

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI: WESTERN CIVILIZATION AS OUR GOAL

A Thesis

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by

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## ABSTRACT

This paper begins by analyzing how Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) imagined the west in order to fulfill his dream of implementing western civilization and its manners, vein, and modus operandi into Japanese society. The first chapter discusses how Fukuzawa sought to resolve Japan's dilemma caused by the encroachment of western nations into Asia during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The purpose of volume one: chapter one is to carefully outline Fukuzawa's interior motives for seeking to implement western civilization's mind set, industrial and social infrastructure into Japan, the pressures in the outside world that galvanized his will to succeed, and finally the salient features of the catalyst he sought in order to cause a metamorphosis in Japanese society. Next, it considers the vision Fukuzawa held for Japan and juxtaposes that vision against the type of nation that Japan became in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fukuzawa was vehement in his belief that the key to Japan's independence rested within western civilization. Volume one: chapter two takes a critical look at western civilization, questions the definition, challenges the assumption that it was refined, and examines how the overzealous attitude Fukuzawa displayed in his quest to understand and marshal it steered Japan toward a path of Imperialism rather than true civilization. Volume two explores Imperial Japan engaging in colonialism. Using the experience of Koreans who suffered under the yoke of Japanese colonial rule as a backdrop, it provides details on how Japan eventually succumbed to implementing the barbarous tendencies of the west in their own foreign policy on account of their emulation of western civilization.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

William Samuel Ravenell II received his B.A. in Religious Studies from the University of Virginia in 1995. During undergraduate study he earned a black belt in Northern Chinese Long Fist and Qi Gong from a Charlottesville Dojo called the Three Emperors School of Physical Culture under the tutelage of Master John Alton. After graduating from the University of Virginia he pursued musical interests and continued studying Buddhism, meditation, and Christian mysticism. A significant hand injury contributed to the end of his aspirations as a guitarist in the once world famous hard core band Vegan Death and paved the way for a move to Japan where he began studying Japanese and participated in a philosophy circle while teaching English in Hiroshima. His interests in works written by Jung, William James, and Nishida Kitaro inspired him to pursue a Master's Degree in Asian studies and dedicate time to serious language study. After gaining formal experience in language study and graduate research at Cornell University, he is presently looking forward to an education in law. In his free time, he enjoys writing music, reading science fiction, and spending time with friends and family.

For Maiko, Emmaline, Mom, and Dad  
Thanks for all your support and well wishes.

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I would like to acknowledge the assistance that I received from Professor Sakai and Professor Koschmann in the research completed in this essay. I benefited greatly from conversations with both gentlemen during their respective weekly office hours and had the pleasure of sitting for their lectures in addition to receiving counsel on research materials and advice on how to solve the many conundrums I faced on route to the completion of this work.

I would also like to thank Professor Sakai for admitting me as an MA candidate in the Asian Studies program. My two years at Cornell have truly been the most intellectually challenging and stimulating academic years of my life.

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## PREFACE

Volume two of this thesis is a paper that was originally written for a portion of Professor Koschmann's lecture series for History 191 in the fall of 2007. The purpose of the paper was to determine whether violence or the threat of violence was the primary means employed by the Japanese to maintain order in their colonies and to establish what other means, if any, were employed and with what effect. The conclusion that was arrived at in this paper is relevant to volume one by means of providing evidence of Japan's success in emulating western civilization not only in the modernization of their nation internally, but also in foreign policy.



## CHAPTER ONE

### IMAGININGS OF THE WEST: The critical catalyst of independence and power

#### ***Introduction: Imagination and History***

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how Fukuzawa Yukichi imagined the west, how history affected his imagination, and how he utilized the images stored in his memory and recombined his experiences into directives governed by machinations that would alter reality into a history resembling the destiny he imagined for Japan. Using Fukuzawa Yukichi's own accounts and historical references this paper will argue that Fukuzawa Yukichi analyzed the west in order to dissect the salient causal phenomena of western societal advance. Furthermore, this paper will analyze not only Fukuzawa's panegyricizing of the West but also his admonishment of Feudalism in Japan in light of the west's advances. Finally, this paper will discuss significant causal phenomena of the technological disparity between the east and the west in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the hurried attempts of Japan to synthetically implement attitudes in their own society to close the technological divide, how the consequences of Japan's choices affected the realization of Fukuzawa's purest intentions for the manifestation of his notion of civility in the Japanese Nation, and briefly view Fukuzawa's work *Gakumon no Susume* in order to determine the value of his direct contributions to realizing the goal of western civilization.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past."<sup>1</sup>  
-Karl Marx

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<sup>1</sup> Singer, P. (2000). *Marx : A very short introduction* (Rev ed.). Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

History is much more than filed away memos, portraits or pictures occasionally admired and highlight reels of humanities peak experiences and accomplishments. History is a record of acts, ideas, and events that shape the future. For Fukuzawa Yukichi History was simultaneously a set of previous conditions and occurrences that shaped various pathways to possible destinies as well as the means to choose which pathway would manifest into reality. Fukuzawa showed that through careful analyzing of specified collections of historical data and discerning observation of how the force of past events effect phenomena in the now, it is possible to learn the means to manifest destiny. Fukuzawa attentively learned about the history of trade, technology, law, politics, economics, engineering and education in the West in order to accomplish his goal of creating, within the contrived boundary of the nation state of “Japan,” success in reaching the pinnacle of what could be called advanced civilization in his time.

History is often experienced by humans as the witnessing of or participation in activities that have already been set into motion by events that occurred long in the past. During the first years of infancy and adolescence events are experienced as spectator on account of the lack of accumulated physical power and/or perspicacity of mind; however, for some it becomes possible to participate actively in events once experienced passively. At the very least it becomes possible to choose ones attitude in any given circumstance a la Viktor Frankl.<sup>2</sup> In determining how imagination might create one’s perspective on various phenomena and ideals it is important to keep in

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<sup>2</sup> Vicktor Frankl was quoted as saying “The one thing you can’t take away from me is the way I choose to respond to what you do to me. The last of one’s freedoms is to choose ones attitude in any given circumstance.”

mind that in essence, humans' create their own history which is in turn subjective and subject to a process of constant selection and deletion. Ultimately there are an infinite number of possible events depending on what is being viewed and from what perspective. There are also a finite number of "human lights" to shine consciousness on particular events. In this regard all events are relative.

In order to determine how Fukuzawa Yukichi imagined the west it is helpful to note what forces were at work in the external world prior to his becoming an active participant in the historical process and how his personal ambitions may have filtered the data he was analyzing to achieve his desired ends. This chapter seeks to evaluate Fukuzawa's imaginings of the west in terms of his analysis of the primary forces at work in western societies, his intent and means of implementing his discoveries into Japanese society, the metamorphosis Japanese underwent, how the actual result mirrored his intended result for wholesale societal change in Japan, and the efficacy of Fukuzawa's work to create movement towards the realization of his dream as opposed to theoretical suppositions and descriptions of the end goal.

### ***The West: Interaction, Observation, and Theory***

Fukuzawa Yukichi's imaginings of the west comprised several aspects. Most importantly, he imagined the west to be a force capable of impulsively imposing its will on the obsolete and antiquated societal structures in the Asian region. Next, he perceived this force to express itself by means of the technological infrastructure existing in specific countries. Furthermore, he fathomed that the subjective attitudes, prevalent in the collective unconscious of these western national societies, acted as the support and cause of

production of seemingly advanced external forms. Fukuzawa ultimately thought to look beyond the superficiality of the tools the west used to bully its Asian counter parts and search for the catalyst that spawned this technology.

He believed that the discovery of and subsequent implementation of this catalyst into Japanese society was the key to Japan's ability to maintain its freedom and compete with western forces in a contest that had become global in scope.

Fukuzawa Yukichi's first encounter with western forces occurred in a passive manner. Through observation and study he created theories about the west for the purpose of reverse engineering salient aspects of western culture and applying them to Japanese society in order to create the conditions necessary to maintain Japan's sovereignty and independence. As his access to infrastructure and western technology grew, he created not only theoretical assumptions of what the true catalyst to western or advanced civilization was based on documentation and second hand information but also based on hands on empirical investigations in areas such as engineering and science as well as direct observation of life where the pools of western advance were most dense.<sup>3</sup>

As a Japanese denizen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Fukuzawa observed as the west imposed its imperial will on countries in the Asian region and threatened Japan into unequal treaties with its superior industrial capabilities. This was a tumultuous time in Japanese political history. The walls of seclusion built up

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<sup>3</sup> Fukuzawa Yukuichi noted in his autobiography during his trip to America that industrialization hadn't reached all areas of the country. Technological advance had not saturated the entire country but existed in mainly metropolitan areas. (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. (2007; 1966). *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa* [Fuku-ō jiden.]. New York: Columbia University Press.)

during the Tokugawa period were beginning to weaken from the rapacious onslaught of the international forces of modernity.

Perhaps it was fortunate that Japan did not rigidly follow the trend set by the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Koreans of surmising other cultures as “barbarian” and unworthy of analyzing for the purpose of enriching one’s own society. Quite the opposite, Japan showed signs from early on that they were willing to adopt elements from other societies. “To the Japanese, change continued to mean the possibility of improvement, an attitude standing them in good stead not only for the first great wave of borrowing from China but in the face of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Western challenge.” Japan met this challenge with a great deal of success while China did not.<sup>4</sup>

If there were ever a specific point when the proverbial gauntlet was thrown down by the west, the dispute between China and Great Britain in the 1840’s could be argued to be it. Japan’s spectatorship of this conflict was a key factor in spurring concerns about how to deal with growing western aggression.

For a time China enjoyed a tremendously favorable trade balance with the British. The British found it difficult to pedal their wares in China until the discovery of Opium. The Chinese recognized that Opium was unfavorable and injurious to the Chinese people and on account of this the Emperor of China took steps to eliminate Opium traffic. However, the British and other trading nations wanted more trading opportunities with the huge Chinese market. They saw China as antediluvian in a modern world with free trade and “normal” international relations.<sup>5</sup> An incident revolving around the embargo of

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<sup>4</sup> Murphey, R. (2007). *East Asia: A New History* (4th ed.). New York: Pearson Longman 204.

<sup>5</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 167.

Opium would prove to be the incendiary that sparked military conflict. Western naval technological advance and military organization would prove superior and the net result would be the Treaty of Nanjing signed in 1842. This was an unequal treaty that marked the beginning of western Imperialism in China. In 1842 at Xiamen the British Man-of-Wars, armed with thirty guns, and paddle-wheel boats with brass guns mounted on recoiling carriages at Shanghai were examples of the high technological production that Western Civilization was capable of producing<sup>6</sup> and a clear indication to the few in Japan who were aware of the events that had transpired that Japan would have to radically alter the organization of its society to spare itself from a similar fate.

Japan had been observing the West for centuries through a tiny porthole so to speak at the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor where the Japanese allowed one or two Dutch ships to dock per year. They had relatively very little access to Western technology and scientific notions. Fukuzawa Yukichi is quoted as saying the following in regard to the glaringly obvious technological divide between European and Asian countries which resulted in colonization in most cases.

“Under the circumstances, if I may judge the situation of these nations that live in the East... to anyone who has seen with his eyes the present state of world affairs... there can be no other policy than to move on with the rest of the world and join them in dipping into the sea of civilization.”<sup>7</sup>

Fukuzawa Yukichi’s desire to analyze western cultural uniqueness required the elimination of the embargo on foreign culture that had been in

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<sup>6</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 167.

<sup>7</sup> Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *Datsu-A ron. Jiji shinpo*, 16 March 1885. The translation is by Sign Vihn in Fukuzawa Yukichi Nankan [Annals], vol. 11 (Mita, Tokyo, Fukuzawa Yukichi kyokai, 1984), <http://ibe.unesco.org/publications/ThinkersPDFfukuzawe.pdf>.

place by Japanese rule for a few hundred years. If the British Man-of-Wars off the coast of Xiamen and the (Unequal) Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 were not motivation enough for an expedient change in Japanese foreign policy then perhaps the appearance of Commodore Matthew Perry off the coast of Edo Bay in July of 1853 perhaps was. The foreign entity which had been prohibited from associating with Japanese society was now at the gate and demanding entrance. Commodore Matthew Perry's brandishing of naval technological advance and fire power would signal the imminent destruction of Japan's long standing foreign policy and political structure. Fukuzawa's urgency and passion to investigate the unique aspects of societies in the west, especially in light of the events unfolding before him, could only be rivaled by his equally intense passion to dismantle, unravel, and destroy the already collapsing Japanese feudal system.

### ***Fukuzawa Yukichi and Feudalism***

The Japanese feudal system which existed from 1600 to 1868 necessitated a delicate internal balance of power in order to maintain its equilibrium. This balance of power between the Shogun and the Daimyo entailed many bizarre measures. For one, many families of the Daimyo were required to live in the palace of the Shogun. They were not mistreated but held as pseudo hostages to assuage the Shogun's fear that the Daimyo, who purportedly were subordinate to him, might succumb to and actuate some rebellious fantasy. Secondly, production of advanced weaponry was outlawed. In addition to this, mobilization of peasants by Samurai was forbidden. In fact, Samurai were required by law to live in city centers and serve as bureaucrats. This measure was taken in part in order to limit their

contact with peasants. Because of the distrust between the Shogun and Daimyo, Japan was broken into many pieces. The Daimyo who were nominally subordinate to the Shogun did not pay taxes to a centralized authority. During this time period, Samurai were on top of the societal hierarchy and were paid a stipend in rice. As domestic commerce evolved, new wealth from commercialization driven by artisans and farmers would eventually strain the traditional class system.

