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## SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE EMERGENCE OF ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN EAST ASIA

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APA STUDIES ON

# Asian and Asian American Philosophers and Philosophies

A. MINH NGUYEN, EDITOR

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## FROM THE EDITORS

### *Narratives of Transmission and the Imagination of Global Futures: The Emergence of Analytic Philosophy in East Asia*

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This special issue on “The Emergence of Analytic Philosophy in East Asia” originated in a session presented at the 2023 Annual Meeting of the APA Pacific Division in San Francisco. Titled “The Historic Emergence of Analytic Philosophy in East Asia,” the session was organized and chaired by Dien Ho and arranged under the auspices of the APA Committee on Asian and Asian American Philosophers and Philosophies. This special issue contains four essays in the history of philosophy that describe the development of analytic philosophy in China, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. This list unfortunately does not include Japan or Macau.<sup>1</sup> And while there is some discussion in the essays of supranational influence (especially from mainland China to Taiwan and Hong Kong and of course British and North American influence), there is room for more historical work tracing the regional connections in the history of analytic philosophy both more broadly within East Asia and across Asia more widely (in this vein, Ting-an Lin’s paper points to the establishment, in the 1990s, of regional collaborations in the philosophy of science between Taiwan, Japan, and Korea, and of their role in fostering analytic philosophy in the region).

There is much of interest to the reader in these essays, but three broad issues are worth particular comment: the temporalities of transmission of analytic philosophy to East Asia, the relationship between analytic philosophy and global politics, and the various ways of understanding possible future directions that the authors suggest Asian

analytic philosophy might take. These questions become all the more complicated given that analytic philosophy, in its move eastward, arrived in places where there already existed robust philosophical traditions. The negotiation between the two concerns as much about what counts as philosophy as it does regarding the need to preserve one’s cultural autonomy.

First, the temporalities of transmission. Yi Jiang, in his essay “Analytic Philosophy in China and the Integration of Modern Chinese Philosophy,” drawing on previous work by Hu Jun, notes the near contemporaneity of the origins of analytic philosophy in the West and in mainland China, with Bertrand Russell’s visit to China in October 1920 (approximately a year and a half after the beginning of John Dewey’s visit in May 1919). Dewey and then Russell arrived in the midst of a period of cultural and political modernization and upheaval in China, with the May Fourth Movement following and building on a decade of anti-traditionalist revolutionary thought and action. Whatever the overall *cultural* and *political* impact of Russell’s visit might be, and while it is of course true that neither the term “analytic philosophy” nor the concept of a tradition of analytic philosophy was in use, Jiang suggests that Russell (and Dewey) brought over with them a recognizably analytic philosophical methodology that had an influence on a number of Chinese philosophers of the time. For Jiang, then, analytic philosophy in China roughly “coincided with the development of Western [analytic] philosophy, but the former saw itself as an apprentice to the latter.”<sup>2</sup>

The other three papers in this issue taken together suggest that this particular line of influence was limited to mainland China. Joe Y. F. Lau, in his “Colonialism, Politics, and the Development of Philosophy in Hong Kong,” notes that although Russell’s boat did briefly stop over at Hong Kong, there is no evidence that Russell disembarked at Hong Kong, and that local newspaper reportage on Russell’s visit to the mainland was scant at best and flat-out erroneous at worst (Russell was in one case reported to have died of influenza in Beijing). And both Ting-an Lin in her “Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan: Impact within and beyond Academia” and Nikolaj Jang Lee Linding Pedersen et al. in their “The Emergence of Analytic Philosophy in Korea” claim that any emergence of analytic philosophy can at the earliest be located after World War II, when it occurred for a variety of reasons. Yet the mainland outlier is not insignificant regionally: Lin claims that Russell’s influence on Chinese intellectual life travelled over to Taiwan with the emigration of Chinese intellectuals to Taiwan in the aftermath of the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949.

Second, the relationship between analytic philosophy and global politics. John McCumber, in his *Time in the Ditch*, argues that the dominance of analytic philosophy in the mid-century US was due in large part to McCarthyite persecution of philosophers with Marxist sympathies.<sup>3</sup> While this narrative may be put a little too strongly—not least because McCumber’s claim is not simply the causal one (that analytic philosophy became dominant because of McCarthyism) but also the ideological one (that there are close and substantive affinities between analytic philosophy and McCarthyism)—McCumber’s argument at least points toward the political context as an *explanans* of the rise of analytic philosophy in the mid-century. Others have made similar explanatory claims with regard to analytic political philosophy: Katrina Forrester’s *In the Shadow of Justice* argues that the dominance of Rawlsianism in analytic political philosophy in the second half of the last century can only be fully understood with reference to the larger geopolitical situation,<sup>4</sup> and Erin Pineda’s *Seeing Like an Activist* situates the dominance of Rawlsian approaches to civil disobedience in light of the larger Civil Rights Movement.<sup>5</sup>

In light of these larger historiographical trends, it is instructive that the papers in our special issue place (explicitly and implicitly) the emergence of analytic philosophy in their respective contexts in relation to the Cold War. Analytic philosophy, in each of these papers, is associated with Western political liberalism and its spread with the creation of a bulwark against the perceived threat of communism.

Pedersen et al., for instance, locate the emergence of analytic philosophy “as a tradition” in (South) Korea in the 1950s, in the wake of the Korean War and in light of the larger Sino/Soviet-US ideological confrontation. Their account of that emergence focuses on particular figures as well as on institutional structures such as organizations, journals, and conferences. Yet their key figures, including Jaegwon Kim, all studied in the United States and brought mid-century US analytic philosophy back to Korea. Kim did so by maintaining close connections with philosophers in Korea although he remained in the US, whereas others achieved this goal by moving back to Korea after completing their studies. Of course, scholarships and other forms of educational support were one of the key pillars of US (and British) soft power across the world during the Cold War—and still are.<sup>6</sup> Lau’s telling of the development of philosophy in Hong Kong also places Western (and Chinese) soft power, along with Britain’s colonial interests, at the heart of his narrative from the 1950s onward.

As mentioned earlier, Lin puts the emergence of analytic philosophy in Taiwan in the 1950s down to the emigration of Chinese intellectuals after the 1949 Revolution, particularly Hai-guang Yin (殷海光). Yin was inspired by the May Fourth Movement and, Lin claims, “introduced and popularized logical empiricism and liberalism in Taiwan,” including through teaching analytic philosophy of science and translating Friedrich Hayek’s *The Road to Serfdom*. Although the anti-communist Kuomintang dictatorship turned out to be about as amenable to Yin’s political liberalism as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), here too

analytic philosophy is tied to liberal political thought. Lin argues that the connection between analytic philosophy and political liberalism in Taiwan runs much deeper. It underpins, she goes so far as to suggest, the rapid pace of democratization and commitment to human rights in Taiwan since the end of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship.

In China in the 1950s–1980s, as Jiang points out, Western philosophy, including analytic philosophy, was put under severe ideological pressure by the CCP. Logical positivism, in one telling anecdote, was decried as “bourgeois philosophy,” and the retranslation of Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus* was done for the purpose of ideological criticism.<sup>7</sup> It was only with the period of “economic reforms and a more open engagement with the world” in the 1980s–1990s that analytic philosophy began again to emerge, increasingly, in Jiang’s telling, freed from the strictures of political ideology and governed now by intellectual academic norms.

In general, the 1980s–1990s were again, in each of our East Asian contexts, a period of fertility for analytic philosophy. In Hong Kong, universities came to the fore of the H.K. Government’s attempt to keep Hongkongers in the territory in response to the exodus caused by the impending return of Hong Kong to China’s rule in 1997. Lau notes that, in 1989, the H.K. Government announced a large rise in the number of student places in tertiary institutions as an attempt to stop the brain drain to the West. Pedersen et al. claim that, for Korea, “[t]he 1990s onwards has been a period of consolidation and continued growth for analytic philosophy,” one due to the continued increase in US-educated philosophers in Korea and—importantly, in Pedersen et al.’s telling—to the creation and consolidation of philosophical organizations and Korean-language journals.<sup>8</sup> And Lin notes the rise in US-trained philosophers in Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s “against the backdrop of gradual democratization and closer links with the US.” The relatively late emergence of overseas-trained philosophers in Taiwan was most likely the result of the Kuomintang’s strict policies limiting who could receive exit visas to study abroad. The 1954 “Regulations on Studying Abroad,” for instance, awarded visas only to junior college or university graduates who scored sufficiently high on an exam administered by the Ministry of Education.

The fact that political concerns often accompanied the emergence of analytic philosophy in Asia should not be entirely surprising. One central theme of early analytic philosophy in Europe was its rejection of the philosophical orthodoxy of the time (e.g., Hegelian metaphysics). With the impressive advances made in the empirical sciences, analytic philosophers looked for a wholesale change in both the content and the methodology of philosophy. In this respect, analytic philosophy began as a revolutionary force and its arrival in Asia amidst the post-war and post-colonialism political and cultural upheavals of the middle of the twentieth century must have appeared as the coming of an intellectual sword or shield, depending on one’s orientation.

These trends of growth, our authors suggest, continue through to the present, with a particular shift (also mirrored in the “West”) toward interdisciplinary work in epistemology,

the philosophy of mind, and the philosophy of science with the cognitive and brain sciences in particular. Interestingly, the causes of this shift—at least one of our authors suggests—may not be the obvious ones. Jiang suggests that, at least in the mainland Chinese context, the key driver of this move was not the success of the empirical sciences but rather the centrality of the philosophy of mind to (at least one common narrative of) the Early Modern Period (c. 1400–1800) and the consequent acceptance of that model of philosophy by Chinese philosophers trained in the history of Western philosophy. The aforementioned pivot, one suspects, might be the result of the seemingly apolitical nature of the philosophy of science, mind, and cognition, at least from the point of view of those who have their hands on the reins of intellectual freedom.

So where does analytic philosophy in East Asia go in the future? Some of our authors provide useful categorizations of various sorts of Asian analytic philosophy and give some programmatic suggestions. Pedersen et al. propose a tripartite classification of Asian analytic philosophy:<sup>9</sup>

Type 1: Asian philosophy studied, discussed, and researched through the lens of analytic philosophy.

Type 2: Asian cross-linguistic or cross-cultural analytic philosophy.

Type 3: Asian language-driven analytic philosophy.

The first comprises the study and interpretation of classical Asian philosophies using analytic tools and methods (exemplified, for example, in Lau’s paper by the New Confucians). An example of the second is experimental philosophy (x-phi) work on differing intuitions across cultures and linguistic groups. And the third draws on specific meanings and formulations in Asian languages to drive conceptual analysis.

Building on Pedersen et al.’s Type 1 and Type 2, both Jiang and Lau note the modernist interplay between analytic philosophy and classical Asian philosophies. One mark of “modern Asian philosophy,” they each suggest, is seeking some form of integration of these two traditions. Jiang locates an early form of this modernism in Hu Shih’s approach to the classics, driven not in the main by textual or philological considerations (indeed, part of Hu Shih’s program—and the New Culture Movement in general—was an emphasis on the vernacular), but by “scientific” (in the broad Deweyan pragmatist sense) methods of examination of evidence and empirical inquiry. Lau holds up the “New Asia spirit” as an autochthonous form of Hong Kong philosophy that combines Chinese humanism with modern philosophical methods, including those of analytic philosophy.

These are ways of *combining* “Western” analytic philosophy with Asian philosophical traditions. But Pedersen et al. and Lin go further than this act of methodological combination. Pedersen et al. argue that Asian analytic philosophy ought to be seen as forming part of a nascent *global* analytic philosophy, one that uses a set of methods that together comprise “analytic philosophy” as “a certain approach or way

of doing philosophy” to whatever issues or problems arise in different geographical and temporal contexts across the globe. Lin more (politically and perhaps methodologically) radically argues that a central part of Taiwanese identity is anti-colonial resistance. And so, she maintains, “Taiwanese philosophy” might usefully be understood—and, more importantly, *constructed*—as part of a broader decolonial and critical struggle for liberation.

These four papers showcase a certain mode of engaging in the history of philosophy and the historiography of philosophy, one that looks to the past with an eye to the future. The wider geographical focus (outside the imperial centers of the US and the UK) exemplified in these tellings of the history of analytic philosophy ought not merely be taken as addenda to the history of analytic philosophy in the imperium, tales of how the center spread outward. Rather, they not only challenge the typical “internalist” histories of analytic philosophy that focus on the logic of ideas, but also provoke us to imagine what a truly global philosophy might look like.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

1. See, though, Takashi Iida and Tomohisa Furuta, “Analytic Philosophy in Japan 1933–2000,” *Asian Journal of Philosophy* 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44204-022-00032-4>; Tora Koyama, “Analytic Philosophy in Japan since 2000,” *Asian Journal of Philosophy* 48 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44204-022-00046-y>.
2. A further line of inquiry opened by the contemporaneous visits of Dewey and Russell to China is the historical interplay in East Asia of pragmatism and analytic philosophy. Lin and Pedersen et al. separately in their papers note the significance of pragmatism in the development of academic philosophy in Taiwan and Korea. Given that there is a larger and increasing, though still quite small, literature on the history of pragmatism in Asia (part of a small but increasing literature on global pragmatism), it would be instructive to see what further connections there are.
3. John McCumber, *Time in the Ditch: American Philosophy and the McCarthy Era* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2001).
4. Katrina Forrester, *In the Shadow of Justice: Postwar Liberalism and the Remaking of Political Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
5. Erin Pineda, *Seeing Like an Activist: Civil Disobedience and the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).
6. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs Books, 2004).
7. See Sixuan Wu, “A Critique of the Vienna Circle’s Logical Analysis and Verification,” *Journal of Peking University* 3 (1959): 13; Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. Guo Ying (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1962). Yi Jiang cites both of these in his contribution to this issue.
8. Pedersen et al.’s emphasis on organizations and journals, reflected also in Lin’s narrative about Taiwan and Lau’s narrative about Hong Kong, bears parallels to at least the method of Joel Katzav’s story about the emergent dominance of analytic philosophy in the

US in the mid-century. Katzav and his collaborators point to the "journal capture" of key philosophical journals (*The Philosophical Review*, *Mind*, and *The Journal of Philosophy*) in the mid-century by analytically inclined editors and the consequent sidelining of other traditions that, in the first half of the century, formed part of a rich and diverse tapestry of philosophical traditions. See Joel Katzav and Krist Vaesen, "On the Emergence of American Analytic Philosophy," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 25, no. 4 (2017): 772–98; Joel Katzav, "Analytic Philosophy, 1925–69: Emergence, Management and Nature," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 26, no. 6 (2018): 1197–221. See also Joel Katzav, "To What Extent Can Institutional Control Explain the Dominance of Analytic Philosophy?" *Asian Journal of Philosophy* 2, art. no. 45 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44204-023-00099-7>.

9. See also Nikolaj Jang Lee Linding Pedersen, "Asian Analytic Philosophy: Nature, Significance, Value" (unpublished manuscript), a version of which is scheduled to appear in a special issue of *EurAmerica*.

