

EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF JAPANESE  
GOVERNMENTAL POLICY, 1918-1945

by

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## PREFACE

An examination of Japanese internal affairs, in the period leading up to World War II, revealed one major trend. This trend was the changing of the nation from one ostensibly on the way toward representative government on the Western pattern to one with a virtual military dictatorship geared for total war. It seemed obvious even to the most casual student of Far Eastern affairs that this change was no sudden reversal brought about by some swift coup, but was rather a gradual, though accelerated, trend caused by complex interacting forces and implemented by diverse means.

One of these means which was ultimately very effective was the educational system of the nation. That the educational system played an important role in the affairs of the nation through shaping the mental habits and attitudes of its youth, of course was inevitable. That it was influential to such an extreme degree and what the results of this influence were, was due largely to two factors, both of which will be dealt with in this paper. The first of these, which will be considered briefly, was the background of the educational system and the early educational policies. The second, to which the most attention will be given, was the way in which Japan's educational system was used as an instrument for furthering the aims of those groups who wished to influence or determine the policies of the Japanese State.

The writer felt that examination of this Japanese educational situation should prove to be of historical value for several reasons. First: It would aim to collect and correlate data presented by many writers who have touched upon various phases of the subject. Many of these references have previously served as incidental supporting matter for the coverage of a general history of Japan or of its general educational history. Second: It would aim to provide a clearer insight into the reasons for the attitudes and outlook of the Japanese, individually and collectively, during the period from Japan's emergence as a major world power following World War I to her crushing defeat at the hands of the Allied Powers in World War II. Third: It would aim to provide the reader with useful information and practical examples of the conditions under which a nation's educational system was turned toward the development of a totalitarian state.

With the above objectives in mind the project carried out was an examination of the historical background and developments which relate to the topic and period to be considered.

## INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT POLICY BEFORE 1918

From the earliest historical times, through the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868, there was little or no effort to provide public education for the masses in Japan. Especially during the feudal period (1185-1868) it was not in the interest of the ruling classes for those of subordinate status to acquire extensive knowledge. The privileged classes, i.e. nobility and warriors, received some education at the "schools" set up at the Imperial capital, at the actual capital of the Shogunate, and at the administrative centers of the important clans. The curriculum was built entirely around a study of the Confucian classics. The only other opportunity for formal education and this only open to those who could afford it, was the school frequently operated in conjunction with the Buddhist temples. At these one could learn to read and write, and the use of the abacus for calculating.

After the initial contacts with foreigners through early foreign attempts to open up trade with Japan, a few persons at the risk of their lives violated the edicts of the Shogunate and went abroad to study. More numerous were those whose education was influenced through contact with the Dutch traders at Nagasaki.

The pressure of international affairs, plus the changing economic and social conditions within Japan (i.e. the shift to a money economy and the rise of a merchant class) eventually brought about the end of the Shogunate and the Meiji Restoration

of 1868.<sup>1</sup>

So ineffective was this educational policy for meeting the needs of a modern state, that the Meiji government decided to create a completely new, complex system organized along Western lines. The first steps taken were the encouragement given to persons to study abroad and the bringing to Japan of large numbers of European and American instructors, particularly in the fields of languages and technical subjects.

A Ministry of Education was formally added to the Japanese government in 1871. That same year the Minister of Education was sent to study the school systems of Europe and the United States. Upon his return in 1872 the first education law was passed, providing for a complex and highly centralized system based largely upon French administrative practice. Some features of American elementary school organization and curriculum were grafted onto this basic system.

The influence of American administrators and teachers was quite strong during this early period. This influence led to the trial of a decentralized education system for a year (1879-1880). The system was then rejected as not meeting the needs of the situation at hand.

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<sup>1</sup>The above mentioned pre-Meiji events were touched upon in nearly all histories of Japan, but particular reference is made to these:

Sir George B. Sanson, Japan, A Short Cultural History.

J. H. Gubbins, The Making of Modern Japan.

Kenneth Scott Latourette, History of Japan.

Chitoshi Yanaga, Japan Since Perry.

Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan, Past and Present.

"Three Centuries of European Learning in Japan", Education, October, 1891, 12:77-85.



Elementary education was first made compulsory by the Act of 1872. This act provided for sixteen months compulsory schooling, which was extended to three years by the Act of 1880.

The educational system which continued to be the basic one for the entire period to be considered was adopted in 1886. With the exception of the increase in the amount of compulsory schooling, and some changes in trade schools and women's education, few significant changes were made until the end of World War II. The system of 1886 drew heavily upon the theories of contemporary German education, which was more in keeping with the rest of the governmental organization in Japan than were French or American practices. Naturally a complete and effective system could not spring from these efforts overnight. By the year 1906 however, the elementary school program had been so well implemented that 95 per cent of eligible children were in school.<sup>2</sup>

Other parts of the system developed and expanded on this base, and by the end of World War I and the beginning of the period for intensive investigation in this study, Japan had an educational system on a par with most of the major Western powers.

For one to understand the complex forces which laid the groundwork for later educational policies he must realize that the Meiji government itself was faced with two great educational problems. These were Restoration and Westernization. Restoration

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<sup>2</sup>Sir George B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan, p. 460.

denoted the problem of breaking down the feudal class structure and developing a national spirit conducive to the security of the Imperial government. Westernization denoted the problem of fostering the development of scientific and technical skills necessary to give the nation security in the Nineteenth Century world of aggressive and imperialistic power politics. The few Pro-Restoration clashes with Western forces, and the existing situation in China so impressed the leaders of Japan with the technological superiority of the Western powers that they gave most of their educational attention to Westernization in the early years of the Meiji period. Much emphasis was placed on the study of foreign languages, of scientific and technical subjects, and of foreign business methods. In fact, so much attention was paid to these fields that many of the early secondary and higher schools virtually abandoned traditional studies. Many important leaders in government and in education became thoroughly enamored with Westernization and began to regard it as an end in itself, rather than in its original status as a means to achieving national greatness.<sup>3</sup>

The important work of making the Restoration secure also made use of education. The development of a national consciousness strong enough to override local loyalties of the feudal period was fostered largely through the educational system. Two of the most significant means of achieving this were mentioned by Bishop S.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 455-456.



Motoda in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa club of Japan in 1927. Motoda was born and brought up in the samurai class but with others was compelled to enter one of the first public elementary schools at the age of twelve. No recognition was given in the schools to a persons position in the former feudal structure and he believed that this did a great deal to break down the class system. He regarded as even more important the standardization of language through the required use of the Yedo dialect in the schools.<sup>4</sup>

The frenzy of Westernization had become so great, and the emphasis upon utilitarian learning so strong that by the early 1880's, a considerable body of opposition was arising. The extremist wing of the Westernization movement centered about Fukuzawa Yukichi, founder of Keio University and editor of Jiji Shimpō. He was one of the strongest proponents of utilitarian education and of individualism. Many persons of this school of thought were opposed to the inclusion of traditional studies only because they did not believe that Japan could afford to give the time necessary to their study and still acquire the material culture of the West rapidly enough. A few others thought that Western social and political ideologies must be adopted completely in order to make the material Westernization a success.

Opposition at first centered around the traditional scholars--Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist. Though their ideas of a return

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<sup>4</sup>News report, Japan Advertiser, 16 December 1926, quoted in full in Living Age, 15 April 1927, 332:719-721.

to old educational patterns and processes on a larger scale might have been successful in assuring Imperial prestige, it could obviously not meet the challenge of the existing international situation.

The big question then was: How could Japan secure the benefits of Western material culture without disrupting completely her society and her traditional system of values?

In the middle ground were numerous educators and government officials, intent upon solving the problem.

The previously mentioned Education law of 1836 was the first step taken to achieve this goal. By strengthening the centralized control of all public schools it made possible their more effective use by the government as an instrument for effecting both Westernization and the strengthening of the Imperial institution. Since, however a complete educational system did not arise instantaneously upon the passage of the act, the years of growth of the system were apparently years of liberalism within it. This was probably because the necessity for emphasis upon Westernization continued throughout the period up to the emergence by Japan as a major world power. On the lower levels of education national control was gradually, though surely, implemented by standardization, and by increasing rigidity in control over the program of the normal schools.

The second step was the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education on 30 October 1890.<sup>5</sup> This turned out to be one of the

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<sup>5</sup>Appendix A.

most important documents in Japanese educational history. Most available examinations and interpretations deal with its later significance developed through interpretations made and put to use in the period to be discussed in greater detail further on in this paper. At this early stage, however, it seems that the major aim of the Rescript was to encourage Japanese subjects to be selective in their contacts with Western culture, accepting only those things useful to the nation and rejecting those inimical to national interest and the Imperial institution.<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing resume of Japanese educational history covers very briefly conditions from 1890-1918. This period was consumed largely as previously mentioned, in putting into actual working order the ambitious plans of the early Meiji Era. Such issues and events from this period as are to prove essential to an understanding of situations in the major period under consideration, will be brought in and discussed in conjunction with pertinent situations in the later period.

#### THE RISE AND FALL OF LIBERAL AND RADICAL MOVEMENTS (1918-1930)

To the casual observer, Japan's participation in World War I may have seemed rather insignificant. Certainly this is true if we consider only the strategic value of that participation. The effects of Japan's having been one of the Allied Powers was not

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<sup>6</sup>Willis Lamott: "Japan's Nationalist Bible," Asia, June 1939, 39:351.

fully appreciated at the time. However, with the aid of the perspective provided by the passage of time, and the efforts of many competent historians of the intervening period, it is not difficult to point out several important results of the situation. The influence of these results upon Japan's governmental policies and her consequent educational activities form an important part of the story of education in Post-World War I Japan.

First of these points, and perhaps foremost in effect upon the external policies, was Japan's being accepted as one of the "Great Powers" of the world. This in itself, with the position it provided in the peace negotiations and in the division of German territories in the Pacific, improved Japan's position, both strategically and publicity-wise throughout the world. Even the fact that Japan's allies did not approve all her claims was evidence of the respect they held for her increasing strength and their fear of future gains by this, the most powerful of Oriental nations.

Second, and probably more important in relation to the domestic situation in the early post-war years, was the rising interest in Western "liberal" doctrines of many types. These concepts found followers first and more readily among the intellectuals, and in particular among the faculty members and students of the various institutions of higher learning. As Yanaga points out:

The cause of democratic and liberal elements was helped tremendously by the outbreak of the war in Europe. War against Germany was regarded in Japan as a crusade against an autocratic country and the forces of tyranny and militarism, as it was in the other Allied countries. Understandably enough, by 1917, after America's entry into the European war, the Japanese too had begun to look upon the

struggle as a "war to make the world safe for democracy." Moreover, the unprecedented economic prosperity that resulted from the war indirectly aided the popularity of democratic ideas and ideals. Small wonder that the tide of democratic ideas swept across the country, capturing the imagination of the young people, much to the dismay and apprehension of the conservatives, who were by and large of the older generation.<sup>1</sup>

Brown says in a similar vein:

...the ideology which first gained great popularity in the postwar period was democracy. Although the movement did not become very popular until after the last months of the war--after the United States declared war on Germany in 1917--interest in democratic ideals had been growing for some time. The Allied propaganda to the effect that this war was to protect democracy from the evils of German militarism seems to have influenced many Japanese intellectuals.<sup>2</sup>

Many shades of opinion were represented in the various movements which arose at this time. These ranged from proponents of more effective constitutional guarantees of representative government on through the "democratic-socialists" to the pro-revolutionary communists. Along with these ideologies, and largely circulating among the same groups moved a wave of anti-militarism, pacifism, and internationalist feeling similar in many respects to that which swept many of the war-weary nations of the West at this time.

That ideas of this sort should gain adherents first among the educators and students of the university level is not surprising. These groups, by their knowledge of European languages, and their acquaintance with European literature, were naturally in a position to be most influenced by the economic, social and

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<sup>1</sup>Yanaga, Chitose, Japan Since Perry, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup>Brown, Delmer M., Nationalism in Japan, p. 175.



political ideas current in the Western nations in this period.

One of the most influential of the educators who espoused these doctrines was Dr. Yoshino Sakuzo, a political science professor at Tokyo Imperial University. As early as 1916, Professor Yoshino had written articles advocating more effective representative government for Japan, and outlining the means of achieving this.<sup>3</sup> Yanaga cites the following activities of Yoshino and his followers:

Toward the end of 1918, Professor Yoshino and Professor Fukuda, an eminent economist, founded the Reimeikai, a society for the dissemination and popularization of democratic ideas. In the same month a student organization, the Shinjinkai, was founded by members of the debating society of the Law Department of the Tokyo Imperial University under the guidance of Professor Yoshino. This was the direct outgrowth of the public debate held in November on the subject of democracy between the ultranationalistic members of the Roninkai, which was inspired and supported by the Black Dragon Society. The members of the Shinjinkai, including graduates, devoted their time and energy to the study and discussion of democracy and social problems. This student society, which advocated the political, social, and economic liberation of the people through the reconstruction of the nation, produced a number of the outstanding leaders of thought and social movement of the postwar period. Waseda University had similar organizations which were active in the discussion of democracy and social problems. Thus, in the forefront of the liberal movement were the university students, who became proponents of democracy and socialism.<sup>4</sup>

Borton has this to say of student and faculty participation in the somewhat less intellectual activities of the radical movements: "But Marxism had become popular among many professors and intellectual leaders who advocated the immediate establishment of a communist state in Japan. Students eagerly responded

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<sup>3</sup>Brown, *ibid.*

also Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

<sup>4</sup>Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 468.



to their pleas to participate actively in strikes and demonstrations."<sup>5</sup>

The writer is inclined to question the devotion to, and even the understanding of genuine Marxism by Japanese students at that time. This is in view of the relative newness of revolutionary communism as a concept even considered by the Japanese student. Especially this seems so in the light of the frequently demonstrated propensity of Japanese modernists for grasping quickly and uncritically the newest fad, be it political doctrine, mode of dress, style of literature, or what, and adhering devoutly to it until the "newness" is worn off.<sup>6</sup>

Be that as it may, this wave of radicalism was sufficient to alarm and set in motion the forces of reaction. As far as students and teachers were concerned, attempts at suppression descended upon the delinquent through two general channels. The first of these was administrative action. Due to the centralization of the educational system in Japan, faculty members, and to some degree students, were always subject to administrative pressures from higher levels of the bureaucracy. It is difficult to evaluate the degree to which such pressures existed or were effective during the period under consideration. As in many complex administrative systems, pressures of this type may be the most influential forces in operation, even though they may be difficult to substantiate historically at a later date. Almost unquestion-

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<sup>5</sup>Hugh Borton, Japan's Modern Century, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup>Hugh L. Keenleyside, and A. F. Thomas, Education in Japan, pp. 278-279.

ably in the case of Japan these forces were stronger than in many Western nations. This was because of the importance of one's station-in-life, and the relatively rigid concepts of proper relationships between superiors and subordinates within any of the numerous heirarchical patterns in Japanese government and society.<sup>7</sup>

General admonitions were from time to time handed down through official channels. Significant to the early portion of this period was the Cabinet Instruction Number 1, of 25 May 1917, entitled "Instruction on the Strict Enforcement of Government Discipline."<sup>8</sup> This was applicable to all government employees. While it is of a general nature the second and third paragraphs seem, even at that early date to be aimed at guiding officials away from "foreign" and radical doctrines. By 1921, the activities of students and teachers in some of the radical movements had become a frequent enough occurrence to warrant the issuance of a special "Warning Against Mass-Movement of Students Under the Control of the Educational Ministry" on the 27th of April in that year.<sup>9</sup> These pronouncements seemed rather mild and indefinite, but none fairly typical of that general class of governmental edicts, more of which will be referred to in connection with later portions of this paper. It must be remembered that the use of what Westerners would term as specific and forceful language is, of necessity, much more restricted in a nation of such

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<sup>7</sup>John F. Embree, The Japanese Nation, p. 74 and pp. 142-143.  
 Also: Ruth F. Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, pp. 95-97.  
<sup>8</sup>Dr. Wunderlich's File.  
<sup>9</sup>Appendix B.

complex and delicate social relationships as Japan.