The Fukuzawa family suffered under the yoke of Japanese plutocracy. On account of the Feudal system of Japan there had been no hope for Fukuzawa Yukichi's Father to rise in society, whatever effort he might make.<sup>8</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi is quoted as saying in his auto biography, "To me, indeed, the feudal system is my father's mortal enemy which I am honor bound to destroy,"<sup>9</sup> in reference to his embittered personal experience. The traditions his family was bound by under Feudalistic rule were counterproductive and provided obstacles to his desires for freedom and independence in both personal and nationalistic endeavors.

Not only did Fukuzawa Yukichi suffer from his Father's and elder brother's frustration under the yoke of feudalism and the nepotism that was concurrent with feudalism, but also experienced the disappointments of plutocracy first hand in the class room. Prior to his entering Ogata Kouan's school in Osaka as a young adult, he observed favoritism towards students based on family rank rather than ability in the schools he attended as a youth. His accomplishments in the class room often went unsung because of who he was perceived to be rather than his accomplishments. By his own account, he

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<sup>8</sup>(Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E., 2007; 1966). 6.

<sup>9</sup>(Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E., 2007; 1966). 6.



was often reprimanded for flaunting his intellect at levels beyond his teachers' comprehension. He was punished rather than praised for his behavior which was seen as outlandish in an environment influenced by Confucian principles. Fukuzawa Yukichi's experiences with education and bureaucracy at this young age would indubitably play a role in his desire to reform Japan and to seek alternate solutions to what he deemed an inadequate means of education.

Internal strife can equal external difficulties. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan, agricultural advances raised the production of rice which caused fluctuation in its exchange rate. The Samurai's stipend, which was measured in rice, remained the same and was therefore devalued. Those who were once rich became impoverished and those who were once poor became wealthy. The tenuous class system of feudal Japan became strained by these new advances. Although the Samurai class was poverty stricken by this unforeseen occurrence, they remained arrogant. Young Samurai were not pleased with this status reversal and began to challenge Japan's political organization. They pressured the Shogun for change. In the midst of this growing chaos, Commodore Matthew Perry appeared in Edo Bay in July of 1853. Commodore Matthew Perry's exhibition of naval technological advance and fire power added another potent variable in the growing chaos in Japanese society's political structure.

The checks and balances that had made feudal existence in Japanese society possible up until this point had also weakened it immeasurably. The division of Japanese forces and lack of communication between the nations' integral parts put Japan at risk to be coerced into unequal relations with foreigners, or at worst to completely lose their sovereignty. Keeping sight of this fact, Yukichi Fukuzawa began his ardent push forward for a solution.

Despite Japanese policy of almost total isolation beginning from 1600 which mandated the exclusion of westerners, western forces were active in exploiting societies in Asia. Western imperialist attitudes and agendas had been in effect more than 300 years prior to Fukuzawa's birth. The Treaty of Tordesillas signed in 1494 is an excellent example of this. In this treaty western nations arbitrarily divided the World into areas for conquest, annexation, and appropriation. The denizens of those areas were regarded by many as little more than disorganized animals that could be murdered, relocated, converted, or pressed into labor or activities as colonist saw fit. .

Yukichi Fukuzawa greatly respected this force and had carefully observed its effects in the region. In his essay on De-Asianization he stated that the wind of Western civilization has blown into the East, where not a single grass or tree has been left unswayed by it.<sup>10</sup> He observed and studied how denizens in Asia lost their freedom before becoming conscious of ideals such as nation or country. Trading companies and armies from the west used superior weaponry, military organization, subterfuge, and ultra modern stratagems to swindle natives out of their land and expand their sphere of influence until capable of fully exploiting the region to serve the whims, needs, and desires of their respective Metropolis.

Fukuzawa went onto further mention in his treatise "De-Asianization," that the reason many Asian countries found themselves stripped of their Sovereignty was their preoccupation with esteemed traditions and/or fighting amongst themselves. For example, in *An outline of a theory of civilization*

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<sup>10</sup> (Fukuzawa, Yukichi., & Sign Vihn, 1885;1984)

[*Bummeiron no gairyaku*,] Fukuzawa stated that India took great pride in its age old traditions but soon found themselves relieved of their sovereignty by the British Dynasty.<sup>11</sup>

In the 19th century western force continued to flex its power in Asia in continuance of a trend that would culminate to 85% of the globe being colonized by the 1930s. Fukuzawa Yukichi referred to China, who once haughtily belittled all other cultures as inferior and arrogantly presupposed themselves prevailing as the center of the world, as a “land of the Yin Yang and the five elements”, in his essay *De-Asianization*. Fukuzawa was a vehement critic of Confucian doctrine and principles. He believed that “Confucianism made little place for the abstract theorizing or for the speculation about what was not directly perceivable that took place in scientific inquiry.”<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, he felt that learning which concentrated on the Confucian classics, and reliance on records of the past for proper guidance for the present and future were antiquated methods of reasoning and detrimental to the goal of establishing independence in his day’s world.

### ***Engaging the West***

With bitter personal experiences in regard to Japan’s current political state of affairs as of 1855 and with even more uncertainty concerning the future of the country due to the history unfolding on the horizon, Fukuzawa Yukichi began his dip into the “sea of civilization” at the age of 21 by setting out to Nagasaki to learn Dutch. A few months before this Commodore Perry had appeared and “the problem of national defense and the modern gunnery

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<sup>11</sup> Fukuzawa, Y. *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Tokyo, Japan: Sophia University, 1973. 31-32.

<sup>12</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 165.

had become the foremost interest of all the Samurai.”<sup>13</sup> Because the Dutch were the only Europeans the Japanese permitted themselves to have intercourse with after the seventeenth century, gunnery instruction was axiomatically taught by the Dutch.

Eventually he began to undertake education at the Ogata School in Osaka. It was here he continued his study of Dutch but also began to investigate other scientific techniques. He mentioned at this time there were no examples of industrial machinery or something as simple as a steam engine that could be seen in Japan. Nor were there any kind of apparatus for chemical experiments. However, he and his cohorts were not sparing in their efforts to perform and duplicate the machinery and chemical experiments in their books.<sup>14</sup>

The Osaka market place that Fukuzawa studied in was devoted to internal commerce. By Fukuzawa Yukichi’s own admission the Dutch gunnery and western arts he studied had no connection to actually making a living; however, he felt he was conscious of the fact that he and his cohorts were “the sole possessors of the key to knowledge of the great European civilization.”<sup>15</sup>

In 1859, after learning English in Yedo, Yukichi Fukuzawa joined the first mission to America. Later in 1860 he would visit Europe. The examples of modern industry he was shown by his hosts were not novel to him. He had been studying scientific principles such as information dealing with sciences, engineering, steam, printing, and processes of industry and manufacture, at the Ogata School in Osaka. It was rather the more common place elements of western society he sought to understand such as how hospitals and banks

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<sup>13</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E., 2007; 1966)

<sup>14</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E., 2007; 1966) 84.

<sup>15</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E., 2007; 1966) 91.

were run, general business, election law, political parties, and political ideology such as fighting in peace time.<sup>16</sup> It was in these common elements he glimpsed intangible aspects of western society which spawned its industrial might.

While Yukichi Fukuzawa and his family were mired in the feudalism of Japan, the wind of western civilization battered against the walls of its isolationist policies. The sovereignty of Japan's regional brethren became forcibly intertwined in western imperialism and international notions. Japan seemed to be quickly becoming somewhat of an anomaly. Asian countries and societies which were capable of avoiding colonization had become rare. Japan's hope for maintaining their status quo rested in their ability to transform their society into a model that was capable of defending itself against western imperialism and participate in the global game.

Through Fukuzawa's theoretical study of the west and later his empirical investigation, he was able to forge lessons for Japan to discover the means to maintain its independence. He saw the west as an advanced level of civilization that benefited from subjective ideals that amplified the rewards of its collective intelligence.

Fukuzawa used the terminology the west to refer to various ideas. First, he understood the west as a region. He had visited America and Europe. He understood that there were specific countries that were responsible for various levels of domination and through the "world wide facility of communication"<sup>17</sup> these countries were able to use trading companies or military expeditions to exploit less developed societies in Asia.

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<sup>16</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. 2007; 1966) 134.

<sup>17</sup> (Fukuzawa, Yukich., & Sign Vihn 1885;1984)

Second, Fukuzawa also used the term west to refer to a level of civilization. The technological capabilities, physical infrastructure, and subjective intellectual understandings that supported and produced the external forms of the European civilizations in question he also termed western. The imperial ambitions and success of these western entities could be divided into layers. On the outermost layer is technological advance. Inside of the outermost layer is the infrastructure and laws that produces and supports the technological advance. The final layer is the subjective intellectual capabilities of the collective which is also simultaneously nurtured by the infrastructural layer in the form of laws, education, political assembly, organization of businesses, and societal etiquette. It was this aspect that Yukichi Fukuzawa was most interested in analyzing, understanding and implementing beneath Japanese society in order to ensure its capability to maintain its independence and defend its right to self-determine its national destiny.

A few of the key aspects of this intangible behavior in western society which Fukuzawa noted were the ability to tolerate diversity, meritocracy in education, and progress through experimentalism. One of the things that Fukuzawa noted during the time he spent in Europe was their ability to maintain the tension of political competition during peace time. When this type of diversity is prevalent in society, the groups in competition constantly strive to produce new forms that will make their side victorious. However, the victory of one side over the other doesn't necessitate the destruction of the also-ran. In fact, what usually occurs is a reconciliation of some kind. He also stated in *An outline of a theory of civilization [Bummeiron no gairyaku]*, "that Western society does not have a uniformity of opinions; various opinions exist side by

side without fusing into one.”<sup>18</sup> He goes on to say that the coexistence of this diversity allows various authorities to make contributions to different aspects of society in an atmosphere of freedom and cooperation despite mutual hostility. He then expounds that westerners are capable of advancing ideas and developing techniques out of proportion of their intelligence.<sup>19</sup> He attributes this in part to their ability to tolerate diversity in their fold.

It is said that heaven does not create one man above or below another man. Any existing distinction between the wise and the stupid, between the rich and the poor, comes down to a matter of education.<sup>20</sup> –Yukichi Fukuzawa

Fukuzawa pointed out the importance of intellectual atmospheres in the West. These atmospheres were organized to award pupils based on ability rather than contrived status. The merit based intellectual environment is one of the best atmospheres to foster progressive change. The ability to progress through experimentation was a crucial aspect of Western civilization. The progress of science is only possible through trial and error. In a discussion on the effectiveness of various political forms Yukichi Fukuzawa stated that “It is necessary to experiment on a broad front, for experimentation is the soul of progress.” Also in regard to Western society Fukuzawa said that the key to western civilization was that “they scrutinize whatever they experience with the five senses, in order to discover its essence and functions.”<sup>21</sup>

Meritocracy, tolerance of diversity, and progress through experimentalism were not the only aspects of western society that ushered in

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<sup>18</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 125.

<sup>19</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 73.

<sup>20</sup> Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. (1985). *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education : Selected works [Selections.]*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press. 66.

<sup>21</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 73.

the industrial age and Western Imperialism in Asia. The presence of self negation in the collective psyche of western societies and leadership by elite minorities were also important. In Fukuzawa's brief disquisition on the Origins of western civilization, he tributes the acclimation of the process of self negation by western societies, at least in part, to the Crusades.

In 1096, what would become the nations of Europe banded together to conquer the lands of Asia Minor.<sup>22</sup> After nearly 200 years of fighting they proved unsuccessful as far as resting Asian minor from the inhabitants who lived there.<sup>23</sup> However; it was through this conflict that Fukuzawa Yukichi attributed their understanding of East and West or self-consciousness. From this point forward, the various national polities of Europe were established as nation states and strengthened.<sup>24</sup> This Nationalistic cognizance allowed tribes of people to band together, compete, and evolve. Fukuzawa thought the crusades and unification of national power was a key occurrence in the western evolutionary path towards advanced civilization. He in fact argued the necessity of developing an "institutionalized consciousness" to integrate Japan.<sup>25</sup> The rationale behind this "institutionalized consciousness" was to create a pronounced differentiation between one's country men and others<sup>26</sup> in order to foster cooperation in building infrastructure to maintain independence.

Fukuzawa believed that education was of paramount importance in creating the necessary changes in Japanese society in order to produce an elevation of Japanese civilization. Keio Gijuku, known today as Keio

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<sup>22</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 130.

<sup>23</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 130.

<sup>24</sup> (Fukuzawa, 1973) 131-132.

<sup>25</sup> Sakai, N., de Bary, B., & Iyotani, T. (2005). *Deconstructing Nationality*. Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University. 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> (Sakai, N., de Bary, B., & Iyotani, T., 2005) 4-5.



