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ment has the right to control of immigration and emigration in territories under its jurisdiction. It will take many more conferences and agreements before this problem, which is of concern to all countries bordering the Pacific and in Asia, is removed as a cause for tension and misunderstanding.

Reports of speeches made during the conference, taken in comparison with the results, seem to demonstrate that these two British Dominions are taking their independent status within the British Commonwealth more seriously than at any time in the past. Realizing their geographic separation from the center of British power and their closer relations with the United States, they nevertheless are unwilling to remain silent while the "Big Four" confer and decide. The two governments have come together to confront the larger na-

tions with a definite policy and with specific proposals that cannot be ignored. It is possible that the ideas contained in this agreement will open the way for greater consideration by the larger nations of the necessity of establishing the "general international organization" envisaged at Moscow before this year passes and before public support for such action has cooled.

The Canberra Agreement is another assertion of the rights of small nations to a voice in the construction of the postwar world. Perhaps more important, it is also an example of the means by which the small nations may be able more adequately to protect their interests against three-power or four-power action, or against the dire results of inaction by Britain, Russia, China and the United States.

JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY KENNETH K. KURIHARA

Only a small part of the United Nations' task in Japan will have been accomplished with the defeat of the militarists. Already much thought is being given to the kind of political changes that must be brought about within the country, and the means by which they are to be attained. Similarly, attention is being given to the economic problems which Japan will face at the end of the war.

An equally important question is that of the re-education of the Japanese people. For the success of attempts at political and economic reforms will depend in large part upon changes in the thinking, the outlook, the ambitions of the people. There is little question that Japan's educational system has hardly prepared the Japanese for democratic processes.

In order to determine what changes must be made in the educational field, it is necessary to analyze Japan's present educational system, to discover whether it should be scrapped entirely or whether it contains elements that are worth salvaging.

It frequently comes as a surprise to Westerners to learn that Japan has the highest literacy rating in the Far East—in fact, that practically her total adult population is literate. High literacy is regarded as conducive to democratic processes. Why, then, has the opposite result been achieved in Japan? The answer lies in the structure of the educational system and in its aims.

Japan's educational system, instituted in 1872, is controlled by the state. Based largely upon Western ideals and methods in the early years, and influenced to an important extent by missionary teachers and in-

stitutions, it began to be more nationalistic in the next decade. Its nature was significantly changed in 1890, with the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education. From that time on, Western influence waned and patriotism and loyalty became the central theme of Japanese education.

Loyalty the Primary Aim

The fundamental objective of elementary school education in Japan is inculcation of loyalty to the Emperor and the Empire. Spartan discipline and "the national spirit" are the next important items on the agenda. Whatever else the school children learn in classrooms is secondary. This early training in nationalistic ideology is doubly enforced by extracurricular activities and by social customs—hero-worshiping Shintoism and ancestor-worshiping Buddhism.

Japanese primary schools are effective propaganda mills, because all texts are compiled and produced by the Ministry of Education. The government can feed the pupils whatever it chooses. A casual examination of Japanese language readers, texts on morals, civics and Japanese history, will at once convince anyone of the underlying patriotic motive of the publisher, the government.

According to the 1940-41 Japan Year Book, in 1938 there were 15,638,780 students attending 48,637 schools of various grades and kinds in Japan. Included in this number were 25,906 elementary schools which were hammering the ideas of the "Imperial Way" (*kodo*), "Nipponism" (*nippon shugi*) and "national policy" (*kokutai*) into the heads of 11,792,738 pupils.

School attendance is compulsory for children of six years of age up through the completion of the sixth

Mr. Kurihara, who has been a teacher of economics in this country and in the Philippines, received his high school education in Japan and his college training in the United States.

grade. Japan starts them young, when children are still uncritical and susceptible. The majority of those who finish the sixth grade continue their patriotic learning outside of schools—at home, in places of work, through radio programs, magazines and newspapers, in the theaters, in cultural organizations, and so on down the long list.

