



**A CASE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL NATIONALISM:  
EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE AROUND JAPAN IN THE COLD WAR PERIOD**

by

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## A Case Study of Educational Nationalism

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## FOREWORD

This research report is an overview of the current state of affairs at alien schools in Asia and is part of the final report on the "Comparative Study of Alien Schools in the Third World," with the 1981 grand-in-aid (A) of the Ministry of Education. Asia consists of (1) East Asia, (2) Southeast Asia, (3) Pacific Islands, (4) South Asia and the (5) Near East. For the purpose of this report, "Asia" is defined as East and Southeast Asia. Regarding research reports on Latin America and Africa, the author's collaborators Takuzo Minagawa and Hideo Kakinuma have already published their reports.<sup>(1)</sup>

The history of colonial education in East and Southeast Asia is significant in understanding the nature of alien schools in these areas. Here, however, the author shall concern himself with only the current state of affairs. The state of affairs in the pre-war periods are reported in the works of foreign researchers such as Sir Michael Sadler, J.S. Furnivall, Herbert T. Becker, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino as well as by Japanese researchers such as Noboru Yamaguchi and Masunori Hiratsuka.

In addition, there are studies made by the Foreign Ministry's Department of Culture and Education Ministry's Research Section; and those made by governmental agencies on

alien schools, e.g. East Asia Research Institute and the Governor-general's Office of Colonial Taiwan. If the number of studies and research on the education of the overseas Japanese is added, there would be a tremendous amount of research.

Alien schools exist along with the advances made in political, military, economic or cultural fields, or invasion in some cases. In East and Southeast Asia, it is evident that the United States and Japan play the central role in this type of advances. Closely related to America's military advancement or invasion is the Department of Defense Dependents Schools (DODDS). But the author has published his research report on DODDS elsewhere, it will not be mentioned herein.<sup>(2)</sup>

As the above listed names of researches suggest, comparative education have generally been made as a part of deliberate efforts to invade and conquer other races. Although the actual situation may vary from country to country, Japan's post-war comparative education must have started from a reflection on the atrocities committed by the Japanese in Asia during the last world war. However, all the people concerned quietly sat by and waited for the whirlwinds of critical outcries to pass by.

The post-war career of the late Masunori Hiratsuka, responsible for the aggressive militaristic education during war, closely resembles that of Kanji Kato, the proponent of the Japanese Youth Corps for Development of Manchuria. This fact alone is a clear evidence of lack of sincerity in the academic philosophies advocated by Hiratsuka.<sup>(3)</sup> Hiratsuka not only participated in the establishment of the Japan Comparative Education Society but also served as its first chairman, thereby enforcing a strict taboo on the history of comparative education in Japan.

This has resulted in the widespread practice of childish and "easy-going" researches clearly seen in translations of European and American study reports. To make the matter worse, the said Society was in the research institution directly controlled by the Ministry of Education. The researchers gradually picked on an attitude to "kow-tow" to the administrators, to an extent that there even appeared a member researcher who was misguided to believe furnishing data on foreign education supportive of the Ministry's policy was a main role of comparative education. The malpractice such as these were extremely detrimental to nurturing a new generation of scholars in comparative education in the post-war years. Deception of

the older generation was replaced by suffering of the younger generation, and eventually drove some of them into further deception.

At this point, it is important to point out that comparative education in the post-war years craftily shunned away from deliberation on methodology in terms of international dimensions, and took cheap opportunism for "dynamic searching spirit", and neglected to make efforts for true academic achievements. All of this has lowered the quality of education, almost comparable to a damage done by a massive landslide. The current Japanese brisk economic advances into foreign countries demands "educational internationalization." Given such a trend, comparative education can be expected to play an active role, criticizing the current state of affairs. The reality, nevertheless, is the complete opposite where academic apathy makes the very existence of this study insignificant. The gap created in academics by such a poor attitude is filled by the rebirth or return of research for conquering other races under a pretext of studies for "cultural conflict" and "intercultural education." The followers of Masunori Hiratsuka, of all the people, are the active standard-bearers of these new studies.

Their works are often funded by the industrial and business sectors and seem more eager to awaken the specter of shameless predators of the pre-war periods, although their phraseology, i.e. "Learning from the failure of pre-war cultural and educational ex-change."<sup>(4)</sup> The "Cultural Activities for China" of the years preceding the war was so closely tied to political, military and economic interventions that nothing would be farther from true "cultural and educational exchange". In the same rhetoric, the process of awakening to a struggle for liberation on the part of the Chinese public being interpreted as "a failure" on the part of the Japanese should not be condoned. This proves that the proponents of these studies still have the eye of the invader.