University, was the name of the University he founded to spread his ideology. The National education system prevalent in European nations was a crucial mechanism in forming the “intelligent minority” that ruled their various countries. Fukuzawa thought it was of paramount importance to develop an intelligent minority that would raise the awareness and moral of the “ignorant majority.” He believed it was through this minority, operating in all walks of life, intangible ideas such as freedom, independence, and political criticism could permeate through the masses. Once these ideas took root and began to autonomously operate in the subjective collective consciousness of the society in question, he believed the appearance of a great nation might be manifested.

Fukuzawa Yukichi viewed western society as a superior organization of ideals that through its naturally critical nature was able to constantly progress. He stated that the societal etiquette of the west increased peoples’ courage to try new things. He believed their scientific investigations allowed them to grasp understandings of the forces of nature and human nature culminating in their ability to harness this knowledge into vehicles that yielded extraordinary results. The British Navy’s ominous man of war off the coast of Xiamen was an excellent example of the gross manifestations possible by the West’s progressive philosophy and praxis. Fukuzawa Yukichi stressed the importance of building civilization in the correct order in order to manifest its maximum benefits. In his opinion the first steps of this process were to educate and inundate the collective psyche of the masses with base principles such as independence and freedom. In addition to this, through his work he stressed the importance of emulating a national environment where every aspect of society, ranging from economic law, to political thought, to medicine

and military science, was constantly subjected to scrutiny and thus elevated from a perpetually evolving empirically driven societal base. He ultimately felt that the existence of these aspects beneath the collective consciousness of western societies in auto-generating forms was the catalyst he sought for the reformation of Japanese society and the key element to the West's lead in the race to advance civilization.

How did Fukuzawa imagine the West? If imagination can be defined as the power of reproducing images stored in the memory and recombining former experiences in the creation of new images directed at a specific goal or aiding in the solution of problems, then it can be said that Yukichi Fukuzawa's theoretical and passive relationship with the west was one aspect that formed his image. His empirical investigations and direct experience of European society (and American society which he judged to be derivative of European Society) would be another. Finally, by facility of his creative imagination he recombined all of his former experiences into the idea of western civilization lessons for Japan. In this regard, Yukichi Fukuzawa's use of the term "west" became synonymous with an advanced level of civilization necessary for Japan to reach, appropriate, and implement in order to ensure their independence and national self determination. Fukuzawa did not consider the key aspects of western society to be external technological forms but rather, intangible aspects that fostered particular types of behavior in its citizens and thus fundamentally maintained their freedom.

### ***Ideal and Actuality***

There are many instances in history where the aspirations of men and women fail to manifest into reality. In this respect, history often operates in similar fashion to a relay race with participants passing the baton of influence to upcoming generations to run their respective leg in time. Fukuzawa Yukichi's leg in the race was to take the baton from a beleaguered Tokugawa era and carry it across a bridge symbolizing the transformation of Japan into a fully functioning modernized entity capable of defending itself and competing with rivaling nation states on the world stage. Fukuzawa sought to widen the port hole at Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor, the paltry window Japan had used during its isolationist foreign policy mandates to view the world abroad. He sought to let the waters of civilization flow into Japan in order to saturate its roots and strengthen its possibilities as a nation and people. In the capacity of his initial role as a translator of western works, who then in turn adapted these works to the need of the nation, he presented prudent instructions and ideas on how Japan might, as he stated in his autobiography, "traverse the stages of five centuries of European development, and to assimilate in the twinkling of an eye all of the latest achievements of western civilization."<sup>27</sup> When Fukuzawa passed the baton to participants fated to write the next page of his nation's history, did they do so in manners which successfully led to the creation of the image he envisioned for Japan; an image of the masses operating from a psychic base of independence and freedom?

Five centuries of development would seem to be an adequate amount of time for something as amorphous and subtle as the collective's capacity to

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<sup>27</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. 2007; 1966). Foreword.

operate within a sphere of constant negativity to come into fruition in an organic fashion. Japan was seemingly able to accomplish this feat in a much shorter time span; however, the methods they used to accomplish the task in modernizing have been argued to be the reason that Japanese society has been criticized as lacking saturation of the revolutionary ideals Fukuzawa sought to implant in the foundations of its collective mind. In any case, the pathways those in power chose in order to instigate modernity greatly affected the degree to which Fukuzawa's desired image, of an enduring spirit of independence operating within the collective mind of the Japanese nation, would manifest.

A few of the key methods the Meiji leaders used to facilitate modernization were the declaration of the Emperor as "sacred and inviolable with supreme command of military forces and the power to dissolve the diet whenever he deemed necessary"<sup>28</sup>, the use of patriotism to inspire obedience, education infused with indoctrination, and the implementation of the peace preservation law. Between 1871 and 1873 prominent leaders in the new Japanese government, including Fukuzawa Yukichi, embarked an 18 month tour of the United States and Europe. It was on this mission that these officials determined that Japan must embrace and implement aspects of Western civilization such as government, industry, and science or face an almost certain loss of national self determination and control of their country's destiny. Their goal was "Rich country, strong army." How to create the rapid growth of Japan's economy and an industry capable of supporting the military were chief concerns.

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<sup>28</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 316.

There were several things that worked to their advantage in the implementation of new policies for rapid growth. Japan's small size, concentration of population, the lack of democracy in its populace's history, and the rapid rise of communication infrastructure to spread messages of nation, other, and importance of duty in order to free the nation from the possibility of being colonized and the yoke of equal treaties, were examples of advantages the government used to precipitate modernization efforts.<sup>29</sup> Industrialization occurred rapidly due in part to patriotism exhibited by giant Zaibutsu firms,<sup>30</sup> and in part to the spread of patriotism among the general populace that was typical of the Meiji era.<sup>31</sup> The methods that the Meiji oligarchs used to expedite modernity in Japan were primarily undertaken to ensure Japan's independence; however, these methods were influenced at least in part by the desire to maintain the oligarchy's regnant position by discouraging opposition to government policy. The declaration of the Emperor as sacrosanct was a move that allowed the military, who were greatly influencing domestic and foreign policy during this time period, to remain independent of civilian authorities. The "Peace and Preservation Law" issued in 1887 gave the government the right to expel anyone considered a "threat to public tranquility." In addition to this, education imbued with indoctrination molded the masses into a populace more pliable and susceptible to complete the objectives of an authoritarian state.

The Meiji oligarchy also emphasized patriotism and collective independence over individual independence in order to lessen the likelihood of

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<sup>29</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 311.

<sup>30</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 313.

<sup>31</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 313.

opposition from minority or opposing factions. One of the possible explanations for the successful spread of patriotism are the characteristics of the Japanese value pattern at this point of history hypothesized by sociologist Robert N. Bellah. Bellah argues that prior to modernization, which he describes as a process of societies becoming more complex through differentiation by means of rationalization, society is generally organized in village communities strongly influenced by “kinship and ritual elements”<sup>32</sup> which he denotes as “Gemeinschaft groups.” The main predilection in pre-modern societies, which emphasize “kinship and ritual elements,” is on group coherence and group discipline. Bellah further argues that these elements did in fact act as the ascendant psychic attitude in the Japanese value pattern and therefore, “provided a relatively well organized, disciplined social structure on which a modern state could be erected rather rapidly and that the modern state then was able to direct and control the energy of society in the direction of, at least in some spheres, very rapid modernization.”<sup>33</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi cautioned against the use of that device to drive society in the direction of advanced civility.

Fukuzawa Yukichi was carefully critical of the despotic nature of the Japanese government but more forthcoming in his admonishment of the nescient disposition of the Japanese populace at large. Fukuzawa felt a balance of power between the government and the people was necessary to ensure the independence of the country.<sup>34</sup> His theory and philosophy regarding enlightenment was at odds with the deification of the Emperor for

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<sup>32</sup> Bellah N. Robert, *Values and Social Change in Modern Japan*, Asian Cultural Studies vol.3 Tokyo, International Christian University, 1962 Page 17.

<sup>33</sup> Bellah N. Robert, (1962). 33.

<sup>34</sup> Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. (1985) 86.

the following reason. In Fukuzawa's Essay Five in the Encouragement of Learning series he stated that "people are overwhelmed with a sense of awe and recoil in the face of their own government."<sup>35</sup> He went on to state that the people regarded the government as a kind of deity that they feared, respected, and expected favors from. He noted that there was a societal trend in which the people believed everything would turn out o.k. if left up to government control.<sup>36</sup> He cited that because the government was the main force that manifested advanced infrastructure such as schools, communication, railroads, the standing army {etc.}, the spirit of the people remained impotent on account of being spoon fed civilization as opposed to being inspired to participate in the process of modernity as true revolutionaries. This spirit is the amorphous quality of independence, criticism, individuality, negativity and competition. Fukuzawa deemed it necessary that it take root in the societal collective in order for civilization to successfully endure. In order for this spirit to proliferate it is necessary that it be actively engaged and used in the process of building up the country. If this spirit is not burgeoning from positive feedback from successful revolution and reform then it is receding due to inactivity and childlike expectations from the government.

Another method used by the Meiji government likely to draw the critical eye of Fukuzawa's philosophy was the deification of the Emperor as the ultimate authority. This declaration runs against the philosophy that the government should be subject to the negativity of the people whom it governs. It is impossible to say that a thing should be worshipped or lauded as supreme and simultaneously criticized. Besides this fact, the purpose of the deification

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<sup>35</sup> Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. (1985) 97.

<sup>36</sup> Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. (1985) 98.

of the Emperor was to exclude the chiefs of staff of the military from the command of civilian authority. This purpose was in opposition to Fukuzawa's philosophy concerning the role of the people as critical reformers of all aspects of society.

The implementation of the peace and preservation law of 1887, the use of patriotism as a motivator, and government sponsored education programs imbued with indoctrination were policies used by Meiji Oligarchs that violated one or more notions of Fukuzawa's philosophy on how a successful civilized society should be orchestrated. Fukuzawa believed that the activity of citizens of highly developed countries should be activity of constant reform of their countries technology, laws, commerce, and government. He stated that a citizen should be able to defend their opinions or criticism of government without fear. By doing so, the criticism may make the country stronger through negativity and reflection which triggers reform. Fukuzawa thought that a well functioning civilization is one where the populace completes their duty on account of their inner courageous attitude and natural willingness and desire to compete against other nations and each other by making the necessary modifications to the infrastructure of their country and/or their personal character. The Peace and Preservation law of 1887 is an example of an act that signifies the governments' willingness to use censorship to limit opposition to their policies. However, the temptation of government officials to squash opposition ultimately divides the country in a manner that weakens it according to Fukuzawa Yukichi. As mentioned before, Fukuzawa believed that the toleration of diversity by Westerners was key to their ability to make contributions to various aspects of society and develop and implement ideas out of proportion with their intelligence.



The overabundance of patriotism in the Meiji era was a boon in one respect but problematic in others. A boon because it provided a positive source of energy to motivate the people to do their duty during Japan's time of need. It was problematic because it acted as a proxy to energy that should have been manifested from high levels of intellect and morality from the collective's psyche. One analogy would be the use of readily available fuel that would ultimately harm a machine's engine verses the use of a more difficult to attain higher grade fuel that would actually prolong the engine's life. Finally, throughout Fukuzawa's works he criticized the use of education as a tool of despotism. He goes through great lengths in his essays on the encouragement of learning to criticize Confucian learning which praises loyalty to tradition for the sake of tradition itself. He believed that when Education was in the hands of the government there was a tendency to create maxims within the government created curriculum that inspired loyalty to the tradition rather than emphasis on the process of critical reform.

Although Fukuzawa may never have expressed his opinion in precisely the following manner, it is logical to conclude from his essays and otherwise that indoctrination works well when creating institutions such as the military but is counteractive to the implementation and activation of critical capabilities in the foundation of a collective mind. Furthermore, if sentiments such as nationality and loyalty are emphasized at the expense of developing critical capability in nation building, then the one will tend to defer to the other as the dominant principle which may not produce the return hoped for by society.

Fukuzawa Yukichi once quoted an old Western proverb which said, "Over foolish people, there is a despotic government."<sup>37</sup> The implication of the

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<sup>37</sup> (Fukuzawa, Y., & Kiyooka, E. 1985) 71.

quote is that the calibration of enlightenment of a nation's people is tantamount to the type of government that rules over them. Given the extraordinary time constraints the Japanese nation had to overcome in order to elevate the infrastructure of their nation in order to free themselves from unequal treaties and the threat of colonization; and given the lack of an internal facilitator or promoter of rationality such as the Christian Church can argued to have been in the West; what alternatives were there to the steps that were taken by the Japanese ruling minority? Despite the fact that the autocratic nature of the government may have been the predominant cause of Japan's undoing in WWII, there are equally sound arguments that the rise of a despotic government in Japan was inevitable given the history of the society and perhaps the only alternative to colonization. Fukuzawa Yukichi emphasized time and time again the crucial necessity of developing the intangible aspects of western behavioral patterns in the Japanese populace to ensure the continued independence of the society. Fukuzawa was very concerned with implementing ideology defined as political liberalism in Japanese society. Political liberalism concerned one, how the values of liberty and equality were best expressed in the basic rights and liberties of citizens and two, the manner which citizens behaved in order to express their liberty and equality.<sup>38</sup>

In the end it appears that the temptation by the Meiji Oligarchy to overemphasize patriotism in order to generate passion, to use censorship to forward their policies, and to continue promoting Confucian style obedience in some regard in the class room and certainly in regard to the Emperor was too great to overcome. The pressures of history during that time period may be

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<sup>38</sup> Rawls, John: Political liberalism Edition: 2, Columbia University Press, 2005.

cited as one reason those courses of action were taken but covetousness for power and the paranoia that always follows closely with authoritarian rule must be cited as well. Regardless, the manifestation of Fukuzawa Yukichi's highest imagined ideal for the Japanese Nation did not materialize in actuality in the immediate years after his death because of the road his successors shepherded Japan onto.