## ARTICLES

### *Analytic Philosophy in China and the Integration of Modern Chinese Philosophy*

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#### ABSTRACT

The introduction of analytic philosophy to China coincided with the second Eastern expansion of Western philosophy in China at the beginning of the twentieth century. The history of the study of analytic philosophy in China can be divided into four periods: the first half of the twentieth century, the time between 1949 and 1980, the 1980s until the end of the last century, and the beginning of the new century. There are four main research fields in which Chinese scholars of analytic philosophy have become interested in succession: the philosophy of science, the philosophy of language and logic, the philosophy of mind, and the philosophy of cognitive science. Modern Chinese philosophy has been integrated with ancient Chinese, Western, and Marxist philosophy. This integration is grounded in some holistic features of contemporary Chinese philosophy, in which textual research, philosophical interpretation, and empirical reasoning as analytic methods are illuminated.

It is widely accepted that Chinese philosophy is a specific knowledge system different from Western philosophy.<sup>1</sup> But this conception of Chinese philosophy presupposes that such an intellectual tradition has existed since ancient times (e.g., pre-Qin Dynasty). According to this presupposition, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism are historical representatives of Chinese philosophy. However, whether these schools of thought are philosophy according to Western standards that emerged during the beginning of the last century remains unsettled. To this extent, the legitimacy of Chinese philosophy has been rigorously challenged. In this paper, I would like to respond to this challenge first by exploring the history of analytic philosophy in China and second by interpreting the integration of modern Chinese philosophy with the analytic approach. Finally, I will conclude that Chinese analytic

philosophy could be part of modern Chinese philosophy, thus establishing the legitimacy of contemporary Chinese philosophy.

#### I. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN CHINA

The introduction of analytic philosophy to China coincided with the second Eastern expansion of Western philosophy in China at the beginning of the twentieth century, most influentially by Bertrand Russell and John Dewey's visits to China. Comparing the number of works on the history of the development of Western philosophy in China since the second half of the last century is not a simple task because few writings have been published on the history of analytic philosophy in China. Hu Jun, a late professor at Peking University, is an exception. His book on the history of Chinese analytic philosophy is a starting point for the present study. I will follow his four-fold historic division but with some modifications to the details.<sup>2</sup>

The first period spans the first half of the twentieth century, starting around the 1920s. Bertrand Russell visited China in October 1920 and left in July 1921. During his visit, Russell delivered approximately one hundred lectures to the public and the academic circle in China. He observed aspects of social problems and the Chinese mentality, which sharpened his distinct understanding of Chinese culture and society from what Western intellectuals thought. His observation and conception of the problem in China have influenced the development of modern Chinese philosophy.<sup>3</sup> John Dewey visited China in April 1919 and left in July 1921. He gave more than two hundred lectures in China and experienced the May Fourth Movement in Beijing. His philosophy of education and social reform changed a lot of Chinese intellectuals and shaped Chinese modernization.<sup>4</sup> Russell and Dewey brought fresh ideas to China, not only in philosophy but also in politics, society, and education. Although no such conception of analytic philosophy existed in China, their ideas and approaches to social and philosophical problems were analytic and guided by rigorous reasoning. Some open-minded and advanced Chinese intellectuals learned their new ideas. Still, they expressed them in an old way in their attempts to advance in philosophy and society. The focus of Chinese philosophical study at that time was the positivist method and its relation to dialectics from the perspective of today's analytic philosophy. This focus was accomplished by introducing the updated philosophical ideas from the West. Zhang Shenfu (张申府) and others reported some developments in modern Western philosophy almost simultaneously as these ideas were published in the West. For instance, Zhang Shenfu's translation of *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* into Chinese in 1927 for the first time came shortly after the English-German edition had been published in 1921.<sup>5</sup> Philosophical studies in China during the first period coincided with the development of Western philosophy, but the former saw itself as an apprentice to the latter. Nevertheless, at that time, several famous Chinese philosophers published remarkable writings that shaped the future development of modern Chinese philosophy. These include Tscha Hung (洪谦), Jin Yuelin (金岳霖), Fung Yulan (冯友兰), and Zhang Dainian (张岱年).<sup>6</sup> Represented



by their works, the first period could be seen as the best initiation for studying analytic philosophy in China.

The second period of development of modern Chinese analytic philosophy was between 1949 and 1980, in which political and ideological criticisms dominated the study of Western philosophy in China. There was no academic research on analytic philosophy, especially during the Cultural Revolution, except for some Chinese translations of analytic philosophers' writings for political criticism, such as Tscha Hung's translations of Ernest Mach and others.<sup>7</sup> There was no academic progress in analytic philosophy in China in the second period. However, the Vienna Circle's philosophy and a number of analytic philosophers, such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, were known more widely by Chinese philosophers through Marxist critiques of them.<sup>8</sup> The *Tractatus* was translated into Chinese again, for instance, from Russia during the Cultural Revolution, with a lengthy introduction and sharp ideological criticism.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately, by the beginning of the 1980s through the 1990s, economic reforms and a more open engagement with the world reinvigorated the studies of analytic philosophy in China. During this third period of the history of analytic philosophy in China, most of the philosophies that occurred in the West in the last century were introduced again in China. Analytic philosophy reemerged in academic circles and became popularized in society in the 1980s. The philosophy of science and technology and the philosophy of language were first introduced into China and greatly influenced studies in Chinese philosophy. Most illuminatingly, Jiang Tianji (江天骥) published his book on the philosophy of science in contemporary Western philosophy, and Tu Jiliang (涂纪亮) published his two-volume work on the post-war development of analytic philosophy in North America.<sup>10</sup> This third period of analytic philosophy flourished with fresh ideas and a passion for academics in China. Analytic philosophers' works were translated into Chinese, including Russell's *Logic and Knowledge*, *The History of Western Philosophy*, and *The Development of My Philosophy*, and Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* was translated again for the third time, and his *Philosophical Investigations* for the first time. Frege's philosophical writings were translated into Chinese and Carnap's *Der Logische Aufbau der Welt* was translated from German.<sup>11</sup> With the publication of these translations, a number of new works in analytic philosophy were published in China before the twenty-first century by, for instance, Wang Lu (王路) on Frege, Chen Bo (陈波) on Quine, Jiang Yi (江怡) and Han Linhe (韩林合) on Wittgenstein in the 1990s.<sup>12</sup>

The Chinese interaction with analytic philosophers worldwide marked the fourth period. International conferences around the start of the twenty-first century were held in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities in China, and visits by analytic philosophers, such as Hilary Putnam and Peter Strawson, strengthened the academic dialogues between Chinese scholars and Western philosophers. Increasing numbers of participants from China in international conferences further demonstrate the internalization of the study of analytic philosophy in China. Some Chinese graduates overseas returned to China, bringing a global intellectual sentiment.

These engagements show that the study of analytic philosophy in China plays an active role in developing analytic philosophy in the world. Analytic philosophy in China in the fourth period has distinctive features that characterize the depth of insights on some basic concepts and problems in analytic philosophy explored by Chinese scholars. The features are academic and philosophical, both in translation and in research, instead of politically and ideologically centric. In this respect, academic and philosophical research directs the study of analytic philosophy in China in the new century. The state of analytic philosophy in China is intimately entwined with the international community of analytic philosophers.

## II. MAIN FIELDS IN THE STUDY OF ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN CHINA

As an illustrative example, the shift of my research fields in my academic career mirrors the changes in the main areas of study of analytic philosophy in China. The trajectory begins with the Vienna Circle and logical atomism of Russell and Wittgenstein, followed by Karl Popper's falsification theory, the historicism of Thomas Kuhn, Imre Lakatos, and Paul Feyerabend, to the philosophy of language and mind, and the philosophy of cognitive science. The research interests of Chinese philosophers typically follow in a similar succession: the philosophy of science, language, mind, and cognitive science.

### 1. THE STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SPST)

At the beginning of the revival of academic studies of analytic philosophy in China in the 1980s, the philosophy of science was the most attractive to philosophers in China. The relationship between philosophy and science and the philosophical reflection on the nature of natural sciences have been the focus of the study of natural dialectics, originating from Friedrich Engels's famous book of the same title and becoming an essential part of Marxist philosophy in China. It is well known that scientist-philosophers, such as members of the Vienna Circle, initiated the philosophy of science to explore the nature and method of mathematical logic and physics. The study of natural dialectics paired closely with the philosophy of science in general, which propelled the need to make the former more academically rigorous. As a result of this change, the study of natural dialectics became the philosophy of science and technology as a subdiscipline in philosophical studies in China. The reasons for the change can be explained in two ways. One is that the political atmosphere in China has changed from extremely strict to relatively loose in ideology. Academic research has taken over political criticism in the Chinese philosophical circle. In particular, the study of natural dialectics, which had solid ideological elements before, was replaced by the academic research of the SPST in the 1980s; the latter is independent of some political stance. The other is that the SPST is much closer to the study of natural science, which seems more objective and scientific than dogmatic or doctrinal. This led Chinese scholars to dismiss considerations of the detachment of the survey from Marxist philosophy while concentrating their study on specific issues in the philosophy of science.

## 2. THE STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE AND LOGIC (SPLL)

Chronologically speaking, the emergence of the SPLL was almost synchronous with the SPST in the 1980s. Logical and linguistic analysis is essential to the SPST, as illuminated in the philosophy of the Vienna Circle. The SPLL was initiated in the 1980s by Tu Jiliang, who explored the history of the analytic philosophy of language in his book on the origin and development of analytic philosophy in Europe and America.<sup>13</sup> Tu made significant contributions to the SPLL in China in the 1980s and 1990s. He clarified the nature and method of the SPLL by defining the philosophy of language in the broader sense as a branch of philosophy for the first time, which made a distinction between the analytic philosophy of language and the philosophy of language as a research field in philosophy. By his definition of the SPLL, Tu explored the significance of the SPLL in the history of Western philosophy and modern continental philosophy in contrast with the analytic tradition. He claimed that there was also a linguistic turn in continental philosophy, focusing on the meaning and interpretation of language in hermeneutics and phenomenology.<sup>14</sup> In 2003, Chen Jiaying (陈嘉映) published his book *Philosophy of Language*, which has been welcomed widely by philosophical circles in China.<sup>15</sup> It is worth mentioning that the SPLL has many contacts with studying linguistics, foreign languages, and logical studies in China. Some Chinese philosophers of language have cooperated with linguists and logicians in semantics and pragmatics in different ways. Linguists interested in the philosophy of language have engaged with the SPLL for years, and they are partial to the analytic approach to linguistic studies from the perspectives of semantics and pragmatics.<sup>16</sup> The cooperation among philosophers of language, linguists, and logicians contributed to the spread of the SPLL to many research fields in humanities and social sciences in China by the end of the twentieth century.

## 3. THE STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF MIND AND CONSCIOUSNESS (SPMC)

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the focus of the study of analytic philosophy in China turned to the mind-body problem and consciousness, along with the international shift of concentration in the rational approach to philosophy. It is claimed that the reason for the change was the verbal dispute among the philosophers of language, in which the disputants agree on all of the facts about the intended subject matter of the dispute and disagree only about how to use specific terms, such as the Carnap-Quine dispute. Those who adhered to Quine's naturalist epistemology dissented from the logical and linguistic analysis in the analytic tradition and attempted to find a way to solve the dispute in question by exploring the nature and dispositions of mind in contemporary philosophy. It made the linguistic turn in the history of philosophy trivial and fruitless on the count that inquiring into the nature of mind and consciousness would be exciting and valuable to those who believed that philosophical investigations could be progressive in their association with our empirical understanding of mind. However, the crucial relation of the SPLL to the

SPMC is not empirical science but the history of Western philosophy in China. Cartesian epistemology was a turning point in early modern Western philosophy, which placed the exploration of the nature of the human mind at the center of philosophical discussions in the history of Western philosophy. Chinese philosophers are familiar with the history of Western philosophy. It is natural for them to accept the shift of the SPLL to the SPMC in the analytic tradition. For instance, Tian Ping (田平) and Tang Refeng (唐热风) were among the first to research the SPMC with their backgrounds in psychology and Cartesian philosophy.<sup>17</sup> Other well-trained experts in sciences also engaged in the SPMC, such as Wang Huaping (王华平), Wang Xiaoyang (王晓阳), Wei Yidong (魏屹东), and Chen Jingkun (陈敬坤).<sup>18</sup>

## 4. THE STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF COGNITIVE SCIENCE (SPCS)

Cognitive science and artificial intelligence were arguably the most exciting developments in science and technology in the twentieth century. The philosophy of cognitive science and AI has become fashionable in the SPCS in China and the world. It is an extension of the SPMC that the problems of mind and consciousness are analyzed primarily within cognitive science and that the SPCS improved the SPMC's research on the mind-body problem and consciousness. Most philosophers of mind and consciousness are naturally drawn to cognitive science and AI because they have the same mission of deepening the investigation of mind and consciousness through scientific study. Computationalism, functionalism, and representationalism are some of cognitive science's significant developments. However, the new generation of the SPMC focuses on enactivism and situationism. A pragmatist and phenomenologist approach to the interaction of cognition with the environment characterizes this trend in cognitive science. Chinese philosophers also contributed to developing cognitive science and AI when involved in the SPCS. Li Jianhui (李建会), Liu Xiaoli (刘晓力), and Li Hengwei (李恒威) are among the representatives of the SPCS in China. Li Jianhui advocated computationalism in his academic career, arguing that human intelligence is computable.<sup>19</sup> Liu Xiaoli contributes her ideas on the philosophy of cognitive science in her books, which have been highly influential among Chinese philosophers.<sup>20</sup> Li Hengwei leads a renowned cognition and consciousness team with young scientists and scholars investigating the mind's structure and expression.<sup>21</sup> All of them are pioneers of the SPCS in China, and their works represent the development of the SPCS in the twenty-first century.

## III. INTEGRATION OF MODERN CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

A common refrain of modern Chinese philosophy is integrating various philosophical doctrines from sources such as ancient Chinese thought and historical and contemporary Western philosophy. This amalgamation can be understood in terms of the holistic features in modern Chinese philosophy, which consists of textual research, philosophical interpretations, and empirical reasoning as analytic methods.

In his milestone book, *An Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, published in 1919, Hu Shih advocated his method of examining and approving historical materials. He reconstructs academic research in classic Chinese learning as modern Chinese philosophy by looking at evidence and argumentation for philosophical classics in history. Hu argues that reviewing historical materials is the first and fundamental step for historians. Most of the remarkable progress in Western historiography in the past hundred years was due to stricter methods of examining historical materials. Verifications of the authenticity of historical materials must be accompanied by evidence to be persuasive.<sup>22</sup> The same can be said for modern Chinese philosophy. According to the method of examining evidence, however, modern Chinese philosophers have made outstanding contributions to the study of the history of Chinese philosophy, which in turn led to its status as an independent research field in Chinese philosophy. Even in some philosophical discourses, Chinese philosophy has been defined only by the study of the history of Chinese philosophy. This view is commonly seen as an authoritative definition of Chinese philosophy worldwide. But it is a mischaracterization of Chinese philosophy from the modern point of view.

Firstly, the method of examination of evidence is only a way to study the history of Chinese philosophy rather than Chinese philosophy itself. Although Hu Shih initially introduced the technique of studying the history of Chinese philosophy, it does not mean that the study constitutes the whole of Chinese philosophy. Modern Chinese philosophy attempts to explore the resources from ancient Chinese thought (so-called Ancient Chinese Learning, or Guo Xue in Chinese, 国学) with the examination method, besides investigating the philosophical problems in general. In this respect, modern Chinese philosophy uses analytic methods to obtain rich resources from ancient Chinese thought. Modern Chinese philosophy should be viewed as integrating studies of philosophical problems from various sources, from ancient Chinese thought, Western philosophy, and Marxist philosophy.