What aggravates the situation is the fact that these covert efforts are being made by taking advantage of the poor awareness of the Asian affairs among the general Japanese public, carefully hiding behind the scrutinizing eyes of the fellow Asians. There are numerous sites of atrocities and massacre sites in China still remembered today. The acts of some of the Japanese educators and researchers are akin to profaning the victims. It is a shameless challenge to human dignity. It is quite regretful that an increasing number of Chinese exchange students are

taken into these conspiracies. The responsibility, therefore, lies in the hands of Japanese students of comparative education who went along with this nationwide conspiracy. At any rate, any research on alien schools in Asia cannot evade the distorted history of comparative education in post-war Japan. Every educator and researcher must awaken to the issue. This cannot be achieved simply by supplying information about schooling in Asian countries to the children of those assigned there nor by engaging in "research activities on a par with Western countries for the purpose of advancing into China" as propagated by Masunori Hiratsuka and his followers.

There are renewed interest and expectations from the industrial and business sectors for the research of this kind. Therefore, it is all the more important to objectively view the nature of this kind of demand or expectations. The central theme of comparative study shall consist of (1) Defining international relations in terms of education in alien schools; (2) Checking for an opportunity for achieving peaceful co-existence of all races; and (3) Formulating an image of a future one can look forward to.

There is always a danger that sincere research efforts would be drowned by the economic circles, and in the field of comparative education, this danger may be difficult to



avert. This, however, should not falter motivated researchers. Comparative education, more than any other academic principle, can supercede the differences in academic and social territorialism, and even sometimes can overcome ethnic and national differences to foster mutual understanding and reinstitute human dignity. It may be difficult to associate the aforementioned overview of the history and criticism of the current state of affairs with the purposes of this report, a critical attitude and a brief observation of the past, especially a clear understanding of comparative education in Japan, are indispensable to fully convey the messages contained herein. Such awareness is necessary to overcome the tradition reeking with fallacy.

## 1. BRITISH AND AMERICAN OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

Let us first look at the overseas schools run by or for the British and Americans. This term is given solely for conveniences' sake and is loosely defined as schools where the language of instruction is English and whose curriculum more or less is based on the American school systems. Some schools in this category adopt bilingual education, i.e. English and a local language, or those adopting the British education systems or International Baccalaureate system as listed in Table 1.

The schools in this category are further classified into those run by religious organizations, e.g. Catholic orders, or other civilian organizations. Most of them are members of East Asia Regional Council of Overseas Schools. Schools of this type abounded most in pre-war China and six of them existed in Japan.<sup>(5)</sup> In China, they were the cultural forerunners of colonial education and in Japan, they were the object of oppression under Japanese nationalism. The double identity of "a victim" and "a persecutor" actually belonged to the same single entity. Mao Tse-tung's article, "Goodbye, Mr. Stewart" (Aug. 18, 1949) can be well remembered for witnessing the failure and debacle of the U.S. foreign cultural policies as soon as the People's Republic of China was born.<sup>(6)</sup>

In Asia, the United States was particularly eager in the pursuit of its cultural policies in China and the Philippines. After the revolution, however, it was driven out of the entire continent and concentrated on building a cultural anti-Communist barrier extending over Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Vietnam and Thailand. Despite temporary interruptions caused by the invading Japanese army into the Philippines, the British and American schools in that country existed almost as long as

the colonial history of the U.S. The many alien schools opened in Asia during the 1950s parasitized on U.S. bases, thus taking a definite part in the Cold War.

After the 1960s, foreign advances of American firms became particularly notable in parallel with the course of the Vietnamese War. In Indonesia, in particular, "The 9.30 Incident" of 1965 was a turning point after which the U.S. abruptly shifted to political intervention by enforcing deferrment of debts by debtor nations or offers of new loans. The number of British and American schools increased accordingly. When the Cultural Revolution breathed its last in 1976 in China, its pro-Capitalist group opted for the introduction of foreign capital, a move followed by reopening of a small number of European and American schools in the 1980s.

Of particular interest here is the post-war policies of the United States government in relation to the education of the children of U.S. nationals stationed overseas. In most cases, overseas American schools are not financially independent due to various reasons, i.e. small scale of operation, dependence on human and material supply from the faraway mainland, low tuition fees, etc. The U.S. government gives financial assistance to these schools in

order to encourage admission of the children of government officials and then to enhance mutual understanding between Americans and others.

The financial aid for the former purpose is granted under the Foreign Service Act of 1946 and Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, whereas financial support for the latter purpose is offered according to the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961. In July, 1964, the Office of Overseas Schools was opened in the Department of State and rendering of financial assistance came to be decided by the Overseas Schools Policy Committee, made up of officials in charge of general affairs, AID and education and culture. To be eligible for the first kind of assistance, the school must meet the following conditions:<sup>(7)</sup>

1. There are sufficient numbers of dependent children at post to represent an established need for dependent education.
2. There is evidence of local support on the part of the United States, local and other foreign communities at post.

3. There is evidence that there are available sufficient numbers of qualified and interested persons, including American citizens, to provided proper policy, financial, and administrative guidance to the schools.
4. English is the primary language of instruction.
5. To the extent practical under existing local conditions, the school follows a fundamentally American curriculum and American teaching methods and uses American textbooks and reference materials.
6. Academic standards, including teacher qualifications, are comparable to those in American schools.
7. There is a policy of admitting all dependents of U.S. government employees who otherwise meet the school's admission standards.
8. There is evidence that the school will ultimately be able to cover ordinary recurring operating expenses from tuition or other school income other than U.S. Government grants.
9. There is evidence that there is no other feasible means currently available to the school for adequately financing expenditures necessary to provide for the education of government dependents.