However; should the blame of Japan's failure to manifest into this ideal state fall completely on the Meiji Oligarchy? The criticism that the actions which constituted Fukuzawa's direct contributions to his desired realization were ineffective could be raised. In addition to this, the consistency of Fukuzawa's actions should be evaluated and juxtaposed against the principles which he enunciated. Fukuzawa was regarded by a recent textbook as the "the most influential man outside of government service."<sup>39</sup> He described the reforms undertaken in the early Meiji period as having been brought about at least indirectly by his own initiations if not directly.<sup>40</sup> One of Fukuzawa's chief works, a set of pamphlets entitled *An encouragement of learning [Gakumon no Susume]* indicated that perhaps his efforts to actuate a spirit of criticism, individuality, and independence in Japan's population at large were not as sincere as many who praised Fukuzawa came to believe. If the lessons of *Gakumon no Susume* were not genuinely oriented around the acclimation and introduction of western civilization for Japanese society, what was there predilection?

Throughout *Gakumon no Susume* were indications that one of Fukuzawa's primary concerns was to give guidance and advice to Samurai

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<sup>39</sup> Kinmonth, Earl H. *Fukuzawa Reconsidered: Gakumon no susume and Its Audience*. The Journal of Asian Studies (pre-1986); Aug 1978; 37; 4; ABI/INFORM Global pg. 677. Page 1.

<sup>40</sup> (Kinmonth, 1978) 1.

searching for a new role rather than provide criticism of Tokugawa ideology which hindered the assertion of western ideas into the Japanese mainstream.<sup>41</sup> According to Earl H. Kinmonth's argument in his article *Fukuzawa reconsidered: Gakumon no susume and its audience, Gakumon no susume* did not reflect the radical elements of Jeffersonian ideology, which resonate to a closer representation of public participation in politics;<sup>42</sup> but rather, concerning the role of the populace in advent of a despotic government, it reflected Francis Wayland's ideas. Francis Wayland was a very conservative thinker. While Jefferson argued that it was the duty of the populace at large to take part in government and rebel against something as severe as autocracy if necessary, Wayland argued that the populace at large had no right to counteract government, even a despotic one, on account of the possibility<sup>43</sup> that only more unpleasant circumstances would occur from the civil disobedience which ensued in opposition. Kinmonth continues to argue that Fukuzawa cited Wayland's secular justifications of nearly unconditional obedience to the state and moreover stated that perhaps *Gakumon no susume* should have been titled "a discouragement of rebellion."

With the exception of the first volume of *Gakumon no susume* written in informal language as a reader for elementary school children and the general public, the target audience of the remaining volumes were the children of former Samurai<sup>44</sup> searching for methods to gain wealth on account of the discontinuance of stipends Samurai had been entitled to receive. During the course of his writing, Fukuzawa once urged for subsidies for former Samurai

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<sup>41</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978) 4-5.

<sup>42</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978) 5.

<sup>43</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978) 6.

<sup>44</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978) 11.

based on no other merit than carrying the title of Samurai. This was in contradiction to his claim that all were born equal.<sup>45</sup> A further discrepancy should be noted in Fukuzawa's proclamation from a portion of *Jiji shogen* which stated "that natural endowments of men are not random and come from the blood line of mother, father, and ancestors."<sup>46</sup> Tokutomi Sohō stated that Fukuzawa should not be seen as a proponent of equalitarianism but rather of social aristocratism<sup>47</sup> on account of his encouragement to the *shizoku* (family or persons with samurai ancestors) and advice emphasizing the importance of rising into well paid and high status government and corporate positions as opposed to placing emphasis on the elimination of autocratic rule. Furthermore, Fukuzawa's beliefs, reflected in *Gakumon no susume* indicate another contradiction between his own ideals and the sincerity of his work. He believed that the *shizoku* were the best of what Japanese society had to offer and had within them innate qualities which amplify their potential to realize success. This contradicts his praise of western meritocracy and conveys the impression of Confucianism.

Within the volumes of *Gakumon no susume* there exist evidence that Fukuzawa discouraged Jeffersonian style rebellion against the government and promoted social aristocracy among *shizoku*. These actions were inconsistent with his enunciated principles and dedication to manifesting the type of independence he observed in the west fully into the Japanese populace at large. Whether Fukuzawa, the self proclaimed initiator of reforms which took place in the Meiji era, was a bit of a kowtow with the target audience of *Gakumon no susume*, a closet advocate of the Japanese

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<sup>45</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978) 12.

<sup>46</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978)

<sup>47</sup>(Kinmonth, 1978)

government which emerged as an oligarchy in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, an elitist, or simply ineffectual in creating the type of metamorphosis he envisioned, there is evidence that supports the claim that he lacked the necessary dedication or skills to implement principles necessary to counter the incommensurate status which emerged between the Japanese government and its citizens. Hence, Fukuzawa should share the blame for the failure of his highest imagined ideal's materialization.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE BLOOD OF THE BITTEN WOLF

#### ***Introduction:***

Fukuzawa Yukichi created western civilization lessons for Japan with the intention of modernizing her so that she could defend herself against the danger of foreign occupation and maintain her independence. He spoke in depth about the necessity of developing civilization to western equivalency in order to maintain Japan's independence and dispense with the threat of, and participation under unequal treaties. He sought to discover the critical catalyst of freedom and power that provided western civilization with its foundation in order to introduce it into Japanese culture so that Japan would be able to reflect and enjoy the spoils that societies in the West who were considered civilized enjoyed. These spoils were freedom, power, strength, independence, technological advance, and if possible a critical societal base operating from a set of major underlying premises within their collective conscious that constantly revolutionized and advanced every aspect of their society. Ultimately Japan was able to maintain her independence and Fukuzawa was correctly acknowledged by Japan as having contributed greatly to the modernization effort. However, western enlightenment, which was praised by Fukuzawa as the key to Japan's dependence, had a dark underbelly. In addition to the puissance that western civilization theory could potentially bestow upon the societies who could implement and wield it, it could also

vitiate the society that sought it with a propensity to racially categorize and inflict savage violence.

The objective of this chapter is to critically analyze the western civilization Fukuzawa used to model his lessons for Japan. It will explain how these models practiced racism, which lead to violence, and how racial categorization coupled with economic and martial advance created the perfect synthesis for a descent into barbarism. This will be accomplished by first, discussing the difference between an advanced civilization and a “civilized” civilization. Next, examples of ideology represented by Mills and Hegel used by these nations to justify the contradiction that colonialism posed to the value of freedom expressed in their societies will be summarized and challenged with arguments by Sartre and Cesaire in addition to an analysis of the implications of Hegelian ideology. These counter arguments will confront the claim that the civilization of the west can be considered “civilized” on account of their engagement in colonialism by analyzing colonialism as a system and scrutinizing the claim that the inhabitants who were native to the regions being colonized were incapable of producing the technological advance brandished by the “west.” Finally, it will discuss the complexity of using Japan’s rise to modernization to challenge the assumption that non-European countries are incapable of modernization, how Japan’s accomplishment razed civilization in several respects, and why Fukuzawa must be viewed in both the light of Japan’s extraordinary modernization feat and in the darkness of her dubious descent down the same road of racial categorization, colonialism and violence which western countries, considered the most civilized and advanced in the world, chose to embark upon.



## ***Civilization and Civilized Society***

*The dictionary of concepts in history* by Harry Ritter defines civilization in the following way.

“Civilization is an *advanced stage of social development*, characterized by a complex social structure, a high-level of technological and administrative sophistication, and a high degree of intellectual and aesthetic accomplishment.” Secondly, it is defined as “the *process* in which a society attains a high level of social, technological, administrative, intellectual, and aesthetic, development.” Finally, it is defined as “synonym for the anthropological meaning of the term culture that is the totality of society’s mental and material way of life.”<sup>48</sup>

In addition to the definitions for civilization above, in order for “an advanced” society to be considered civilized, it must reflect the qualities of power and mercy. An advanced society cannot be considered civilized without the coexistence of power and mercy. The societies evaluated by Fukuzawa Yukichi were respected for their organization, economic advance and martial capabilities. But, they can only be considered civilized by bestowing mercy. The coexistence of these two attributes must be in balance in order for a society to be considered civilized. The Mongols under Genghis Kahn were an extremely powerful society; it was capable of imposing its will on weaker regimes with advanced military stratagems, technology and subterfuge. However, the Mongols lacked mercy. The Mongols were known to terrify, rape, abduct and murder the inhabitants of societies throughout Asia and

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<sup>48</sup> Ritter, H. (1986). *Dictionary of Concepts in History*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

plunder their settlements for resources. An overuse of power to impose the will of state on less powerful factions is not civilized. It impinges on freedom in a manner that ultimately denigrates the civilizations relationship with the archetype of freedom and is judged by the civilizations Fukuzawa investigated as barbarian and savage.

As early as 1560, the term civilization was used to describe the “evolutionary process that leads to sophistication in manners, laws, and government.”<sup>49</sup> The concept was used often in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries to refer to a spectrum of human behavior and social development that ranged from barbarism and savagery to refinement in law, government, and administration.<sup>50</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the term was used among many intellectuals and high ranking officials in western Europe “to refer to an irresistible human process of moral and social perfection in which the educated classes of western Europe were already well advanced and which the human race as a whole was steadily progressing.”<sup>51</sup>

The historian Francois Guizot summarizes conceptions of civilization prior to WWI in the following quote.

“For my part I am convinced that there is such a thing as a general destiny of humanity and the tradition of humanity’s assets and consequently one universal history of civilization... The idea of progress and development seem to me to be the fundamental idea contained in the word civilization.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> (Ritter, 1986) 40.

<sup>50</sup> (Ritter, 1986) 41.

<sup>51</sup> (Ritter, 1986) 41.

<sup>52</sup> (Ritter, 1986) 41.

For the greater part of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the European countries that engaged in colonialism believed themselves to have evolved as a collective to the most advanced stage of social development. Comparatively they had achieved a level of technological expertise, state-craft, and administrative skill that was unmatched by many nations. They deemed themselves the quintessential example of high social accomplishment and the pacesetter in leading the world towards an inevitable destiny of realizing higher levels of development by means of the singular path that they claimed to have blazed.

### ***The Foundation of Civility in Colonial Theory***

Hegel once wrote “The Europeans have sailed around the world and for them it is a sphere. Whatever has not yet fallen under their sway is either not worth the trouble or is destined to fall under it.”<sup>53</sup>

The general manner that societies fell under the sway of advanced western powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century was through the system of colonialism. Europeans often interacted with less developed countries in this manner and the countries Europe colonized were affected deeply by the relationship imposed upon them.

To many in the European intelligentsia, colonization was viewed as a mutually beneficial act of charity and mercy. The philosophy of Mill and Hegel were representative of the type of ideology utilized by European Colonialists to justify how policy undertaken which resulted in the imposition on foreign groups could absolve the apparent aberration this compulsion posed in

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<sup>53</sup> (Ritter, 1986) 41.

juxtaposition to the role freedom, which was emphasized as crucial to the maintenance, longevity, and strength of these nations, played in European societies.

John Milton used the philosophy of Utilitarianism<sup>5455</sup> to explain that colonialism was a morally correct set of actions for a civilized country to embark upon.

According to Utilitarian theory the right act, for example, the choice to engage in colonialism, should bring about the best consequences among its alternatives.<sup>56</sup> The right consequences are those that have lead to the happiness of the majority of those concerned or have given in sum a greater happiness to those concerned. In Mill's opinion, Great Britain's choice to solidify, strengthen, and increase its sphere of influence in the world through colonialism was an act that was justified for the following reasons. First, colonization was predicted to be profitable to the British Empire. Second, it was judged to be a viable solution for England's overpopulation problem.

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<sup>54</sup> Souffrant, E. M. (2000). *Formal Transgression : John Stuart Mill's Philosophy of International Affairs*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

<sup>55</sup> Mill's theory of Utilitarianism determines the efficacy of actions which is dependent on their sufficiency to produce advantageous results for the people they affect. According to Eddy M. Souffrant, the major points of Milton's "Utilitarian prescriptive ethics"(Souffrant, 2000) 39-40. can be broken down into four sections. First, the act must benefit the greatest number of people. For Mill's it is the aggregation of happiness for all agents concerned that results in general happiness.(Souffrant, 2000) 23. Second, whom the agent targets as potential beneficiaries is left to the agent's discretion.(Souffrant, 2000) 40. This is in accord with Mill's views on the importance of freedom. The beneficiary of the moral act is a "fellow-creature" with whom the agent sympathizes. Third, the act must materialize consequences that are greater in value than consequences from possible alternative actions that could have been taken. Finally the agent must be held accountable for actions taken in so far as the choices they have made to satisfy "general utility."(Souffrant, 2000) 40. For Mill, the morality of the agent and the agents understanding and awareness of "natural social requirements" determine the agents "moral worth" which in turn indirectly reflect the agent's potential to perform beneficial acts which may or may not affect general happiness. Ultimately the acts by a societies most influential agents form its traditions and effectiveness in compositing happiness in its collective. The agent's ability to sympathize works in tangent with her awareness to determine the morality of an act.(Souffrant, 2000) 41.