The second class of suppressive measures consisted of direct action by the police and the courts. This action was possible in some situations under the provisions of the Peace Preservation Law of 1887. This law has been explained as follows: "To end the discontent, a new peace preservation law was issued, on Christmas day, prohibiting all secret societies and giving permission to the police to stop any meeting 'whenever they deem it necessary'."<sup>10</sup> The Press Law of 1897, used to punish writers and publishers of material critical of the existing government,<sup>11</sup> was also resurrected at this time to combat radical tendencies on the part of educators and others.

Of the earlier cases involving police action, the celebrated Morito Case is one of the most important. Yanaga gives a concise statement of the circumstances surrounding this case:

Perhaps the best known case of suppression of academic freedom in the period immediately following the war was that of Professor Morito Tatsuo, whose article on the social ideas of Kropotkin was pronounced subversive by the authorities, who felt that it presented communism and anarchism in a favorable light. For writing the offensive article, which appeared in January 1920 in the learned Journal of Economics, the organ of the Department of Economics of the Tokyo Imperial University, Professor Morito was convicted and sentenced to a month's confinement and a fine. In handing down the decision, the court declared that while it was the function of the scholar to discuss the merits and demerits, advantages and disadvantages, of institutions and criticize existing systems and organizations, the publication of any views or conclusions which disturbed the public peace and

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<sup>10</sup>Harry E. Wildes, "Press Freedom in Japan", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume 32: p. 608.

<sup>11</sup>Wildes, op. cit., pp. 608-609.

order could not be tolerated.

The Morito case stirred up a storm of controversy and brought down a scathing denunciation on the government of Premier Hara for its flagrant violation of academic freedom. To this the government retaliated with even more drastic suppression, resulting in more individuals running afoul of the law and the expulsion of university professors who dared to fight for academic freedom and the freedom of expression.<sup>12</sup>

This incident, and the pressures placed upon Professor Yoshino, which culminated in his resignation in 1924<sup>13</sup> are indicative of the lengths to which the Japanese government during the early 1920's (often regarded as the high point of relatively liberal parliamentary government) was willing to go in order to suppress activity within the educational system which might endanger the existing social and political order.

All liberal influences in the Ministry of Education were not immediately stamped out, though changes typifying the liberal movements were few during the Twenties. Perhaps the furthest advance of the wave of liberalism into the educational system was the textbook revision effective in 1923. In April of that year new sixth-year elementary texts were introduced, with many language simplifications and other changes.<sup>14</sup> Of these changes, the most notable was that of the content of the sixth-grade history and the National Reader.

From these all ideas in keeping with the spirit of a militaristic nation have been eliminated. Lessons which tended to imbue the child with a mistrust for and antagonistic attitude toward foreign nations have given way to

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<sup>12</sup>Yanaga, op. cit., p. 470.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>David Starr Jordan, "Notes from Japan", School and Society Volume 17: pp. 51-52, 13 January 1923.

friendly and peaceful topics intended to cultivate in the pupil a true, though simple international understanding and humanitarian sentiment.<sup>15</sup>

The forces of reaction within two years however had instituted an educational change of far greater significance than the foregoing, and of directly opposite effect. This was an introduction of the effective system of military training throughout the secondary and higher levels of education. In spite of widespread student opposition, this was put into effect on 1 April 1925.<sup>16</sup> Borton more thoroughly describes the way in which this came about.

In line with the general trend toward retrenchment in armament expenditures launched by the Washington Naval Conference, general military expenditures decreased from 42 percent of the national budget in 1922, to 27 percent during Kato's Cabinet. This curtailment in expenditures for the armed services resulted in the abandonment of four divisions and the reduction of the standing army to seventeen divisions. Officers who were members of the disbanded divisions were not retired from active service. On the contrary, they were assigned to the middle and higher schools and to the universities to be in charge of the new compulsory military training in the schools.

These moves, rather than decreasing the militaristic character of the country, increased it. The inauguration of nationwide military training within the schools, and assignment of regular Army officers to the schools exposed a far larger number of persons to militarism than heretofore had been the case. It afforded an excellent opportunity to inculcate into the youths' minds the philosophy of ultranationalism and of the invincibility of the Japanese armed forces.<sup>17</sup>

It thus appears that this change was part of a compromise which while apparently meeting the demands of internationalist and

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Yanaga, op. cit., pp. 470-471. Also article from Osaka Mainichi, quoted in Literary Digest, V. 84, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup>Borton, op. cit., p. 310.



pacifist sentiment then current to some extent at home, and to a much greater degree abroad, actually served the long range interests of the militarists and ultranationalists. This valuable position within the schools from which radical tendencies might be observed and counteracted was held until the end of World War II.

Keenleyside, writing in 1937, gave a good discussion of this training program.

In the middle school the Japanese student undergoes for the first time fully organized military training. It is true that in some elementary schools particularly enthusiastic teacher or principal may give the youths under his care some semi-military drill, but such spontaneous activities are unimportant in scope and are done without the cooperation of the military authorities. In the middle schools, however, the whole thing is on a different and more definite basis. Here the War Department provides officer instructors and the training which occupies five hours a week is of a regular and serious nature. The instruction includes not only squad drill and military evolutions, but target practice, bayonet-fighting, and the use of hand-grenades and other implements of modern warfare. In addition, the students are given lectures on such subjects as are best suited to stimulate their martial and patriotic ardour.

This is not the place to discuss military training in schools, or its propriety on either national, moral, or intellectual grounds. The arguments on that subject have been very fully set forth in recent years in almost every modern state except Japan. But in Japan the arguments against such training would not, even with the educational authorities, and much less with other official agencies, receive very serious consideration. There is very little opposition anywhere in Japan to the general belief that it is the unquestioning duty of the subject to respond, in arms if necessary, to the call of his country, though from observations and inquiries in the schools, students are as happy to evade or be excused conscription as in the average country where military service is compulsory. It is therefore the duty of the military and educational authorities to see that at a suitable age the student is given the instruction which will prepare him for any national emergency which may demand military service of him. This Japanese attitude is based on the fundamental assumption, to which very few Japanese would



hesitate to subscribe, that warfare if not inevitable is at least not improbable. Thus there is little or no opposition in Japan to the policy of military training in the schools, and this policy is not likely, in the near future at least, to be abandoned.

It is more difficult to estimate the attitude of the student. Individual inquiries are generally answered by the assurance that military training is most unpopular. On the other hand there is no doubt that the average student is pleased with his uniform and gains a certain satisfaction from handling real weapons and counterparts or modern equivalents of those with which national heroes have received their fame, or in other words, he is pleased to play at soldiers. Further, the lectures which are designed to stimulate his martial spirit can hardly be dismissed as ineffective when the Japanese susceptibility to such appeals is recognized.<sup>18</sup>

Student reaction in the universities was not initially favorable to the military training discussed above, nor to the other repressive measures and student movements of radical outlook continued to grow. Ward says: "In the universities the students are forming social science clubs which are nationally federated. They exist for the purpose of discussing things which are not in the curriculum and nothing under heaven is too radical for their inquiry."<sup>19</sup> Yanaga goes further in pointing out the aims of student organizations of this time:

The Students' Society for the Study of Social Science held its first meeting on September 14, 1924, at the Tokyo Imperial University under the sponsorship of the Shinjinkai. Several hundred college and university students assembled declared that the time had come for a united front for the liberation of the working classes. They advocated among other things an international movement looking forward to the outlawry of war, and organization to oppose military training for students, concerted opposition against the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law, and a vigorous

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<sup>18</sup>Keenleyside & Thomas, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

<sup>19</sup>Harry F. Ward, "Law and Order in Japan", Nation, V. 121, pp. 289-290, 9 Sept. 1925.

protest against the ban on discussion groups in the colleges. The meeting of the National Federation of Societies for the Study of Social Science held at the Kyoto Imperial University on July 16, 1925, marked a shift in the student movement from abstruse discussion of problems to the policy of active participation in the proletarian movement.<sup>20</sup>

As radical activities expanded, the authorities instituted new and modified old means of dealing with them. Very significant was the new Peace Preservation Law, effective 12 May 1925,<sup>21</sup> a week after the Universal Manhood Suffrage Act went into effect. This was a much more drastic weapon for putting pressure upon radicals both in and outside the educational system. Wildes gives the essential of it as follows:

Fortified by a second peace preservation law of 1925, whereby those who seek to alter the national constitution or the form of government, or who oppose the institution of private property, are classed as anarchists and are liable to imprisonment for a ten year term, the administration has now no fear of slightly loosening its hold upon the press.<sup>22</sup>

Borton says substantially the same thing, but places more emphasis upon its significance in relation to the election laws:

Thus the Kato Cabinet, despite its emphasis on the principle of party cabinets and cabinet responsibility, followed the same pattern as Ito and the earlier oligarchs. If rights were granted the people, such as universal suffrage, new power was given the executive branch of the government to control the people.<sup>23</sup>

Quigley includes a translation of the first three articles of the law:

Art. 1. Anyone who has organized a society with the object of altering the national constitution (kokutai): or anyone who has joined it with full knowledge of its object

<sup>20</sup>Yenaga, op. cit., p. 471.

<sup>21</sup>Yenaga, op. cit., p. 406.

<sup>22</sup>Wildes, op. cit., p. 612.

<sup>23</sup>Borton, op. cit., p. 310.

shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding ten years. Anyone who has organized a society with the object of fundamentally negating the system of private ownership or anyone who has joined it with full knowledge of its object shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding seven years.

The attempt to commit the crime falling under the purview of the first or second paragraph of the present Article shall be punished.

Art. 2. Anyone who has discussed the execution of matters specified in Paragraph 1 of Article 1 with the object mentioned therein shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding seven years.

Art. 3. Anyone who has instigated the execution of matters specified in Paragraph 1 of Article 1 with the object mentioned therein shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding seven years.<sup>24</sup>

Arrests of students and others went on at a rapidly accelerated pace following the enactment of this measure. One of the most notable incidents began in December of 1925 and lasted through April of 1926, and is outlined by Yanagai:

In the famous Kyoto Imperial University affair of December 1, 1925, the police raided the homes of more than a score of students and the headquarters of the Students' Federation for the Study of Social Science. Between mid-January and late April of the following year the police took more than thirty students into custody on the grounds that they had violated the Peace Preservation Law, the Publications Law, and were guilty of lese majeste. The police accused them of spreading, among the students and masses, the social revolutionary ideas of Marx and Lenin in an attempt to overthrow the government and seize power, put in a dictatorship, socialize production, abolish private property, and establish communism. As a countermove the Alliance for the Protection of Freedom of Students was organized to support leftists student organizations and to inject revolutionary ideas into the training of those who would work for the liberation of

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<sup>24</sup>Harold S. Quigley, Japanese Government and Politics, pp. 57-58.

the working classes. On the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, however, the student movement voluntarily disbanded, turning over the activities to the laborers and farmers themselves.<sup>25</sup>

Since students were regarded as a class especially active in the spread of radical ideas, additional measures were taken against them through the Ministry of Education. An article in School and Society outlines some of these measures. Bans were placed upon the study of social science (probably referring to the extra-curricular discussion groups previously mentioned), upon public speaking by students outside the classroom, and upon reading any "books or magazines that the government authorities consider inimical to the preservation of the present state of society."<sup>26</sup> The article goes on to say:

The name of Mr. Okada has figured in this correspondence again and again since he went in as Minister of Education two years ago. Invariably the tale told regarding him has been the inauguration of additional ultraconservative, repressive measures. School dramatics were banned first, and then one by one, other student activities were curbed, until now he has issued sweeping injunctions that will break up every student organization, will cause the suppression of every student publication, will limit student reading to nonpolitical books and magazines or to literature designed to crystallize their thoughts in the mold of pre-Meiji days.<sup>27</sup>

Both internal and external measures to suppress radical activities were continued. On 15 March 1928, a carefully synchronized roundup of radicals was made:

In a nationwide hunt extending over thirty-four prefectures the police rounded up 65,000 persons. Involved were

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<sup>25</sup>Yanaga, op. cit., p. 471.

<sup>26</sup>"Suppression of Student Reading in Japan", School and Society, v. 24, pp. 258-259, 28 August 1926.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

nearly 2500 students of the imperial universities of Tokyo, Kyoto and Tohoku, as well as students of private universities.<sup>28</sup>

On 17 April in the same year, the Ministry of Education issued Ministry Instruction No. 5 "Concerning Ideological Guidance for Students."<sup>29</sup>

On 29 June 1928<sup>30</sup> the Peace Preservation Act of 1925 was amended by an imperial ordinance of which the following is a translation of the major provisions:

Art. 1. Those who have organized a society with the object of altering the national policy, together with office-holders and those who have performed the duties of leaders of such a society, shall be liable to capital punishment, life imprisonment or imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term of not less than five years.