Only about 16% of all grade-school graduates go on to high school. In some 17,600 secondary schools, those who are fortunate enough to enter them receive further training in Japanese ideology. The secondary school curricula are more vocational in character and even more patriotic in content than those of elementary schools. Instead of simple gymnastics, high-school boys now learn physical education par excellence—fencing and “judo.” What is more exciting is military science and drill, courses they never had in elementary school.

Military training in Japanese higher schools has been part of the curriculum since 1886, but since 1925 this has been greatly intensified by the appointment of military officers to take charge of this branch of instruction. Japanese military training in schools is more rigorous and more realistic than the ROTC training given in American schools, for the former involves practice in actual warfare tactics.

“Dangerous Thoughts” Barred

There are both public and private secondary schools in Japan, but all are subject to rigid governmental control. Most high-school texts are published by the Ministry of Education, and all others must be approved by the Bureau of School Books of the same Ministry. The high-school student’s intellectual curiosity is not allowed any contact with “dangerous thoughts.” He cannot very well satisfy his curiosity outside of the classroom simply because there is no “dangerous” reading material to be had anywhere.

It goes without saying that high-school boys and girls are subject to the same outside influences as elementary school children. The government does most of their thinking for them. The main difference is that high-school students are made more “empire-conscious” than grade-school children.

Conditions are somewhat different in universities and colleges. It is obvious that the government cannot simply lead college students by the nose. Parenthetically it may be observed that the average college student in Japan is intellectually more mature and serious than his counterpart in America.

The latest available figures show that there are 259 schools of collegiate standing—163 universities and colleges, 61 commercial and industrial colleges, 32 junior colleges, and 4 teachers’ colleges. The best ones are concentrated in Tokyo, e.g., Tokyo Imperial University, Keio, Waseda, Meiji, Nippon, Hosei, Chuo, Bunrika, and Shoka. The government-run universities and

colleges are usually better equipped and maintain higher academic standards.

College texts and collateral reading material must bear the stamp of government approval. However, there is more leeway for independent thinking and research in universities and colleges. The caliber of the faculty has a good deal to do with the relatively liberal education college students receive in Japan. For most prominent university professors in Japan have studied in Western universities in an atmosphere of complete academic freedom.

Many larger universities have their own organizations for social research, such as—to mention only a few—the Economic Society of the Kyoto Imperial University, the Institute for Economic Research of the Osaka University of Commerce, and the Economic Society of the Tokyo Imperial University. These, together with non-academic research organizations, carry on disinterested research into social problems. They are not to blame if the results of their scientific work are used by others for selfish purposes.

Military Training Emphasized

Advanced military training in universities and colleges has been put on a compulsory basis since 1938; three years of it are required of all male undergraduates. The emphasis here is on military science rather than tactics, the purpose being to train officer candidates rather than ordinary soldiers. High-school training, on the other hand, emphasizes military tactics.

What is most striking about the university curriculum is the conspicuous absence of sociology. Paradoxically, however, much attention is paid to Marxian economic thought in Japanese economic literature. Even the conservative economists show a remarkable degree of familiarity with radical economic thought.

By and large, “enterprise economics,” as distinguished from “welfare economics,” is the accepted economic theory in Japan. Of late, under the pressure of events, neo-mercantilistic or “national-socialistic” economic thought has replaced orthodox laissez-faire economics. Many prominent university faculty members have fallen victim to the governmental repression of “dangerous thoughts.” Professor Kawakami of the Kyoto Imperial University, Professor Oyama of Waseda University, and Professor Minobe of the Tokyo Imperial University are outstanding examples.

The reactionary drive against liberalism reached its climax when General Sadao Araki was given the portfolio of the Minister of Education in 1938. Progressive teachers all over the country were summarily dismissed and in many cases imprisoned for the crime of expressing “dangerous thoughts.” Liberal students likewise suffered severe persecution.

The function of the Bureau of Thought Supervision of the Ministry of Education has been re-enforced by

the Peace Preservation Law, passed in 1925 under the Tanaka Administration. Under this law, there has been extensive censorship of leftist literature, interference with the labor movement, and particularly ruthless suppression of those who advocate pacifism, the abolition of private property, or the overthrow of the Emperor. The 1928 amendment made the penalty for violation of this law either death or life imprisonment. The perpetuation of such a law is in itself proof of the existence and reality of a liberal minority in Japan.