<sup>56</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 41.

Third, it was thought to be capable of bringing wealth and the positive benefits of the superior government of England to other nations, groups, or races whose circumstances may then be improved indirectly.<sup>57</sup>

For Mill, colonization motivated by the restoration of civilization was a justified undertaking.<sup>58</sup> In addition to supplying the country being colonized with the ability to command the necessary resources to build roads, docks, harbors, and canals for example, colonization was determined by Mill to be an efficient manner to impart the spirit of individuality onto a populace that was deemed, in the words of Mill, “too poor or too little advanced in intelligence to appreciate the ends (civilization), or not sufficiently practiced in joint action to be capable of the means (to construct items considered civilized by the western European intelligentsia, the colonizers).<sup>59</sup> Mill believed that China for example, lacked in comparison to England the degree of individuality amongst its citizens necessary to exempt it from the necessity of engaging in liaisons with foreigners. He argued that China’s encounters with the west would spur its static progress that had, according to Mill, remained stagnant “for thousands of years.”<sup>60</sup> In deed Mill regarded the possibility of progress in China as dependent on interaction with foreigners.<sup>61</sup>

Through Mill’s theory of Utilitarianism, colonization was calculated to be an undertaking that would bring wealth to Great Britain and civilization to the colonized region. The manners imparted from Great Britain to the colonized inhabitants would presumably produce a life style among them that was superior in its ability to furnish and inspire traditions and activity that would

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<sup>57</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 118.

<sup>58</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 5.

<sup>59</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 119.

<sup>60</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 88.

<sup>61</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 5.

afford their beneficiaries a happier existence, at least in comparison to the one lived prior to their encounter with England.

Mill's theory is an excellent example of the type of explanations given to justify colonial undertakings. In addition to philosophy based on utilitarianism there existed a great deal of ideology based on racial beliefs which Hegelian theory and world view contributed to mightily. Hegel claimed to have developed a philosophy that explained the phenomena of race and cultural inequality in the world. In actuality, he developed a world view that was dependent on a subject's projection onto an object. The process which is outlined below led to the creation of hierarchies that were defined by race and region with levels of consciousness and reason assigned to each level.

It is the marriage of reason and history within Hegelian ideology that made it dependent on projection and useful to those that claimed colonization and the activity that occurred during its implementation as civil.

“(Spirit) does not flounder about in the external play of accidents. On the contrary, it is absolutely determined and firm against them. It uses them for its own purposes and dominates them.”<sup>62</sup>-Hegel

For Hegel, reason is absolute knowledge; it is a spirit which reveals itself in phenomenal reality and in history.<sup>63</sup> It does not make mistakes, accidents and chances do not occur in the course of its progression. Hegel believes that reason is the law of the world and on account of it, things have come about rationally in its history.<sup>64</sup> He claimed that history was guided by reason. In Hegel's system the burgeoning of spirit's purest revelation, the

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<sup>62</sup> Kelley, S. (2002). *Racializing Jesus : Race, Ideology, and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship*. London ; New York: Routledge. 39.

<sup>63</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 39.

<sup>64</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 40.

expression of absolute knowledge in phenomena, occurred piecemeal from east to west. The spirit's migration from east to west was described by Hegel as coupled with its aggrandizing expression of absolute knowledge.

Hegel's system divided each category of reason or consciousness, history, and region into three areas. This process allowed one to racially categorize societies based on location. This was a useful ideology to those who sought to explain and justify colonization in a manner that maintained the perception of western civility. Reason was explained as the ever increasing consciousness of freedom, the accrument of the understanding of freedom and its expression in society. The magnification of consciousness was linked with the development of societies in three stages of world history. Stage one was classified as despotic tyranny. In this stage one is free. The one who is free is the tyrant ruling over society. Stage two was classified as imperfect freedom. In this stage some are free. Stage three was classified as universal freedom. In this stage all are free.<sup>65</sup> Hegel racially categorized this process by delineating world history into three explicit racially specific advancing phases tied to regions. These were the nonwestern Orient, the Greco-Roman infancy of the west, and the Germanic/European where absolute knowledge and true freedom enjoyed its highest expression.

Once the perceived level of consciousness was projected onto regions and members of the region it became possible to create value judgments. Europeans for example, because they represented the expression of absolute knowledge and freedom became worthy of rights and privileges that "less conscious" inhabitants from less developed non European societies were not worthy of. These value judgments enabled one to justify the imposition of

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<sup>65</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 49.

colonization. If African and Oriental nations could potentially be described as uncivilized, inhuman, and lacking consciousness, then it becomes much easier to make the decision to appropriate their lands, resources, and people into a society that theoretically enjoyed a higher degree of consciousness. In the case of violence and even in event of mass deaths of native inhabitants of perceived less developed regions, on account of Hegelian theory it became possible to assign the blame for the outbreak of violence on those who had been racially categorized as savages, less than human, or not equal. Through the tool of racial categorization, countries who engaged in colonialism could still claim civility despite the emergence of chaos and resistance to their rule that occurred in their colonies. Mill's Utilitarianism argument and Hegelian ideology are examples of methodology that was common during the height of colonialism which colonizers used to defend their undertakings and keep peace with their faith and conscience.

Through ideology represented by Mills and Hegel, western entities engaged in colonial ambitions were enabled to bridge the claim that first, their nations were civilized and second, the colonial activity which they practiced did not create a discrepancy when juxtaposed against their claim of civility.

Through the Mills argument it became possible to justify the choice to create colonies under the presumption that it was mutually beneficial to both parties. Mills believed that the level of education and acclimation to British style government among targets for colonization, India for example, was inadequate and therefore it was the duty of England to accustom these societies, lacking in execution and understanding of western European style state craft, to this specific government style in an asymmetrical manner.<sup>66</sup> This

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<sup>66</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 127.



manner could be described as a pyramid with English officials at the top and Indians for example making up the base and performing duties which they were directed to do and deemed capable of doing.

“The concept and role of government need not be shared by all people.”<sup>67</sup>  
–Mill

Through the Hegel argument it becomes possible to justify colonialism by citing the incapability of non-European countries to become civilized, conscious of freedom, or modernized without western occupation on account of their perceived inherent inferiority.

### ***The Creation of the Doctrine which Defines the other***

The inevitable result of racial categorization which was deployed by European Colonists to justify colonialism was exemplified by the violent activity which took place in colonial relationships. The rational inspired by Hegelian ideology underwent a dialectical process which occurred in racial categorization. This process began its operation when colonialist attributed real or imagined<sup>68</sup> psychological or biological attributes onto targets for colonialism. This necessarily entailed defining themselves by the same

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<sup>67</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 125.

<sup>68</sup> Shawn Kelley, in his book *Racializing Jesus* quotes scientific evidence which argues that race is imagined to a large degree. The quote states, “It is clear that the genetic differences between the races are minute. On average there is a .2% difference in genetic material between any two randomly chosen people on earth. Of that diversity, 85% will be found within any local group of people... More than half (9%) of the remaining 15% will be represented by differences between the ethnic and linguistic groups within a given race (for example between Italians and French). Only 6% represents differences between races (for example between Europeans and Asians). And remember – that’s 6% of .2%. In other words, race accounts for only a minuscule .012 percent difference in our genetic material. (Kelley, 2002) 20.

criteria.<sup>69</sup> By means of this process, colonialist were able to encapsulate their notions of self and other within the context of European meanings and separate the differences psychologically.<sup>70</sup> In the mindset of colonial Europe “civilized” was equivalent to having the infrastructure to exchange commodities, traverse vast distances by ship, and engage in capitalist affairs with the support of an advanced army and navy. Hence, through a dialectical process, the “less civilized” were deemed to be incapable of producing the fruits of civilization without the aid of “European ingenuity” and were assigned character traits such as simpleminded, deficient, savage, and barbarian. This psychological distinction was an important step in a process that lead to later physical segregation in Colonies. At this stage it is important to note that only the potential of physical segregation is actualized. Actual segregation will only occur if the racist sect ascends to a position of power and influence. In the case of colonialism by the countries Fukuzawa analyzed, they indeed ascended to a position of power and as the confluence of their society and the society targeted for colonialism increased, physical segregation, subjugation, and discrimination actualized. Thus, the segregation of “perceived inferiors” took place in colonial relationships between western entities and their perceived other.

The dialectical process outlined above can be traced back to Hegel’s argument and the ideology which was derived from Hegel’s arguments by colonists in order to justify their imperial undertakings. The violence that the colonized suffered began with the mental dialectical process exemplified above and was exacerbated by Hegelian ideology which resulted in full blown

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<sup>69</sup> Miles, R., & Brown, M. (2003). *Racism* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge 101.

<sup>70</sup> (Miles & Brown, 2003) 102.

racist doctrine articulated by European Societies' most elite members. A few examples are listed below.

"I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men, (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other completion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences."<sup>71</sup> "-Hume

"Americans (Indians) and Blacks are lower in their mental capacities than all other races."<sup>72</sup>-Kant

"I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether an originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to whites both in body and in mind."<sup>73</sup>-Thomas Jefferson

"Every idea in the mind of the Negro is caught up and realized with the whole energy of his will; but this realization involves a wholesale destruction...it is manifest that want of self control distinguishes the character of the Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and as we see them at this day, such they have always been. The only essential connection between the Negroes and the Europeans is slavery...We may include slavery to have been the occasion of the increase in human feeling among the Negroes."<sup>74</sup>  
-Hegel

Thus, upon a foundation of attitudes including these, colonization began under the premise that colonization and civilization could coexist under the same banner.

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<sup>71</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 2.

<sup>72</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 2.

<sup>73</sup> (Kelley, 2002) 2.

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### ***Colonialism: Restoration or Exploitation?***

According to Mill, colonialism was intended to be a system that mutually benefited both the colonist and its colonies. Both Mill and Hegel expounded that countries which engaged in colonial activity would benefit on account of relief from overpopulation and the importation of much needed resources. On the other hand; the areas slated to be colonized could potentially benefit from the development of its infrastructure and participation in the matrix of advanced culture. The following is a summary of a case study in colonialism by Sartre on the relationship that resulted from French colonial ambitions in Algeria. Its purpose is to present an example of how colonies were actually used by the metropolises they were appropriated by.

For a time Colonialism was very profitable to those in command of the industry but extraordinarily debilitating to the colonized who were often dragooned and pauperized into meager existences barely fit for survival. In the case of Algeria, Algerians were pauperized in the following way in order to provide space for France's vision for the region. The French martial force seized the Algerian's land often using the slightest occurrence of "uprising" as a means of doing so.<sup>75</sup> When this process of seizing land progressed too slowly, they imposed French Civil code onto the Algerian population.<sup>76</sup> The land in the agricultural and Feudalist society of Algerian was divided by French investigating commissioners who then distributed the land amongst Algerians.<sup>77</sup> This disruption to the previous feudal system, which was based on collective ownership, caused chaos and greatly hindered its operation. In

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<sup>75</sup> Sartre, J. (2001). *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* [Situations.]. London ; New York: Routledge. 41.

<sup>76</sup> (Satre, 2001) 41.

<sup>77</sup> (Satre, 2001) 41.

the disarray that occurred among natives, traders in European goods were able to buy all of the land at very low prices which in turn created labor in the form of a mass agricultural proletariat.<sup>78</sup>

The land in Algeria which was once used to produce food for Algerians was changed to produce wine<sup>79</sup> for the metropolis. The purpose of producing Wine in Algeria for the French market was to create spending power in the region.<sup>80</sup> Once spending power was created, the region became a buyer of the metropolis's goods in a monopoly that the French metropolis had complete control over.<sup>81</sup> The mass agricultural proletariat that was created provided cheap labor for wine plantations or the preparation of food products and raw materials to be sent back to the metropolis.<sup>82</sup> The Algerians were then forced to subsist on less grain than usual because the land which once was used for grain had been either seized from them by the French Army or buffaloes from natives by means of the French civil code which they were forced to comply with.<sup>83</sup> As a result, the price of food sky rocketed and required the use of all of their earnings to procure. The life of the agricultural proletariat in Algeria was further maligned by the concentration of land ownership on account of the French Civil code which resulted in facilitating the mechanization of agriculture and made cheap labor too expensive.<sup>84</sup> On account of disappearance of work opportunities in the fields, the Algerians who had once made up the agricultural proletariat were forced to migrate to the city where they were also

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<sup>78</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 39-41.

<sup>79</sup> The Algerians did not imbibe wine. It was used solely as a product by the French to serve the French economy in the Metropolis. The wine was exported to France. Algerians gained very little benefit from the way much of their most fertile land was used by the French.

<sup>80</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 40.

<sup>81</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 40.

<sup>82</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 39-43.

<sup>83</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 39-45.