Art. 2. Those who have joined such a society as that mentioned in the foregoing article with a knowledge of its aims together with those who have either held office or otherwise performed the duties of leaders of the society, or those who have committed acts designed to carry out the aims of the society, shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term of more than two years."<sup>31</sup>

Police actions against individuals and groups under these and earlier ordinances and laws continued to exert great pressure to keep educators and students in line:

Frequently, university professors are peremptorily ordered by the police to refrain from discussion of political or economic questions, and at times they are compelled to resign on pain of prosecution. In 1928, the government dissolved the Ronoto ("Farmer Labor party") and other labor parties without a hearing, for alleged communistic activities. It peremptorily ordered a number of universities to discharge "blacklisted" professors and to break up student societies

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<sup>28</sup>Yanaga, op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix C for copy of translation of this document.

<sup>30</sup>Hugh Byss, "Red Crop in Japan" *Asia*, v. 32, p. 86-89, February 1932.

<sup>31</sup>Translation quoted in: Quigley, op. cit., p. 58.



for the study of sociology. The orders were meekly obeyed. The students protested vigorously, but in vain.<sup>32</sup>

A footnote in the same source says:

Professor Kawakami Hajime of Kyoto Imperial University resigned at the request of the President of the University, who, Kawakami stated, assigned as reasons for the request that Kawakami had written and spoken in an 'improper' way on socialism and that certain students, members of a university society for the study of sociology of which Professor Kawakami was a leader by appointment of the President, had disturbed public peace.<sup>33</sup>

The activities of the Bureau of Thought Supervision of The Education Ministry were basically as follows:

THE BUREAU OF THOUGHT SUPERVISION (previously known as the Bureau of Student Control) is the most recent addition to the Department of Education. Its two sections have been assigned the following duties:

Section of Thought Supervision:

1. Guidance and Control of Student Thought. (This section is established primarily for the purpose of "influencing those who, under the influence of Marxism and Leninism, tend towards improper conduct.")
2. Government Research Institute of National Culture. (This Institute was designed to bring together outstanding scholars and teachers "to contribute towards the study of the ideas of the national character of Japan". It also attempts to reclaim students who have been expelled from school for participation in radical activities.)

Section of Investigation:

1. Investigation of thought problems.
2. Examination of books for guidance of thought.<sup>34</sup>

These activities of the Bureau were expanded and co-ordinated with police activities to provide for more effective thought control. Walker G. Matheson, writing in the Nation, gives a

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<sup>32</sup>Quigley, op. cit., p. 60-61.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Keenleyside & Thomas, op. cit., p. 129.



fairly detailed picture of the plans put into effect during 1929:

Japan.....will spend at least \$1,500,000 (\$ 3,083,000) during the next fiscal year to "improve the national thought" and wipe out trends toward socialism.

The manner in which Japan proposes to dam the growing wave of communism and socialism is unique. The principal work will be carried on in the universities and middle schools, always hotbeds of new ideas the world over. The Government will appropriate nearly \$75,000 to extend the present unofficial system of the Ministry of Education to supervise students. The step has been taken by the Government on its own responsibility with the understanding that the ministry will cooperate in wiping out "dangerous thoughts" among the students.

The Ministry of Education will create a special research board of six members to watch over the general trend of student thought. All educational institutions will be required to submit periodic reports to this board giving in detail what the general student body is thinking. It is expected that by this system any new tendency toward 'forbidden thinking' which is considered so menacing to the empire can be spotted easily.

Each institution will have a supervisor of students whose business it will be to sound out their thoughts and locate mental maladjustments. Students are not to be kept under control or constant watch, however. The 'thought supervisors' are to act as advisers whom the students might take into fullest confidence if dangerous thoughts do arise to disturb them. It is pointed out that, with the supervisors acting as fathers to the students, they will go a long way toward helping them from falling permanent victims to dangerous thoughts.

Besides the \$75,000 appropriated by the Government for detective work in the schools, the Ministry of Education will receive an additional \$750,000 to establish the 'thought watchers.' The monitors will also be required to be on the watch for secret societies organized for social-study research.....The ministry is also to ask for \$85,000 for the development of spiritual culture, and \$427,500 for the extension of the curriculum to include adequate social education.

Police men, it is announced, will be required to attend special schools for the exact purpose of studying 'dangerous thoughts.' They will be instructed by lecturers who are known to have studied 'dangerous thoughts' but who at the same time are considered by the authorities as immune to the workings of the thoughts themselves. The police instruction

is being arranged so that the officers will be better able to detect perilous tendencies toward radicalism.

Student clubs, labor meetings, and farmer rallies, on the other hand, always are under the scrutinizing eye of the police in the belief that they produce alien 'dangerous thoughts.' Raids on such gatherings result in hundreds of arrests.<sup>35</sup>

Thought control activities continued throughout the remainder of this period, and as will be later demonstrated, were widely expanded in the next period to be discussed. At times thought control reached extremes in application which bordered on the ridiculous, as shown by this example:

One obstacle to the cause of education in Japan is the official attitude toward freedom of thought, and its expression by students.....There may have been, there may be good reasons for such anxiety, but the attempted control of "dangerous thought" has sometimes gone beyond reason, even to ludicrous extremes. An overzealous, ignorant policeman is said to have confiscated a book entitled Social Instincts of Animals.<sup>36</sup>

Aside from the direct ministerial and police actions just discussed, other important factors exerted a strong influence for conformity to national policy on the part of educators and students. The traditional emphasis placed upon duties to society, rather than on individual rights was so deeply woven into the upbringing of all Japanese that it was no doubt the primary force in keeping multitudes of Japanese in line with established governmental policies.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Significant excerpts from: Article Japan Does Dangerous Thoughts, Walker G. Matheson, The Nation, 7 November 1929, V. 127, pp. 504-505.

<sup>36</sup>Ernest W. Clement, "Educational Trends in Japan", School and Society, V. 31, p. 141, 8 February 1930.

<sup>37</sup>Benedict, op. cit.  
also Ambree, op. cit.

In the case of educators, especially on the higher levels, their favored position in society, their relative freedom of personal and academic life, aside from questions concerning controversial points of politics, economics, and social organization and the degree of economic security they enjoyed, all constituted personal pressures sufficient to keep all but the more passionately radical in line with government policies.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, the fact that the educational system was not only an integral part of the bureaucracy, but that it, especially the Imperial Universities, trained the members of the other portions of the bureaucracy, acted as a force leading to a singleness of purpose and outlook on the part of educators and other government officials.

In the case of students, Maki shows the effect of their aims in acquiring an education in shaping their attitude toward the system and the governmental ideas it supported:

Another check on the development of true intellectual activities in Japanese universities was the fact that in pre-war Japan a university education was much more a course of training for a career than is the case in the United States. In Japan the university student trained himself for a career with the government, or with one of the large business firms. Even a career as a teacher or research scientist led inevitably either to a university which was under government control or to a position with a large firm. Neither the government nor a business firm would have been anxious to take on any bright young man if he were contaminated with the wrong ideas. The result, of course, was an informal, invisible, but nevertheless effective check on the free development of the "wrong" type of intellectual curiosity.

Thus, the Japanese educational system, from top to

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<sup>38</sup>William Leonard Schwartz, "Professors in Imperial Japan" School and Society, V. 21, pp. 252-254, 28 February 1925.

bottom, was ideally designed for the nurture of the kind of ideas that were suited for the development of docile, easily-led subjects who would support the aims and the ideals of the government.<sup>39</sup>

The general trend, then, in the period 1910-1931 was one of shaping the educational system into a more effective instrument of governmental policy, through the internal and external pressures indicated above. The primary governmental policy which the system was used to implement during the period was the suppression of doctrines considered by the dominantly conservative Japanese politicians to be a menace to the existing economic, social, and political order. Through activities outlined in this chapter, and with the aid of the propaganda of the ultranationalist organizations<sup>40</sup> this had largely been accomplished by 1921.

In the process of securing the instrumentation of the above policies, the educational system had been made into a more effective device for shaping public opinion than it had ever been before. This device, as will be shown in the next chapter, was to be put to increasing use in the critical years following the Manchurian Incident of 1931.

#### THE RISE OF MILITANT ULTRANATIONALISM (1931-1939)

The eclipse of liberal, internationalist, socialist and kindred movements during the latter portion of the 1920's was no doubt viewed favorably by all varieties of conservatives and na-

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<sup>39</sup>John M. Maki, *Japanese Militarism*, p. 166.

<sup>40</sup>Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-195.

tionalists in Japan. Of these conservative and nationalist groups however, none benefited as much as the nationalistic reform movements. It was this wing of Japanese political, economic, and social thought which rose coincident with decline of Western liberal and allied trends. It is important to examine briefly the basic character of these movements and to follow their rise to power, since by the end of the Thirties they dominated the political scene in Japan. While there were many of these organizations, most of the important ones had similar aims and ideals. The following objectives were commonly found among the most important precepts of these organizations:

1. Ultranationalism.
2. A fanatical devotion to the Imperial institution.
3. An international policy of militant expansionism.
4. Plans for an eventual extensive revision of the internal economic and political order in Japan.<sup>1</sup>

Though there was some civilian leadership and much civilian support for this type of rightist movement, the strongest leadership, and that which ultimately consolidated and guided the movement, came from the armed forces. Reischauer gives a clear and concise statement of the background of military domination of the nationalistic revisionist movements:

The army officers, with predominantly rural or small town family backgrounds and an intimate and paternalistic relation with peasant soldiers, came to have a deeper understanding of the peasant and a more genuine interest in his welfare than did the representatives of big business interests

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<sup>1</sup>Chitoshi Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, pp. 489-516.



or the city intellectuals, who more often looked upon the peasant as hopelessly backward and outside the pale of the new Japanese culture. Younger army officers, resenting the political and economic domination of business men, doubtful of the ethical or even the economic value of the whole capitalistic system, and distrusting deeply the liberal philosophy of the intelligentsia, gradually came to champion the economic interests of the peasantry against the big city groups, particularly the capitalists. In return, the peasantry gave the army and its officer corps blind but inarticulate support. Many young army officers, moving toward an almost revolutionary hatred of urban capitalism, were beginning to advocate vague but definitely radical programs to better the economic status of the underprivileged peasantry.

These tendencies grew slowly and almost unnoticed during the 1920's, as the new generation of younger officers was developing. Then in the early 1930's, the blatant militarism, fanatical nationalism, and anti-liberal and anti-democratic prejudices of the younger army and navy officers, and of other reactionary groups, swept over Japan in a sudden, startling reversal of the dominant trends of the 1920's. Big business, with more or less active support from the urban middle classes, had been the first successor of the Meiji oligarchy. Now it was pushed aside by the militarists, with the noisy backing of ultra-nationalistic societies and the tacit support of the rural population.

The basic reason for this reversal of political and social trends was, of course, the gradual rise to influence of the younger officer group along with other nationalistic and militaristic elements.

.....foreign markets were essential for Japanese exports. Consequently, the Japanese viewed any threat to their overseas economic enterprises with concern.

In the early 1930's many Japanese believed that the only answer to rising protective tariffs in other lands was for Japan to resume its old program of colonial expansion and win for itself the sources of raw materials and the markets needed to make it self-sufficient and invulnerable as a world power. Such reasoning seemed obvious to the reactionary and militaristic groups. Those business men and intellectuals who remained moderate and international in their views were not able to refute these arguments to the satisfaction of the Japanese public.

There was a gradual swing of popular support to the militaristic reactionaries.

.....The turning point between the liberal 1920's and the reactionary 1930's came in 1931, when certain military



forces, without the approval of the civil government and possibly even without the specific approval of higher military authorities, started their own war of territorial aggrandizement.<sup>2</sup>

This of course was the celebrated "Manchurian Incident."

The ease with which the army accomplished the acquisition of control over Manchuria, in spite of opposition by the civil government, did much to strengthen the cause of the militant nationalists. Tempted by the obvious commercial opportunities opened by the conquest, even many businessmen, heretofore alienated by the radical reform proposals of the nationalists, were now inclined to lean toward support of the expansionist phase of the program. From this point on, the rise of the militaristic, ultranationalistic, revisionist groups in influencing national policies was steady, though by no means entirely smooth.

✓ The "Manchurian Incident" itself brought no immediate educational changes, but rather established a trend in national policies which was to be later reflected in educational revisions. The most immediate consequences of the "Incident" were described by Keenleyside and Thomas:

At a time when Western influence had begun to decline somewhat in Japan there came the "Manchurian Incident" on September 18, 1931. It would be difficult to imagine so great an event in Japanese history without its having some influence on her national education. It turned Japan's attention to the new Manchoukuo, and to China from a different angle. The Japanese schools began to take more interest in the new state and in things Chinese, especially the rise of Modern China and the Chinese reactions to Manchoukuo. Further, students in the middle schools, who before had rarely taken advantage of the right to study Chinese as an optional language instead of English, now began to see the

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<sup>2</sup>Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan, Past and Present, pp. 159-165.

practical wisdom of doing so. In the commercial universities, higher commercial schools, and foreign language schools it had been the weakest students in language study who had been induced to study Chinese, because with its close resemblance to Japanese as a written language it was easier. With the rise of Manchoukuo, however, the Chinese language became popular among the Japanese, who were now keen to study spoken Chinese as well as the literature. This was because in Manchoukuo there were good administrative posts for young Japanese who knew how to write and speak Mandarin. Since all the professors in the Japanese schools mentioned above were from North China, they were able to offer to these keen students quite enough in a course of three or four years to enable them to qualify for promising posts in the civil service or one of the large Japanese business houses operating in Manchoukuo. Since students are now finding it so difficult to obtain posts on their graduation in Japan, where higher education is so cheap, and the people so prolific, many Japanese college and university graduates welcome this new and profitable outlet.<sup>3</sup>

Yanaga has emphasized another phase of the significance of the "Manchurian Incident", and one which ultimately had greater educational significance:

September 18, 1932 was the turning point, not only in the diplomacy of Japan, but also in the trend of national thought. With the Manchurian incident the people were awakened suddenly to a new national consciousness. Left wing ideas showed a sudden decline, at least on the surface, and a modified type of Fascism came in to claim the attention of the nation. Right wing organizations imbued with intense patriotism gained power almost over night. These organizations considered it imperative to destroy political parties and the plutocracy. They believed that the so-called Showa-Ishin, or the Reform of the Shown Period had to be brought about in order to safely pass the national crisis.