Thus progressive teachers and students have been successfully silenced. They dare not express "dangerous thoughts," much less participate in political movements espousing them. And the range of interpreting "dangerous thoughts" is becoming so wide as to include not only the traditional phobia of Communism but also any liberal ideas.

In fact, the entire educational system of Japan has become the incarnation of military-fascist ideology. The Japanese school exists for the state, and not for the people. The Ministry of Education lays down the basic educational policy of Japan, and the ruling clique controls what the people shall study, read, see and believe. Academic freedom is unknown. Nor do people outside of academic circles enjoy freedom of thought. It is a case of complete regimentation from above.

Tradition and the Future

Apart from criticism of formal educational institutions, an objective appraisal of the intellectual tradition in Japan is in order. In the first place, there is a profound respect for intellectuals—so much so that members of the so-called intelligentsia enjoy remarkably high prestige. Under such circumstances, the disadvantage of a small income is more than offset by the advantage of "psychic income" derived from such prestige. This is true especially of academic people. Japanese parents are generally willing to suffer personal privations in order to educate their children. Furthermore, intellectual leadership is accepted even by labor, which in other countries is likely to be suspicious of the intelligentsia.

The Japanese people have an intense intellectual curiosity, and are avid readers. This is quite evident in classrooms, libraries and bookshops. It is a matter of common knowledge that the circulation of the leading Japanese newspapers such as *Tokyo Asahi* compares favorably with that of the principal American and British newspapers. Intellectual curiosity needs only wholesome outlets, and the readers something more healthy to read.

With such a tradition, the question of Japanese educational reconstruction reduces itself to the necessity of changing basic educational policies. This can be done within the framework of the existing educational

institutions. The traditional centralized control over education need not be eliminated. In fact, it is doubtful whether this would be wise, in view of the long ingrained tradition of accepting authority from above. Under progressive leadership, the old machine, with suitable adaptations, could be used to guide the people's thinking in new directions. But leadership, at least at first, must come from the top.

Free Trade in Ideas Necessary

However, the system of intellectual espionage—"thought control" activities of the police—would have to be done away with, for it is definitely inimical to intellectual progress. The Peace Preservation Law needs drastic revision, if not downright abolition, for it renders meaningless all the civil liberties and rights of the people. "Dangerous thoughts" would have to be given a new definition, if they are to be controlled at all. Ultimately Japan would have to participate in completely free international trade in ideas as well as in goods and services.

It would be expedient to eliminate all academic courses and practices that tend to promote ultra-nationalism. As for textbooks, a change of policy within the Bureau of School Books is essential. The actual compilation of school books could be assigned to an independent research organization, with the government doing the printing as before. The adoption of high-school and college text and reference books may well be left for the administration of each school to decide in accordance with the over-all policy of the central authority. The existing ban on much critical literature should be lifted.

As for educational leadership, there is no wisdom in wholesale "liquidation." Japanese educators and teachers are so accustomed to authoritarian control that they will doubtless carry out whatever new policy is decided upon by the central authority. It is of course a matter of necessity to remove all known reactionary persons from responsible positions of educational leadership. More decisive, however, would be the training of elementary school teachers, who comprise well over 63% of all teachers and who are in a strategic position to influence young minds. This would necessitate some drastic changes in the curriculum of the present normal schools. Here, as in other educational reforms, the main emphasis is upon the system rather than upon personality. Given an educational system dominated by progressive rather than reactionary political ideas, educational leaders will undoubtedly fall into line. The Westernization of Japan within an amazingly short period of time is convincing evidence of Japanese adaptability and flexibility. Furthermore, Japan is not entirely lacking in progressive minds. Today they are repressed; tomorrow they will carry on the best cultural tradition of the country.

The details cannot now be decided, but educational reconstruction in postwar Japan is clear in broad outline. Not only must there be some guarantee of freedom of speech and freedom of the press in Japan, but this should be accompanied by some guarantee of freedom of communication with the outside world. Together with economic and political reconstruction, educational reconstruction must proceed along lines of greater freedom and international cooperation.

