.

The third shock brought by Western society on Korea was the division of the peninsula into South and North after the liberation from Japan in 1945, with the South advocating democracy influenced by the U.S.A. and the North advocating Communist ideology influenced by the U.S.S.R. Later this shock

brought about three years of bloody war, The Korean War, fought between people of the same race in 1950-1953, thus leading to the present situation in which 1.3 millions young soldiers from both sides are confronting each other along the 155-mile Demilitarized Zone. We can not but regard this grim reality as the biggest shock by Western civilization upon Korea.

III. The Formation of Civil Society and the Road to Modern Society in the Three Oriental Countries.

1. The Difference and Similiarity of Value Choice.

As we have seen above, there was a clear difference in the introduction of foreign culture and in the attitude with which it was received between China, Japan and Korea.

In China there was a very dim conception of foreign culture. The external civilization just meant a plus for their convenience. Even when they were dominated by a small different race which they called uncivilized, they had the capacity to make it conform to their own value, Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang (中華思想).

When Buddhism, a foreign religion, came to China (around A.D.50)⁽²⁹⁾ and gradually became one of three major faiths in China, Confucianism showed an attitude of aloofness. Buddhism was slowly accepted by the Chinese people in the process of competing with Taoism. Three hundred years later, it prevailed in China and reached the same position as Confucianism and Taoism.

And in the process of receiving Western civilization in modern times, the Chinese never changed their original position of Chung T'i Hsi Yung (中体西用), which means, as was explained above, using the Western skills, based upon their own traditional values. Their attitude was to not attach any value to Western civilization and culture.

Compared with that, Japan was fundamentally different from China.

The Japanese received by way of Korea foreign thought such as Confucianism and Buddhism without rejecting it despite the existence of Shin-To(神道), the Japanese national faith. They showed no sign of hesitation when Wang-In(王仁; Wani), who was from Paek Je(百濟) in Korea, conveyed Lun YU(論語; the book that recorded the sayings of Confucius) and Chien Tzu Wen(千字文; The Thousand Characters text) to Japan in the 3rd century, and introduced Confucian culture. It was the same when Buddhism was transferred by Paek Je(百濟) to Japan in 538. At one time Buddhism even blossomed in Japan.

We can see the same Japanese traits in modern times. The Japanese, at this time too, actively received Western civilization even by changing their slogan from Wa Kon Kan Sai(和魂洋才), believing that they could attain national development by so doing.

Compared with Japan, Korea gives us a little different case. Confucianism was prevalent in Ko Ku Ryo(高句麗), Paek Je(百濟), and in Shilla(新羅), which were three kingdoms at the time, and it was prevalent in China. When Buddhism, a new foreign culture, came to Korea, Ko Ku Ryo(高句麗) and Paek Je(百濟) did not reject it, but Shilla(新羅) showed strong resistance. Since 570, following the Buddhist martyrdom, Shilla began to accept it.⁽³⁰⁾ From that time on, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism have, together with traditional Korean Shamanism, been deeply rooted in the minds of Korean people.

We have seen that Korea was seclusive against Western culture. As was explained before, it was due to the fact that the Korean people regarded Western civilization and culture as having no genuine values but just external form. We can see this kind of attitude from previously mentioned Tung Tao Hsi Chi(東道西器) held by the Korean people. Tung Tao(東道) meant the Oriental values such as the Oriental ethics, morality, norms and historial tradition,

while Hsi Chi(西器) represented the Western civilizations. The Korean people regarded the latter not as value-oriented but as a vessel(Chi means vessel) or a tool. So, that was the thought to build a new culture and civilization containing Oriental values in the vessel called the West. While the Chinese advocated Chung T'i Hsi Yung(中外西用) from the standpoint of China, and while the Japanese advocated Wa Kon Yo Shai(和魂洋才) from the standpoint of Japan, the Korean stood for Tung Tao Hsi Chi(東道西器) from the standpoint of Oriental values, not of Korea. Here, we see that those three countries took different roads on their own when faced with important moments of value choice.

We have so far seen that though the differences in the value choice depends on the degree of sticking to absolute values and on the quality of the ruler, the more important factor is the assimilation attitudes of the majority of the people. In other words, I want to postulate that the formation of Civil Society plays a determining role not only in receiving foreign cultures but also in promoting new culture as well. Then, what kind of course have those three countries undergone in modern times? And what kind of characteristics did they have?