.....With the establishment of Manchukuo on March 1, 1932, the Manchurian issue was settled so far as Japan was concerned. The recognition of the new state was given by Japan on September 18, 1932. This caused the incident to develop from a Sino-Japanese dispute into a question involving the League of Nations. Seeing no way of compromise or reconciliation, Japan withdrew from the League on March 27, 1933. As a result of this, state consciousness was deeply

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<sup>3</sup>Hugh L. Keesleyside and A. F. Thomas, History of Japanese Education, pp. 10-11.

aroused among the Japanese. This led to the entire abandonment of the imitation of and even reliance on the West. "Japan Spirit" now became the order of the day in an effort to bring about the uplift of the Japanese state. Numerous were even the socialists and communists who became adherents of the Japan spirit, the modern version of the Bushido and "Yamato Spirit". The whole nation was awakened to the realization of a "national crisis" which was declared by statesmen and publicists to exist, which became a watchword for the entire nation, particularly since Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations.

This is essentially a period of the ascendancy of the Japanese spirit. Newspapers and magazines are discussing it. Consequently it is having a profound effect upon the people's concept of the Japanese state. Once again, the Japanese are turning to their native heritage and spirit to surmount the difficulties which are before them. Their faith in their unique kokutai is becoming stronger as they look back to see that the nation has successfully coped with every situation in the past.<sup>4</sup>

✓ Within the field of education itself, relative calm had prevailed until 1933, when a situation reminiscent of the late Twenties occurred in which academic freedom was suppressed and in which the increased influence of the ultranationalists was demonstrated. This was the Kyoto Imperial University affair, outlined by Yanaga as follows:

This was a clear case of suppression of academic freedom and liberal professors on the part of the Education Ministry, which had yielded to the pressure, and perhaps agreed with the views of the military and the reactionary elements. It represented also the defeat of the Law Department of the Kyoto Imperial University, which had long been the stronghold of liberalism and academic freedom and marked the beginning of the government's systematic attempt to drive out antimilitaristic, liberal professors from the higher institutions of learning.

The affair had its inception in the Diet in January 1933, when a Seiyukai member of the Diet, Miyazawa Yutaka, raised the question of "red" professors at the two Imperial

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<sup>4</sup>Chitoshi Yanaga, Theory of the Japanese State, pp. 131-132. unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1935.

universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. Education Minister Hatoyama promptly responded by declaring that he would take disciplinary action against such professors. Hatoyama's determination to dismiss Professor Takikawa was met with the strong resistance of the entire Law Department of Kyoto Imperial University, which submitted resignation en masse. Students backed the professors by holding a mass meeting and issued a public statement condemning the Education Ministry for its reactionary stand. On May 26 the movement to protect the university and liberalism spread to other imperial universities. However, the Saito Cabinet scored a victory as the leading professors of the Law Department were dropped.<sup>5</sup>

Neckel goes further in explaining the incident and its results:

It was suddenly announced that Dr. Takikawa, professor of politics in the Imperial University Law School, had been commended to resign his post because of his open refusal to conform to the established political views of his country. He was condemned by the authorities for communistic tendencies.

The students became enraged and demanded his immediate reinstatement, but the Minister of Education, who had ordered his dismissal, remained adamant. The student body promptly went on strike. And a few days later some six thousand students in the Tokyo Imperial University, 400 miles away, staged a sympathy strike for the first time in history. The strike was given wide publicity. Some editors condemned the universities for teaching heretical politics. Others criticized the arbitrary stand of the government. A series of incidents precipitated a pitched battle between students and the police. Blood was spilled on both sides. Many students were arrested and charged with possessing "dangerous thoughts." Public opinion at length began to side definitely with the students. Thus to avert a national crisis, the Minister of Education acted in a bold way. A strict censorship was clamped on the press. In the name of the Emperor students were ordered to resume their work at once, or the universities involved would be closed for the rest of the year. The united force of throne and government was behind that ultimatum. To go farther would be to rebel against the Emperor himself. And that was farther than even the hottest heads would go. School was resumed within a few days. Professor Takikawa was out and his career ruined.

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<sup>5</sup>Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 507.

✓ This incident demonstrated to the government that it must tighten its hold on the virile youth of the Empire. A recurrence of such shameful disregard for authority must be prevented. The result has been greater restrictions and an increase of national propaganda. Strikes are now things of the past. Student rebellions are regarded as seditious activity against the government.<sup>6</sup>

By 1934, ultranationalists both outside of and within the government were looking toward some sort of educational revision which would contribute to the success of the programs they advocated. The following article gives a picture of militarist aims and the part education would play in their fulfillment:

Japanese army leaders have served notice on civilian educational authorities that the entire educational system must be drastically reformed in accordance with definitely outlined conceptions. They have made it clear that unless the reforms they ask are promptly applied, they intend to take charge of the educational system themselves, with the support of Nationalist civilian groups.

What are the reforms which the army demands? The public utterances and writings of army leaders provide the answer to this question. Briefly, the army and its Nationalist supporters insist that the nation's entire attention should be concentrated upon expanding and consolidating the Eastern Asiatic Empire which they regard as Japan's "manifest destiny."

For more than two decades, they declare, international-minded Japanese have diverted the nation from its destined path. Often uncertain themselves what they desired, such leaders are declared to have associated themselves and their country with such international undertakings as the League of Nations to the detriment of the only program which will give Japan the position to which it is entitled: namely, an unassailable dominant control of Eastern Asia.

✓ The expansion and consolidation of this Eastern Asiatic Empire, they declare, is probably the work of several generations. The children of Japan should therefore be trained to carry on this task, and the present educational system is not properly devised to that end.

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<sup>6</sup>p. E. Eckel, "Student and State in Imperial Japan," Education, October 1938, 59:118-122.



.....There has been considerable resistance to the army's proposed domination of the educational system, not because any group object to the expansion policy, but because army leaders are not believed capable of directing a balanced educational program. Army leaders are regarded as men with "one-track minds" who want to use the educational system for a single purpose, whereas more thoughtful Japanese realize it should serve several.

.....The army, however, initiated the revival of the expansion policy, which has aroused so much popular enthusiasm, and the army is pressing for domestic reforms which appeal to the popular imagination. Popular support is therefore assured for the army's insistence upon educational reforms, and the educational system is already being reshaped to mold the conviction of the oncoming generation that an Eastern Asiatic Empire is Japan's "manifest destiny," the attainment of which is the primary purpose of all national effort.<sup>7</sup>

And the official views of the Minister of Education at that time were revealed in this interview:

An educational revolution as remarkable as the one that occurred when medieval Japan adopted overnight modern educational methods is now taking place in that country, according to Willard Price, special correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune. This revolution consists of an effort to hold all that has been gained and at the same time step back to the ways of the past. Strong nationalism, which has swept back in to vogue throughout the world, is nowhere more evident than in Japan.

His excellency, Ichiro Hatoyama, minister of education for the empire, is more powerful than the education official of any other country.....

Mr. Hatoyama stated in an interview with Mr. Price, that "the progress of Japanese education is owed very much to the educational methods of the West. But as a result of over sixty years' experience, we are now able to develop a method peculiar to this country."

.....The most distinctive characteristic of education in Japan is, according to Mr. Hatoyama, "that we are fostering national morality through Japanese history illustrating the national character of Japan. This is the basis of our

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<sup>7</sup>Domarea Bass, "Education in Japan," School and Society, 10 February 1934, 39:183-185.

national education."<sup>8</sup>

Pressures such as these for educational change continued to grow along various lines, and these were brought into sharp focus by the Minobe case of 1934. Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, a recognized authority on constitutional law, a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, and a member of the House of Peers, had, during the 1920's written three books on Japanese constitutional law which expressed a number of views which were at variance with those held by the extreme ultranationalist groups. Discussion of the matter was carried into the Diet "when retired General Baron Kikuchi Takeo raised a question in the House of Peers regarding the renovation of national morale and the regulation of publications."<sup>9</sup> Byss gives a more complete explanation of the case than most other sources:

When a back-bench peer, Baron Takeo Kikuchi, made a speech in the upper House declaring Minobe's teachings to be disloyal, the public did not at first take him seriously and Dr. Minobe did not conceal his contempt. The press learned, however, that the army was interested. General Mazaki, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, issued instructions to divisional commanders on the subject, and General Hayashi, the Minister for War, gave the Prime Minister an "advice" and told reporters that he was ready to give another if necessary.

Dr. Minobe's contempt was excused by the palpable fact that his critics did not understand his theory and had not the qualifications needed to judge or amend it. They were convinced that Minobe was a heretic of the worst kind, yet they were unable to formulate an intelligible theory to take the place of his. The positions were irreconcilable; Minobe was arguing law and they were asserting mystical dogma.

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<sup>8</sup>"The Reorganization of Japanese Educational Ideology," School and Society, 3 March 1934, 39:262-263.

<sup>9</sup>Tenaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 507.

Minobe was accused of teaching that the throne was an organ, or institution, of the state. ....serious criticism was offered by Professor Kyokki Minoda, professor in an institution called the Kokushiken (National Spirit) College. Minobe's heresy according to Minoda, was this: "From Minobe's theory of the throne as an organ of the state it follows that the state is a juridical person, and the Emperor is its representative. The Emperor therefore does not possess the governing powers but is entrusted with them. An organ is an instrument or a means. Now, "continues Minoda, "a means serves an object. If the means no longer serves the object we can change the instrument. This is pure Chinese or Western revolutionism, which holds that the sovereign can be expelled for the benefit of the people. Minobe is theoretically a materialistic individualist and morally an anarchist."

Minobe replied to his parliamentary critics from the rostrum of the House of Peers. He explained that his teachings dealt with legal theory. In law, he said, right connotes interest. If the sovereignty of the state is the Emperor's personal right it follows that it could be used for his personal interests--an interpretation "quite incompatible with the peerless national polity of Japan. The Emperor's sovereignty is to be regarded as power, not as right in the legal sense, and it is to be exercised under the provisions of the Constitution, not as absolute and unlimited power. The state is a permanent living body; the Emperor is its head, and exercises sovereignty as its representative. He is the embodiment of the state."

The defense might have gone down well enough in a gathering of jurists. The House of Peers, though its benches were crowded with his former students, received it so coldly that the learned professor was abashed and made no further effort to teach the legislature constitutional law. He realized that constitutional law was a lost cause.<sup>10</sup>

Next Dr. Minobe was tried on a lese-majeste charge. After a trial lasting eight months the charges were dropped, but Minobe was reprimanded, and subsequently:

He resigned from the House of Peers, ceased lecturing and writing, gave up his house near the Imperial University, moved out to a new suburb, and effaced himself. The Cabinet had already yielded to army pressure and ordered the three

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<sup>10</sup> Hugh L. Byas, Government by Assassination, pp. 271-273.

books to be suppressed.<sup>11</sup>

While the case was still going on steps were being taken by the ultranationalist forces to enhance the legal position of their views. Speaking of the Minobe trial and its aftermath, Yanaga states:

This legal action was followed on March 20 by the House of Peers resolution proposing "the renovation of national thought" (seikyō sashin) and two days later by the House of Representatives resolution calling for the "clarification of national polity," which had become a euphemism for the suppression of liberals and liberal ideas, which were deemed in conflict with rightist ideologies. Rightist groups simultaneously launched a movement for the rejection of the "organ theory." On April 4 Inspector General of Military Education Mazeki issued directives to all army personnel calling attention to the subjects' duty of loyalty to the Throne and emphasizing that the "organ theory" was incompatible with the concept of "national polity."<sup>12</sup>

Brown points out that:

Still, the army and various Reconstruction groups were not content, and the pressure on the cabinet increased. In October the government was forced to issue a statement clarifying its position on kokutai--emphasizing that it did not accept the Minobe interpretation. But the turmoil continued. Several Minobe sympathizers were forced to resign from their posts, and an attempt was even made on Minobe's life.<sup>13</sup>

Hall says that: "on October 15, 1935, the Imperial Cabinet issued a statement in which the most conservative interpretation of the Kokutai was officially accepted. Sovereignty was held to reside eternally and unalterably with the Emperor."<sup>14</sup>

Just what was this concept of Kokutai to which so much attention was being given? While it is usually translated into

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, pp. 507-508.

<sup>13</sup>Delmer M. Brown, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>14</sup>Robert K. Bell, Shushin, p. 66.

English as "national polity" or "national entity", it is actually in its fullest meaning impossible of translation into any single foreign word or phrase. Perhaps the best summation available of the connotations of, and the concepts expressed by, kokutai is given in Yanaga's dissertation:

It must be remembered that a great deal of confusion exists in the interpretation of Kokutai due to the introduction of western ideas. Many students of politics in Japan give it a western interpretation while others give it a strictly Japanese interpretation. There is also a group which combines the two points of view.

There are today at least three different schools of thought with reference to the concept of Kokutai. The first school considers that Kokutai is determined by the location of sovereignty. Exponents of this view are Doctors Hozumi Yatsuka, Shimizu Kiyoshi, Uyesugi Shinkichi, Ichimura Mitsue, Sasaki Soichi, and Matsumoto Shigetoshi all of whom believe that Kokutai becomes a question of where sovereignty resides.

The second school believes that Kokutai is determined by the organization of the sovereign power of the supreme organ of the state. Dr. Onozuka Kiheji states that Kokutai is a distinction based upon the organization of the highest organ of the state. Dr. Oda Yorozu conceives of the Kokutai as the manifestation of the organization of the sovereign power of the state. Dr. Minobe Tatsukichi definitely states that Kokutai, the form of state with reference to the organization of the machinery of the state, is identical to the form of government.

The third school differs from either of the other two schools in that it looks at Kokutai not from a juristic or legalistic point of view but rather from an ethicoreligious point of view. Dr. Kakehi Katsuhiko interprets it in the light of Shinto ideas while Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro views it from the point of national morality. Even Dr. Minobe states that Kokutai is not a simple juristic concept but that it is the fundamental spirit underlying the formation of the state. In this respect he agrees with Dr. Kakehi who is specific in stating that Kokutai is the form of the state which has been determined and is being determined by the spirit of the founding of the empire.

Kokutai, in the meaning given by the first two schools, is applicable to states in general and cannot be restricted to the Japanese state. However it is with the interpretation given by the third school that the mass of the people find



themselves in accord.