Second, the textual analyses of the classics of ancient Chinese thought, such as Confucianism and Daoism, have a long tradition in the history of China. The innovation of Hu Shih's contribution to the study of the history of Chinese philosophy lies in his examination of evidence with logical rigidity and empirical certainty. This differs from the textual criticism (*Kao Ju Xue*, 考据学) of scholars such as the Qian Jia School (乾嘉学派) in the Qing Dynasty. The textual criticism focused on the linguistic examination of the classics of ancient Chinese thought informed by linguistic positivism of classical literature in ancient languages. In contrast, Hu Shih's method of examination of evidence is derived from the positivist philosophy in the nineteenth century, which focuses on the development of human knowledge of the world. Positivism resulted from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment movement in philosophy, while textual criticism was the product of the flourishing of philology and linguistics in the Qing Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, the two views have something in common. They both challenged metaphysics, which was speculative and theoretical rather than verificative and pragmatic. Positivism is the epitome of

anti-metaphysics in modern Western philosophy, and the textual criticism was likewise critical of the Confucianism of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Hu Shih defined his conception of philosophy for the first time in his book; philosophy is the knowledge that anyone who studies the most critical problems in life thinks fundamentally and seeks fundamental solutions.<sup>24</sup> To put it differently, his definition concentrates on fundamental thinking and the penultimate solution to the most critical problems in life. For him, the proper method of thinking and the likeliest means of finding a solution lie in carefully examining evidence. Hu's definition sharply challenges the traditional definition of Chinese learning, which is composed of the classification of the Confucian Classics, historical records, Sages' writings, and miscellaneous works (*Jing Shi Zi Ji* in Chinese, 经史子集). It is this breakthrough that launched the beginning of modern Chinese philosophy.

Another feature of the integration emerges out of empirical reasoning in the tradition. It is widely said that Chinese philosophy is characterized mainly by its practical rationales, such as analogical reduction and inference from consensus. From this first impression, Chinese philosophy needs to improve in logical reasoning, namely, the implementation of deductive reasoning. Fung Youlan criticizes the tradition in this sense and proposes a rational analysis of Chinese philosophy in his influential book *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*.<sup>25</sup> Fung is right when he encourages the study of the history of Chinese philosophy in a rigorous, logical way. Still, he should have paid more attention to the features of Chinese philosophy that differ from deductive logic; that is, Chinese philosophy combines empirical induction and verificative analysis. It is a logic in the sense of general logic that characterizes the logic of Chinese philosophy as more contextual than formal. In contrast, deduction infers from available premises to conclusions, no matter what formulations are used. The logic of Chinese philosophy is much more concerned with the empirical contents of philosophical discourses via inductive inferences from observed facts to some general ideas. According to Chinese philosophy, knowledge of the world is separate from the structural analysis of propositions that reveal knowledge about the world. It is instead included in the empirical facts and objects we perceive. Ma Xiangbo, a well-known scholar and educator in the 1920s, gave a unique explanation of the concept of philosophy in his *A Brief Introduction to Knowledge* (1924) and interpreted the Western learning of love of wisdom as a theory of knowledge. Like Wang Yangming, he proposed the idea of the unity of knowledge and action in philosophy. He emphasized the idea of practical wisdom by observing how experience becomes knowledge.<sup>26</sup> It is through practical wisdom that this idea of philosophy is transmitted in modern China, and the concept of analysis penetrates the spiritual world of modern Chinese through the combination of verification and experience.

The constructive process of modern Chinese philosophy shows that philosophers such as Hu Shih, Fung Youlan, Zhang Dainian, and others have integrated traditional Chinese thought with contemporary Western philosophy. Modern Chinese philosophy includes the pragmatic scientific positivist method advocated by Hu Shih, the conceptual way



of New Realism adopted by Fung Youlan, and the dialectics of Marxist philosophy accepted by Zhang Dainian. These Western abstract methods explain the classics of traditional Chinese thought. In this way, the study of the Confucian Classics has been interpreted as a Chinese philosophical doctrine that focuses on the problems of cosmos/life, universal/particular, rationality/emotion, science/society, etc. In explaining these philosophical doctrines, analysis is used widely not only as a method in interpreting classical texts but also as an intellectual conception to illustrate the universal nature of Chinese philosophy.

#### NOTES

1. Because of space limitations, this article describes and comments on the development of analytic philosophy only in mainland China. Regarding the development of it in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau, see the relevant articles in this issue.
2. Jun Hu, *Analytic Philosophy in China* (Beijing: Capital Normal University Press, 2002), 10–11. For more on the development of analytic philosophy in China in the twentieth century, see Yi Jiang, "Analytic Philosophy in China," *China Social Sciences* 6 (2000): 54–63.
3. Bertrand Russell, *The Problem of China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1922); Chongyi Feng, *Russell and China: A Journey of Western Mind in China* (Beijing: Joint Publishing House, 1994).
4. John Dewey, *Lectures in China: 1919–1920*, ed. and trans. Robert W. Clifton and Tsuin-Chen Ou (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973); J. C. S. Wang, *John Dewey in China: To Teach and to Learn* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).
5. Shenfu Zhang, *Ming Li Lun* (名理论), *Philosophical Review* 1 (1927): 5–6.
6. They finished their representative works mostly in this period, such as Tscha Hung, *The Philosophy of the Vienna Circle* (Peking: Commercial Press, 1948); Jin Yuelin, *Logic* (Peking: Tsinghua University Press, 1935) and *On Dao* (Peking: Commercial Press, 1940); Fung Youlan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (Peking: Commercial Press, 1934); Zhang Dainian, *An Outline of Chinese Philosophy* (Peking: University of China Press, 1943).
7. Tscha Hung translated (with Zong Baihua) Ernst Mach's book *The Analysis of Sensations* in 1975 and edited a selection of translations of philosophical writings by Western philosophers. See Ernst Mach, *The Analysis of Sensations*, trans. Zong Baihua and Tscha Hung (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1975); Tscha Hung, ed., *Selected Works on Modern Western Bourgeois Philosophy* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1964). These translations of philosophical writings spread Western philosophy in China at that time.
8. For example, there was an article published in *The Journal of Peking University* accusing the Vienna Circle's philosophy as a bourgeoisie philosophy. See Sixuan Wu, "A Critique of the Vienna Circle's Logical Analysis and Verification," *Journal of Peking University* 3 (1959): 13.
9. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. Guo Ying (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1962).
10. Tianji Jiang, *Contemporary Western Philosophy of Science* (Beijing: Chinese Social Sciences Press, 1984); Jiliang Tu, *Analytic Philosophy and Its Development in the United States of America* (Beijing: Chinese Social Sciences Press, 1987).
11. Bertrand Russell, *Logic and Knowledge*, trans. Lijun Yuan (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1996); *The History of Western Philosophy*, trans. Zhaowu He, Yuese Li, and Yuande Ma (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1997); *The Development of My Philosophy*, trans. Xizeng Wen (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1982); Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. Shaojia He (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1996); *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. K. T. Fann and Chao Tang (Beijing: Joint Publishing Co. Ltd., 1992); Gottlob Frege, *A Selection of Frege's Philosophical Writings*, trans. Lu Wang (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1994); Rudolf Carnap, *Der Logische Aufbau der Welt*, trans. Qiwei Chen (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 1999).

12. Lu Wang, *A Study of Frege's Thoughts* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 1996); Bo Chen, *A Study of W. V. O. Quine's Philosophy* (Beijing: Joint Publishing Co. Ltd., 1998); Yi Jiang, *Wittgenstein: A Post-Philosophical Culture* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 1996); Linhe Han, *Wittgenstein's Philosophical Path* (Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 1996).
13. Jiliang Tu, *An Introduction to Anglo-American Philosophy of Language* (Beijing: People's Press, 1988).
14. Jiliang Tu, ed., *The Philosophy of Language in the Modern Continental* (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 1994); *Comparative Studies of Philosophy of Language in Contemporary West* (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 1996).
15. Jiaying Chen, *Philosophy of Language* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2003).
16. They are prominently Xu Guozhang (许国璋), Qian Guanlian (钱冠连), Liu Runqing (刘润清), and Wang Yin (王寅). See Yin Wang, *A Study of the Philosophy of Language: Chinese Reflections on the Post-Philosophy of Language in the 21st Century*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2014).
17. See Ping Tian, *Naturalized Mind* (Changsha: Hunan Education Publishing House, 2000); Refeng Tang, *Mind, Body, and the World* (Beijing: Capital Normal University Press, 2001).
18. See Huaping Wang, *Mind and the World: A Study of the Philosophy of Perception* (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 2009); Xiaoyang Wang, *A Study of Consciousness* (Shanghai: Shanghai People Press, 2019); Yidong Wei and Jingkun Chen, "On Chalmers' Conceivability Argument Based on Two-Dimensional Semantics," *Studies of the Philosophy of Science and Technology* 1 (2010): 33–39.
19. Jianhui Li, *Towards a Computationalism* (Beijing: China Books Press, 2004).
20. Xiaoli Liu, Feng Yu, Weihua Lu, Wei Meng, Xiaoyun Tao, Shaohua Xue, Zhiwei Zhang, Yanxia Feng, Xiang Huang, Huiming Ren, Yingjin Xu, Xiangdong Xu, Hengwei Li, Jing Zhu, and Changle Zhou, *The Challenges of Cognitive Science to Contemporary Philosophy* (Beijing: Science Press, 2020).
21. Hengwei Li, *Consciousness: Metaphysics, the First-Person Method, and Contemporary Theories* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 2020).
22. Shih Hu, *An Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2011), 14.
23. Xin He, "Pu Jia's Rationality and Sadness," *Du Shu* 5 (1986): 27–37.
24. Hu, *An Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, 1.
25. Fung Youlan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948), 342.
26. Xiangbo Ma, "A Brief Introduction to Knowledge," in *Collected Writings of Ma Xiangbo*, ed. Zhu Weizheng (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1996), 342.

## Colonialism, Politics, and the Development of Philosophy in Hong Kong

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#### ABSTRACT

Academic philosophy in Hong Kong began in the early twentieth century. However, the discipline was in a neglected state before the Second World War and gradually expanded only afterwards. The development of philosophy in Hong Kong is shown to be heavily influenced by colonial politics and changing government policies on higher education

and deeply intertwined with the city's unique cultural and historical context. This article also highlights the legacy of humanism left by some of the founding Chinese scholars of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and their impact on Hong Kong society and education.

## INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong is often considered to be a meeting point between Chinese and Western cultures. In many ways, this is also reflected in the history of academic philosophy in Hong Kong. Since the Second World War, there have been two separate but interacting major philosophical traditions. One encompasses a community of philosophers with a more Western and analytic orientation, while the other comprises a group of ethnic Chinese philosophers and scholars with a strong focus on Chinese philosophy and culture.

In a previous paper,<sup>1</sup> I provided an outline of the history of analytic philosophy in Hong Kong. In this paper, I will concentrate more on the political and socioeconomic factors that have influenced the development of these two philosophical traditions. One interesting aspect of this history is that although Western philosophy has been taught in Hong Kong for over a century, a robust research culture in mainstream analytic philosophy only gradually emerged after the 1990s. In the first half of this paper, I argue that this delayed development is partly due to the changing nature of colonialism and the evolution of the Hong Kong Government's perception of a university's mission. In the second half of the paper, I discuss how post-war political developments have led to the expansion of higher education. I will highlight the critical role that the Chinese philosophy community played in this history and the way in which it has left behind a profound legacy of humanism.

## PHILOSOPHY BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Hong Kong came under British occupation in 1841 during the Opium War (1839–1842). European traders and missionaries began to arrive, along with Chinese migrants seeking new economic opportunities. At that time, Hong Kong was a modest coastal settlement consisting mainly of farming and fishing villages. There were small village schools and some of them would have included in their curricula classic Confucian texts such as *The Analects*.<sup>2</sup>

During the final days of the Qing Dynasty, there was growing recognition within China that modernization necessitated educational reforms. Many Chinese students opted to pursue university studies in Japan. American missionaries, along with German and French interests, hastened to establish institutions of higher education. Concerns arose that Britain was lagging behind in spreading its influence. It was against this background that the University of Hong Kong (HKU) was founded in 1911.

Frederick Lugard served as Governor of Hong Kong from 1907 to 1912 and played a pivotal role in establishing HKU. As the first university in Hong Kong and the sole British university in East Asia, HKU was envisioned to serve the British expatriates in Hong Kong and to meet the growing demand for higher education from the more affluent

sector of the local Chinese population. Above all, HKU was intended to showcase the accomplishments of the British Empire and promote British influence throughout China and Asia.

The university was initially founded with only the faculties of medicine and engineering. The Arts Faculty soon followed in 1913. The 1913 University Calendar listed a course entitled "Logic and Scientific Method," marking the beginning of Western philosophy in Hong Kong. The calendar stated explicitly that the course was designed "for the convenience of students who have no mathematical bent."<sup>3</sup>

In 1920, Bertrand Russell visited China with his partner Dora Black. Their ship passed by Hong Kong on October 8, 1920, but there is no indication that Russell disembarked or met with any local residents. Russell stayed in China for nine months. At that time, there was a strong interest in Russell among intellectuals in China. It was thought that Mao Zedong might have attended one of his lectures.<sup>4</sup> Russell's opinion on China's future was eagerly sought, and some even called him a "second Confucius."<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, Russell's visit appeared to have had a negligible impact on Hong Kong. There were very few local newspaper reports on Russell's activities in China. One article, dated October 26, 1920, mentioned Russell's lecture in Shanghai on the aims of education.<sup>6</sup> Another article on April 8, 1921, described Russell as a "well-known sociologist" and erroneously reported that he had died in Beijing due to influenza.<sup>7</sup>

Before the Second World War, there was very little development in the Western philosophy curriculum at HKU. From around 1920, in addition to the logic course, there was also a course on ethics. Both courses were taught by part-time teachers, often by people without a specialization in philosophy.

The state of neglect of philosophy can be attributed to several factors. First, there was a significant disparity between the imperial aspirations for the university and the economic and political realities. The university suffered from the lack of financial resources from the outset and went through a number of financial crises in the pre-war period. It is worth noting that Britain took over Hong Kong primarily to protect its commercial interests in China and not for natural resources or territorial gain. The Colonial Office in Britain regarded Hong Kong as a small trading outpost, and the university as a rather costly indulgence.<sup>8</sup>

The local expatriate community was also reluctant to provide financial support, even though the university was advertised as an imperial project promoting British influence and prestige. Many local British firms and expatriates were concerned that their position might be threatened by competition from cheaper services offered by the university's Chinese graduates. In fact, British traders went so far as to boycott the laying of the university's foundation stone in 1910.<sup>9</sup>

The preoccupation with trade and commerce also meant that the university curriculum was originally designed with more practical subjects in mind, focusing especially on medicine and engineering. Initially, the British members of the university council were opposed to the creation of an arts faculty. There were also political concerns about the import of subversive Western ideas. According to Lugard, many Chinese students returned from overseas studies with "revolutionary ideas" and became "a danger to the state," and HKU will see to it that "no such pernicious doctrines are encouraged or tolerated here."<sup>10</sup>

Eventually, there was agreement to establish the Arts Faculty after the necessary funding had been raised. This was largely due to the persistent efforts of a small minority of Chinese members on the Council. However, their motivation was mainly driven by pragmatic considerations. They believed that a humanities education would enable their sons to pursue careers in the civil service, as well as in the commercial and educational sectors.