<sup>84</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 45-46.

unable to find work.<sup>85</sup> This created a hopeless underclass. While the French metropolis enjoyed the extraordinary prosperity from the monopoly of the new market, the colonized were left to starve on the land which had once been theirs. The same men and women who worked the land in 1830 became slaves to the colonist who owned it, until they were rendered useless and aborted altogether.<sup>86</sup>

The empowerment and benefit western ideology such as Mill's boasted the colonized would gain from intimate contact with the western nations which colonized them in truth resulted in a very different relationship. In the case of Algeria, the French government never seriously entertained plans to build lasting infrastructure or industry that could compete with the French Metropolis. The area was viewed as unstable and returns from industry were thought to require too much time on account of having to wait for the necessary complex industry to develop and begin production. The French vision for Algeria was to refit it with the capability to produce food and raw materials for the French metropolis within a monopoly controlled by it in order to maximize benefits. During the progression and actualization of this vision the Algerians were marginalized, oppressed, and eventually forced into a position that excluded food and work.<sup>87</sup> The refitting of Algeria with the bells and whistles of western style civilization and advance had either never been seriously considered by the colonial industry and French government which came to control Algeria's destiny; or was abandoned at the outset as unprofitable in comparison to the exploitation that ensued. The majority of

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<sup>85</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 41.

<sup>86</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 43.

<sup>87</sup> (Sartre, 2001) 39-41.

colonies were in truth viewed as areas that could be used to create markets which could be exploited to augment the wealth of the respective metropolis they were monopolized by rather than a target to create mutually beneficial trade.

### ***Savage Violence***

Many of the colonized in Algeria eventually had to face a choice of accepting starvation or fighting. Resistance by natives in colonies signaled out as inferior in western paradigms often triggered the occasions which truly exposed the underbelly of western enlightenment. Colonial outbursts of violence and résistance were met across the board with the colonist's superior forms of violence.

Aime Césaire recounts colonial violence which erupted with a series of quotes from the soldiers that participated in it.

"In order to banish the thoughts that sometimes besiege me, I have to cut off heads, not the heads of artichokes, but the heads of men."<sup>88</sup> -Colonel de Montagnac

"It is true that we are bringing back a whole barrel full of ears collected, from prisoners, friendly or enemy."<sup>89</sup> -Count d'Herisson

"We lay waste, we burn, we plunder, we destroy, the houses and the trees."<sup>90</sup> - Saint-Arnaud

"The native rifle men had orders to kill only the men, but no one restrained them, intoxicated by the smell of blood, they spare not one woman, not one child...At the end of the afternoon, the heat caused a light mist to arise: it was

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<sup>88</sup> Césaire, A., & Kelley, R. D. G. (2000). *Discourse on Colonialism* [Discours sur le colonialisme.]. New York: Monthly Review Press. 41.

<sup>89</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 41

<sup>90</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 41.

the blood of five thousand victims, the ghost of the city, evaporating in the setting sun.”<sup>91</sup> –General Gerard

Cesaire claimed that the West’s manner of making contact with the people in the areas which were colonized germinated into a relationship between colonizers and the colonized that resulted in “forced labor, intimidation, pressure, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, brainless elites, and degraded masses.”<sup>92</sup> He poetically painted a dismal picture of the affect of colonization on the colonized which spoke of “societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot... ..lands confiscated, and religions smashed, economies disrupted, the looting of raw materials, the looting of products, malnutrition permanently introduced,”<sup>93</sup> and much more. In short, he described the physical, psychological, and spiritual vampirism of a region which had undergone a forced metamorphism into a system that served the metropolis which had overtaken it and the governors which lived in the colony in order to represent its interests as opposed to the interests of the native inhabitants.

Cesaire argued that the end result of colonization was that it “dehumanized even the most civilized man; that colonial activity, colonial enterprise, colonial conquest, which was based on contempt for the naïve and justified by that contempt, inevitably tended to change him who undertook it; that the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience, got into the habit of seeing the other as *an animal*, accustomed himself to treating the other like an animal, and tended objectively to transform *himself* into an animal.”<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 40.

<sup>92</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 43.

<sup>93</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 43.

<sup>94</sup> (Césaire, 2000) 41.



The savage violence that took place in many western colonies began in the mind with racial categorization that denigrated the perceived other into something less than human. When this attitude was commixed with a power imbalance the result was the unmitigated subjugation or destruction of the perceived inferior. Mercy, tolerance, and forgiveness coupled with strength are what define the civility of civilization. Civilizations can be comparatively advanced in technological prowess, economics, trade, art or otherwise; however, this does not necessarily make them civilized. There have been many barbarians throughout history who have savagely displayed strength and power in order to force those weaker than themselves to submit to their will. Many philosophers and intellectuals such as Sartre, Fanon, and Césaire challenged the west's claim as civilized; by citing their bloody colonial record, they accused nations engaging in colonial activity as entities intertwined and intimate with savagery and unseemly barbarism.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> In 1650 the population of Africa was 21.2% of the world's population. By 1920 it had shrunk to 7.7%. Between 1650 and 1750 Europeans population grew 3%. From 1750 to 1920 the European population grew 400%. Bulhan, H. A. (1985). *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*. New York: Plenum Press. 42.

According to Bulhan, in his book *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*, "the decline of the African population and the rise of the European population exemplified the simultaneous depletion of African resources, human or material, and the socioeconomic and cultural development of Europe." (Bulhan, 1985) Once the slave trade and later colonialism commenced in Africa, the development of indigenous states, technology, and centers of learning were prevented by colonial rule in the region. From 1850 to 1911, European powers began indiscriminate conquests for subjects and resources bringing nearly the entire globe under its domination. Britain boasted an empire more than 140 times its size, Belgium's empire bloated to 80 times its size, while France's Empire distended a mere 20 times including Algeria.(Bulhan, 1985)

### ***Japan – Attack on White Supremacy: Modernization without Occupation***

John Mill claimed that the denizens of areas outside of Europe were “too poor or too little advanced in intelligence... ..or not sufficiently practiced in joint action to be capable of the means.”<sup>96</sup><sup>97</sup> Hegel’s argument, which also sought to justify colonialism by citing the incapability of non-European countries to become modernized without western occupation on account of their perceived inherent inferiority, was directly countered by the extraordinary progress made by Japan in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Japan was the first non-European nation to reach a level of economical and technological expertise without occupation by a European country.

From 1895 to 1945 many African Americans and supporters of their cause used Japan’s progress as a means of criticizing the inequality that they suffered in the U.S. As victims of racial prejudice, many African Americans used Japan to challenge the myth of white supremacy and visibly campaigned to enlist Japan as an ally in their battle against racial equality.

In 1609 the first African laborer was imported to Virginia. Prior to the arrival of African laborers to Virginia, white indentured servants and convicts were used to work the sugar, tobacco, and cotton fields.<sup>98</sup> Unable to meet the demand, Native Americans were targeted and became victims of slavery. When Native American’s enervated under the strain of excessive labor,

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<sup>96</sup> When Mill stated “the means” in this instance he was refereeing to the means of countries to construct infrastructure capable of mirroring or challenging Western Europe countries.

<sup>97</sup> (Souffrant, 2000) 119.

<sup>98</sup> (Bulhan, 1985) 40.

insufficient nutrition, and venereal disease, African Slaves were brought in as a possible labor solution.<sup>99</sup>

The Slave trade began in 1518 and continued until nearly 1880.<sup>100</sup> The slave trade financed the industrial revolution and made enormous profit for insurance companies and banking concerns. The migration of slaves is estimated to have involved anywhere from 60 to 150 million Africans.<sup>101</sup>

In 1865 the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to the U.S. constitution abolished slavery throughout America but blacks were far from free. Blacks in America suffered inequality through the practice of segregation by the majority in power. Newly Freed Blacks' participation in politics and military service was not proportionately represented and their access to educational opportunities, medical care, suffrage, and basic services was severely restricted in comparison to whites. Meanwhile race riots, massacres, and the mandating of de jure segregation through the use of Jim Crow laws greatly disparaged the newly gained freedom of black Americans. The discrimination and inequality that blacks in America suffered would trigger a variety of racial equality movements. Methods of resistance to discrimination carried out by black Americans ranged from boycotts, militant action, to participation in politics and the search to enlist allies outside of the U.S. for the purpose of assisting the goal of defeating white supremacy dogma and achieving racial equality.

Nearly all organizations of Black Americans that actively followed and participated in international politics and current events were enamored by Japan. Japan was the first non-white country to ascend into the position of capability in the wielding of a western civilization model that could vie against

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<sup>99</sup> (Bulhan, 1985) 41.

<sup>100</sup> (Bulhan, 1985) 41.

<sup>101</sup> (Bulhan, 1985) 41.

European nations in economic and martial theaters. Japan's participation in dialogs concerning racial equality and immigration made them a candidate for an alliance in the eyes of many Black Americans.

The accreditation of Japan as one of the world's elite civilizations arguably began on the Straits of Tsushima on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1905 where their navy dealt a decisive defeat to the Russian Armada in a sea battle that would signal their victory in the Japanese-Russo war. Many black Americans saw the victory of the Japanese as a significant world event and as a sign of progress toward a day where white supremacy would fall. In reference to the Japanese victory W.E.B. Du Bois was quoted as saying that the victory has broken the "foolish modern magic of the word 'white' and raised the specter of a "colored revolt" against white exploitation."<sup>102</sup> A magazine edited by black Americans called the *Voice of the Negro* editorialized "that arrogant Europe has been taught a lesson about the 'inferior races.'" The Japanese victory was truly an intriguing development in international politics and one that black Americans took close notice of.

Although Black Americans brooked racial discrimination at home, there was hope that the peace settlement at Versailles post WWI would address the inequality suffered and make steps to relieve it in the form of equity. The optimism was further amplified by the assurance from representatives of the Japanese government that the Japanese would bring up the issue of racial discrimination at the conference.<sup>103</sup> The Japanese were also very concerned about racial equality. They were afraid that racism would lead the U.S. and European nations to utilize the League of Nations to maintain the status quo

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<sup>102</sup> Gallicchio, M. S. (2000). *The African American Encounter with Japan and China : Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.7-8.

<sup>103</sup> (Gallicchio, 2000) 20.

which could continue to limit the progression of non-European countries.<sup>104</sup>

Japanese Newspapers printed that it was Japan's duty to "insist on the equal international treatment of all races... No other question is so inseparably and materially interwoven with the permanency of the world's peace as that of unfair and unjust treatment of a large majority of the world's population."<sup>105</sup>

Japan's participation in the debate for racial equality after their emergence as a world super power on account of their victory in the Russo-Japanese war and participation in WWI suggested that arguments and ideology represented by Hegel and Mill could no longer defend the claims of civility by western powers who had engaged in colonialism. The advance of Japan weakened the arguments which these powers used to defend themselves against accusations of having committed barbarous and savage acts during the course of colonization. Japan was the proof that non-white nations were looking for to dispel notions of white supremacy and destroy the alibi of the West which claimed that non-European countries were inferior, incapable of producing western style civilization, and therefore subject to colonization without use of the trial of time.

### ***Raise, Raze – The Veneer Unveiled***

Human oppression has existed since time immemorial; however, the West exacerbated this condition by creating and executing a specialized system which depended on the impoverishment of some countries so that their own countries could enjoy affluence. Colonization was embarked upon under the notion that the societies European countries made contact with would be

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<sup>104</sup> (Gallicchio, 2000) 21.

<sup>105</sup> (Gallicchio, 2000) 21.

raised. It also assumed that the native inhabitants of these societies were incapable of producing western style civilization without western occupation. The fact that Japan raised western civilization and wielded it with expertise in a manner that would blanket nearly the entire pacific beneath the shadow of their flag proved otherwise. Japan's accomplishments effectively razed the illusion that the west was merciful, razed the illusion that the west was civil, and razed the arguments and alibis the west used to claim that their actions were consistent with the dominant faith in their respective nations.

On account of Japan's accomplishment, many western powers were exposed as nations which must now be evaluated in history as having provided a linear path to the manifestation of totalitarian regimes as a result of their practice of colonialism. Japan's feat exposed these nations as imperialist who exploited, raped, and massacred those weaker than themselves.

Japan, western civilization's finest pupil would celebrate their graduation into the world's elite by means of their victory in the Russo-Japanese war with the subsequent colonization of Taiwan, the nearby Pescadores Islands, Korea, and the Liaodong peninsula of southern Manchuria. They would go on to employ many of the same barbarous tactics that European Nations used to suppress resistance in areas targeted as provisions to bloat their respective Empires through the process of colonialism. Japan's bid to emulate western civilization become complete with their realization of Colonial ambitions.

Fukuzawa Yukichi must also be criticized for his presentation of western civilization to Japan. In his book *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* [An Outline of a Theory of civilization,] he stated that western civilization was Japan's goal. He also stated in regard to the reforms that Japan underwent in order to

modernize that “if I did not chiefly initiate them, I think I may have been indirectly influential in bringing them about.”<sup>106</sup> The western civilization Fukuzawa analyzed was a civilization that preyed upon the weak, drained them of their essence, and abandoned those it used into the pool of chaos they were responsible for creating. The West’s display of power was impressive but unjust. As discussed earlier, racial categorization acting as an autonomous complex in the societal collective of western powers facilitated the subjugation, segregation, exploitation and destruction of those which it perceived as inferior.