Used exclusively in the Japanese sense, Kokutai is a natural development and growth, both in its concept and in its manifestations. It is almost an instinctive sentiment of nationalism. Although the word did not come into currency until the Tokugawa period, the concept and sentiment have been an indigenous growth just as much as Shinto has been. It can be said that the concept of Kokutai and Shinto have had a parallel growth throughout history. The concept developed and evolved for the greater part of its existence practically independent of the Western concept of the state. It had grown in isolation for many centuries although Chinese ideas came in to influence some of its phases. This can be seen by the fact that the doctrine of the divinity of the land has never been abandoned. On the contrary, it has been fortified by men like Kitabatake Chikafusa and Motoori Norinaga.

In simplest term, Kokutai is the sum total of the characteristics of the Japanese state plus the national consciousness and awareness of the people. A single line of ruling family during a period of some three thousand years, the absolute and unmistakable relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the identity of loyalty and patriotism, the common destiny and mission of the ruler and the ruled, the doctrine of the collective family, ancestor worship, "centripetal Mikadomism," the doctrine of divinity of the land, all serve, each in its own peculiar way as an element, to form the Kokutai concept. Kokutai involves more than just the form of organization or the location of sovereign power; it includes the ideals, traditions, and aspirations of the people as well as their consciousness of and pride in the special characteristics of the Japanese state. In short, Kokutai represents the totality of the Japanese state in all its aspects, ethical, moral, religious, legal, political, economic, and social.<sup>15</sup>

The Kokutai idea and its accompanying concept of "Japanese Spirit" received increasing attention as the Thirties wore on. This is reflected in government edicts, such as Education Ministry Instruction Number 4, issued April 10, 1935, and entitled: "The Responsibility for Education and Science Is to Make Clear The Imperial Foundation of Japan."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Yanaga, Theory of the Japanese State, pp. 132-135.

<sup>16</sup>Appendix D.

It was also noted in the speeches of Japanese officials at the Pan Pacific New Education Conference in August of 1935:

Unity, loyalty, labor, respect, the spirit of Shinto, and the continuity of Japan with the traditions of her heroic past were the themes most frequently dwelt on by the Japanese speakers. The basis of the modern system was traced to the Imperial Rescript on Education issued by the Emperor Meiji in 1890. At the same time other sources were admitted as contributing to the preeminently moral temper of Japanese education, notably the influence of Shinto as a national religion, the traditions of the bushido of the samurai kept alive through training of the youth in kendo and judo, but above all the earnest and forward looking spirit of the Japanese people themselves.<sup>17</sup>

This drive to make clear the national entity was of course not limited to official pronouncement, private support and the formal educational system. In a nation such as Japan, in which the bulk of the population had attended only the elementary schools, it was necessary to utilize all available channels for the inculcation of the "Japanese Spirit." So in 1936 a Bureau of Information was set up to accomplish the above general objectives. The immediate background and the organization of the bureau are outlined as follows:

It was stated that the government would set up a bureau of information to be responsible for the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of all information, both at home and abroad. Under this central bureau there were to be intelligence bureaus in each ministry, and each of these bureaus was to establish branches in every prefecture and in every "necessary" foreign country. Then in order that the information network might utilize and control all organizations that could be of assistance in directing the thoughts and attitudes of the people, all the political, social, cultural, religious, labor, youth, and business organizations were to be encouraged, and if necessary forced, to unite into a single, powerful body. A similar unity was to be

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<sup>17</sup>Marie Swabey, "Pan Pacific New Education Conference," School and Society, 9 November 1935, 40:653.

fostered among Japanese groups abroad. Furthermore, a national body was to be set up in each of the following fields of communication and entertainment: press, radio, moving pictures, publication, drama, music and art.

After outlining this integrated organizational structure, the statement then proceeded to set forth principles to be followed in the collection of intelligence and in the dissemination of information and propaganda. Regarding domestic propaganda, "thought education" was placed at the head of the list, although the preservation of health restrictions on consumption, and the increase of production were also given high priority. In "thought education" attention was first directed to the schools. Various methods were to be followed to "guide the staffs of various schools and research institutes so that they would conduct propaganda on their own initiative, but in accordance with the policy of the authorities." The statement then outlined principles for the supervision and control of newspapers, radiobroadcasts, magazines, books, pamphlets, posters, manifestos, mottos, motion pictures, plays, concerts, records, painting, photography, sculpture, the fine arts, exhibitions, and lectures. Detailed policies were outlined also for foreign propaganda.

Although Japan was not yet involved in war, the conservative militarists who were then in power began immediately to implement certain aspects of the program. In July 1936, the Bureau of Information (Joho Bu) was established. Its purpose, according to an article in one of its own publications, was to provide "accurate information on internal and external affairs," but later on in the same article it was explained that "the basic purpose of internal publicity in Japan is to unite all members of the nation in one spirit and promote the consolidation of their spiritual life."<sup>18</sup>

Continued emphasis upon the use of education to foster adherence to national aims is indicated by the inclusion of "the renovation and improvement of education" as one section of the seven point program announced by the Hirota cabinet on 25 August 1936.<sup>19</sup>

1936 was also the year in which a comprehensive organizational

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<sup>18</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 209-210.

<sup>19</sup>Kenaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 526.

revision of the educational system was worked out through the planning stage. This Hiroo plan, named after the Minister of Education who sponsored it was, however, never put into effect and so has little practical bearing on this topic.<sup>20</sup>

The year 1937 was perhaps one of the most important of the period if for no other reason than that on 25 March, the later notorious Kokutai no Honrei was published. This book was the result of the previously mentioned agitation for the "clarification of national polity." Frequently accepted translations of the are: Principles of Kokutai<sup>21</sup> and Cardinal Principles of the National Entity.<sup>22</sup> The aims of the Japanese government in compiling this volume were stated in a paragraph within it, entitled "Consciousness of Our National Entity," which reads as follows:

Paradoxical and extreme conceptions, such as socialism, anarchy, and communism, are all based in the final analysis on individualism which is the root of modern Occidental ideologies, and are no more than varied forms of their expressions. In the Occident, too, where individualism forms the basis of their ideas, they have, when it comes to communism, been unable to adopt it; so that now they are about to do away with their traditional individualism, which has led to the rise of totalitarianism and nationalism and incidentally to the upspringing of Fascism and Nazism. That is, it can be said that both in the Occident and in our country the deadlock of individualism has led alike to a season of ideological and social confusion and crisis. We shall leave aside for a while the question of finding a way out of the present deadlock, for, as far as it concerns our country, we must return to the standpoint peculiar to our country, clarify our immortal national entity, sweep aside everything in the way of adulation, bring into being our original condition, and at the same time rid ourselves of bigotry, and strive all the more to take in and sublimate Occidental culture; for we should give to basic things their

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<sup>20</sup>Hall, Education in A New Japan, pp. 229-230.

Also: Keenleyside and Thomas, op. cit., pp. 137-145.

<sup>21</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>22</sup>Hall, Education in a New Japan, p. 168.



proper place, giving due weight to minor things, and should build up a sagacious and worthy Japan. This means that the present conflict seen in our people's ideas, the unrest in their modes of life, the confused state of their civilization, can be put right only by a thorough investigation by us of the intrinsic nature of Occidental ideologies and by grasping the true meaning of our national entity. Then, too, this should be done not only for the sake of our nation but for the sake of the entire human race which is struggling to find a way out of the deadlock with which individualism is faced. Herein lies our grave cosmopolitan mission. It is for this reason that we have compiled the Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan, to trace clearly the genesis of the nation's foundation, to define its great spirit, to set forth clearly at the same time the features the national entity has manifested in history, and to provide the present generation with an elucidation of the matter, and thus to awaken the people's consciousness and their efforts.<sup>23</sup>

In another volume, Hall explains the authorship, authority and influence of the Kokutai no Hongi:

The original authorship of the Kokutai no Hongi must be attributed to Hisamatsu Sen-ichi, but three revisions of his draft by a Compilation Committee of fourteen well-known professors and historical scholars, convened by the Ministry of Education and the National Spiritual Cultural Research Institute, left little of the original text. But the real authorship was that of the Chief Editor, Ito Enkichi, Chief of the Bureau of Thought Control, in the Ministry of Education, who practically rewrote the entire manuscript.

The authority of the Kokutai no Hongi was based on two factors: the popular recognition of the successes of the governments which had followed the Meiji Restoration; and the authoritarianism and police force of the government bureau which was the issuing agent. The authority of the Monbusho, or Ministry of Education, was that of any other national ministry in a country which has the traditional French type of educational organization. It controlled all curricula, all schools, all textbooks, the preparation and employment of all teachers, and the admission and promotion of all students. If the Kokutai no Hongi had been issued by any of the several bureaus and departments of that Ministry it would have carried very great weight with all educators in Japan. But when it was the product of the Bureau of Thought Control, which worked in close liaison with the

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<sup>23</sup>Cauntlett and Hall, op. cit., pp. 54-55.



dreaded Kenpei-tai and other secret police organs in investigating "improper thoughts," the volume took on the authority of fear. It would be a brave man who dared to voice either publicly or privately doubt of the political ideology formulated and systematized by the government agency which, in a single decade, had caused the arrest of more than 60,000 people for politically "unacceptable thoughts."

The influence of the Kokutai no Hongi was very great. In the first place it had a tremendous circulation, selling in the first six years following its publication 1,900,000 official copies, 23,300 private reprints, and 51,200 quotations in full in other volumes. In the second place it was made required reading in all schools above the secondary level in Japan, and was required in service study for all teachers employed at the elementary and secondary school levels. In all questions of interpretation of governmental policy and national ethics in the schools, the Kokutai-no-Hongi was the official standard.<sup>24</sup>

1937 was doubly significant since it was the year during which the "China Incident" began. In order to promote the degree of national unity desirable under wartime conditions a number of steps were taken after July of that year.

First, there was the portion of the Konoye cabinet's "national defense structure" plan, calling for "the revamping of education to meet the needs of new conditions in East Asia."<sup>25</sup>

Second, the Bureau of Information was enlarged and reorganized. All types of educational and informational media were to be more carefully utilized for propaganda purposes. During the latter half of 1937 this had even been extended to the preparation and distribution by the government of illustrated propaganda stories for use by the Kamishibai (candy-vendor storytellers).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Hall, Shushin, pp. 55-57.

<sup>25</sup>Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 532.

<sup>26</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 210-215.

### Third:

The movement for total national spiritual mobilization to whip public opinion into shape for the "holy war" in China was launched in the fall of 1937. The headquarters of the movement, the Central Federation for National Spiritual Mobilization, was set up on October 12, a week after President Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech", under the joint auspices and supervision of the War, Education, and Home Ministries, and the Cabinet Information Bureau. Nearly one hundred civilian organizations were mobilized to carry on a propaganda program, which proved to be woefully ineffective, never going much beyond turning out slogans that virtually flooded the country.<sup>27</sup>

And finally in December an Educational Deliberative Council was appointed with the job of outlining necessary revisions for the reorientation of education in view of the "New order in East Asia."<sup>28</sup>

March of 1938 saw the passage of the National General Mobilization Bill, which included a provision for placing all media of information under a system of censorship.<sup>29</sup> As the year moved on, even more drastic changes affecting the total educational picture were made, as indicated by Brown:

The rulers were determined to keep the national feelings of the people at a high pitch. Efforts in this direction were particularly noteworthy after the summer of 1938, when those in authority came round to the view that the Chinese conflict was not to be settled easily and that a far more determined effort was required. It was then that the Konoye cabinet was "reconstructed" in order to bring in men who would be better able to give momentum and direction to a drive against the dangers threatening the future of Japan. General Araki was appointed Minister of Education, and with his usual enthusiasm and energy he set to work directing education toward spiritual goals. By public speeches and departmental instructions he emphasized the importance of spiritual and moral education. In June 1938, he sent an

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<sup>27</sup> Tanaka, Japan Since Perry, pp. 532-533.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 549.

<sup>29</sup> Borton, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

order to all school officials, which stated: "Now is a time when we must bear clearly in mind the true significance of the present situation, manifest the ideal underlying the founding of our Empire, assimilate the culture of the East and the West with lofty aspirations, and endeavor to establish a new order of peace on earth. With a glorious national structure to begin with, the people would work all the harder toward promoting the spirit of loyalty to the Emperor and service to the country. The whole nation must unite and go forward to master the situation.<sup>30</sup>

Other changes affecting students and the educational system were of a military nature:

Military preparations were greatly stepped up during the latter half of 1933. Effective April 1, military training had been made compulsory in all the schools of the nation. Beginning in July the Navy started giving university students a taste of navy life through training cruises and life aboard warships, while the army embarked upon a program of training fifteen-to-eighteen year olds as volunteers for the tank corps. In September the Army Press Section, which had been particularly active since 1934 in propaganda work, was reorganized and expanded into a full-fledged Army Information Bureau in anticipation of ever greater demands upon it. This was followed on October 15 by the War Ministry extending the period of compulsory military service.<sup>31</sup>

The year 1939 opened with the last of the widely publicized cases involving University faculties. This one, the result of ideological quarrels within the faculty of Tokyo Imperial University was reported thus by School and Society:

A wireless message from Hugh Byes to The New York Times dated from Tokyo on Monday, January 30, announces that efforts to purge the economic faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University of liberal and nationalist elements has ended in complete disruption of the faculty by the resignation of Professor Fumio Yamada, the dismissal of Professor Eihiro

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<sup>30</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 210-211. The above statement was issued by General Areki as an Education Ministry Instruction of 29 June 1933.

also: Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 537,  
and Borton, op. cit., p. 353.

<sup>31</sup>Yanaga, Japan Since Perry, p. 534.

Kawai, a liberal, and Professor Seibi Hijikata, a nationalist, and the resignation of nine others with nationalist sympathies.

Mr. Byes states that there had been quarrels between liberal and nationalist professors for a year. Last week the university's new president, Rear Admiral Yuzuru Hiraga, a retired professor of naval architecture, in an effort to terminate the feud in the economic faculty, asked Professors Kawai and Hijikata to resign. Professor Kawai is under examination by the judicial authorities for publishing books expressing liberal views. Admiral Hiraga acted without the approval of the faculty. When both professors refused to resign, the admiral went to the Education Department whose head is General Sadao Araki, and obtained their suspension.

As a protest against the president's action, Professor Yamada immediately resigned and was followed by nine members of the faculty, all with fascist views, in sympathy with Professor Hijikata. In a statement to the press they say that Professor Chogoro Maide, dean of economics is a Marxist, whereas they train students to have political views suited to the country.

Professor Kawai stated that he would have resigned if the faculty had advised him to do so, but that he refused to resign on the suggestion that he was responsible for the dispute in the university. Professor Hijikata denied that he had been a disturbing influence in the university as the president alleged. He declared he had endeavored to expunge Marxist ideas and inculcate nationalist principles.