Although Lugard was against setting up an arts faculty, he was in favor of courses that could provide "the direct teaching of any code of morals." The university also considered it important to attend to "the development and formation of the character of students." This perhaps partly explained why the arts curriculum included an ethics course soon afterwards.<sup>11</sup>

A teacher training program was later introduced to attract more students. It covered both the practical and theoretical aspects of education and included a course on the philosophy of education. The program proved to be very popular and even more successful than a commercial certificate offered by the faculty. One commission report commended the program for "its manifest value for spreading British ideas and indirectly furthering British interests by training teachers for schools in China."<sup>12</sup>

In the pre-war years, the extent of Western philosophy teaching was entirely limited to the three courses that were mentioned: Logic and Scientific Method, Ethics, and the Philosophy of Education. There was no full-time philosophy teacher, and research in Western philosophy was nonexistent. The lack of research was not a problem restricted to philosophy. HKU was plagued by financial crises immediately after establishment. The university library and other facilities were underfunded, and the University Council was not supportive of research work. Postgraduate research teaching was extremely limited. In short, the university failed to fulfill its original bold imperial mission and struggled to become anything more than a professional or technical institute. Western philosophy was alive, but only barely.

In contrast, there was some exciting development in the teaching of Chinese philosophy within the Chinese department. In 1935, renowned Chinese scholar Hsu Tishan (許地山) was hired as Professor of Chinese. Hsu was a key figure in China's New Culture Movement. As head of the HKU Chinese Department, Hsu immediately set out to reorganize the Chinese studies curriculum, dividing it into three separate streams: literature, history, and philosophy.

The study of philosophy included not just Confucianism. There were also courses on Daoism, Buddhism, and Indian philosophy. Unfortunately, these developments were abruptly cut short by Hsu's untimely death in 1941 and the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong during the Second World War.

### FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO MODERNIZATION

Hong Kong University ceased operation during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, which lasted for three years and eight months. After Japan surrendered in 1945, the university lay in ruins, and there were doubts as to whether the university should continue to exist. The British Government formed a high-powered committee to advise on this issue. The committee reported favorably, and HKU was eventually re-established in 1948.<sup>13</sup> The committee report contained a blueprint for the university's development and expansion. It cautioned that British prestige would suffer if the University continued on an inadequate basis as it did before the war. The report also included a recommendation to establish a philosophy department with full-time staff but on a lesser scale compared with disciplines such as English and Chinese, which were regarded as strategically more important disciplines.

Alaric Pearson Rose, a reverend, was appointed as HKU's first full-time philosophy lecturer in 1952, marking the beginning of the Philosophy Department. But the first analytic philosopher at HKU with doctoral training in philosophy was Joseph Agassi. Agassi was a student of Karl Popper at the London School of Economics. He joined HKU in 1960 as a lecturer in philosophy and was promoted to Reader and Head of the Department when Rose retired. Agassi stayed in Hong Kong for three years. It was only in 1979 that a Chair Professor in Philosophy was finally appointed, indicating that the Philosophy Department had finally achieved full department status at HKU.

In 1971, Hong Kong implemented free universal primary education. Nine-year free and compulsory education was introduced in 1978. From 1981 to 1994, higher education expanded rapidly, shifting from an elitist to a mass system of education. The number of first-year degree places funded by the government increased from 2,500 to around 15,000, and it has remained at the same level since then. New universities were established, and some existing polytechnics and tertiary institutions were upgraded to universities. There are currently eight government-funded universities and several private colleges in Hong Kong.

Population growth and economic development were some of the reasons behind the expansionist policy. However, there were also political considerations. Formal negotiations between China and Britain about the future of Hong Kong began in 1982.<sup>14</sup> When it became clear that China would resume sovereignty in Hong Kong in 1997, many citizens decided to emigrate or send their children to study overseas. Even more people left after the June 4 Tiananmen Square incident in China in 1989. The brain drain among professionals was particularly alarming.

In October 1989, the Hong Kong Government announced a drastic increase in the number of places in tertiary institutions,

which took many people by surprise. One key motivation was to stabilize the political situation. The expansionist policy offered hope for increasing social mobility and new opportunities to entice Hong Kong students to remain in the territory. Over the years, philosophy has benefited from these developments in terms of increasing staff numbers and student enrollment and more teaching opportunities for philosophy postgraduates.

Decolonization after the Second World War meant that colonial universities were no longer seen as imperial projects. The 1952 Keswick report on higher education in Hong Kong issued by a government-appointed committee recognized that higher education in Hong Kong should primarily cater to the needs of Hong Kong.<sup>15</sup> However, even though the primary mission of the university had changed, the government still took the view that university research was an expensive luxury and a university should focus on professional training and not research. In addition, the government adhered strongly to a *laissez faire* economic policy. It was thought that industrial R&D is best left to the entrepreneurs in the market and that government intervention might actually do more harm than good. Repeated calls to set up a committee for distributing competitive government research grants were ignored.<sup>16</sup> It was only in 1991 that the Research Grants Council (RGC) was formed to oversee policies regarding research in higher institutions. Thus began the modernization and globalization of universities in Hong Kong, bringing increasing managerialism and also the corporatization of higher education.<sup>17</sup>

Universities are now expected to develop “centers of excellence” and enhance their research efforts to become internationally recognized.<sup>18</sup> Territory-wide research assessment exercises were introduced. More rigorous standards have been adopted for tenure and promotion, highlighting the importance of obtaining competitive research grants and publications in international journals. One policy welcomed by many academic philosophers was the possibility to use government research grants for teaching relief. There were also changes to university governance and funding structures. For example, within the university, “top-slicing” is often used by the central administration to withhold faculty funding to support special initiatives. Universities in Hong Kong have made significant gains in global rankings. Research funding in Hong Kong has increased substantially over the years, but as a percentage of GDP, it is still below that of Taiwan, China, Singapore, and South Korea. Philosophers in Hong Kong have generally done quite well despite the increasingly competitive environment. In the 2020 territory-wide official research assessment exercise, 72 percent of the philosophy publications submitted were judged to be either “internationally excellent” or better, above the humanities average of 66 percent.<sup>19</sup> In the 2021 QS World University Rankings for Philosophy, the Philosophy Department at the Chinese University of Hong Kong was ranked first in Asia and twenty-eighth out of two hundred worldwide.

## THE CREATION OF THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

After the Second World War, large numbers of Chinese civilians who left Hong Kong during the Japanese occupation returned. In addition, there was a huge influx of refugees and economic migrants from China due to the Chinese Civil War. Hong Kong’s population rose from about 600,000 in 1945 to 1.8 million by the end of 1947, reaching 2.2 million by mid-1950.<sup>20</sup> There was increasing demand for higher education to be taught in Chinese, but HKU was still the only local university, and tuition cost was high. In addition, students from Chinese-medium secondary schools often struggled to meet HKU’s English proficiency admission requirement. Furthermore, since HKU was an English-speaking university, it was not the ideal choice for those who were more interested in Chinese studies.

Some Hong Kong students went to Mainland China for higher education. But this ended when the People’s Republic of China was established in 1949. Hong Kong’s growing population included refugee students, teachers, and scholars, as well as missionaries. Despite limited resources, some of them began to set up post-secondary Chinese colleges to satisfy the huge local demand for higher education in Chinese. New Asia College was founded in 1949 by a group of refugee professors and students, using rented flats as their classrooms. Chung Chi College was founded in 1951 by scholars from several Christian universities in China. United College was founded in 1956 by merging five private universities in Southern China that had moved their operations to Hong Kong.

These private colleges were not officially recognized as universities, but as they began to expand, the Hong Kong Government provided funding to support their development and to improve academic standards.<sup>21</sup> More significantly, the government agreed to set up a new Chinese university in Hong Kong. Eventually, the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) was established in 1963, incorporating the three colleges under a federal model.

There is an intimate connection between this history and the development of philosophy in Hong Kong. Many of those involved in establishing CUHK were famous philosophers or scholars with a strong interest in philosophy. Their understanding of Chinese culture and philosophy formed the core of their vision for higher education.

For example, Qian Mu (錢穆) and Tang Junyi (唐君毅) were two of the founders of New Asia College who left their teaching posts in China and came to Hong Kong. Qian Mu was a renowned historian who has written extensively on traditional Chinese philosophy. Tang Junyi was a philosopher and an educator and a central figure of the New Confucianism Movement. Mou Zongsan (牟宗三) and Xu Fu Guan (徐復觀) were two other famous representatives of New Confucianism, and they also joined New Asia College later. New Confucianism aims to revive the insights from Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming dynasties (宋明理學) in order to rejuvenate Chinese culture. The proposal is to combine Confucianism with science and democracy, with a



strong emphasis on the development of moral character to counteract the excesses of modernity.

The support of American NGOs was crucial for New Asia College at the beginning. These NGOs included the Asia Foundation, the Yale-in-China Association, the Ford Foundation, the Mencius Foundation, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and the Rockefeller Foundation. There was a political motivation behind the support of some of these NGOs, which was to resist and contain communism. The Chinese Communist Government made efforts to attract young Chinese from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia to study in China. The Yale-China Association believed that providing education to Chinese students in Hong Kong was part of the “struggle for the minds and souls of men.”<sup>22</sup> As a result, the association decided that expanding educational opportunities was a higher priority than investing in medical services in the territory. The association became the largest donor to New Asia College.

As for the Ford Foundation, the organization was explicit in stating that it was not interested in simply providing “more and better higher education for Chinese students.” Instead, its primary concern was to support research on “eastern and western thought, cultural values, political philosophy and the like” to look for “new answers to Asia’s problems other than communism.”<sup>23</sup> In other words, it was crucial for these organizations that New Asia College’s work could be interpreted as countering communism’s influence. Their political agendas were highly compatible with the mission of the college to pursue cultural education and humanities research. Hong Kong’s strategic location, relative neutrality, and freedom were also relevant considerations.

Political considerations also played a role in explaining why the Hong Kong colonial government supported the creation of a new Chinese-medium university. First, the large influx of refugees and migrants from China could potentially jeopardize social and political stability. A steady flow of students leaving Hong Kong for university studies could result in a brain drain and negatively impact the economy. It was also politically undesirable for Hong Kong students to study in Mainland China where they would be under communist influence. Encouraging students to study in Taiwan was risky as well, as it could provoke China.

Increasing the number of university places thus appeared to be the only politically feasible solution. However, the post-secondary Chinese colleges, including New Asia College, had expanded rapidly and could no longer be dismissed as temporary institutions. It was unlikely that they would give up their autonomy to be assimilated into HKU. Failure to properly recognize and support them would also have been seen as an affront to national pride and Chinese culture, leading to resentment and political tension.

The Hong Kong Government eventually concluded that the best solution was to expand tertiary education and establish a new Chinese-medium university. Post-war colonialism was shifting away from the concept of the university as an imperial institution and acknowledging the importance of incorporating local culture into educational policies. Moreover, investing in modern higher education that

combines Chinese and Western learning could potentially enhance Sino-British relations. It would also enable Britain to continue exerting its influence in Asia by training a new generation of future Chinese leaders.

### A LEGACY OF HUMANISM

The establishment of CUHK during the colonial era was a significant milestone in the history of higher education in Hong Kong. In addition, the founders of the three foundational colleges left behind a legacy of humanism that continues to exert influence both within and outside philosophy. Many of the teachers of East Asia College were renowned scholars of Chinese philosophy and culture. Their work has been continued by their students and colleagues. For example, Yu Ying-Shih (余英時), who taught at Yale and Princeton, was among the first generation of graduates of East Asia College. Yu is famous for his work on Chinese intellectual history. Shun Kwong-loi (信廣來) is an expert on Confucian moral psychology. He studied with Mou Zongsan at the New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and returned to CUHK to become the head of New Asia College from 2010 to 2013. There is also the so-called “third generation” of New Confucians: Tu Wei-ming (杜維明) and Liu Shu-hsien (劉述先). Tu taught at Harvard for many years and Liu worked at CUHK from around 1974 to 1999.

In terms of philosophical methodology, the New Confucians moved beyond traditional Chinese philosophy, using the conceptual frameworks and methods of Western philosophy to reconstruct and defend Confucian philosophy. For example, Mou’s work on Chinese philosophy was heavily influenced by his reading of Kant and Heidegger. The New Confucians mainly published in Chinese, and this has helped contextualize Western philosophy within the Chinese intellectual community. It also contributed to the translation of Western philosophical works into the Chinese language. This tradition has continued to expand and develop, and there is now a sizable group of researchers and students in Hong Kong who use Western philosophy, including analytic philosophy, to tackle issues and problems in Chinese philosophy.

It has sometimes been suggested that New Confucianism, especially in the work of Mou Zongsan, comes closest to being Hong Kong’s indigenous philosophy.<sup>24</sup> This is debatable as New Confucianism was very much concerned with the reform of Chinese culture and its origin was not particularly tied to the special circumstances of Hong Kong. In the case of Mou Zongsan, although the bulk of his mature philosophical work was mainly done in Hong Kong, his association with New Confucianism began earlier.

However, closely connected to New Confucianism is what many people have called the New Asia spirit (新亞精神). New Asia College was established under difficult circumstances, lacking both resources and funding. Qian Mu, Tang Junyi, and Yu Ying-Shih have all written about how this history exemplified the values of humanism, service, perseverance, and idealism.<sup>25</sup> This New Asia spirit was indeed rooted in Hong Kong. It has influenced successive generations of scholars and students in Hong Kong, including those outside of philosophy.

One element of this spirit was a deep commitment to education and the special emphasis placed upon the values of liberal education and Chinese culture education. This has directly and indirectly affected the dissemination of philosophy in Hong Kong and the promulgation of general education. Many philosophy departments in Hong Kong are heavily involved in providing general education courses and courses on critical thinking. Many local philosophers and students have also engaged in public philosophy, offering public seminars, contributing to newspaper columns and social media, and participating in school outreach programs. In addition, the moral integrity and social concern of the founding scholars have inspired successive generations of students and teachers. Many graduates of CUHK have been active in social affairs or involved in projects connected to China's development. Some have entered politics, participating in local elections, political parties, and grassroots activism. However, recent political changes in Hong Kong and the promulgation of the new National Security Law in 2020 have raised worries about increasing restrictions on freedom and civil liberties, casting a long shadow on philosophical engagement in the public sphere.

## CONCLUSION

Academic philosophy began in Hong Kong more than a century ago, but there was little substantive development before the Second World War. After the war, the discipline expanded with the growth of higher education. Hong Kong is a small city with a dominant focus on political stability and economic prosperity, and the history of philosophy in Hong Kong is partly a reflection of changing government policies and local politics. The humanist tradition associated with New Confucianism has played a significant role in this history. Philosophers in Hong Kong are now part of the globalized academic philosophy community and there is much fruitful interaction between analytic philosophy and Chinese philosophy. Hong Kong has gone through many turbulent periods in its history. We can only hope that philosophers in Hong Kong will continue to contribute, not only locally but also to the mutual understanding between Chinese and Western cultures.