2. Civil Society.

According to Hegel, Civil Society is "an association of members, self-subsistent individuals in a universality which, because of their self-subsistence, is only abstract. Their association is brought about by their needs, by the legal system - the means to security of person and property - and by an external organization for attaining their particular and common interests".⁽³¹⁾ He also called civil society "the achievement of the modern world".⁽³²⁾ And Richard L. Rubenstein,⁽³³⁾ according to the view of Adam Smith and Hegel, saw

civil society as the realm of universal egoism. He, by quoting Hegel, "Individuals in their capacity as burghers in this state are private persons whose end is their own interest"⁽³⁴⁾ and "But civil society tears the individuals from his family ties, estranges the members of the family from one another, and recognizes them as self-subsistent individuals",⁽³⁵⁾ said, "In spite of the fact that men in civil society find themselves in a condition of universal interdependence, their motives are nevertheless private, egoistic and self-aggrandizing".⁽³⁶⁾

Here, I don't want to question the opinions of Hegel or R.L. Rubenstein on Civil Society. Rather, I am trying to give my consideration to the question, "From when did the conception of civil society come to those three Oriental countries?", "Into what shape did it develop?", and finally to "How does it develop today?".

We clearly know that in the Orient Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism prevailed until the arrival of Western thought, and that it lacked the pre-conditions to form civil society in the Western sense. And, when Western civilization gave birth to the prevalent Chung T'i Hsi Yung(中体西用) thought in China, Tung Tao Hsi Chi(东道西器) thought in Korea, and Wakon Yosai (和魂洋才) thought in Japan, there was no ideological movement in those Oriental countries, nor inclination toward civil society. There still remained the social order, closely tied to ancestor worship, consanguinity, loyalty to the King, and such a traditional that does not openly permit any claim by certain individuals or groups. Therefore, an individual, marching for his ambition, suddenly gave up all his aspirations, returned home, and led a quiet country life, reading the teachings of the late sages, having pure conversations with friends, and living a humble life. At this time, the civil society was still far away.

By the way, those three countries chose different roads of their own in the process of the active introduction of Western civilization. The yes or no of the formation of civil society there played an important part in making those differences, influencing the destiny of the countries.

3. The Case in China.

China had contacts with Western culture earlier than the other countries. It even, tried to assimilate Western culture actively at one time or another. But it could never give up the Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), its own traditional thought. In such an environment the new movement could not be spread nationwide, though there was a movement among some intellectuals to eagerly realize the civil society, due to the estrangement between the governing and the governed, the social status system, and regional differences. We have already noticed that there were many uprisings by some patriotic and nationalistic groups across the country in the midst of the national crises following the defeat in The Opium War. But the movements by those groups were denounced by the conservative forces as being anti-national and anti-monarchic, and thus failed one after another. Here we see the Chinese history of almost 100 years of humiliation. Seen in terms of communication and transportation, this long-term disgrace, we might say, was partly due to the huge size of the country.

In China, the full-scale development of civil society started from Wu Wou Yun Tung(五四運動 ; which sprang up on 4th of May, 1918, as a civil movement protesting the Unequal Treaty with Japan). From that time on, the civil social movement was developed by the Kuo Min Tang(國民黨) which advocated democratic capitalism and civil rights and by the Communist Party which advocated democracy but denied capitalism. But owing to the Japanese invasion,

these civil movements for democracy and civil rights were greatly discouraged, and especially the development of genuine civil society was terribly retarded. Until the establishment of the new People's Republic of China, China suffered, we might say, external troubles and internal riots, thus didn't take the regular course in forming civil society.

We are today keeping an eye on the society of China. Is socialist China, based on Marxism, indeed forming the civil society that we have defined above? Can it discard the deep-rooted ideology Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想)? These will be our concerns in the future, though we know that we can not predict nor judge one country's future history just by merely looking at the present.

4. The Case in Japan.

Japan, armed with the Wakon Yo Sai(和魂洋才) thought, tried to receive Western civilization after the arrival of Perry's Kurobune. After the Meiji Restoration(明治維新), they sent considerable manpower to the Western world to see the civilization and culture with their own eyes.

Thinking that the development of Japan did not rest on the Wakon Yosai(和魂洋才) but on forming civil society, they established a constitutional monarchy, which was an astonishing development.

With its national power growing from that time, Japan fell into militarism, which prevented the formation of a sound democratic society. And they returned to their value Wakon Yosai(和魂洋才), being intent on receiving Western civilization once again.

We see the possibility of realizing civil society in Japan from the Peace Constitution established in 1947 after World War II. Japan now, almost 40 years after the Constitution, has become the 2nd largest economic superpower,

only exceeded by the U.S.A., from the ruins of World War II. The reason for the Japanese success, I think, can be found in the social environment in which the Japanese people could, with Western protection, make the maximum efforts voluntarily as members of a civil society.

5. The Case in Korea.

I want to examine the question of the formation of civil society in Korea in a little more detail. That is because many countries in the world today bear much similiarity to the enviroment that faced and still faces Korea.