In recent years liberal professors have been dismissed and some have been imprisoned for alleged communist views, and hundreds of students have been imprisoned while their alleged Marxist sympathies were investigated.

Admiral Hiraga's appointment as president last year was made after the former president had resigned in a quarrel with the Education Ministry over the manner of selecting professors.<sup>32</sup>

Araki's disposition of the affair leaves little doubt that the day for argument by Japanese educators was past, and that conformity to the "Japanese Spirit" was simply something to be under-

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<sup>32</sup>"Dismissals From The Faculty of The Tokyo Imperial University", School and Society, 4 February 1939, 49:140.

stood and not a matter in which there was room for discussion.

The main trend in 1939 was not toward direct changes in the formal educational system itself, but rather was aimed at producing a more effective propaganda machine. The motion picture industry was first to be directly affected in that year:

In March, 1939, the Diet enacted the Motion-Picture Law which was the first important effort of the Japanese government to use moving pictures as an instrument of national policy. There had been certain controls, including censorship of finished films; but with the enactment of this law the government assumed direct control over the production and distribution of all films. It required that scenarios be submitted for approval in advance of production, and it assumed the right to control the distribution of films. Even for the establishment and construction of theaters, licenses were required, and certain "designated pictures" had to be shown by all theaters. "Competent ministers" were obligated to recommend pictures that would contribute to the "advancement of national culture."<sup>33</sup>

The activities of the aforementioned Bureau of Information were soon expanded:

Under this program, thought control became far more effective, for it was no longer limited primarily to censorship and other negative forms of control but was extended to the actual direction of thoughts and feelings. Japanese nationals were not merely kept from expressing certain thoughts and sentiments but were told repeatedly and through various channels what views and beliefs they should hold on all major national issues.

In carrying out "spiritual mobilization" State Shinto and the publication system ere of course relied on, but gradually all communication channels and all types of entertainment were used. Since Japan had become one of the most literate countries in the world, and since her people were avid readers, much attention was given to the control of the publication of newspapers, books, and magazines.<sup>34</sup>

The use of radio for propaganda purposes is also emphasized by

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<sup>33</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid. pp. 211-212.



Brown:

After 1936 all programs were closely censored and were placed under supervision of the Bureau of Information. The news, of course, contained only those items and those slants approved by the authorities. After the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937, the programs were more carefully planned in order to provide a more effective means of channeling the thoughts of the populace along approved lines. In January 1938, a ten-minute period beginning at 7:30 p.m., a time with an extremely high listener rate, was taken over by the government. On this program, officials made statements, explanations, and appeals of various types.

The government considered radiobroadcasting so important to its "publicity and information" program that it made special attempts to increase the number of set owners. Radios were given away in some of the poorer villages and the subscription and registration fees were cancelled for large families and for those with men at the front.<sup>35</sup>

The importance of radio as an informational and educational media in Japan during those years is further elaborated in this article:

Educational broadcasting plays an important role in Japan's centralized radio system. In an article on the Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Broadcasting Corporation of Japan), printed in World Education for July, M. Oshima, secretary, Japan Education Association, describes the radio system as "a semi-governmental and semi-private enterprise which has under its control ten broadcasting stations in various parts of the country." .....Its general program policies are formulate "by an editorial committee of distinguished individuals in all fields," including the educational and political.

"Two and one-half hours a day are allotted to education by the ten stations. ...."Social and school education" are the fields covered in the educational broadcasts. Topics such as culture, religion, military affairs, diplomacy, literature, art, science and language are discussed in these broadcasts.

...."For the promotion of national health, directions for physical exercises are broadcast three times a day, once for the primary grades. Each morning the children listen to talks of a moral character. Special programs are prepared to widen the cultural and professional outlook of the

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid. pp. 212-213.

elementary school teachers."<sup>36</sup>

Another educational event of consequence in 1939 was the issuance on 22 May, of the Imperial Rescript Given Young Students. This reads:

The duty of Our subjects is to foster national entity, to cultivate national power, and thus eternally maintain the trend of our national growth is heavy and its road far. The realization of these aims is upon the shoulders of you students, young in age. We command you to respect valour and virtues, put honor above all things, consider the history of the past and the present; and by observing the trend of Our country and of the world clarify your own thinking, deepen and widen your outlook, and never lose sight of balance and the sense of justice in the realization of your aim; and by fully understanding your own talent and duty, cultivate your literary power, learn military discipline, and cultivate and muster the spirit of fortitude and manliness; thus accomplishing the Great Duty that has been placed upon your shoulders.<sup>37</sup>

The rescript above is another example of the type of exhortation characteristic of Japanese governmental pronouncements which seemed to the Westerner to be vague, rather meaningless, and even somewhat sentimental in character. Coming as it did in the wake of such a concentrated propaganda campaign inside and outside of formal education, its seemingly obtuse phraseology no doubt carried much more weight than seems possible to the casual Western reader. The phrases "national entity", "trend of our national growth", "Great Duty", had over the years acquired such significance as to make them "loaded" with connotations far beyond their exact dictionary definition.

Thus ends a period in which, with a minimum of actual organ-

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<sup>36</sup>"Radio Education in Japan", School and Society, 3 August 1940, 52:70.

<sup>37</sup>This translation appears in Hall, Education for a New Japan, p. 179.

izational and administrative revision of the school system, the Japanese total educational system effectively moved far toward being a prime instrument for the achievement of a state of ultranationalistic, totalitarian character. During the period this was largely achieved by the pressure of propaganda, personal and political pressures by the ultranationalists, and by the activities of government agencies other than the Ministry of Education. 1940 clearly belongs in the next phase, since it marks the beginning of extensive internal revisions of organization and course content in keeping with the increased degree of mobilization necessitated by the international situation.

#### EDUCATION ON A WARTIME BASIS (1940-1945)

The year 1940 stands out in Japanese educational history primarily for the reason that it was then that the first general reorganization of elementary and secondary education in the period covered by this study was planned. These changes, which were to go into effect early in the following year, were clearly intended to make the educational system a more effective part of a society geared for war.

Early in the year, proposed revisions of history texts were announced:

In an attempt to intensify Japanese nationalism, the committee of the Ministry of Education on the review of text books has ordered revision of certain sections of history texts which are used in the fifth year of the lower schools and the first year of the higher elementary schools. The points to be considered in the revision, according to a report in The Christian Science Monitor are:

1. That the attitude toward the "Imperial Principles" be made "more positive."
2. That sections dealing with reverence for ancient deities of Japan and devotion to ancestry be enlarged. These are the chief features of Shinto worship, which has played an increasingly important role in Japanese life.
3. That the independence and range of Japanese culture be emphasized and the role of foreign culture be subordinated.
4. That "broad knowledge" be emphasized and replace individual biographies or other material which encourages hero worship.

Thus the Japanese are endeavoring to teach the people in their own country and in the parts of China occupied by the Japanese that "almost everything of value starts from Japanese origins." The report states that already the public's ideas of Japan's indebtedness to the culture of China and the West have been altered from the true historic facts.<sup>1</sup>

More important was the National School reform outlined in the following comments:

On March 9, 1940, the Ministry of Education announced the completion of a plan of sweeping reforms of the school system which was to be initiated with the beginning of the following academic year in April 1941. This plan, known as the National School Reform, reflected the growing sense of nationalism in Japan. The old elementary schools of sho gakko and koto sho gakko were replaced by a National School (kokumin gakko) of eight years, divided into an upper cycle of two years and a lower cycle of six. The curriculum, although it did not undergo radical changes in subjects and hours, actually was markedly changed by a reorientation of the subjects toward extreme nationalism. Vocational training and physical education received increased emphasis. The teaching staff, which in Japan has traditionally been a respected though somewhat conformist professional group, was reduced to the position of mouthpiece for official propaganda. Military officers were placed in key positions and held superior jurisdiction over the students.<sup>2</sup>

The entire movement for the establishment of the New National Structure was thought of as a necessary first step in preparing the nation for assuming the responsibilities

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<sup>1</sup>"Japan Repudiates Her Indebtedness to Foreign Culture" School and Society, 20 January 1940, 51:75.

<sup>2</sup>Countlett and Hall, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

entailed in setting up the new order in Greater East Asia. But nationalist thought after the summer of 1940 was also more definitely directed against Western exploitation and against Western liberalism--not merely toward strengthening the Japanese spirit. As the psychologists would put it, nationalism was now characterized more by negative identification than by positive identification.

The new orientation in nationalist thought can be seen in all forms of expression. But for an illustration of the nature and strength of the movement, let us turn to the emphasis in the new educational reforms that were adopted in the spring of 1941. As an integral part of the New National Structure movement the educational system, too, was reorganized. The primary schools thereafter were to be called national schools (kokumin gakko) and education was to be compulsory for eight years, rather than six. But of greater significance was the fact that all educational activities should glorify the principles of the Imperial Way, foster the national spirit, and strengthen "faith in the national policy." Furthermore, all students were to be made familiar with the general situation in eastern Asia so that they would become conscious of Japan's position and responsibilities. Approximately a third of the curriculum was given over to such national training.<sup>3</sup>

The nationalistic character of this reform movement becomes quite clear upon examination of the directives issued in March 1941 for its implementation. Particularly this is true of the portions dealing with course objectives.<sup>4</sup>

The drive to fit Japan for her "mission" continued. Educators as well as other government officials took part in the shaping of public opinion to serve the ends of expansionist ultranationalism.

A professor of the Tokyo Imperial University wrote in August, 1940, that "the Japanese race, which is fighting for the New East Asia order, should be regarded also as charged with the mission of fighting for a new order in the Pacific."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix E. for the course objectives contained in Ministry Order Number 4, of 14 March 1941.

<sup>5</sup>Brown, op. cit., quoting Kamikawa Hikomatsu, p. 216.



Still greater control was exerted over the mass media of communication by expansion of the authority of the Cabinet Information Board<sup>6</sup> and by extension of greater control over the motion picture industry.<sup>7</sup> Early in 1941 control of the press was strengthened with the formation of the Japan Publishers Association under government auspices.<sup>8</sup>

The National School Reform, with the exception of the provision for lengthening compulsory education to eight years, was put into effect on schedule. The reform was implemented by Ministry Order Number 4 of 14 March 1941, and went into effect on 1 April 1941.<sup>9</sup> (The first of April is the date on which Japan's school year officially begins.)

The third item of what one might call a trilogy of Japanese nationalism appeared in the summer of 1941. This was the Shinmin no Michi (Way of the Subject). The other two items being the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Kokutai no Honri. Hall gives the background of this volume:

What did the prewar Japanese government say about the position of the individual in relation to his sovereign? It issued a small booklet, Shinmin no Michi ("Way of the Subject").....

The Japanese Ministry of Education in 1943 denied all knowledge of the authorship, editions, sales, and disposition of the book, claiming that all records were deliberately destroyed by fire just before the first American forces entered Tokyo in September, 1945. Reliable Japanese sources, whose identity for obvious reasons must remain undisclosed, state that it was compiled by the Kyogoku-kyoku or Bureau

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<sup>6</sup> Ambree, op. cit., p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix E. for excerpts.

of Indoctrination, which was the title that the old Shiso-Kyoku, or Bureau of Thought Control, had assumed on July 21, 1937. In the first half-year of its publication, the Shinmin no Michi exceeded 680,000 official copies, 330,000 authorized private copies, and 1,470,000 authorized commentaries.<sup>10</sup>

This highly nationalistic volume outlines the Western colonialism and imperialism in the Asiatic-Pacific area, points out the alleged superiority of Japanese 'moral' values and stresses Japan's "mission" to liberate and enlighten the nations of eastern Asia. It then goes on to review the concepts already pointed out in the Kokutai no Honri and then concludes:

This is the very moment that the Japanese nation should thoroughly understand the fundamental character of the Empire, eliminate selfish and utilitarian ideas, enhance national morals of service to the state as prior to all, have keen insight into the international situation, and fulfill the duty of the people with indomitable and unflinching determination, thereby diffusing the glorious and great principle of the Japanese Empire to the world.<sup>11</sup>

In August of 1941 the last pre-Pearl Harbor revision of regulations concerning the Youth Schools were issued. It might be well to explain that the youth schools had been established in 1935, in order to provide educational opportunities above the elementary level for students able to attend school only on a part time basis.<sup>12</sup> They were established at a time when ultranationalism was becoming rampant and from the first were more under the sway of ultranationalist and militarist ideas than were other schools. The Ministry of Education Instruction Number 19, of 21 August 1935 (As revised in 1939 and 1941) clearly shows the

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<sup>10</sup>Hall, Shushin, pp. 68-69.

<sup>11</sup>Otto D. Tolochus, Tokyo Record, (Appendix A), pp. 426-427.

<sup>12</sup>Hall, Education for a New Japan, p. 244.

extent to which indoctrination was a part of their work.<sup>13</sup>

Now apparently well prepared for a wartime situation, the educational system underwent few changes of consequence for two years, even under the pressures of a general war. This seems indicative of the effectiveness of the total educational system built up in the pre-war period. Changes such as did occur in 1943 were calculated to strengthen the propaganda role of the school through greater emphasis upon the "divine mission" and demonstration of historical support for it.<sup>14</sup>

Embree outlines the general trends of wartime education:

The war has had a number of effects on the educational system. Increased attention to military training in the school curriculum is one of these; the growth of kindergartens, which were found only in the larger cities before the war, is another. With the drafting of women into war jobs, the national school system has paid more attention to the general field of "preschool" education. The war need for skilled and professional workers has led to a number of recent moves to increase opportunities for women in higher education.....<sup>15</sup>

The last of wartime changes occurred in 1944, and gives evidence of the effects of the wartime manpower shortage on the schools. This was Education Ministry Ordinance Number 8 of 10 March in that year. It provided for a shortened and simplified system of "Temporary Teachers' Training Institutes," to cope with the drain of total mobilization.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>See Appendix F for a copy of this instruction.

<sup>14</sup>See Appendix G for excerpts from the Normal School Regulations of 8 March 1943.

<sup>15</sup>Embree, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>16</sup>Dr. Wunderlich's file contains the above Ordinance, but it is too lengthy and too confined to administrative problems to warrant inclusion here.

The chronological story of this paper ends with the Japanese nation facing an uncertain future, especially so for the government and the educational system, at the hands of the powers who had brought about her defeat. However it may be well to re-examine the period for the general picture it presents of conditions and trends in Japanese education.