## NOTES

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## Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan: Impact within and beyond Academia

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## ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes the evolution of analytic philosophy in Taiwan, examines its impact within and beyond

academia, and discusses the future of the discipline. The roots of modern philosophy in Taiwan can be traced back to the Japanese colonial era, and analytic philosophy was introduced to the country in the late 1940s when many intellectuals in China moved to Taiwan. However, massive curbs were imposed on philosophy during Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, and the discipline began to thrive again only after Taiwan's democratization in the late 1980s. Nonetheless, since its introduction in the colonial era, modern philosophy has made significant contributions in Taiwan, encouraging interdisciplinary engagements, advancing civic education, and promoting the spirit of democracy and political liberation. Philosophy has played a key role in Taiwan's remarkable transformation from an island colonized for hundreds of years to a country that recognizes democracy, freedom, and human rights. The themes of anti-colonialism and anti-domination seen in the works of modern Taiwanese philosophers not only reflect the discipline's political and historical underpinnings but also signal how Taiwanese philosophy can acquire a distinct identity despite being influenced by many other philosophical traditions. While still at a nascent stage, Taiwanese philosophy has the potential to join forces with other philosophical traditions in advancing the vision of decolonizing philosophy.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Taiwan is recognized for achieving remarkable progress in the domains of democracy, freedom, and human rights in the past few decades. Taiwan's first presidential elections were held in 1995, and the country welcomed its first female president in 2016. In 2019, Taiwan became the first Asian country to legalize same-sex marriage between its citizens. According to the Democracy Index released by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2023,<sup>1</sup> Taiwan is one of the twenty-four countries categorized as "full democracies," and it is ranked ahead of all other Asian countries. While there is certainly room for more improvement, for a nation that endured almost four hundred years of colonial rule and dictatorship, Taiwan has been developing at an incredible pace.

Interestingly, very little is known about the vital role played by philosophy in Taiwan's decolonization, democratization, and continual pursuit of cultural identity. The goal of this paper is to bridge this knowledge gap. Section 2 presents a brief history of modern philosophy in Taiwan, which consists of three phases: the Japanese colonial era (1895–1945), Chiang's dictatorship (1945–1988), and the era of democratization (since the 1980s). In Section 3, I discuss the impact of analytic philosophy on academia, civic education, and the political environment. In Section 4, I link the historical reflections on philosophy in Taiwan with recent discussions on an embryonic domain named *Taiwanese philosophy*.

## 2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN

The main island of Taiwan is sometimes referred to as *Formosa*, which means "beautiful island" and is a name that can be traced back to Portuguese sailors who sailed past the island in the sixteenth century. Although those sailors believed the land was uninhabited, indigenous Taiwanese (who are Austronesian-speaking peoples) had settled on

the island for six thousand years. Given the scarce written records of Taiwanese indigenous philosophical traditions, contemporary scholars have relied on colloquial myths and legends to study those philosophical ideas.<sup>2</sup>

Since the sixteenth century, a series of six rulers colonized Taiwan for about four hundred years: the Dutch (1624–1662), the Spanish (1626–1642), the Cheng family (1662–1683), the Manchu Qing (1683–1895), the Japanese (1895–1945), and the Chiang family (1945–1988).<sup>3</sup> These foreign rulers introduced diverse philosophies to Taiwan: for example, the Dutch and the Spanish imported Calvinism and Catholicism, respectively; the Cheng Family ushered Neo-Confucianism, and under Manchu Qing's reign, Buddhism, Daoism, and Scottish Presbyterianism were introduced in Taiwan.<sup>4</sup> Next, I focus on the development of philosophy under three political periods in Taiwan: the Japanese colonial era, Chiang's dictatorship, and the era of democratization.

### 2.1 MODERN PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIAL ERA

After being defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Qing dynasty ceded the sovereignty of Taiwan to Japan. As Japan's first colony, Taiwan witnessed a period of tremendous modernization, including the introduction of the Western educational system and philosophy as an academic discipline. Japanese academics at the time were strongly influenced by Continental philosophy (such as German idealism and Marxism) and the Japanese Kyoto School; thus, many Taiwanese intellectuals who received higher education in mainland Japan or at the newly founded Taipei Imperial University were widely exposed to the theories of Continental scholars (e.g., Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Marx) and scholars of the Kyoto School (e.g., Nishida Kitarō [西田幾多郎], Tanabe Hajime [田辺元], Watsuji Tetsuro [和辻哲郎]). American pragmatism also played an important role in influencing Taiwanese scholars of the time, especially through the Taiwanese intellectuals who pursued graduate studies in the United States (US) and returned with new philosophical ideas.

Despite the pluralist philosophical influences, many Taiwanese philosophers engaged with a common theme in their works: the meaning of existence, specifically in terms of resisting Japanese political domination and cultural assimilation, as well as building Taiwan's cultural identity.<sup>5</sup> In line with Tzu-wei Hung's (洪子偉) usage,<sup>6</sup> I refer to these scholars as *Sit-chûn scholars*.<sup>7</sup> The term "Sit-chûn (實存)" means "existence" in the Taiwanese Hokkien language, and it denotes not only the metaphysical investigation of existence but also the condition, value, and meaning of actual human existence. For example, Yao-hsün Hung (洪耀勳), who earned his degree from Tokyo Imperial University (now University of Tokyo) and studied German idealism and Hegel's theories, relied on Watsuji Tetsuro and Hegel's theories to argue the case of the distinctiveness of Taiwanese culture.<sup>8</sup> Mosei Lin (林茂生), who attended college in mainland Japan and later pursued his graduate studies at Columbia University under John Dewey, argued that the Japanese school system in Taiwan had failed to fulfill the principles of education and resulted in cultural discrimination.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to contributing academically, many Sit-chün scholars also participated in various social movements for cultural revolution. For example, Mosei Lin co-founded the Taiwanese Cultural Association (台灣文化協會) in the 1920s and offered summer classes on philosophy. Qiu-wu Lin (林秋梧) and Shao-hsing Chen (陳紹馨) delivered lectures at various public events organized by the Taiwanese Cultural Association. *Formosa Speaks*, authored by Wen-kwei Liao/Joshua Liao (廖文奎),<sup>10</sup> is regarded as a pioneering work on Taiwanese independence. The dissemination of philosophical ideas through these social and cultural movements had long-lasting impacts on Taiwan (as will be discussed later in Section 3).

## 2.2 ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN UNDER CHIANG'S DICTATORSHIP

The abrupt shift in political regime at the end of World War II in 1945, from Japanese colonial power to the Kuomintang (KMT)-led government of the Republic of China (ROC), ushered tremendous changes in the political, social, and cultural spheres of Taiwan, which in turn had significant implications on the development of philosophy in Taiwan. Although Taiwanese citizens originally welcomed the end of fifty years of Japanese colonialism, they soon came to resent the corruption and indiscipline of the ROC administration. The February 28 Massacre (or the 228 Massacre) in 1947 marked the beginning of Chiang Kai-shek's military regime in Taiwan. Two years later, in 1949, Chiang's KMT government lost to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the Chinese Civil War and fled to Taiwan. From 1949 to 1987, Taiwan was under martial law—the second longest imposition of martial law in the world—and went through a period known as “the White Terror.”

This political environment had both positive and negative effects on the evolution of philosophy in Taiwan. On the one hand, when the CCP took over China, many intellectuals, including philosophy scholars, moved from China to Taiwan, thereby transmitting philosophical traditions, including analytic philosophy. Hai-guang Yin (殷海光) was an eminent immigrant scholar who promoted analytic philosophy, especially liberalism and logical positivism. Yin was born in China, completed his graduate studies in philosophy at Tsinghua University, and taught philosophy at the University of Nanking. In 1949, he settled in Taiwan and began teaching philosophy at National Taiwan University (NTU), the country's most reputed public research university. Inspired by the May Fourth Movement, Yin believed that science, freedom, and democracy are vital to society.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, he introduced and popularized logical empiricism and liberalism in Taiwan, taught the philosophy of science and logic at NTU, wrote and translated textbooks on logic, translated Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* into Chinese, and published numerous political commentaries critiquing Chiang's military regime and dictatorship in two liberal magazines, *Free China Journal* (自由中國) and *Wensin* (文星). Yin inspired many Taiwanese students of the time, some of whom went on to become famous philosophy scholars.

Among the negative effects of Chiang's military regime in Taiwan was the ban on the Japanese language and

publications written in Japanese, including philosophical works. Under the White Terror, numerous Taiwanese intellectuals were killed (Mosei Lin was among them), tortured, or forced into exile. Those who stayed in Taiwan endured various restrictions on their freedom. For example, speeches or publications that in any way could be interpreted as “communist” were considered “rebellious,” and people associated with rebellious ideas (e.g., owning a book that was categorized as “communist” by the government) attracted extreme punishment.

The arbitrary use of political power and tight restrictions on freedom greatly impeded the development of philosophy in Taiwan. Hai-guang Yin, a leading scholar of analytic philosophy mentioned earlier, was one of the victims of Chiang's dictatorship. In 1960, the KMT government forced *Free China Journal* to shut down (referred to as the *Free China Journal* Incident) after it had published several pieces criticizing the Chiang administration. Yin, as one of *Free China Journal's* co-editors and authors, was also targeted: some of his publications were banned, his research subsidy and some sources of income were withdrawn, he was prevented from lecturing students, and he was placed under house arrest until his death in 1969. Later, to further diminish Yin's liberal influence, the government intervened in the operations of the Philosophy Department at NTU under the guise of an “anti-communism” drive, leading to a series of incidents from 1972 to 1975 that were together referred to as the *NTU Philosophy Department Incident* (台大哲學系事件). In the Philosophy Department Incident, thirteen philosophy faculty members (some of them were students of Yin, such as Guying Chen [陳鼓應] and Xiaobo Wang [王曉波]) were expelled and silenced. These incidents adversely affected the development and the climate surrounding philosophy.

## 2.3 ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN UNDER THE ERA OF DEMOCRATIZATION

After the Formosa Incident (美麗島事件) in 1979 and a few assassinations of dissidents in the 1980s, the international community started to raise concerns about Taiwan's human rights situation and forced the KMT-led administration to start the process of democratization. In 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded; 1987 marked the end of Taiwan's thirty-eight-year-long martial law regime; and in 1996, Taiwan held its first direct presidential election. However, the end of martial law did not suddenly enable the Taiwanese to enjoy freedom. KMT's influence and control exerted via laws enacted over decades still imposed strong restrictions on Taiwanese, and Taiwan's pursuit of democratization and transitional justice continued for a few decades and involved significant efforts from many Taiwanese.

In the 1980s, against the backdrop of gradual democratization and closer links with the US, many Taiwanese citizens went abroad to study philosophy and carried back the influences of analytic philosophy to Taiwan. Among the pioneers were Po-wen Kuo (郭博文) (who studied value theory and received his PhD from Yale University) and Cheng-hung Lin (林正弘) (a student of Hai-guang Yin who later received his PhD from UC Berkeley and worked on logic, epistemology, and the



philosophy of science), both of whom taught at NTU. Other key figures studying analytic philosophy in Taiwan at the time were Futzeng Liu (劉福增), Yih-mei Huang (黃懿梅), Shih-yu Kuo (郭實渝), and Daiwei Fu (傅大為). In the 1990s, more scholars received their PhDs in the US and the United Kingdom (UK) and returned to Taiwan, including Hua Tai (戴華), Allen Y. Hounq (洪裕宏), Jih-ching Ho (何志青), Chin-mu Yang (楊金穆), Ruey-yuan Wu (吳瑞媛), and Ser-min Shei (謝世民).<sup>12</sup> Together, these scholars formed a strong alliance of analytic philosophy traditions, shaping the philosophical landscape in a more pluralistic way. Today, most philosophers in Taiwan categorize philosophical studies into three major groups: Chinese philosophy, continental philosophy, and analytic philosophy.

During the era of democratization, some attempts were carried out at institutionalizing philosophical studies in Taiwan, which then became the foundation for the discipline to thrive. In 1996, the Taiwan Philosophical Association (TPA) was founded. Although analytic philosophers were the main advocates and founding members of the TPA, the body was inclusive and welcoming of all traditions of philosophical study. Additionally, the end of colonization and dictatorship allowed more space for philosophical education to flourish. Today, twelve universities offer philosophy programs in Taiwan.<sup>13</sup> Conferences, publications,<sup>14</sup> and other academic events have also contributed to the development of philosophy.

### 3. IMPACT OF ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN

How has the development of analytic philosophy affected Taiwan? In addition to contributions along the axes of research, teaching, and service, analytic philosophers in Taiwan have had profound effects on the overall characters of academia and society. In this section, I discuss the impact of analytic philosophy on Taiwan along three dimensions: academia, civic education, and political environment. I argue that analytic philosophy has contributed to interdisciplinary engagements, advanced civic education, and promoted the spirit of democracy and political liberalism.

#### 3.1 CONTRIBUTING TO INTERDISCIPLINARY ENGAGEMENTS

Within academia, analytic philosophers have played a crucial role in engaging in interdisciplinary exchange, especially with scholars from other scientific disciplines. A driving force behind such engagement is the Taiwan Association for Logic, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science and Technology (LMPST Taiwan), which is linked to the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (IUHPST). Its predecessor organization was founded in the 1960s, and it has since undergone a few rounds of organizational changes; in February 2021, it was registered as a non-profit organization. One of the main purposes of LMPST Taiwan, as well as its predecessor, has been to promote interactions between philosophers and experts in other fields and provide exchange opportunities and platforms. Since the 2010s, LMPST Taiwan has been organizing two biennial conferences: the Taiwan Metaphysics Colloquium (TMC) and the Taiwan Philosophical Logic Colloquium (TPLC). Hosted by the Department of Philosophy at NTU, these conferences were

attended by many renowned scholars and resulted in multiple published international anthologies.

Taiwanese philosophers have also made a critical contribution to the building of an academic community among East Asian philosophers. Together with scholars in Japan and Korea, Kai-yuan Cheng (鄭凱元) and Szu-ting Chen (陳思廷) initiated the Conference on Contemporary Philosophy in East Asia (CCPEA) and the East Asian Workshop on the Philosophy of Science in the early 2010s. The latter has been renamed into the Asia-Pacific Philosophy of Science Association (APPSA) and been expanded to engage with philosophers in the broader Asia-Pacific area.

Another site of close interdisciplinary engagement is the studies on the philosophy of mind, cognitive science, and cognitive neuroscience. Allen Y. Hounq, who received his PhD in Philosophy and Cognitive Science from Indiana University, is a leading philosopher in Taiwan working in these disciplines. He founded two academic institutes of philosophy in Taiwan and taught many scholars in related disciplines. In 2008, the twelfth annual meeting of the Association for the Scientific Study of Consciousness (ASSC), a highly reputed international conference on consciousness studies, was hosted in Taipei, Taiwan. Then, in 2017, the efforts of philosophers in Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, and other Asian countries led to the establishment of the Consciousness Research Network (CoRN). CoRN aims to build a pan-Asia interdisciplinary research network on the studies of consciousness and has since organized biennial meetings in Taiwan and Japan. With the recent advancements in artificial intelligence (AI), discussions on the philosophical and ethical issues surrounding AI, cognition, and consciousness are at the forefront. Engaging in the tradition of interdisciplinary collaborations, analytic philosophers in Taiwan continue playing a crucial role in advancing related research and education.

#### 3.2 ADVANCING CIVIC EDUCATION

Centuries of colonialism and dictatorship have hampered the development of philosophical education in Taiwan. Given this fact and the rather poor quality of institutionalized education, the promotion of civic education assumes a critical role.