Traditionally, Korea has been a conservative country, that has emphasized its own nationality, and that has many religions. Also, the Korean people have had an inclination to distrust their oppressive government during the past several centuries.

Under the rule of King Chung Jong(中宗 ; 1505-15440 in the middle of the Yi Dynasty, Cho Kang Cho(趙光祖), a politician, devoted himself to realizing in Korea the idealistic state that advocates the highest values of the Orient. But he was killed at the age of 38 by conservative forces who plotted against him. From this time on the Korean pursuit of learning changed from Wei Jen Chih Hsllch(為人之學 ; the study for man) to Hsiu Chih Chih Hsllch(修身之學 ; the study for self-improvement).⁽³⁷⁾ The thought of the latter was carried through until the end of the Yi Dynasty. Even when there was a strong call to open the door to Western civilization, the general public believed that the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, their faith in ancestry worship, would do better, and wished no more change.

The development of the civil social movement began in 1885 when two Protestant minister, from the U.S.A. Horace Grant Underwood(1859-1919) and Henry Gerhart Appenzeller(1858-1902), arrived in Korea. They established schools and churches, taught Christianity and the ideas of democracy, liberalism, and

citizenship. (38)

But, because this period was one of confusion, disorder, and endless interruption from outside, the people's capacity could not bring about any result in forming civil society. Rather, Korea faced another misfortune, the Japanese Annexation in 1910.

In Korea, the explosion of civil movement was brought about by the rise of the nationwide Independence Movement in 1919 in the midst of the prevailing principle of self-determination among the peoples of small and weak powers. At this time, all the religious forces in Korea, including Buddhism, Christianity, and Chondogyoism(天道教; a religion peculiar to Korea), were united, and students, farmers, and merchants stood up against Japanese domination and demanded the return of their national and civil rights. (39)

Though this movement failed because of the Japanese military suppression, it implanted in the consciousness of the people the idea that they should establish the civil society to revive the Korean race. Under Japanese colonial policy this movement continued.

Korea was divided into South and North in 1945 against its own will. This represented not only the division of Korea but also the division of the world and the division of the thought of civil society originating from Western thought as well.

Today, South Korea and North Korea are following different directions in the process of developing civil society, and experiencing pain. This pain, it seems to me, is not only that of the Korean race, but also of the world.

Conclusion.

I have thus far briefly examined the attitudes and characteristics of China, Japan, and Korea in receiving Western culture.

Generally speaking, the transmission of Western culture to the Oriental societies can be divided into three stages.

The first period begins at the end of 16th century and ends at the beginning of 19th century. During that period, there was the introduction of Christianity to the Oriental countries, firstly by Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary. But, after much meandering the Chinese did not accept Western Civilization.

The second period is the almost 100 years after the Opium War of 1841. In this period Western civilization and culture prevailed, wearing an imperialistic mask.

The last period is after the World War II. It is continuing today.

At this concluding moment, I have one question. That is not "How will the Orient receive Western culture?" The question is already answered. My question is, "What course should mankind take in coping with the new values and new world which is approaching, having seen how those three oriental countries had for the past 150 years coped with Western culture and civilization in their own way?" Here, I strongly feel the need for values, especially the absolute values to stage a new cultural revolution.

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Appendix I.

The Difference in the Concept of Culture between East and West.

I think that I'd better start my discussion with the question, "What is culture?" But I want, instead, to merely point out that there is a wide gap in the sense of culture between East and West, and that there is, even among Orientals themselves and Westerners themselves, a little difference according to the individual's national or racial tradition, and to the individual person's refinement or major fields of study.

Without resorting to Webster's Dictionary, I think that the evidence for the difference between East and West is exposed in the words "Synthesis and Relationship in Culture", which is the topic of committee II, 14th ICUS. In the Oriental way of thinking, the expression "Synthesis in Culture" does not make sense. Because in "Wen Hua(文化)*" the concept of Synthesis is already included.

That is to say, Wen(文) in Wen Hua(文化) has individually the meaning of "literary, moral, or constitutional". In a sense, Wen(文) itself is very much closer to "culture". On the other hand Hua(化) itself means "to change" or "to synthesize". In the three countries, chemistry is called Hua Hsleh(化学), which means Science(Hsleh:学) of Synthesis. Hua(化) here means "the thing which come into being after certain change" or "the thing which can bring about change". Therefore, in the concept of Wen Hua(文化; culture) the concept of evolution and of synthesis are included. In fact, I must confess to a little feeling of resistance to our topic in Committee II. "Synthesis and Relationship in culture" must be derived from the Western sense.

* The pronunciation of Chinese character is different in China, Japan, and Korea. For example, the Chinese pronounce "文化" as "Wen Hua", while the Japanese as "Bunka" the Korean as "Mun Ha". In this paper I will follow the Peking Chinese one.