First: Japanese education was never, and was not intended by its founders to be, democratic in the usually accepted sense of the word. The system was conceived with the idea of achieving technological Westernization with a minimum sacrifice of traditional ideals. This beginning influenced the entire course of Japanese educational history.

Second: Throughout the history of modern Japanese education a large portion of the bureaucracy and the teaching staff was aligned in interest and viewpoint with the dominant governing groups either through background or acquired interest (i.e. prerogatives and social standing.) This in large measure accounted for the failure of liberal and radical doctrines to gain the support of the entire educational system and thereby sweep the country.<sup>17</sup>

Third: In a nation steeped in ethico-religious concepts having great influence on social, economic, and political relationships it was not difficult for reactionary forces to gain and keep control of public opinion. This was accomplished by making

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<sup>17</sup>On this point, see W. L. Schwartz, "Professors in Imperial Japan," School and Society, 23 February 1925, 21:252-254.

appeals on the basis of traditionally accepted doctrines and on such revered Imperial statements as the Imperial Rescript on Education, and then gradually changing the connotations of the content of these until they were virtually "loaded" from a propaganda standpoint. The following is a good illustration of the way in which the above process worked in the case of the Rescript:

The real essence of the Rescript, as interpreted today, may be summed up in four statements taken directly from the document itself.

The first of these is "Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue." (note: here Lemott goes on to outline the divine-origin myths)

The next key sentence is: "Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof." The unity of the subjects, and of the subjects and the Emperor, is particularly emphasized today, this verse being quoted in arguments against political parties and western parliamentarism in general, on the ground that such institutions disrupt the unity of the Empire. But the chief element in this important verse is the reference to loyalty and filial piety as being the fundamental virtues of Japanese ethics, or rather the fundamental virtue, for the two are considered one. This unity of the people in loyalty and filial piety to the Throne and the Imperial Ancestors, including the prehistoric gods of high heaven, is in the next sentence declared to be "the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire." The phrase "fundamental character" is the word *kokutai*, around which so much ideological warfare has been waged in recent years.

We come next to the verse previously referred to: "Thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth." This verse indicates that the chief end of moral conduct should lie in a desire for the prosperity of the Throne, much as theologians have argued that the Christian's acts should all be done "for the glory of God"--*solis dei gloria*. With regard to the past, most Japanese are content to assert in general terms the extreme antiquity of the Imperial House, but, so far as the future is concerned, no Japanese patriot doubts that the Imperial Throne shall be coextensive with heaven and earth.

Finally, the capstone of the argument is reached in the



sentence, "The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places." The common-sense interpretation of this verse would be to limit its application to Japanese subjects, in whatever historical period or in whatever geographical location they might be living. And, in the beginning, it was doubtless so intended. But it is not so construed today. This verse has, in fact, inspired the more ardent patriots with Messianic dreams. One commentator on the Rescript writes: "The ruling principles of present-day society are not to be found in Fascism or in Marxism, but in our Japanism. Japanism is not a low, mean, dangerous thing like Judaism which could destroy social culture, but, since it is a cosmic principle based upon universal righteousness, the nations of the West, as well as Japan, should follow it; for without it we believe that a perfect social order for humanity can never be realized." ..... But a detailed study of Japanese history of the past half century would, I believe, show that every disturbance of traditional ideas has either been met by issuing another Rescript or by investing the 1890 Rescript on Education with new authority and sanctity.<sup>18</sup>

Other examples of this new literature of ultranationalism were the Kokutai no Hongi and the Shinmin no Michi mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

Fourth: The program of indoctrination was carried on in the schools in two ways. One was the trend toward the use of history and other social studies courses as a means of indoctrination. There was a constant shift away from facts and toward propaganda in these courses until near the war's end.<sup>19</sup> Another vehicle for indoctrination was the course in Shushin or ethics or morals which was required throughout the elementary and secondary educational system. Courses in Shushin were not a recent development,

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<sup>18</sup>Willis Lamott, "Japan's Nationalist Bible," Asia, June 1939, 39:353-355.

<sup>19</sup>See Appendix C for course objectives bearing on this. Also see Appendix II for statements of professors on the subject of wartime history texts.

having existed since the beginning of Japan's modern educational system. With the rise of ultranationalism, however, the content of these courses gradually was changed to serve the purposes of the policy making groups at the time of issue of each text change or change in teaching emphasis. Certainly there is little objectionable matter in the course materials examined by Obama in 1932.<sup>20</sup> Patriotism of a normal variety, honesty, thrift, proper social relationships are all illustrated by stories from various sources. By the time of issue of the immediately pre-war texts examined by Hall, the stories used, the phraseology, and the general approach to most of these topics have been changed so as to exert a considerable propaganda influence. The Shushin texts issued during the Pacific War, show the marks of the propagandists' revisions throughout, and were regarded by Hall as so far from the normal that he was very careful to distinguish between series.<sup>21</sup>

The question then arises: How effective an instrument of governmental policy was the educational system of Japan? While one can hardly analyze educational results of this type with any type of statistical approach, a general knowledge of modern history should provide the answer. This answer should be apparent to all who are aware of Japan's unity in wartime and in the surrender, and of her amazing adjustment to and recovery from the post-surrender occupation. In both of these trying periods,

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<sup>20</sup>Shigeo Obama, unpublished M. A. thesis The Fundamental Basis of Moral Education in Japan, New York University, 1932.

<sup>21</sup>Hall, Shushin.

Japans leadership and the seemingly instinctive cooperation in time of stress have come from men who were products of the educational system of the period under discussion. Regardless of one's personal opinion as to the merits of Japan past rulers and their aims the writer believes that after an examination of the history of the period just discussed, one will find that the educational system during that period developed into a most effective instrument of governmental policy.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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#### Other Materials

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A.

The Imperial Rescript on Education:

Know ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

(Imperial Sign Manual)

(Imperial Seal)

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Note: This translation of the Imperial Rescript on Education appears on pp. 37-38 Hall, Shushin op. cit., and in numerous other sources. The rescript was issued 30 October 1890.

## Appendix B.

WARNING AGAINST MASS MOVEMENT OF STUDENTS UNDER THE CONTROL  
OF THE EDUCATIONAL MINISTRY

August 27, 1921  
Ministry Instruction

It is needless to say that every student shall always be most diligent in studying his lessons and cultivating his character with healthy thought and strenuous will for his future accomplishment. Nothing is more deplorable than that some of the students behave rashly, and are infirm of purpose and lacking in decision. Especially is it a most serious problem that they go so far as to resort to mass movements, without taking any attentions to their studies, violating school regulations.

Every student and teacher shall reflect upon himself to perform his own duties and to accomplish the object of education by enhancing the esprit de corps of a school.

## Appendix C.

CONCERNING IDEOLOGICAL GUIDANCE FOR STUDENTS

April 17, 1928

Ministry Instruction No. 5

Reverently we remind that one of the Imperial projects at the Meiji Restoration was to pursue knowledge far and wide to encourage the Imperial regime, and our Emperor, at the Levee, right after the Accession, instructed us "to be in order in marching, to be moderate in renewing, and to create rather than to imitate." It is an object of study as well as an object of national education to consider the relative merits of a case and to appreciate what we learn in other countries so well that we may be able to guard and maintain the prosperity of our Empire and to be in accord with our national character for the development of our real good virtue and good wisdom and for the benefit of our nation.

Since the great calamity of War I, there have been so great changes in every direction, in politics and in society, that some people indulge in whimsical remarks or radical arguments. Our country is unable too, to stand outside such evil influences. Some are too often disposed to develop ideas conflicting with our national character. Particularly, some students of the Keio (the Kyoto Imperial University) Incident and the Communist's Incidents are, without doubt, those who have been deviated from their duties as a result of lapsing into foppishness. Nothing is more deplorable than that our younger generation spoil their future careers by themselves.

Generally students are really premature, having been not so much experienced that they are apt to be infatuated with novel and radical arguments. Extremists do try every means available to tempt these youths by advocating theories contradicting our national character until they are misled or ruined utterly. There have been quite many regrettable aspects in our educational world upon which we should be fully remonstrated. If the whole country were brought under such evil sway, it might be greatest miserableness and unhappiness, shaking the foundation of our Empire. This is the reason we want to pay special attention in making students comprehend the foundation of our Empire, strengthen their national ideas and cultivate healthy concepts in order to weed out all queer thoughts and to eradicate skeptic ideas in this country.

To cultivate national morals caused from our nationality and to foster national minds are the most important groundwork for our educational policy. Whatever the school may be, regardless of its grade, and in or out of the school, our national culture and learnings do render more or less for the essential beauty of our national policy. As the mainstay of education and edification is always lying in the educationalist's personality. From this point of view those who face the situation shall be deliberate in carrying on their duties and

also be convinced of the real meaning of Japanese nationality and the foundation spirit. They shall be good examples themselves and for students daily lives. They have to insight into human nature to lead and instruct their students so as to keep safely from evils. The effect of good education, thus may be expected. All prefectural governors and all school directors ought to be confident of accomplishing our objects of encouraging all those who are engaging in educational and social works.



## Appendix D.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION AND SCIENCES IS TO MAKE CLEAR  
THE IMPERIAL FOUNDATION OF JAPAN

April 10, 1935

Ministry Instruction No. 4

Having special regard to this present home and foreign affairs, we are sure the pressing need of the hour is to build the Imperial Foundation of Japan more firmly for the sake of accomplishing the perfection of our national culture, by arousing Japanese spirit on the great fundamental policy of the Empire. To make clear our dignified Imperial Foundation of Japan, upon which the renovation and swakening of education so strongly rely that the orientation of national minds becomes decisive, is axiomatically important and urgent duty for educationalists. On this extraordinary conditions those who concern to education and science shall be sure to fulfil their own duties in instructing their pupils or students and in their studies with self-consciousness about their own responsibilities in obedience to the above principle, guarding against any opinion which is apt to excite a suspicion about the Imperial foundation of Japan and wishing all the time to enhance the glory of our Empire.

## Appendix F.

The following are significant excerpts from the National School Regulations issued on 14 March 1941 as Ministry Order No. 4: (Copy obtained from Dr. Wunderlich's personal files)

Section II, of Chapter I. (section II is entitled Courses and Subjects)

Article 2. The main object of the national course is to have pupils learn about national conditions, the land, history, language, and morals of our country, making clear the glory and fundamental character of our Empire, and also cultivating a national spirit to realize the Empire's mission.

The national course must make clear to the pupil the true significance of service and piety, impressing on him the happiness which nations find in the Empire.

Along with making them realize how the glorious history of the country lies at the foundation of our nationalism, teachers should develop in pupils an active mind and a desire for cultural achievement and development, always making clear, however, individual character. While correlating his course with other courses, the teacher should pay particular attention to teaching matters concerning our politics, economics, national defense, and marine.

Article 3: The object of morals in the elementary school course is to make pupils realize the moral mission of the Empire, and by training in practical morality to cultivate virtues, based upon the principles of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Article 4: The object of language study in the elementary school course is to train the students in ability in self expression and understanding of everyday language, and as well, to cultivate a national spirit through the study of national thought and feeling.

Article 5: The object of history in the elementary school course is to make pupils comprehend the general idea of the history of our country and also to have them realize the historical mission of our Empire.

Article 6: The object of geography in the national school course is to give the pupil an understanding of general conditions in foreign countries as well as the geography and state of our country, so that he may realize our Empire's mission in the orient and the world as well as to foster a patriotic sentiment.

Article 11: The object of gymnastics in the Physical Training Course is to develop a healthy mind and body by physical exercise, military drill, play, sports, and hygiene and to learn to cooperate and to form the habit of observing rules through group training. ....In the higher grades exercises should be of a more difficult nature, with special stress laid on military discipline. In military discipline attach importance to group training. Through this can be cultivated a respect for rules and cooperation as well as a submissive spirit.

Article 15: The object of writing in the art course is to purify the national sentiment by fostering appreciative power by training in the technique of writing letters.

## REGULATIONS FOR MIDDLE SCHOOLS

### Ministry of Education Laws

Mombusho Rei, No. 2

25 March 1941

#### p. 700. Ethics--National Course

##### Teacher's policies:

1. The principles of the national constitution will be explained in obedience to the Imperial Wish as stated in the Imperial Rescript on Education. Guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial Throne and faithfulness and loyalty will be thoroughly instilled in the pupils.
2. The peoples' daily lives will be guided in practices of Imperialism and the spirit of ancestor worship, and public service will be fostered.
3. The government, military matters, economics, and cultural characteristics of the empire will be taught. Great endeavor will be expected to cultivate the spirit for growth and development of culture and prosperous welfare of the country.
4. The characteristics of culture and ideals of the Orient and Occident will be examined and will be added to clarify the imperialistic principles of the empire.
5. The seriousness of the empire's mission and defense in the Far East and in the world will be thoroughly discussed and the spirit and knowledge representative of a great nation will be fostered.

#### History--National Elementary School Course

##### Teacher's policies:

1. The unity of the country will be clarified. The students will be made to grasp the correlation between the histories of them empire and of the Far East and the world. The field and knowledge of history will be expended.
2. The results of history (a manifestation of imperialism) shall be made clear as well as the conditions and aims of each period in history based upon the continuity of the country's progress and development. An exhaustive study will be made of the history of the world to make the students fully comprehend the empire's mission and instill national consciousness.

3. After an exhaustive study of the empire's and foreign countries' histories, the principles of the national constitution will be thoroughly explained along with service to country and proper guidance in historical facts relative to national defense and industry by examining the foreign development of the Japanese people.

4. An exhaustive study will be made of the rise and fall of nations and races including their present conditions especially the activities of the Far East races and the invasion of the Far East by Occidentals. Through this, the historical principles of the Greater East Asia Program will be brought out, especially a full realization of the mission of the Japanese Empire.

5. A spirit will be fostered relative to making a new culture with Japan as the core after a study of the characteristic and rise and fall of the Far East culture and the transmission of Japanese culture.



## REGULATIONS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Ministry of Education Laws

Mombusho Rei No. 4

14 March 1941

## Section 1, Article 5. Teaching Regulation and Organization

p. 526. "The history courses will be so designed as to give a general view of the nation's history and to definitely bring about a self-consciousness of the historical elements such as the very beginning of the country, its unbroken Imperial lineage, glorious achievements of the successive emperors, faithful, sageacious services rendered to the country, and the future of national development. "Koto" courses will stress further the preceding elements, comprehension of national prosperity, and the reason why spiritual manifestation of founding the country corresponds to cultural development. Also, the historical relationship between Japan and the foreign countries will be clarified.