As mentioned earlier, the influence of philosophy on civic education can be traced back to the Japanese colonial era. Under Japanese rule, Taiwanese philosopher Mosei Lin co-founded the Taiwanese Cultural Association together with other intellectuals and conducted summer schools on philosophical teachings. Qiu-wu Lin, known as “Taiwan’s revolutionary monk,” was a Buddhist monk attracted to the egalitarian vision of Marx. He used Marxism to criticize certain Buddhist practices in Taiwan at the time, including the superstitious practices and beliefs of excluding women, and proposed a new form of Buddhism—Taiwanese Liberation Buddhism—that was more aligned with the ideals of equity and social justice.<sup>15</sup> He regularly published editorials in newspapers such as *South Seas Buddhist Magazine* (南瀛佛教會會報) and *Taiwan Minpao* (台灣民報).<sup>16</sup> Lin’s Taiwanese Liberation Buddhism deeply impacted the growth of humanistic Buddhism, sex and gender equity, and the animal liberation movement in Taiwan.<sup>17</sup>

In recent decades, the role of philosophy in civic education has gained more academic attention. An increasing number of public philosophy books, both translated and written in the local language, are being published. Since 2014, Watchout Philosophy (沃草烙哲學) has served as an open forum for publishing public-facing essays on philosophy. Most authors on the forum are philosophy graduates who introduce philosophical ideas relevant to the social and political issues in Taiwan. Among professional publications, *The Mandarin Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (MEP) (華文哲學百科), established in 2017, is Taiwan's version of *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, where all the submissions are written by experts from related streams and are subjected to peer reviews and professional editing before being shared online. With free and open resources on philosophy, MEP enables Mandarin readers to have better access to philosophical resources.

In addition to the more traditional route of public engagement through writing essays and books, the publicizing of philosophy has also been pursued in diverse ways. For instance, Café Philo (哲學星期五, literally meaning "Philosophy Friday"), a series of public salons founded by a group of philosophy professors in Taiwan, has been instrumental in popularizing philosophy and public debates. Since 2010, Café Philo has expanded overseas to places such as New York, Boston, the Bay Area, and Munich. In 2013, philosophy professors and high school teachers founded the Philosophical Education Development Organization (Phedo) (台灣高中哲學教育推廣學會) to promote philosophical education in high school. Phedo collaborates with high school teachers to conduct guest lectures on philosophy in high schools, organizes summer camps and essay competitions for high school students, and hosts reading groups and speeches for the general public. In 2014, a group of graduate and doctoral degree holders in philosophy founded Philosophy Medium (哲學新媒體) to explore non-academic career opportunities and popularize philosophy via public essays, podcasts, and online courses. In 2017, the first Taiwanese TV series on philosophy, *Talking about Philosophy in an Easy Way* (哲學談淺淺的), was launched, and many philosophy professors from different subdisciplines have been invited to talk about philosophy in an engaging format.

Owing to these efforts, philosophy has become a "fashionable" topic in Taiwan and analytic philosophy has benefited from this wave of interest. Furthermore, although analytic philosophy is not the sole focus of attention, it is undeniable that analytic philosophers in Taiwan have played a crucial role in publicizing philosophy.

### 3.3 PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM

Last but definitely not least, analytic philosophy has had a profound impact on Taiwan's democratic progress and pursuit of freedom. As mentioned in Section 2.2, since the period of Chiang's dictatorship, analytic philosophy (especially the ideas surrounding political liberalism) has played a vital role in advocating the importance of freedom and democracy in Taiwan.

Nan-jung Cheng (鄭南榕), who was born in the year of the February 28 Massacre and died in the year that martial law ended in Taiwan, was a noteworthy pro-democracy activist. Cheng first studied philosophy at Fu Jen Catholic University and then moved to NTU during his sophomore year. When studying at NTU, Cheng was drawn to the ideals of liberalism and regularly visited Hai-guang Yin (who was under house arrest then) to discuss freedom and democracy. As a result of the *Free China Journal* Incident and Yin's arrest, Cheng abandoned his original dream of becoming a philosophy professor and immersed himself in political activism for democracy and freedom. After the Formosa Incident in 1979, Cheng started to write political critiques in a few magazines. In 1984, he founded *Freedom Era Weekly* (自由時代週刊), which became a leading magazine of the democratic movement. Under the slogan "Fighting for 100 percent freedom of speech," *Freedom Era Weekly* called for democracy and freedom at a time when martial law still forbade open publications that were not run by the KMT. On April 7, 1989, to protest against the charges of "rebellion" and to fight for freedom of speech, Cheng immolated himself.

The contributions of Hai-guang Yin and Nan-jung Cheng received recognition under the era of democratization. In 1993, the Yin Hai-guan Memorial Foundation was established to honor Yin's contribution to academia and society. Yin's former residence (where he was under house arrest) is now a museum, and the foundation also operates the Hai-kuang School of Humanities, which organizes public lectures and classes on democracy, human rights, and social and political philosophy. In 1999, the Nylon Cheng Liberty Foundation and Memorial Museum was established at the original site of *The Freedom Era Weekly* magazine in memory of Nan-jung Cheng. In 2016, Taiwan's Executive Yuan officially marked April 7, the day of Cheng's self-immolation, as the Day of Freedom of Speech in Taiwan.

Furthermore, during the era of democratization, many philosophers (especially analytic philosophers) actively promoted democracy and engaged in political critiques. In 1989, the Taipei Society (澄社), an association of political critics formed by groups of liberal scholars, was founded, and Cheng-hung Lin was one of the founding members. Allen Y. Hough served as the president of the Taipei Society from 2003 to 2005 and is a leading force in Taiwan's constitutional reform movement. Additionally, many new media outlets and organizations publicizing philosophy (such as Café Philo, Watchout Philosophy, and Phedo) have offered new resources to deepen civic education related to democracy, human rights, and freedom. Today, as the most democratic country in Asia and the first Asian country to legalize same-sex marriage, Taiwan is proud of its strides in democracy, freedom, and human rights, and it is important to recognize the contribution of analytic philosophy to this progress.<sup>18</sup>

### 4. CONCLUSION: FROM PHILOSOPHY IN TAIWAN TO "TAIWANESE PHILOSOPHY"

Recently, Taiwanese scholars have begun to question the characteristics of Taiwanese philosophy. The term "Taiwanese philosophy" was first proposed in the late 1980s,<sup>19</sup> but only

during the last decade has the topic started capturing more scholarly interest. One might wonder whether there is anything that qualifies as Taiwanese philosophy, and if so, what it is. While these are fair questions to be asked, noting that concepts like “Taiwanese” and “philosophy” are socially constructed, Shen-yi Liao (廖顯禕) argues that instead of asking *what x philosophy is*, it is more theoretically and politically advantageous to adopt an *ameliorative approach* to the metaphilosophical questions and ask *what we want x philosophy to be*.<sup>20</sup> In the case of Taiwanese philosophy, Liao’s analysis implies that Taiwanese philosophers need not take Taiwanese philosophy as it currently is but can and should recognize their power to negotiate this concept collectively.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, Taiwanese philosophers have been taking on the project to reshape the concept and boundary of Taiwanese philosophy over the past decade. For example, research projects led by Tzu-wei Hung and colleagues have resulted in the rediscovery and compilation of several philosophical works by Taiwanese philosophers from the Japanese colonial era and Chiang’s dictatorship.<sup>22</sup> It is through these projects that many Taiwanese scholars and the general public have heard about these philosophers and their philosophical ideas. The shared themes of anti-colonialism and anti-domination in the works of contemporary Taiwanese philosophers not only reflects political and historical underpinnings but also signals how Taiwanese philosophy can acquire its own distinctiveness despite being influenced by many other philosophical traditions. Further, it highlights how Taiwanese philosophy, though still at a nascent stage, has the potential to join forces with other philosophical traditions in advancing the vision of decolonizing philosophy.<sup>23</sup>

After centuries of colonialism, during which Taiwanese were often treated as secondary citizens and constantly deprived of tools to develop their own agency, Taiwanese are now gradually rebuilding their cultural and political subjectivity. In hindsight, philosophy enabled Taiwanese to overthrow the social hierarchies imposed by various political regimes and fight for their democracy. In the future, Taiwanese philosophy has the potential to empower Taiwanese to build their identity and contribute to the pursuit of liberation in the global world.

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#### NOTES

1. Economist Intelligence Unit, *Democracy Index 2022: Frontline Democracy and the Battle for Ukraine* (London: Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023).
2. Tunkan Tansikian (陳張培倫), “Reflections on the Epistemological Studies of Taiwanese Aborigines,” (關於原住民族知識研究的一些反思) *Taiwan Indigenous Studies Review* 5 (2009): 25–53.
3. J. Bruce Jacobs, “Whither Taiwanization? The Colonization, Democratization and Taiwanization of Taiwan,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14, no. 4 (2013): 567–86.

4. Tzu-wei Hung, “Anglo-American Philosophy in Taiwan: A Centennial Review,” *Asian Journal of Philosophy* 1, no. 19 (2022): 19.
5. Tzu-wei Hung, ed., *Existential Engagement: Philosophy in Taiwan, the Japanese Era* (存在交涉：日治時期的台灣哲學) (Taipei: Academia Sinica and Linking Publishing, 2016); Tzu-wei Hung, “On the Sit-chün Scholars of Taiwanese Philosophy,” *Philosophy East and West* 69, no. 4 (2019): 973–93.
6. To follow the usual practices in different languages, when referring to Taiwanese philosophers and scholars in this article, I refer to their English name (or translated English name) in the given name–family name order, followed by their Chinese or Taiwanese name in the family name–given name order in the parentheses without space between the family name and given name. The Chinese or Taiwanese name is only included the first time a name appears.
7. Hung, ed., *Existential Engagement*; Hung, “Sit-chün Scholars.”
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11. Ruey-lin Chen (陳瑞麟), “The Pioneering of Contemporary Taiwan’s Philosophy of Science: Yin Hai-kuang’s Philosophy of Science,” (臺灣科學哲學的首航：殷海光的科學哲學) *National Chengchi University Philosophical Journal* 10 (2003): 1–33.
12. Hung, “Anglo-American Philosophy in Taiwan.”
13. The twelve universities offering philosophy programs are National Taiwan University, National Chengchi University, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University, National Tsing Hua University, National Central University, National Chung Cheng University, National Sun Yat-sen University, Soochow University, Fu Jen Catholic University, Chinese Culture University, Tunghai University, and Chang Jung Christian University. In addition to these programs, the Institute of European and American Studies at Academia Sinica is an important institute for philosophical research in Taiwan.
14. For example, *EurAmerica*, *National Taiwan University Philosophical Review*, *Soochow Journal of Philosophical Studies*, and *National Chengchi University Philosophical Journal*.
15. Tzu-wei Hung, “Equity and Marxist Buddhism,” *Australasian Philosophical Review* (forthcoming).
16. Hsiao-feng Li (李筱峰), *Taiwan’s Revolutionary Mon, Lin Qiuwu* (台灣革命僧：林秋梧) (Taipei: Zili Wanbao She, 1991).
17. Hung, “Equity and Marxist Buddhism.” In this article, Hung also noted two other contemporary philosophers, Hui-nan Yang (楊惠南) and Chao-hwei Shih (釋昭慧), who made crucial contributions to gender equity and diversity in Taiwan.
18. It is important to acknowledge that there is considerable room for improvement. For example, women faculty are significantly underrepresented in academic philosophy in Taiwan, which raises concerns about gender justice.
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20. Shen-yi Liao, “Diverse Philosophies: (What) Are They? (What) Do We Want Them to Be?” *Philosophers’ Magazine* 93, no. 2 (2021): 64–70.
21. For related discussions, see Ruey-lin Chen, “Can There Be a Taiwan Theory?” (可以有台灣理論嗎？如何可能？) in *Knowledge Taiwan: On the Possibility of Theory in Taiwan* (知識台灣：台灣理論的可能性), ed. Shu-mei Shih (史書美), Jia-ling Mei (梅家玲), Chao-yang Liao (廖朝陽), and Dung-sheng Chen (陳東升) (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2016), 15–54; Ting-an Lin (林庭安), “Taiwanese Marxist Buddhism and Its Lessons for Modern Times,” *Australasian Philosophical Review* (forthcoming).

22. Hung, *Existential Engagement*; Tzu-wei Hung and Duen-min Deng (鄧敦民), *Enlightenment and Rebellion: 100 Years of Taiwanese Philosophy* (啟蒙與反叛: 台灣哲學的百年浪潮) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2018).
23. For different ways that philosophy could be decolonized, see Lewis R. Gordon, "Decolonizing Philosophy," *Southern Journal of Philosophy* 57 (2019): 16–36.

## The Emergence of Analytic Philosophy in Korea

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### ABSTRACT

Sections 1–3 provide a brief introduction to the emergence and consolidation of analytic philosophy in Korea, as reflected by the training and works of individual philosophers as well as by research and publication trends and the areas covered by philosophy journals, societies, and associations. Section 4 distinguishes between three types of philosophy that might aptly be labeled "Asian analytic philosophy." Section 5 offers some brief remarks concerning the value and significance of these types of philosophy.

### 1. EARLY WESTERN INFLUENCE: CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Europe saw the emergence and early development of analytic philosophy in the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century—driven by the works of Frege, Russell, Wittgenstein, and the Vienna Circle. As analytic philosophy consolidated in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, it also gained a foothold in North America and Australasia. During this early period of analytic philosophy, the emerging tradition had no noticeable impact on philosophy in Korea. Accordingly, there was no discernible analytic philosophy trend in Korea. Instead, the primary Western influence on philosophical thought during this period came from non-analytic styles of philosophy in Europe, especially Germany and France.

Korea saw its first class of university philosophy graduates in 1929, during the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945). They graduated from Gyeongseong Imperial University (경성제국대학) in Gyeongseong (Keijō), located where modern-day Seoul is today.<sup>1</sup>

During the colonial period, no academic philosophy journal sustained a significant publication history. The journal *Cheolhak* (철학; Korean for *philosophy*) published its inaugural issue in 1933 but shut down in 1935 after publishing only three issues. In the absence of academic journals, philosophical writings were instead published in newspapers and magazines, as chronicled by Taewoo Lee in the two articles "Acceptance of European Philosophy through Newspaper Articles during the Japanese Colonial Period" (2007) and "Acceptance of European Philosophy through Magazines during the Japanese Colonial Period" (2008).

Lee (2008) reports that, between 1910 and 1945, 111 articles on individual European philosophers were published across fifty different magazines. The majority of these articles were published between 1920 and 1930. Marx was the most widely studied figure (thirty-one articles), followed by Kant (nineteen), Hegel (eleven), Nietzsche, Eucken, Lenin, Spencer, Heidegger, Feuerbach, Husserl, Bergson, and Rickert. During the same period, 129 magazine articles focused on European philosophy discussed different "isms" or areas of philosophy. Twenty-five articles were published on general philosophy, eleven on dialectical materialism, eight on religion, seven on ethics, seven on metaphysics, six on the philosophy of life, six on political philosophy or theory, and five on science. Other topics or areas covered include medieval philosophy, the history of philosophy, dialectics, social evolution, truth, socialism, social thought, aesthetics, logic, ancient philosophy, epistemology, and existentialism. For the period between 1910 and 1945, Lee (2007) reports that 283 articles on individual European philosophers were published in newspapers. One hundred forty articles focused on figures from the Early Modern period and 137 on contemporary figures. As with magazines, the top three features Marx (seventy-five), Hegel (fifty-three), and Kant (forty-five) while Heidegger (twenty), Nietzsche (eighteen), Spinoza (sixteen), and Rousseau (fifteen) also received considerable attention.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN KOREA IN THE 1950s TO 1980s: INDIVIDUALS, SOCIETIES, JOURNALS, PUBLICATIONS, AND PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS

While Germany and France were the main Western influences during the colonial period, there was also a small number of Korean philosophers who studied in the US. Chijin Han received his PhD from the University of Southern California in 1930, Hongi Gal from the University of Chicago in 1934, and Heeseong Park from Albion College in 1937.