Fukuzawa provided lessons for Japan on race and capitalism. In other words, he taught inferiority concepts that could be projected onto others as well as the methodology to empower a nation economically for the purpose of bolstering their efforts to support the creation of infrastructure with the intention of mimicking western style industrialization and technological advance.

In a book Fukuzawa produced called *Sekai kunizukushi*<sup>107</sup>, he presented racist ideologies that presented a view of the world based on hierarchy and race which reflected Hegelian theory.<sup>108</sup> In this book, Fukuzawa

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<sup>106</sup> (Kinmonth, 1978) 1.

<sup>107</sup> *Sekai kunizukushi* (nations around the world) is a geography book which was published by Fukuzawa’s company. It was published for children and the general public in 1869.

<sup>108</sup> It is interesting to note here that Fukuzawa Yukichi’s belief in *shizoku* superiority may have made him susceptible to racist ideologies common in countries engaging in Colonialism. Fukuzawa was quoted in *Jiji shogen* as making the following claim.

“The great differences in natural endowments of men are not random. They come from the bloodline of mother, father, and ancestors... That the *shizoku* transcend others in endowed intelligence is clear. This is not the random event of a single day. It is the product of hundreds of years of education handed down within the family. Moreover, this education is not solely a matter of reading and writing, but of so-called family tradition [*kafu*]-something those of other groups cannot be expected to know.” (Kinmonth, 1979) 12.

categorizes Asia as “half civilized”, Africa as “savage”, and Europe as “enlightened and civilized.”<sup>109</sup>

*Sekai kunizukushi* was composed of several works that Fukuzawa translated. Its main source book was called a System of Modern Geography by an American named S. August Mitchell.<sup>110</sup>

The following is a translation from *sekai kunizukushi* that represents the world view Fukuzawa presented to the Japanese people.

“The first stage is called chaos. The people are in the lowest state among savages and are not far from state of birds and beasts. This is the state of the native of inland Africa, New Guinea, and Australia. They wander around the vast land and live by hunting and fishing, or live on insects and roots of wild plants. They do not have a merciful heart and fight each other; they are superstitious and have no moral principles. Some even eat human flesh. They do not dwell in houses although they make shabby huts and form a village-like setting, they move whenever they want without leaving vestiges of the dwelling. They are not engaged in agriculture and do not eat grain. Their clothes are shabby and they are usually naked. Their knowledge is highly limited; they have no knowledge of letters, no systems of laws, no moral principles, and no division of land. Such ignorant people still have their chiefs to who govern them cruelly and tyrannically.”(Fukuzawa, 1869)<sup>111</sup>

Fukuzawa expressed the dialectical system of Hegel<sup>112</sup> in this book by specifying intimate connections between region, levels of civilization, and race. The presentation of Hegelian theory and racial categorization methodology

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<sup>109</sup> Milton, John. & Bandia Paul F. (2009) *Agents of Translation*. Publisher: Benjamin-Cummings Publishing Company Pub. 67.

<sup>110</sup> (Milton, 2009) 68

<sup>111</sup> (Milton, 2009) 69.

<sup>112</sup> When the Japanese began to realize their colonial ambitions, they distinguished themselves from the inhabitants of those regions racially without the convenience of diverse phenotypes that Europeans were able to exploit. Under the guise of the Yamato race, they executed Hegelian ideology.



upon the eve of acquirement of power is a true recipe for the actualization of barbarism and savagery.

Fukuzawa introduced and reported his investigations of western style capitalism to Japan as well and used its idealism to build wealth for himself. This being said, there are many subtleties and variations in the praxis of capitalism. The type of capitalism that Japan practiced was not precisely the same as its western counter parts; however, the capitalism that the west practiced was one in which the desire to seek out new markets and monopolize them by means of violence if necessary in order to enrich the metropolis was commonly practiced. Is it a coincidence that Japan attempted to install a similar system with its dream of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere? In addition to capitalism and Hegelian inspired racial categorization; there was another concept in Fukuzawa's lessons that had a great influence on Japan. This concept was the art of mimicry which Fukuzawa taught incidentally by example of his investigations of the west. In many of Fukuzawa's texts such as *Sekai kunizukushi* for example, he created a precedent of mimicking western ideology for the purpose of expediently building western civilization at the expense of criticizing and filtering western ideology. Fukuzawa and many others in Japan that participated in Japan's nation building were so concerned with speed they that failed to filter the introduction of possibly harmful ideology into Japan's societal collective. On account of this, it is not so surprising that Japan's empire grew into an imperial nation on par with the imperial nations of Europe in regard to colonialism, exploitation, and subjugation of the weak. In the case of Korea and the tragedy at Nanjing, Japan can claim to have very nearly run before the teacher in their use of judicious violence to coerce nations weaker than themselves

into the duties of their bidding. Japan must be viewed as having raised a civilization that was capable of participating with the West on the leading edge of societal advance. With this achievement they succeeded in accomplishing several things. Japan realized Fukuzawa's dream in many regards by achieving and raising such an advanced degree of Western Civilization. Japan razed the facade that the old colonial empires of the west were civilized and exposed their civilizations as barbarous and savage which must be held accountable for paving the way for the emergence of totalitarianism which eventually plunged their homelands into a den of chaos, destruction, and disorder. This was the reality which opposed the illusion the west entertained of western civilization blazing a path towards ever increasing levels of absolute reason and enlightenment. As for Japan, in the end, having become infected by the blood of the wolf they bit, they razed not only the illusion of western civility, but also their own civilization whose end was signaled in a mushroom cloud of gloom and death.

## VOLUME 2

### DESCENT INTO VIOLENCE: Japanese Imperialism and Colonialism

#### ***Introduction***

Beneath the Veneer of Japanese altruistic intentions throughout Asia was a propensity to use violence to achieve their objectives. Japanese colonial rule was punctuated with liberal attempts to entrance the will of occupied populations into compliance. But these were denigrated with a black aura of unjust violence. This aura stemmed from a source that by its very nature perpetually subjugated the native consciousness into an inferior subordinate other. The air surrounding Japanese attempts at inspiring cooperation from natives was too filled with the smog of arrogance and authoritative bureaucratic command to be accepted as sincere, despite the legitimate few Japanese with good intentions.

The positive effects of high ideals of bringing civilization to industrial primitive areas (by Japanese standards) were simply overwhelmed and besmirched by Japan's resolute desire to subjugate, assimilate, control and mold surrounding areas into their dictated role. The quick and easy path of control through violence, force, torture, and veiled threat was too tempting for the Japanese government to eschew from, especially when the stakes were raised by impending war. The Japanese descent into western imperialist style rule by violence, shock and awe would realize completion in their colonies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## ***Descent***

The Japanese Empire of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was forged and maintained by a willingness to use violent force to achieve its objectives. Prior to this, in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japan was rudely awakened from its isolationist slumber by a squadron of black hull steam ships under the command of Commodore Perry on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1853. Having realized that Asia was endangered of being completely consumed by western colonial aggression, Japanese historian and scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi, among others who took it upon themselves to shape the destiny of the nation of Japan, felt it imperative that Japan centralize its government, educate its people, and industrialize its nation in order to compete with Western Powers vying for control in Asia. Japan's primary concern was to secure its autonomy as a self governing nation. Japan not only emulated internal models of western infrastructure, but also western approaches to foreign policy popular at the time. As Japan's power and influence grew in the region, they quickly learned the efficiency of using force to achieve their desired ends. Japan's colonial goals were to secure its mainland, further its economic power, extend its influence, and gain respect for its achievements from Asian and European countries. Japan, awed by western colonial success, followed their example in an exacting manner and many times over proved their willingness to use any means necessary to achieve their objectives in the areas they occupied, including all manner of violence and force.

The fundamental methods of colonization by Western powers during this time period can be divided into two areas. The first is defined as instrumentalism. When Britain colonized India its main interest was to extract resources, "civilize" Indian Citizens, and develop the region's industry for

British acclaim. In this Context, India was viewed by Britain as primarily a project undertaken to serve the interests of the British Empire. The government that controlled the region was made up of officials who were not intimately connected to the British Parliament or strictly under the same laws that governed English men and women in Europe. The second type of colonization is assimilation. When France colonized Algeria, the Algerians were viewed as French citizens. In this model the education system, legality (French civil code), and accountability of citizens was made uniform. The region was expected to abide by the same rules and follow the same regulations throughout the French Empire. For all intents and purposes, Algeria was France. Japan was familiar with both of these methods of colonization and used aspects of them in their own colonial ambitions.

Western powers were well known to represent their government's interests in Asia with the iron fist of industrialization in order to achieve their objectives. They used their military, technological, and organizational superiority to appropriate territories from the natives that lived there. Territory was subtly encroached upon followed by a more obvious accrual of martial force and then stripped of its resources. The inhabitants of areas taken over were put to work, if possible in jobs whose ends served the ambitions of the governments in power. The native population that lived in these regions often suffered injustice, discrimination, racist treatment, violence, subjugation, and humiliation of one sort of another. The treatment they received was usually congruent with the amount of resistance they put up against the will of the interlopers. Often, western powers protecting their infrastructure had to expend a great deal of energy on policing of native populations. This action was helpful in making sure the extraction of the area's resources operated

smoothly. For a time, the pay off of extracting raw materials and crops, and the pride of Imperial expansion among other things outweighed the problems of dealing with a rebellious native population. Japan had proved to be an adept student of western models of civilization building and had reinvented great portions of their internal culture on account of this. As their internal infrastructure mutated in this regard, so did their relationship with Asian societies on the Japanese periphery. The body of Japan, armed with the sword of industrialization and reanimated with a brain synthesized with western foreign policy protocols, would strike out at nations beyond its borders to aggrandize its Imperial imaginings and maintain their rule with violence if necessary.

The Japanese Empire reached its peak when the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki were activated in 1910. Taiwan, the nearby Pescadores Islands, Korea, and the Liaodong peninsula of southern Manchuria were all included under Japan's Sovereignty<sup>113</sup>. Japan acquired these lands through victory in war. Their intentions for undergoing colonization ranged from economic, military, security, cultural, to altruistic ambitions. The altruistic ambitions were similar to those that stemmed from the Universal civilizing perspective so prevalent among European Colonizers at the time. There was a lot of discussion among Japanese politicians and government officials concerning the complete integration of the countries they were occupying into Japanese society. Ideally the territories would be imbued with the same rights as those on the Japanese mainland. There were many Japanese who thought to these ends. However; there were also many Japanese who felt that the exploitation

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<sup>113</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 316-317.

and subjugation of the territories they were occupying was a perfectly acceptable relationship between the Japanese mainland and its territories.

Despite the presence of Japanese who had a positive ideology for civilizing Koreans, there were many who had racist views, a desire to dominate and control, and very little desire to lift up the colonies they occupied to the status of equals. A servant who willingly serves or a populace who willingly participates in society is preferred to those who rebel. Japan tried to use education, religion, and propaganda to win the citizens of the regions it occupied over. However, the Japanese could never fully divorce their exploitive views from their altruistic actions. They were far too willing to use the shortcut of violence to achieve their ends. The amount of violence they used was congruous to the level of resistance they met from natives. In comparison to Taiwan, Manchukuo, and other areas occupied by the Japanese, resistance was strongest in Korea thus; the most amount of violence was used. On account of accruing losses in WWII, Japan's tolerance for rebellious ideology in Korea lessened. Any pretense of seducing the Korean people into compliant citizens of the Japanese empire was abandoned in desperation. Violence and fear would become the primary motivators to assimilate Korean resources and man power into the Japanese empire.

Ultimately, all governments in the world today are willing to utilize violence to defend their principles. All manner of law and legislation is designed and enforced in order to make certain that the often intangible principles and ideas that these laws represent are abided by, adhered to, and respected. Japan used violence in order to carry out its objectives and defend its elitist principles in its colonies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Japanese principles contained intertwined notions. On one hand they wanted to nobly

assist their “uncivilized” fellow Asians. On the other they wanted to exploit and subjugate the countries they occupied. Laws were created and enforced to defend each of these view points. In Korea these laws were opposed by members of the Korean community at large. And if the Japanese authorities became aware of this opposition, draconian punishment nearly always ensued.

Japan’s need for raw materials and food led to the exploitation of Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea. Taiwan was strategically somewhat insignificant to Japan. The Taiwanese were treated as second class subjects of the Japanese Empire.<sup>114</sup> Among Japanese colonies, nowhere was opposition to Japanese rule greater than Korea. The long history of animosity between Korea and Japan fed the feeling of bitter resentment that the Koreans harbored towards the Japanese for annexing their country. Korea’s historical relationship with China was long and it was their belief that China was the rightful center of control for the Asian region. The nation of Korea did not appreciate their point of view being forcibly ripped from them by the Japanese.

Japan’s intent was to integrate Korea into its empire. They defined Korea’s role as a servile territory whose resources were to be used by the Japanese government to strengthen its Imperial standing.<sup>115</sup> Korean resistance to Japanese intentions often manifested in an assortment of protests, conspiracies, and activities that were brutally suppressed with calculating and definitive violence. Japan used all manner of violent methods to suppress the Korean outcry for freedom and self determination. The extent that Japan used force in Korea can be roughly split into three segments. In

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<sup>114</sup> (Murphey, 2007) 321.