Culture is not something that changes suddenly. It gradually transforms itself into a new form, following a long period of changing and reshaping. Even if it changes by changing heterogeneous culture or by the vital force within itself, the culture of the next phase must necessarily be built upon that of the previous phase. If two different cultures met and changed into a new form just like a chemical reaction, it would not be the synthesis of cultures, it would rather be cultural occupation or distortion. As was said before, culture is literary, moral, and constitutional. That is, culture is a complex body. Therefore, though it changes, it does not change entirely. Some cultures change through accumulation, and others through discarding and replacing a part of the body. In this case, whether through the accumulation or discarding, the change of culture must be made through a process of choice. "Choice" here means "value-oriented", and requires the judgement of values. We obviously see that the synthesis of culture is very much value-oriented.

Appendix II.

The Assimilation of the Juchen Tribes(女真族), which Established the Ching(清) Dynasty, into the Han Race(汉族).

In a field (now a residential area) beside the Nam Han San Sung(南漢山城); mountain fortress wall), south-east of Seoul, Korea, stands a stone monument commemorating the Ching's(清) victory in 1627 when Emperor Tai Chung(太宗) advanced southwards and received the surrender from Jen Tsu(仁祖), the King of Korea at the time. The epitaph was written in both Chinese and Juchen. But today there is no one who uses the Juchen language, in either China or Manchuria.

The Juchen of the early 15th century were a small tribe who lived by hunting and farming among the Han people, the Mongolians, and the Koreans, scattered around Manchuria. Their hero Nurhachi(1557-1626; 努爾哈齊) emerged and unified the scattered tribe. He planned to conquer the declining Ming(明) Dynasty. But he died before he could realize his ambition. After his death, his son Tai Chung(太宗) invaded Korea. At that time, it is said, he boosted his forces with 600,000 young men and woman that he took as captives from Korea.

In 1644, the small Juchen tribe(女真族) overthrew the Ming(明) Dynasty. With Peking(北京) as their capital, they governed for 277 years the Han race who were 100 times larger than them. But today, 300 years later, their written and spoken language are no longer used in the mainland of China nor in Manchuria. That is to say, not only the people who came to Peking, the capital of Han race, but also the people who remained at home were assimilated into the Han race as they governed it, because it had much higher values and culture.

We know that they forced the Han people to wear their hair in a queue, one of their customs, and that they even killed those who refused.

The Chinese queue is derived from the Juchen tribe's custom of hanging down a small plait of hair over the back of the head and shaving all the hair in the front.

At first, the Han race felt very humiliated by this queer custom. But at the end of the Ching Dynasty it remained as an inherent custom among Han race. In the process of the modernization of China, it even became a symbol of the conservative party. Seeing that the Juchen tribe, who enforced this custom with the death penalty, lost all their cultural heritage, and was assimilated to the Han race, I feel the vicissitude of history after so long a time.

Appendix III.

The Twofold Conception of Race in Ching(清).

In studying the transmission of the Western culture to the Orient. Especially to China, we have to pay attention to the fact that China at that time was not governed by the Han race but by a small foreign race. We can see many cases in which China was governed by a minority race. The typical cases are the Wu Ho(五胡; 2C-3C A.D., five northern tribes), Yuan Dynasty (元; 1271-1368: Mongolian Regime), and Ching Dynasty(清; 1616-1911: Juchen Regime). The Tang Dynasty(唐; 618-927), which had very close contact with the Turküt tribe, was also greatly influenced by the foreign race. What we have to observe here is the Chinese attitude of having tried, with no exception, to receive foreign culture openly and actively. We, in fact, see this trait in the early part of the Ching Dynasty when the successive Emperors tried to receive the external culture without any major hesitation.

But the point that we can not overlook here is that the Chinese maintained the dual concept of race, based upon Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), when they were governed by the external race. This occurred whenever a foreign race governed the Han race in China. I think it is natural that the Han race, which comprised the majority of the population, was deeply imbued with Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), being proud of their long historical tradition and cultural values. But when the minority foreign race who had professed itself to be I Hi(夷狄; a less civilized tribe) conquered the mainland and reigned over the Han race, it instantly adopted the idea of Chung Hua Ssu Hsiang(中華思想), considering the race which had the same blood as if until then to be I Hi. But the Han people, though being governed, saw in their heart the minority foreign race which governed them as I Hi or Man Tza

(~~漢~~子). This shows us the twofold concept of race. We can take notice of this attitude from the fact that the Juchen race was almost entirely assimilated into the Han race after 200 years, and also from the fact that some intellectuals from the Han race at the end of the Ching Dynasty put forward the movement to overthrow the Juchen race.