Chijin Han introduced American pragmatism to Korea and was a very prolific writer. He authored nearly thirty books, including ones on psychology, logic, religious studies, sociology, political science, and the first general introduction to Western philosophy—published in 1936 under the title



*A New Introduction to Philosophy* (최신철학개론). Han also contributed 130 articles on philosophy to magazines and newspapers during the period of colonial rule. For part of the 1930s, Han worked as a professor at Ewha Womans University. In 1947, he was appointed as a professor at Seoul National University but was kidnapped by North Korea in 1950 after the outbreak of the Korean War.

Hongi Gal worked as a professor at Yonhee College and Sookmyung Women's University and held prominent positions within various church organizations, as well as several important government positions (including Director of the Public Affairs Office, Director of the Public Information Office, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador to Malaysia).

Heeseong Park worked for nearly two decades as a professor at Korea University (1949-1968) and established the Gyeokam Cultural Foundation (격암문화재단), a foundation that awards scholarships to support students.<sup>3</sup>

While some Koreans studied in the US during the first half of the 1930s, it was only after WWII (1939-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953) that Anglo-American philosophy really started exerting its influence on philosophy in Korea. The end of WWII brought an end to the Japanese occupation of Korea. The intellectual and philosophical influence of continental Europe on Korea during the colonial period was, to a considerable extent, a reflection of the Japanese presence in Korea and the strong influence of Germany on Japan. With the colonial rule brought to an end, space opened up for new sources of influence on a wide range of fronts, including philosophy. In this regard, the Korean War and the period following in its wake proved very significant.

The Korean peninsula was one of several battle grounds between the ideologies of the Soviet Union and the USA. Following WWII, the Korean peninsula was divided into two zones under respective Soviet and American administrations. In 1948, these zones were established as sovereign states—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, respectively. (The two Koreas are often referred to as North Korea and South Korea.) The Korean War started when the North invaded the South on June 25, 1950. A ceasefire brought the war to a halt on July 27, 1953. During the conflict, North Korea was supported by China and the Soviet Union while South Korea was supported by a United Nations coalition force for which the US had, by a very wide margin, the strongest presence. The US committed hundreds of thousands of ground troops to the war and provided equipment as well as large-scale air and naval support.

After WWII and the Korean War, there was a re-orientation in (South) Korea towards the US in many fundamental respects.<sup>4</sup> This re-orientation had a significant impact on academics and research, including in philosophy. While continental Europe—Germany especially—remained very influential, analytic philosophy started emerging as a tradition from the 1950s onwards. The period between 1950s and 1980s can be regarded as the early days of analytic philosophy in Korea and a period of initial growth.

From the 1990s onwards, analytic philosophy started consolidating as a tradition and saw further growth.

The remainder of this section introduces analytic philosophy in Korea during the early days and period of initial growth. This is done via an introduction of prominent individual philosophers, societies, journals, and key publications and trends. Key sources include two articles titled (in translation) “The Reception and Evaluation of Analytic Philosophy” and “The Reception of Analytic Philosophy (1980-1995)” by Hyomyeong Kim and Yeongjeong Kim, respectively. We also rely on the Korean Citation Index and Research Information Sharing Service (both comprehensive databases for academic publications in Korea), as well as the websites of philosophical societies, associations, and journals.

After the Korean War, an increasing number of Koreans studied in the US. Some were supported by US-Korea study programs initiated in the wake of the war. Jaegwon Kim, the most prominent analytic philosopher from Korea to date, was awarded a scholarship by the Korean-American Scholarship Committee. This enabled him to attend Dartmouth College from 1955 onwards. He received a BA in French, mathematics, and philosophy and went on to study at Princeton under the supervision of Carl G. Hempel.<sup>5</sup> He remained in the US for the rest of his life, spending the longest periods at Brown University (1987 onwards) and the University of Michigan (1967-1986).

Kim spent time in Korea on a number of occasions, including a visit to Seoul National University as a Fulbright Scholar in the fall of 1984. Kim describes this stay as “one of the most important parts of my philosophical career.” The widely anthologized paper “What Is ‘Naturalized Epistemology?’” was written during this period, and core ingredients of Kim’s celebrated causal exclusion argument were conceived.<sup>6</sup> Kim’s prominence among analytic philosophers in Korea is reflected by the publication of an edited collection in celebration of his sixtieth birthday and the fact that the Research Information Sharing Service (RISS) lists seventy articles as engaging in detail with Kim’s work.<sup>7</sup>

Other Koreans who studied in the US in the 1950s or 1960s include Joonseob Kim, Taegil Kim, Hanjo Lee, and Yersu Kim. Joonseob Kim received his PhD from Columbia University in 1952 with a thesis titled “Dialectical Method” and worked at Korea University from 1947 to 1954 and then at Seoul National University from 1954 to 1978. He specialized in logic and the history of philosophy. Taegil Kim received his PhD from Johns Hopkins University in 1960 with a thesis titled “Naturalism and Emotivism: Some Aspects of Moral Judgments” and was on the Seoul National University faculty from 1962 to 1986. His teaching and research centered around ethics and meta-ethics. Hanjo Lee received an MA from the University of Minnesota in 1958 and was on the Sogang University faculty from 1968 to 1989. He first came across Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus* at a US military library in Korea, prompting him to pursue further studies in the US. His lectures in the mid-1960s offered the first systematic introduction to Wittgenstein’s philosophy in Korea. Yersu Kim received his BA from Harvard in 1959, a powerhouse of analytic philosophy in the US, and then went on to pursue

his PhD at Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn. From 1977 to 1998, he was a professor at Seoul National University and did important work for UNESCO—first as Director of UNESCO’s Division of Philosophy and Ethics (1996–2000) and then as Secretary-General of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO (2000–2004).

Besides the increasing number of Koreans pursuing philosophical studies in the US, the 1950s and 1960s were also the time philosophers in Korea founded a number of professional societies, associations, and journals.

The Korean Philosophical Association (한국 철학회) was founded in 1953. It was (and still is) a comprehensive organization that encompasses all areas of philosophy. In 1955, the association launched a quarterly journal, *Cheolhak: Korean Journal of Philosophy*. (*Cheolhak* is the transliteration into English of the Korean word 철학, standardly translated as *philosophy*.) In keeping with the comprehensive scope of the association, the journal covers all areas of philosophy.

The Society of Philosophical Studies (철학 연구회) was founded in 1963. Three years later, in 1966, the society launched its own quarterly journal, *Journal of the Society of Philosophical Studies* (철학 연구).<sup>8</sup> This journal, like *Cheolhak*, is a comprehensive journal covering all areas of philosophy.

The Korean Philosophical Association and Society of Philosophical Studies, together with their respective journals, served to give philosophy a public, academic foundation. This had been absent during the colonial period.

How visible was analytic philosophy during the period where philosophy found an academic footing in Korea? In 1955, Joonseob Kim published an article in volume 1 of *Cheolhak* comparing Aristotelian logic to the system of Russell and Whitehead in *Principia Mathematica*. Thus, at the very least, logic—a core part of analytic philosophy—made an appearance from the very beginning in the newly founded organ of academic philosophy in Korea. In 1955, Kim published the comprehensive *History of Western Philosophy* (西洋哲學史), and the year after, in 1956, Taegil Kim published *Ethics*—a textbook praised for being the first book in Korea to distinguish properly between normative and applied ethics. The book likewise introduced various meta-ethical theories, prompting a wave of research and publications on meta-ethics.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s, only a small number of articles were published on analytic philosophy across all philosophy journals: fewer than ten in the 1950s and twelve in the 1960s. In the 1970s, there was a significant jump to a total of forty articles.<sup>10</sup>

Initially, as analytic philosophy emerged as a discernible tradition in Korea, only little research was done on Russell and Frege. Wittgenstein’s work received more attention, with an emphasis on the late Wittgenstein rather than the Wittgenstein known from the *Tractatus*. Thus, when Wittgensteinian themes such as truth, meaning, and

language were engaged, this was often done in the manner and style of the later Wittgenstein. Ordinary language philosophy was popular. This was related to the late Wittgenstein’s influence in Korea and his focus and emphasis on ordinary language. Indeed, many works classified as ordinary language philosophy were really works on Wittgenstein’s later philosophy.<sup>11</sup>

As analytic philosophy consolidated its standing in North America, the region saw the emergence of key figures of its own. The works of Quine, Putnam, Davidson, and Kripke generated extensive debate in North America (and Europe) in the 1960s and 1970s. In Korea, however, it was not until the 1980s that these contemporary figures became objects of sustained discussion. Analytic epistemology had thrived in Europe and North America for decades but did not start making inroads into Korean philosophy until the 1980s. Daihyun Chung’s 1979 PhD thesis from Korea University (“The Ordinary Language Analysis of the Concept of Knowledge”) was the first comprehensive, systematic work in analytic epistemology, and it was not until the 1990s when several Korean philosophers specializing in epistemology graduated from US institutions and returned to Korea that analytic epistemology really started gaining a foothold.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY IN KOREA 1990s ONWARDS: SOCIETIES, JOURNALS, PUBLICATIONS, AND TRENDS

The 1990s onwards has been a period of consolidation and continued growth for analytic philosophy in Korea.

The Korean Philosophical Association (KPA) is a mother organization for several philosophical organizations. In 1974, a subcommittee for ethics was set up under the aegis of the association. December of 1976 saw another eight subcommittees instituted: logic, analytic philosophy, the philosophy of society, the philosophy of art, (Western) ancient philosophy, Indian philosophy, phenomenology, and Korean philosophy. A subcommittee for Chinese philosophy followed in February 1977, bringing the total number of subcommittees to ten.<sup>13</sup>

In 1989, the subcommittee for logic was renamed Korean Association for Logic (한국논리학회) and established as a separate entity. The subcommittee for analytic philosophy followed suit in 1999, taking the name Korean Society for Analytic Philosophy (한국분석철학회). The philosophy of science got its own organization with the 1995 establishment of the Korean Philosophy of Science Association (한국과학철학회).

Each of the three organizations launched their own journal. *The Korean Journal of Logic* (한국논리연구) published its first issue in 1997 while the Korean Society for Analytic Philosophy launched *Philosophical Analysis* (철학적 분석) in 2000. The first issue of *Korean Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (과학철학) appeared in 1998.<sup>14</sup>

The establishment of self-standing organizations for logic, analytic philosophy, and the philosophy of science and their respective journals was a sign of consolidation. At the same

time, they served as a basis for further growth. By having regular meetings, members of the three organizations were given a valuable platform for presenting, developing, and discussing research of shared interest. The meetings and journals were—and still are—mutually supporting. The journals provide a local publication outlet for material presented at meetings while meetings offer a natural framework for discussion of research published in the journals.

Publication of works in analytic philosophy increased in the 1980s and 1990s. Yeongjeong Kim’s 1997 article “The Reception of Analytic Philosophy (1980–1995)” provides useful information about this period.

Kim reports the number of original books published in the 1980s to be twenty-five, with a slight increase to twenty-seven in the 1990s. Forty-three works of analytic philosophy were translated to Korean in the 1980s while, in the 1990s, the number was twenty-four.<sup>15</sup> The publication of original books, like the establishment of organizations and journals, reflects the consolidation of analytic philosophy: the presence of a discernible tradition with its own community. The translation of works to Korean likewise signals the consolidated status of analytic philosophy: the felt need among philosophers in Korea to make contributions to the canon of analytic philosophy available in Korean. Among other works, the *Tractatus*, *On Certainty*, and *Philosophical Investigations* by Wittgenstein were all translated to Korean, as were *The Problems of Philosophy* by Russell, *Reason, Truth and History* by Putnam, and *Naming and Necessity* by Kripke. It is also worth noting that the Korean Society for Analytic Philosophy played an active role in disseminating and promoting analytic philosophy by publishing seven books between 1984 and 1997 (including several titles on Wittgenstein and a *festschrift* celebrating Jaegwon Kim’s sixtieth birthday).

Kim (1997) provides a helpful topic or area-wise breakdown of publications for the period from 1980 to 1995 (the number is the sum of books, articles, and translations)<sup>16</sup>:

Philosophy of science:	151
Philosophy of language:	137
Epistemology:	120
Philosophy of logic:	114
Philosophy of mind and cognitive science:	105
Logic and meta-logic:	38
Metaphysics:	36
Pragmatism and neo-pragmatism:	31

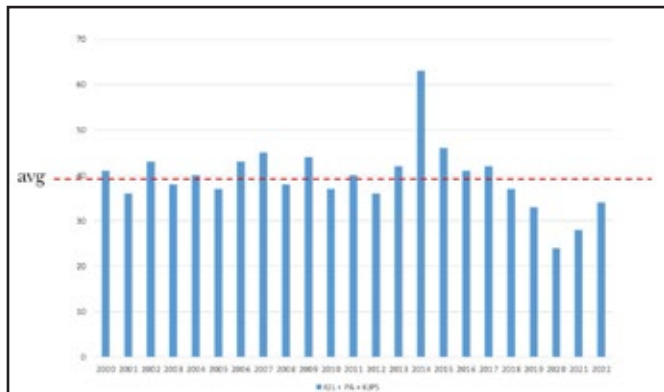
For individual philosophers, Wittgenstein (seventy-six) was the most widely studied, followed by Popper (thirty), Dewey (twenty-six), Whitehead (twenty-five), Hume (twenty-one), Russell (seventeen), Davidson (seventeen), Quine (sixteen), Rorty (ten), and Frege (ten). Wittgenstein thus comes in significantly ahead of other philosophers. However, compared to the 1960s and 1970s, it is notable that there were literatures emerging on a number of prominent analytic philosophers other than Wittgenstein—both early analytic philosophers such as Frege and Russell and more recent or contemporary philosophers such as Popper, Quine, and Davidson.

To supplement the findings and observations drawn from the articles by Taewoo Lee, Hyomyeong Kim, and Yeongjeong Kim, we have recorded the number of articles published each year by *The Korean Journal of Logic* (KJL), *Philosophical Analysis* (PA), and *Korean Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (KJPS) for the period from 2000 to 2022:<sup>17</sup>

	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Journal total
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2
KJL	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	1	1
	2		4	1	4	0	3	0	1	1	2	5	4	5	7	5	3	2	2	4		1	0
PA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	7	7	1
	5	6	3	3	4	7	7	4	5	7	3	5	0	4	4	1	4	6	4	0		0	326
KJPS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	9	1	1	1
	4	2	6	4	2	0	3	1	2	6	2	0	2	3	2	2	4	4	1		1	0	4
Year total	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	6	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	3
	1	6	3	8	0	7	3	5	8	4	7	0	6	2	3	6	1	2	7	3	4	8	4
																							908

The annual average for *The Korean Journal of Logic* (KJL) is 12.17 while *Philosophical Analysis* (PA) and *Korean Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (KJPS) have annual averages of 14.17 and 13.13, respectively. The aggregate average for the three journals is 39.48.