## Article 6. (Extract)

The elementary geography courses will stress comprehension of the general elements concerning the state of conditions in our country and foreign lands; fostering of patriotism (loving one's country) and full consciousness of the Empire's mission in the Far East and in the world."



## REGULATIONS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS

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Article 2. (p. 525) The purport of the Kokumin course is to make (the pupils) master (things) in regard to our nation's morality, language, history, and national strength; in particular to elucidate the glory of national "polity"; to cultivate national (i.e. the people's) spirit; and (this) to make them conscious of the (Imperial) nation's mission.

One must make them feel the joy of having been born in the (Imperial) nation, and must make them grasp the true meaning of reverence for the deities and of service.

One must make them know the reasons why our country's history, and land have reared superb national traits, and at the same time lucidify the peculiar characteristics of our national culture, and lucidify the peculiar characteristics of our national culture, and must cultivate a spirit to strive for its creation and development.

One must pay attention to the teaching of matters relating to politics, economics, national defense and the seas, hand in hand with other instructions (or courses of study).

Article 3. (p.526) Kokumin course morals, based on the import of the Imperial Rescript on Education, must guide (the pupils) towards the putting into practice of the national morality, cultivate the children's virtues, and make them conscious of the Empire's moral mission.

In the primary course (Shotoku), (one) must begin with guidance in the practice of matters at hand, cultivate moral sentiment, and make them grasp the substance of national morality by application to concrete facts.

In the upper course (kotoku). (one) must expend the purport of the preceding clauses, and teach the matter more thoroughly, and particularly to strengthen their readiness to offer themselves to the state through their duties.

In the case of girls, (one) must pay special attention to the cultivation of womanly virtues in particular.

One must strive to explain the meaning of religious ceremonies and cultivate a sense of reverence for the deities.

One must make them grasp the wherefores of how our nation's politics, economics, and national defense spring from the national "polity", explain the spirit of constitutional government, the national significance of industries and economy, and the principles of national defense, and (thus) cultivate a spirit of respect for law and service.

One must strive to guide (them) in the putting into practice the rules of etiquette, make them acquire the spirit of etiquette, at the same time give suitable directions in regard to public behaviors, and elevate their characters.

One must lay stress on (the children's) bringing up and cultivate good habits.

## Appendix F.

### Essentials of Teaching Courses in Youth Schools (Mombusho Instruction No. 19, 21 August 1935; revised 1939 and 1941)

Pupils in the Youth Schools shall always be instructed in accordance with the purpose of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and teaching and training shall be conducted with special attention to the following items:

1. The teacher shall exert every effort to clarify the moral principles of loyalty and patriotism, and he shall encourage constancy and public service.
2. He shall encourage both the aspiring spirit and the active disposition, molding adolescent characteristics toward them, thus ennobling their sentiments and giving awareness of the sound life.
3. He shall strive for discipline on all occasions and thus cultivate a strong will and sound body.
4. He shall cause them to acquire the habit of gaining their livelihood through the high esteeming of creation and the enjoyment of their labors.
5. He shall so develop their mental and physical lives that all subjects and training courses are related to one another.

### The Morals and Civics Course

The purpose of the Morals and Civics course is to promote the virtues of the pupils in accordance with the precepts of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and to cultivate characters with which they are enabled to pursue perfectly their public lives; it should especially cause them to comprehend fully the fundamental principles of our national policy and the spirit of constitutional self-government.

It shall include a summary of morals and legal, economic and social subjects necessary to their daily lives; it shall include, for girls, some subjects which will promote women's virtues.

#### NOTE:

1. They shall be taught subjects useful in their practical lives considering their age, sex and circumstances, and these subjects shall conduce to actual practice.
2. On national holidays or anniversaries of famous rulers or great men, or on days of events which can be made applicable in instruction, adequate lessons shall be coordinated with the days.
3. In dealing with current topics, moderation and neutrality shall be practiced in order to cultivate the students' correct critical powers.

### The Ordinary Lesson Course

The purpose of the Ordinary Lesson course is to promote the knowledges and techniques necessary to their daily lives and to elevate their general cultural standards.

Besides Japanese language and history, geography, mathematics, science, music and other subjects shall be taught, depending upon local circumstances.

NOTE:

1. Each subject shall be taught with careful attention to its actual relationships and the synthesis of all subjects.
2. Japanese language, history, geography and other related subjects shall be taught in especially close connection with the Morals and Civics course, giving careful attention to the cultivation of our national spirit by teaching in detail our national polity, the characteristics of our national culture and the state of our country. This shall further be accomplished through teaching the development of western and oriental civilizations together with the present international situation.
3. Japanese language, as well as mathematics, geography, science and other subjects, shall be taught especially connection with the Vocational course, considering their propriety to daily life.
4. In music, those works which conduce to cultivation of noble sentiments and the national spirit shall be taught.

The Vocational Course

The purpose of the Vocational course is to give proper knowledge and techniques necessary to vocations, and to cause the students to comprehend the social significance of our vocational life.

Subjects concerning agriculture, commerce, marine industries and others which are suitable to the local circumstances shall be taught.

NOTE:

1. The subjects shall be taught in especially careful connection with the Morals and Civics course, taking into consideration the cultivation of virtues through vocation.
2. Special attention shall be paid to those subjects which are practically applicable to the student's vocational life.
3. Special attention shall be paid to the cultivation of the spirit of inquiry and the powers of device and creation.
4. Experiment and practice shall be held in special esteem.
5. Connection with local industries shall always be maintained, and opportunities for observation shall be given as much as possible.

The Domestic Arts Course

The purpose of the domestic arts course is to give the knowledges and techniques concerning housekeeping and clothing, and to cause the students to acquire the ability to lead sound home lives.

Subjects concerning housekeeping, clothing and other handicrafts shall be taught adequately to permit their practice in home life.

NOTE:

1. All subjects shall be taught with special attention to the arrangement and improvement of home life.



2. The students shall exert themselves to elevate their taste, to cultivate the power of device and to acquire habits of saving, utilizing, cleaning and arranging.

3. Experiment and practice shall be especially esteemed.

#### The Gymnastics Course

The purpose of the Gymnastics course is to promote bodily strength and to make their movements swift and dexterous, their bodily deportment proper, and to cultivate the spirit of sturdiness and cheerfulness and the habit of the respect of rules and of cooperation.

Gymnastics, military drill, sports and games shall be conducted adequately.

#### NOTE:

1. In the training of the students, attention shall be paid to their physical development in consideration of sexual characteristics.

2. Special attention shall be given to the correction of adverse habits caused by vocations.

#### The Military Training Course

The purpose of the Military Training course is to teach basic military training, to cultivate the spirit of loyalty and to contribute to the strengthening of national defense power by the promotion of the students' quality in the practical training of both mind and body.

Military drill, military arts, gymnastics and sports shall be taught.

In order to attain the purpose of the course, training shall be conducted in an orderly manner and strictly in accordance with the following essential points, attempting to so train the students that they practice the results throughout their lives.

1. The following virtues shall be cultivated by thoroughly understanding the fundamental principles of our national polity and acting upon the true meaning of the universal conscription system in our country.

- a. The habit of courtesy and respect of superiors.
- b. The spirit of fidelity and integrity and the character of uprightness and strength.
- c. The respect for rules, temperance, a sense of responsibility, perseverance, courage, cooperation, solidarity, and so forth.

2. A vigorous vitality, strong will and sturdy body shall be trained.

3. The fundamental military ability necessary to the discharge of their duties in accordance with the Imperial will shall be obtained through practical experience.

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The above is a copy of a translation of Mombusho Instruction No. 19, 21 August 1935, revised 1939 and 1941, obtained from the files of Dr. W. J. Wunderlich.

## Appendix G.

Following are excerpts from the Normal School Regulations of 9 March 1943 (from a copy of translation in Dr. Wunderlich's files)

## Section I.

Article 1. Normal school students will be instructed in keeping with the Imperial Rescript on Education and generally in the matters enumerated in Article 1, Normal School Education Law.

1. The essence of national unity must be clarified, and together with a realization of the Empire's mission a deep sense of loyalty must be fostered.

Article 4. Japanese civilization, history, geography, indicating their relationship to foreign countries. In making clear the true meaning of the nation, emphasis will be placed on nationalism, on realization and accomplishment of the nation's mission together with the training of one's instructional abilities.

Article 5. The education course will clarify the true meaning of Japanese education, emanating from our national entity, and the student will be instructed in the cardinal points of national education.....

## REGULATIONS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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## p. 779. "Department of Moral Law--Instruction Aims"

The department of moral law will be the nucleus in the Koyo gakko educational system. The general principles of this department are full explanation of the idea of Kokutai (national structure), translating into action the empire's mission and cultivating virtue through which full approval and assistance will be given to the Divine Mission.

1. Utmost endeavor will be exerted at all times to thoroughly familiarize the student with the Rescript on Education, divine precepts which are for young people.

2. The "Road of the Empire" will be explained and customs of the ancestors will be brought out: thereby developing a belief for nationalism, especially comprehension of national law and history and the spirits of the learned men of the past.

"Department of History--Instruction Aims"

The principle purposes of the department of history consists of detailed elucidation of the spirit of empire growth, gloriousness of the national structure, transmission of culture, and steadfastness of nationalistic beliefs. Also, research study will be made of the reasons for the rise and fall of world and Far East civilizations, races and governments. This will contribute toward comprehension of the historical mission and assist in carrying out the aims for its fulfillment.

1. Due consideration will be given to the close bodily relationship of the empire and Orient and Occident countries.

2. Attention will be paid to the manifestation of the empire growth, spirits in the nation's history.

3. As for the Far East and the Greater East Asia Development Program, the various Asiatic countries; their government and civilization and the rise and fall of such will be studied.

4. The tendency or drift of the changes in the world will be considered to grasp the historical outline of Europe and the U.S. This will be utilized in comprehending the historical characteristics and world-wide position and mission of the empire.

## Appendix H.

The following comments on Japan's wartime history texts were made at a Normal School Professors Conference on 24 April 1946 at the conference room of the Education Ministry. Attending were representatives of Tokyo First Normal School (Prof. Minoru Chijiwa) Tokyo Third Normal School (Prof. Eiichi Ozawa and Rikuro Yuki), the Ministry of Education Textbook Bureau, and the Civil Information and Education Textbook Division, of SCAP. This information and the comments below were taken from a report of the meeting compiled by Mr. Noboru Takahashi of C.I.&E., a copy of which was obtained from the personal files of Dr. H. J. Wunderlich.

QUESTION I: What are the greatest defects of the wartime history textbooks?

Chijiwa: I'm a specialist in National History. It seemed to me that they were not basing upon a theory of cognition of history. History should be something self-examination or reflection of the nation. From this point of view the wartime textbooks were believed insufficient in reflecting national activities. It seemed to me that they were written in self-fascinated and self-contented conditions. They were so much self-respecting that there were no descriptions about the demerits of the Japanese country and people. Objective facts should always be treated in history. These facts should be judged with the theory of value of the present days in order to give students more opportunities for reflection.

Ozawa: I agree with Mr. Chijiwa. Textbooks in general were nationalistic. The method of study was quite distorted during the wartime, being overwhelmed by the government policies. Historical facts as well as their interpretations were somethings from 'high quarters.' Teachers and students were not allowed to criticize or interpret themselves. The government did not want to give any chance for scientific interpretation on historical facts, some of which were really to be restudied carefully. Moreover, these textbooks looked like some collections of fragmentary descriptions.

Yuki: I agree with them. Books were of dry-dust argument. While science education bases upon science, other cultural sciences do not rest on the basis of science at all. The basic cause seemed to have come from national policies. Government and heroes were unduly stressed. Books lacked philosophical consideration. Social, economical and technological, i.e., cultural aspects would be introduced into history textbooks. National history should be a part of the world history. They should be treated from world philosophy.

EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF JAPANESE  
GOVERNMENTAL POLICY 1918-1945

by

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This study undertakes to present a historical picture of the use of education as an instrument of governmental policy in Japan during the period from 1918 through 1945.

Books, periodicals, and documentary materials were examined for information bearing upon the subject. These materials were evaluated, correlated, and presented within a generally chronological outline.

The paper opens with a short exposition of such historical background material as is necessary for an understanding of the period. Japanese education before the Meiji Restoration of 1868 is briefly outlined. The development of an organizationally modern educational system in the period 1868-1918 is discussed. Such educational problems of this background period as seem essential to an understanding of later situations are set forth. Among these problems, perhaps the foremost is the conflict between technological Westernization and traditional social ideologies.

The topic under consideration is chronologically divided into three periods: 1918-1930, 1931-1939, and 1940-1945--these dates being inclusive.

The chapter covering the first of these periods discusses the rise of liberal and radical movements which were largely expressed within the higher educational institutions or led by their graduates. This chapter continues the story of the conflict of these movements with proponents of Japanese traditions, and of the subsequent suppression of the liberal and radical activities through educational and police action. Significant incidents were the various dismissals of eminent educators, the passage of the Peace

Preservation Act, and the subsequent roundup of suspected radicals.

The next chapter deals with policies and problems brought into being by the rise to power of the militant ultranationalist forces. Characteristic of these were the "Japanese spirit" movement, and the controversies over "national entity." Also important is the development of the educational machinery of the nation for the inculcation of the ideals of the ultranationalists, in their drive for totalitarianism at home and expansionism abroad.

The educational changes both immediately before, and during World War II are discussed in the last section. Most of these changes were calculated to integrate the educational system with the nation's mobilization program. Course changes in the schools and public propaganda were aimed at unification of the people for accomplishment of the national "mission."

Following this the factors contributing to the intensive use made of education in implementing governmental policies are discussed. Emphasis is placed upon the following factors which were active throughout the period of detailed examination: the traditional concept of "group spirit;" the common interests of educators and the bureaucracy; and the effective use of propaganda appeals by the ultranationalists.

The study closes with a consideration of the high degree of effectiveness of education in its role as an instrument of governmental policy throughout the period under discussion. An examination of the study should reveal to the reader that during the historical background period, educational policy was aimed at

balancing technological westernization with preservation of traditional ethical concepts; during the period 1918-1930, of resisting the intellectual appeal of Western political and social doctrines; during the period of 1931-1939, of utilizing the "Japanese spirit" to unify the people behind the programs of the militant nationalists; and during the period 1940-1945 of maintaining unwavering loyalty to the war aims and effort.