CORRECTION

Mr. R. W. Roberts, agent of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China in New York, has drawn our attention to an inaccuracy in the article, "Foreign Enterprise in Postwar China," which appeared in the *Far Eastern Survey* on November 3, 1943. The National City Bank of New York has not opened an office in Chungking, as stated on page 215. However the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China opened an office at approximately the same time as the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation; and, now that the Stabilization Board has been dissolved, the Chartered Bank has been appointed as one of the approved banks for dealing in exchange in China.

BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC AREA

JAPAN, A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By George B. Sansom. Revised Edition. New York: Appleton-Century, 1943. 554 pp. Ill. Map. \$5.00.

Rarely has a work so widely acclaimed as the best in its field, a work equally useful for reference and for teaching, been permitted to remain out of print for so long. The explanation, as now given by the author, is that he tried to find time for a fuller treatment of some aspects of tradition, custom, and belief which loom larger today in the occidental discussion of Japan than they did fifteen years ago. This, unfortunately, was not possible, and the work is republished with but few additions. Its merit as a searching and sympathetic inquiry into the growth of characteristic Japanese culture traits stood out, at the time of its first publication, amid a flood of romantic nonsense; today it stands out amid a flood of equally unrealistic defamation of the Japanese people. Few other books contribute so much toward an understanding of Japan and its people.

B. L.

JAPAN: A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW. By Guy-Harold Smith and Dorothy Good. New York: American Geographical Society, 1943. 104 pp. \$1.50.

This is one of the most useful surveys of Japan published in recent years. The authors have given in a compact but very readable form all essential information on the physical and economic geography, population and foreign trade of Japan proper, illustrated by 7 maps and many tables. Special mention should be made of the map showing landforms which was drawn some years ago by Dr. Guy-Harold Smith and is now republished. The map by Dr. George Kiss gives a very instructive picture of the growth of population from 1920-1935 by the smallest available civil divisions.

The high standards of the American Geographical Society are reflected in the abundant and careful documentation and a very

good bibliography. Altogether, an accurate introduction to a further study of Japan.

J. O. M. B.

MY LIFE IN CHINA, 1926-1941. By Hallett Abend. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1944. 396 pp. \$3.00.

When Mr. Abend's career in China began, the young Chinese Nationalist movement in Canton was grooming itself for its northward drive, under an obscure soldier named Chiang Kai-shek. When Abend left China some fifteen years later, the country was unified under that soldier and was fighting for survival against Japan.

This book appears to have been written with two purposes in mind. It is so defensive in tone the reader cannot escape the conclusion that the author is trying to answer his critics. At the same time he endeavors to portray the two major developments of his years in China—the consolidation of the country under Chiang Kai-shek and the ever-increasing encroachment of Japan. His reporting on Japan's activities is more complete than his treatment of conditions within China. It is unfortunate that so much of the book should be devoted to spot news scoops and verbatim interviews with big shots—war lords, officials, generals, diplomats—and so little to the transition of China into a modern nation.

M. A. S.

LET'S TRY CHINESE. By W. D. Allen and S. T. Shen. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, for United China Relief, 1944. 8 pp. 25 cents.

This small book is a primer of Chinese characters which the IPR has prepared at the request of United China Relief. It was designed particularly for schools and should meet a need frequently voiced by teachers for a few Chinese characters—enough to give their pupils a feeling for the Chinese language without overwhelming them. In no sense a textbook of Chinese, its chief purpose is to awaken the interest of Americans in the language of their valiant ally.

Let's Try Chinese contains only 35 different characters. Since it will be widely used in art classes, each character is about two inches across—large enough to be copied with ease. The English translation and the Mandarin pronunciation appear under each character. To simplify matters for the reader, and to emphasize the hieroglyphic nature of the Chinese language, these characters are presented in "families." One page contains five characters built on the root for *man*; another limits itself to characters based on *mouth*; and a third, to those built around the symbol for *door*. *Let's Try Chinese* is the simplest book of its kind now available and should be welcomed by those who, though lacking the time to master Chinese, would like to know something about it.

M. A. S.

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