<sup>115</sup> Kang, H. (2001). *Under the Black Umbrella : Voices from Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press. 2.



the first segment, from 1910 to 1919, Japan's military forces toppled Korea's government, reinvented its power structures into Japanese designs, and ruthlessly and overtly crushed all opposition.<sup>116</sup> The second segment, from 1920 to 1931, Japan allowed some freedom; however, this freedom was veiled behind predetermined programs for Korean society. If anyone in the Korean populace challenged Japanese rule they risked severe punishment and reeducation.<sup>117</sup> This segment was initiated by the Korean national March 1<sup>st</sup> movement which began in Seoul and spread through out the country. Millions of Koreans participated in demonstrations for freedom from Japanese rule which inspired the Japanese authorities to change their overbearing tactics until late 1930. The final segment, 1931 to 1945, Japan attempted to force Korea into a state of unconditional compliance in order to bolster support for its war effort and did not hesitate to use force to achieve its objectives.<sup>118</sup>

Japan's first stage of colonization of Korea involved seduction and force. Many Japanese felt they were bringing civilization to Korea and helping the Korean nation evolve into a modern state. It was possible for Koreans to benefit under Japanese rule. There were instances of positive effects. For example, Yi Sangdo, a Korean citizen, mentioned that his Father hated the Japanese and rejected everything western. On the other hand, he stated that he didn't think the Japanese were so bad. He recalled that "Whenever we had a rainy season...those Japanese came and built reservoirs, dams, and bridges. They (the Japanese) built things that work." He went on to say he was impressed with Japanese organization and pleased with the importation

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<sup>116</sup> (Kang, 2001) 2.

<sup>117</sup> (Kang, 2001) 2.

<sup>118</sup> (Kang, 2001) 2.

of European products. He believed it was a good thing in the long run.<sup>119</sup> Another example, Kim Won Guk mentioned the Japanese sought to train young people in Agricultural methods. He went on to say that his Father “ordered machinery from Japan for digging and weeding,” and enjoyed many connections with the government. From these examples it is possible to see that Japan was willing to cooperate with Koreans who accepted their rule during this period.

However; for every instance of cooperative nation building during this period, there are perhaps three fold of forceful actions intended to bring Korean into compliance. Japan stationed a large army in Korea, thousands of civil servants, censored newspapers and books and set up a network of spies and informants. Many Koreans thought to be in opposition to Japanese rule were arrested and tortured.<sup>120</sup>

From 1920 to 1931 Japan relaxed its grip on the Korean nation. The overt violence of military action subsided during this time period; however, the Japanese remained determined to crush all ideological opposition. They enforced this intent with a standardized education system, police, and an underground network of spies, detectives, and torture chambers. Despite the Japanese foundation of draconian rule, there were examples of Koreans choosing to take advantage of education and employment opportunities offered to them by the Japanese government. Unfortunately this often required having to trade various levels of oppression for education.

Prior to the Japanese control of the Korean education system, *sodang* was the most common Korean sponsored school for boys. Its principal

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<sup>119</sup> (Kang, 2001) 10-11.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

curriculum was composed of Chinese classics and Confucian ideology. The Japanese system of education offered studies in engineering, advanced agriculture, banking, business, among other subjects. For example, in Hildi Kang's interview of Kang Pyongju, a Korean male who grew in Korea during Japanese occupation, his experience in Japanese education is documented. He was admitted into the number one agriculture college in Korea and attended there from 1929-1931. After college he applied to become a recruiting manager for the Bank of Agriculture. He was one of ten selected out of a thousand Korean applicants. His first assignment at the Bank of Agriculture in *Huichon* afforded him a good living. During his time in college, Korean and Japanese students studied side by side but never socialized together. He stated that "the separation between Japanese and Korean students remained thorough and complete."<sup>121</sup> Japanese students were given enrollment advantages in the school as well. This created an environment where Japanese students were in the majority. Many Japanese benefited from preferential treatment.

Another example, Cho'e P'anbang, became a Morse code operator. He received his license in one year and began working with the ministry of communication. He stated that Koreans suffered much discrimination. Their salary was lower, they received no housing allowance or hardship assistance, promotions were prejudiced towards Japanese, and Koreans were had to work overnight with more frequency than Japanese.<sup>122</sup>

Korean reaction to discrimination took place in the form of gossip, strikes, demonstrations, and outright violence. This defiance did not go

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<sup>121</sup> (Kang, 2001) 53-56.

<sup>122</sup> (Kang, 2001) 69-70.

unnoticed by the Japanese authorities. For example, Ch'oe Kilsong was a teacher in the Kyonggi province. He was demoted for disagreeing with Japanese "superiors" about how Korean language should be used in classroom instruction. Later, he was exiled with his family for continued verbal insubordination. Ch'oe Kilsong stated, in regard to his feelings about Japanese occupation, "a persistent hostile feeling always surged inside of me, about the Japanese being our overlords. I always felt resentful toward them. That colored all my actions..." although he never claimed to have done any specific "anti-Japanese" activities, his disdain for Japanese rule manifested in his refusal to accept insults.<sup>123</sup>

Another example, illustrated in Hildi Kang's book was the clash between Korean and Japanese students in 1929 in the town of Kwangju. Apparently three Japanese male high school students hurled insults at three Korean female high school students. Korean's in the area took offense and open fighting ensued. The outbreak of violence spread and bled all across Korea. Hundreds of students were expelled from school.<sup>124</sup>

Later, in 1930, a group of girls voiced their support for the Korean students in a demonstration. An impromptu parade of Korean sympathizers marched down the street demonstrating their dislike for discrimination against Koreans.<sup>125</sup> This demonstration was quickly quelled by the power of the Japanese police. The girls were arrested and held for two days before they were released to their parents.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> (Kang, 2001) 73-74.

<sup>124</sup> (Kang, 2001) 41.

<sup>125</sup> (Kang, 2001) 75-76.

<sup>126</sup> (Kang, 2001) 75-76

Although the participants in this demonstration were not tortured, the Japanese and puppet Korean agents that policed Korea were not shy about using harsher methods to eliminate competing doctrine. Kim Chando, a Korean student, took part in unsanctioned educational programs designed to teach farmers more efficient agricultural practice and the reality of Japanese exploitation. He was tortured, and placed in prison.<sup>127</sup> The police continued to keep surveillance on Mr. Kim after his release and searched his home thoroughly for anti-Japanese propaganda.<sup>128</sup>

As Japan geared up for war in the early 1930's they intensified their attempts to assimilate Korea into their empire. In many ways they abandoned any pretense of good will and attempted to force Korea into the mask of subservience they necessitated it fit into. There are numerous examples of attempts by the Japanese to control Korea's growing desire to rid its country of Japanese overseers. First, they aggressively encouraged that all Koreans change their family and personal names to Japanese names. In order to encourage Koreans to comply with this wish the postal services, run by the Japanese government, refused to deliver to those who maintained Korean names. Those who refused to change their names were unable to work, enter school, get jobs, or rations.<sup>129</sup> Second, Koreans were required to recite a pledge of allegiance to Japan. Third, Korean religious expression and holidays were restricted in favor of mandatory participation in Japanese sanctioned events. Japanese government officials often consciously scheduled work or academic commitments for Koreans on their traditional

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<sup>127</sup> (Kang, 2001) 78.

<sup>128</sup> (Kang, 2001) 80.

<sup>129</sup> (Kang, 2001) 117.

holidays such as the lunar New Year.<sup>130</sup> Many Korean citizens who lived under the oppression of Japanese rule, such as Yi Okpun whose interview was documented by Hildi Kang, reported having to participate in Shinto ceremony in order to obtain their food rations.<sup>131</sup> Business persons, students, and housewives alike were forcibly made to participate in the Japanese ceremony under threat of losing their right to claim food rations.<sup>132</sup> Fourth, Koreans were unofficially forbidden to wear traditional white clothing. In order to encourage their acclimation to Japanese clothing style, Japanese set up huge tubs of dirty water to soil the clothes of passersby who refused to comply with the encouraged standard<sup>133</sup>. Fifth, many Koreans who were suspected of spreading anti-Japanese sentiments and propaganda were abducted and interviewed under torture. For example, Mr. Yi Kwangsu, started a group to raise funds for to educate Koreans about Korean history and Korean heroes and teach them about advanced agricultural techniques.<sup>134</sup> This is a good example of how native of populations that Japan subjugated often took the education and technology that Japan introduced to them and combined it with ideology in order to achieve independence. Unfortunately for Mr. Yi and his compatriots, the Japanese secret police infiltrated their clandestine operation and tortured them for confessions and information. Lastly, many Koreans were conscripted into service to aid the Japanese war effort. As explained by Hildi Kang's book,

“Thousands of young, unmarried Korean women were mobilized into the Voluntary service brigade and told they would help the war effort as nurses or

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<sup>130</sup> (Kang, 2001) 116-117.

<sup>131</sup> (Kang, 2001) 116-117.

<sup>132</sup> (Kang, 2001) 114

<sup>133</sup> (Kang, 2001) 99-100.

<sup>134</sup> (Kang, 2001) 99-100.

factory workers. Instead they were taken to 'comfort stations' at the war front and expected to provide sexual services for the soldiers."<sup>135</sup>

Woman and children were forced to become nurses, sew clothing, work in the fields, work in factories, and collect materials for the war effort.<sup>136</sup> Many Korean males were coerced into aiding the War effort directly. Mr. Chong Chaesu was in a group of men charged with camouflaging a "huge military ship" from American Planes.<sup>137</sup>

The Japanese modeled the overhaul of their government and military after European powers. For this reason they reasonably attributed their subsequent achievements on account of having successfully followed this model. Many European nations had set a precedent for Empire building through the colonization of weaker countries in Asia. Japan, being one of the few Asian countries to survive this onslaught with its autonomy, logically felt that it was necessary that they follow suit in order to ensure the continued security of their Country. In the process of European colonization, military force, censorship of major and minor native uprisings, indoctrination, subjugation, and enforcement of discriminatory laws were all prevalent. The idea that a service was being provided for areas that were underdeveloped was also a prevalent notion. Japan followed European models in their foreign policy.

Japan had been very successful in using violence to achieve their objectives in foreign policy. This trend continued in their conquest for colonies. For the most part, all autocracies begin with good intentions and

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<sup>135</sup> (Kang, 2001) 133.

<sup>136</sup> (Kang, 2001) 133.

<sup>137</sup> (Kang, 2001) 125.

positive visions. In Japan's case the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity sphere had been a vision that at least superficially aimed to empower Asia with "civilized" customs and industrialization that could liberate it from subjugation or fear of subjugation by European Imperial powers. But in nearly every historical account, the willingness of autocrats to peacefully serve populations that they rule over is congruent with the level that the subjected society's populace acquiesces to the demands of the controlling interests. When a contentious dispute is reached, it is too easy for the government in power to use its power to expedite its objectives.

Japan was no exception. In the beginning they followed through with their intent to bring their vision of civilization to the areas it colonized. The Japanese built railroads, modernized agriculture, imported technology, and standardized the education system of the region. However; throughout every stage of their colonial push, they exhibited a propensity and willingness to use violence and the threat of violence to achieve their objectives. Intertwined with their good intentions was the notion that it was perfectly acceptable to treat the societies that they subjugated as second class citizens. The laws they enforced point to this fact. Japanese, dwelling in these countries, enjoyed higher salaries, better food rations, and could expect better employment opportunities in comparison to natives living in the region. Japanese culture was evangelically promulgated through occupied regions as superior. It was compulsory for native populations to adapt to it. Subjugated citizens in the area that disagreed with this were punished. As Japan geared for war their need to assimilate man power and resources from the countries they occupied grew. In Korea, where opposition was strongest, the violence and threat of violence that Japan used to crush opposing factions and maintain control in



the region is more easily discernable by comparison to other occupied places. It was here that Korean religious ceremonies were restricted, name changing was enforced, demonstrations were responded to with harsh, often lethal repercussions, clothing was restricted, idle talk was censored and even use of the Korean language was restricted. At every stage of Japanese occupation, compliance with Japanese rule was mandatory. All those who failed to register compliance, risked violent repudiation. As the nation of Japan struggled in War, their desperation to acquire a willing partner to bolster its war effort increased. Thus, the use of force to ensure cooperation increased as well. Japanese rule could not be challenged by subjugated citizens in Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, or any occupied area, without subsequent fear of suffering a violent reeducation by Japanese authorities if discovered.

Japanese colonial rule was punctuated with liberal attempts to entrance the will of the natives into compliance. But these were denigrated with a black aura of unjust violence that stemmed from a source that by its very nature perpetually subjugated the native consciousness into an inferior subordinate other. The air surrounding Japanese attempts at inspiring cooperation from natives was too filled with the smog of arrogance and authoritative bureaucratic command to be accepted as sincere despite the legitimate few Japanese with good intentions.

The high ideals of bringing civilization to industrial primitive areas (by Japanese standards) and their positive effects were simply overwhelmed and besmirched by Japan's resolute desire to subjugate, assimilate, control and mold surrounding areas into their dictated role. The quick and easy path of control through violence, force, torture, and unveiled threat was too tempting for the Japanese government to eschew from, especially when the stakes

were raised by impending war. Education and technological innovation introduced by the Japanese to natives was meant to lure native populations into compliance. Instead, it was turned into vehicles to free the oppressed population from Japanese tyranny.

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