The following graph shows the twenty-three annual totals together with the aggregate average:



For the vast majority of years, the aggregate number of publications across the three journals hovers around the aggregate average of 39.48. Let us make two points in light of this observation.<sup>18</sup>

First, the journals in question are the three main journals for analytic philosophy in Korea. In the past two decades, they have published a considerable body of work on analytic philosophy, produced almost exclusively by philosophers in Korea or Korean philosophers abroad. We thus take the data to constitute further evidence of the consolidation of analytic philosophy as a discernible philosophical tradition with its own community in Korea.<sup>19</sup>

Second, it may be tempting to conclude from the 2000–2022 publication statistics that, while consolidated, analytic philosophy has also reached a point of *stagnation*. This conclusion would be premature. An increasing number of journal articles, book chapters, edited collections, and books by analytic philosophers in Korea is published internationally. Although we have not made any systematic attempt to collect statistics for international publications, we venture the following conjecture: if international publications are added to domestic publications, Korean analytic philosophy has exhibited significant growth in the past two decades.

#### 4. ASIAN (AND KOREAN) ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY: THREE TYPES

In this section, we turn our attention to a fundamental conceptual question: Is there any type of philosophy for which “Asian analytic philosophy” might be an apt label? We propose that the answer is affirmative for at least three types of philosophy:

Type 1: Asian philosophy studied, discussed, and researched through the lens of analytic philosophy.

Type 2: Asian cross-linguistic or cross-cultural analytic philosophy.

Type 3: Asian language-driven analytic philosophy.

A good example of the first type of Asian analytic philosophy is Kris McDaniel’s “Abhidharma Metaphysics and the Two Truths” (2019).

According to the teachings of the Buddha, people should act with compassion and people will be reincarnated. However, the teachings of the Buddha also say that people do not exist. The Buddha’s teachings thus seem inconsistent. The Abhidharma doctrine of two truths is meant to provide the theoretical resources to circumvent this inconsistency through a distinction between conventional truth and ultimate truth—paving the way for the consistent view that it is conventionally true that people should act with compassion and that they will be reincarnated while it is conventionally false and, yet, ultimately true that people do not exist. A parallel distinction between conventional and ultimate existence provides a metaphysics to go with the semantic picture: people enjoy conventional existence but fail to exist ultimately.

The doctrine of two truths has been subjected to extensive debate. We restrict attention to McDaniel’s account, which draws heavily on his work on ontological pluralism.<sup>20</sup> Ontological pluralism is the view that there is a generic, non-fundamental mode of being—expressed by an unrestricted quantifier—that subsumes everything there is. Crucially, there are different fundamental modes of being, expressed by semantically primitive restricted quantifiers. They are restricted because each of them ranges over a proper subset of what there is. They are semantically primitive in that they are not characterized in terms of the unrestricted quantifier plus some predicate or operator.

McDaniel construes Buddhist metaphysics as a species of ontological pluralism. Conventional existence is a generic, non-fundamental mode of being while ultimate existence is a restricted, fundamental mode of being. Things that exist ultimately also exist conventionally. However, the converse does not hold. Some things enjoy mere conventional existence. Things that enjoy ultimate being possess the highest grade of being while things that exist conventionally do not. Ultimate beings are thus more real than conventional beings. McDaniel proposes to understand the distinction between conventional and ultimate truth in terms of the distinction between conventional and ultimate being. The ontological distinction between conventional existence and ultimate existence is thus more fundamental than the semantic distinction between conventional truth and ultimate truth. McDaniel provides reasons for favouring his proposed account over other accounts in secondary literature.<sup>21</sup>

The example just discussed pertains to Indian versions of Buddhism. Are there any good examples of classical Korean philosophy approached through the lens of analytic philosophy? Korea has its own incarnations of shamanism, Buddhism, and (neo-)Confucianism, each with long histories. But, is there any discernible trend of these



traditions of Korean thought being approached through the lens of analytic philosophy? It appears not. The arrival and consolidation of analytic philosophy in Korea has yet to merge with—or have a significant impact on—the study of classical Korean philosophy.<sup>22</sup>

Let us move on to consider Type 2 Asian analytic philosophy: cross-linguistic or cross-cultural analytic philosophy.

In the past couple of decades, there has been a surge of work in analytic philosophy that compares philosophical issues or questions across languages or cultures. If one of the languages or cultures in the comparison is Asian, it qualifies as the second type of Asian analytic philosophy.

A very prominent example of Type 2 Asian analytic philosophy thus understood is the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural work on the so-called Gettier intuition, i.e., the judgment that subjects in Gettier cases fail to possess knowledge although they have a true, justified belief.<sup>23</sup> In “Normativity and Epistemic Intuitions” (2001), on the basis of empirical data, Jonathan M. Weinberg, Shaun Nichols, and Stephen Stich argue that while the Gettier intuition is prevalent among Westerners, East Asians and people from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) do not share it. Their argument has prompted considerable critical engagement.<sup>24</sup>

How about Korean cross-linguistic or cross-cultural analytic philosophy? One recent example is “Knowledge and Assertion in Korean” (2018) by John Turri and Yeounjun Park. The article aims to test whether findings regarding knowledge and assertion for (American) English speakers can be replicated for Korean speakers. For English speakers, there is evidence that knowledge functions as a norm of assertion. The data collected by Turri and Park provide evidence that knowledge plays the same role for Korean speakers.<sup>25</sup>

Turn now to the third type of Asian analytic philosophy: Asian language-driven analytic philosophy. This type, as its label suggests, is analytic philosophy driven by a focus on features or characteristics of some Asian language. Let us provide an example from Korean.

For more than a decade there has been an ongoing debate concerning the expression *oori manura* (우리 마누라), Korean for “our wife.” In his 2009 article “The Grammar of ‘Oori Manura,’” Daihyun Chung raises the following question: Why is a *collective* possessive determiner (“our”) used to refer to *one’s own* spouse?<sup>26</sup> Between Chung and other contributors to the debate, a key point of discussion has been an issue in the philosophy of language: is the use of “our wife” attributive or referential, in the sense of “attributive” and “referential” introduced by Keith Donnellan in his seminal paper “Reference and Definite Descriptions” (1966)? Chung argues that the use is referential. Jinho Kang and Sungho Choi argue that it is attributive, although they diverge over other details. On the issue of why a collective possessive determiner is used, Chung suggests that Koreans lean towards collectivism rather than individualism. Kang takes “our wife” to be a way of saying “one of the members of the family” (or, since

families are collectives, one might aptly put it as follows: one of the members of *our* family). Joongol Kim argues that the use of “our” reflects the Confucian underpinnings of Korean society. Since “our” (*oori*, 우리) is a polite form of “my” (*nae*, 내) and the Confucian tradition values courteous words and behavior, “our wife” is standard.<sup>27</sup>

## 5. ON THE VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ASIAN ANALYTIC PHILOSOPHY

Our motivation for discussing Asian analytic philosophy is that we take a great interest in the present and future of analytic philosophy in Asia—and the related issue of what value and contributions might emerge as a result of analytic philosophical endeavors in (or associated with) the region.

We take all three types of Asian analytic philosophy identified in the previous section to carry value because their pursuit will serve to broaden the horizon and scope of analytic philosophy. We take this basic point also to apply in relation to what one might call “African analytic philosophy,” “South American analytic philosophy,” “Middle Eastern analytic philosophy,” and so on for regions in which analytic philosophy is an imported (rather than native) philosophical tradition. Indeed, it seems to us that there is much to be gained from seeing the emergence and consolidation of *global* analytic philosophy, not just Asian analytic philosophy.

Given its origins in Europe and North America, it is not surprising that analytic philosophy has traditionally been oriented towards Western figures and theories, frameworks, and ideas with Western origins. However, if (as we think) a core part of analytic philosophy is a certain approach or way of doing philosophy, there is no reason why analytic philosophy should remain thus oriented. There is no reason why the focus or scope of analytic philosophy should be determined by geography.<sup>28</sup> We thus take all three types of Asian analytic philosophy to be valuable because, in different ways, they expand its horizon and scope. Type 1 philosophy expands the horizon and scope of analytic philosophy by opening up the doors for a massive stock of new material to explore and dive into. Analytic philosophy might provide fresh tools and new perspectives on classical texts. Importantly, cross-fertilization might occur. Interesting, synthesized frameworks or theories might emerge. Type 2 philosophy expands the horizon and scope of analytic philosophy by being comparative in nature and thereby giving cultures and languages across the globe a seat at the table.<sup>29</sup> Type 3 philosophy expands the horizon and scope of analytic philosophy by generating philosophical studies and discussion of (parts of) languages that have not yet been subject to extensive study and discussion by analytic philosophers.

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## NOTES

1. Lee, “Acceptance of European Philosophy through Newspaper Articles,” Sect. 2.2. The first graduating class of philosophy majors had thirteen students.

2. Lee, "Acceptance of European Philosophy through Newspaper Articles," Sect. 3 and "Acceptance of European Philosophy through Magazines," Sect. 3.
3. Yonhee College was later merged with Severance Medical College to form Yonsei University. Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University constitute the so-called SKY universities—the three most prestigious comprehensive universities in Korea. The basic information about Chijin Han, Hongi Gal, and Heeseong Park is drawn from Lee, "Acceptance of European Philosophy through Magazines," Sect. 2.
4. From here onwards, unless otherwise stated, we use "Korea" with an implicit restriction to denote South Korea rather than the entire Korean peninsula.
5. Reported by Jaegwon Kim in his autobiographical article "Memories and Remembrance."
6. Kim, "Memories and Remembrance," 21–22.
7. RISS is the most comprehensive database for academic journals in Korea. In RISS, there are seventy articles that have "김재권" ("Jaegwon Kim") in the title or lists "김재권" among the main keywords.
8. The English name is not a mere transliteration or translation: "철학 연구" translates as "philosophical studies" or "philosophical research."
9. Hwang, "Acceptance and Effects of Western Ethics."
10. Kim, "The Reception and Evaluation of Analytic Philosophy," 83–84.
11. Kim, "The Reception and Evaluation of Analytic Philosophy," 94–95. In the 1960s and 1970s, a total of five articles were published on Russell and one on Frege. By contrast, twelve articles were published on Wittgenstein. Pragmatism received a fair amount of attention outside Seoul—Dewey's philosophy of education, in particular. See Kim, "The Reception and Evaluation of Analytic Philosophy," 83–84, 91.
12. Daihyun Chung's PhD thesis was supervised by Heeseong Park. In the 1990s, Kihyun Kim (Seoul National University) returned to Korea after completing his graduate work at the University of Arizona while Boseok Yoon (Ewha Womans University) and Byeong-Deok Lee (Sungkyunkwan University) both returned from Indiana University.
13. This chronology is detailed in Korean Philosophical Association Editorial Team, "The State of the Association."
14. Information about the Korean Association for Logic, Korean Society for Analytic Philosophy, and Korean Philosophy of Science Association and their associated journals has been retrieved from the websites of the respective organizations.
15. Kim, "The Reception of Analytic Philosophy (1980–1995)."
16. In "The Reception of Analytic Philosophy (1980–1995)," Kim collected the publication data presented in the article by surveying published books, journals, MA and PhD theses, and publication statistics from the Institute of Philosophical Research at Seoul National University (철학사상 연구소). Kim also relied on Hun Lee's 1994 article "Statistical Analysis of Data for Research," a work that offers a comprehensive analysis of publication data.
17. We leave out 2023 because the full data for the year was not available at the time of completion of this article.
18. 2014, 2020, and 2021 are exceptions. 2020 and 2021 were significantly below the aggregate average of 39.48. This is likely explained by the big impact that the COVID-19 pandemic had on daily life, including decreased productivity. Decreased productivity has an almost immediate impact on the journals we are considering, as they often have a relatively short turnaround time. 2014 was significantly above the aggregate average. This particular year, an active effort was made by the members of the editorial board of *Philosophical Analysis* to attract English submissions, resulting in the publication of articles by nine philosophers from abroad in *Philosophical Analysis* in 2014. Also, in 2014, the *Korean Journal for the Philosophy of Science* published four articles as part of a book symposium—something that happens quite rarely.
19. The number of articles in analytic philosophy would be even higher if it included articles published in *Cheolhak: Korean Journal of Philosophy* (철학) or *Chul Hak Sa Sang – Journal of Philosophical Ideas* (철학 사상), two of the biggest philosophy journals in Korea. While these journals do not focus exclusively on analytic philosophy, they both regularly publish articles by analytic philosophers.
20. McDaniel, *The Fragmentation of Being*.
21. In "Abhidharma Metaphysics and the Two Truths," McDaniel presents the view that conventional existence and ultimate existence are modes of being in Sect. IV. There he likewise engages critically with other accounts and shows how one can account for the distinction between conventional and ultimate truth by grounding it in the ontological distinction between conventional and ultimate existence.
22. At least we are not aware of any clear cases. Also, in his *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* entry on Korean philosophy, Halla Kim notes that analytic philosophy, as well as several other Western philosophical traditions, did not take "root in Korea and developed a distinctively Koreanized form of thought as a school" (Kim, "Korean Philosophy," 35).
23. Gettier, "Is Justified True Belief Knowledge?"
24. See Weinberg, Nichols, and Stich, "Normativity and Epistemic Intuitions"; Nagel, Juan, and Mar, "Lay Denial of Knowledge for Justified True Beliefs"; Seyedsayamdoost, "On Normativity and Epistemic Intuitions"; and Kim and Yuan, "No Cross-Cultural Differences in the Gettier Car Case Intuition." They draw the merely negative conclusion that no adequate basis has been provided for any conclusions regarding cross-cultural variation with respect to the Gettier intuition. The two 2017 articles by Machery and collaborators also present countervailing data *but* take it to support the positive conclusion that there is significant convergence across cultures as far as the Gettier intuition is concerned. See Machery et al., "The Gettier Intuition from South America to Asia"; and Machery et al., "Gettier across Cultures."
25. Another example of cross-linguistic or cross-cultural Korean analytic philosophy is Kim and Yuan, "No Cross-Cultural Differences in the Gettier Car Case Intuition." The article tests and supports the replicability of three effects of knowledge attributions found with English speakers for Korean speakers and Mandarin speakers.
26. The discussion primarily focuses on "oori manura" ("our wife"). However, use of a collective possessive determiner in cases of singular possession is more widespread than spousal possessive determiners ("our wife," "our husband"). For instance, "oori appa" ("our dad") is a standard possessive determiner for children referring to their dad in conversations with others, also in cases where the speaker is an only child.
27. Chung, "The Grammar of 'Oori Manura' ('Our Wife')"; and "The Use of 'Oori Manura,'" Kang, "The Meaning of 'Oori Manura' (Our Wife)"; Choi, "What Does 'Oori Manura' Mean?" "'Oori Manura,' 'Oori's Manura,' and Wife-Sharing Communities," and "'Oori Manura' and the Humpty Dumpty Problem"; and Kim, "The Korean Determiner 'Oori' (Our)."
28. We take this to be very much in line with certain recent developments and projects in analytic philosophy—a prime example being *The Geography of Philosophy*, a major project directed by Edouard Machery that involved a global team of collaborators.
29. Given how Type 2 philosophy is typically pursued—i.e., on the basis of data sets about folk judgments—the relevance of Type 2 philosophy typically relates, in the first instance, to folk theories (e.g., folk epistemology). It is a substantial issue what significance such theories should carry in relation to theories and frameworks developed by professional philosophers.

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