In order to qualify the second type of assistance, the school must satisfy the following criteria.

1. The school must meet a demonstrated need for American-type educational facilities in the community or region, and, in the case of primary and secondary schools, shall be open to the enrollment of qualified American students
2. The school must have been founded by or must be operated or sponsored by citizens or non-profit institutions of the United States, with or without the participation of nationals of other countries.
3. The school must operate without objection from the national government of the host country and must be nonpolitical in character.
4. Authority over policy, finances and administration must be vested in a competent board of responsible persons, usually including representation of the appropriate U.S. Embassy or Consulate, but at a minimum to include representation by U.S. citizens. This will vary from school to school depending on local circumstances and on U.S. policy.
5. The director or principal of the school, wherever practicable, should be a U.S. citizen.

6. There should be a sufficient number of teachers from the United States or teachers trained in American educational methods to assure adequate contact for the students with these methods and the corresponding ideals
7. The curriculum and instruction of the school should be of good quality and reflect accepted U.S. theory and practice in education to the greatest extent practicable.
8. Primary and secondary curricula should provide instruction in the language, literature, geography, and history of the United States, and, where practicable, of the country where the school is located. Wherever the needs of American students require it, English shall be used as a language of instruction.
9. The operation of the school should contribute to mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the peoples of the host country or other countries through such means as enrollment of foreign nationals, the provision of binational extracurricular, and community programs, and English-language classes for special students.

10. The financial plan of the school should provide for continuing recourse to all feasible means of achieving and maintaining its financial independence through an adequate fee structure, endowment and other forms of private support.
11. Financial aid will not be given to church-connected schools. Nor will it be given to government, company, or private profit-earning schools unless provisions of such assistance would assure educational facilities for American dependents which would not otherwise be available in the area.

At the height of U.S. expansion overseas, eight out of every thousand Americans lived abroad for either private or official purposes. After the mid 1970s, however, the number of Americans living abroad decreased sharply, especially as the servicemen and military dependants were hurriedly recalled after the defeat in the Vietnamese War. Financial assistance rendered by the Office of Overseas Schools totalled approximately \$4.4 million in 1975, which is broken down into salary and teacher training 67.7%, educational materials 13.3%, assistance in obtaining degrees 7.3%, construction 6.4%, counseling and consultations 5.4%.<sup>(8)</sup>



Thereafter, the rapid decline of the U.S. economy drove the Federal Government into huge deficits. Financial assistance to American schools abroad nevertheless has been maintained. In 1985, in addition to the American schools in Japan, six international schools in Hokkaido, Nishimachi, Nagoya, Hiroshima and Fukuoka as well as a total of 22 inter-national schools in East and Southeast Asia received some sort of financial assistance from the United States.<sup>(9)</sup> Most of these schools are approved by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC).

The financial assistance of the second category is rendered, in short, for the purpose of making the approved schools as cultural posts, or, as bastions for propagating "political democracy and prosperity." These policies are blatantly anti-Communist, and as a result, the recipients of financial assistance began to take on invasive characteristics just like the Department of Defense Dependents School.

After the late 1960s, the United States quickly tilted toward power politics to protect its numerous interests. The weakening dollar triggered by worsening economy resulted in a wide gap between America's official stance and reality. The 1975 defeat in Vietnam brought home a dramatic showdown of U.S. international cultural policies, which have not yet

been reviewed. The schools receiving U.S. financial assistance are naturally at a loss without a concrete educational philosophy. The confusion in these schools are expressed as attempts by several schools to negate receiving of assistance or by others which attempt transformation into a truly "international" school. The spread of the International Baccalaureate (IB) system seems to further enhance this general trend. (10)

The author now wishes to discuss how these British and American Schools are related to some of the educational issues in Japan. Most of schools in this category located in Japan and other parts of Asia are called international schools and have a large enrollment of Japanese students for the following main reasons: (1) The Japanese favor education offered by foreign schools; (2) Being mixed-blood children, these students do not fit snugly into the Japanese system; or (3) Being children of returning expatriates, they find it difficult to adapt to the education system in Japanese schools.

In many cases, Japanese students make up the second largest enrollment after American nationals. This trend is likely to continue and become increasingly more apparent, regardless of official regulations. The large enrollment of Japanese students in British and American schools in other

countries is explained by (1) Lack of suitable educational facilities in local schools, (2) Failure of Japanese schools abroad to offer high school level education, and (3) For the purpose of obtaining the IB.

Since British and American schools offer educational opportunity to quite a large number of the Japanese, their educational approach has a direct impact. These two entities are tied by even closer ties as Japan's expansion into Asia becomes increasingly apparent owing to its rapid economic growth in the post-war years. Behind this expansion was a close tie with the United States world-wide activities in political, military, cultural and economic aspects. The demise of the world cultural strategies of the United States, therefore, was not only a fatal blow to the American business but also had a direct impact on the Japanese capital operating abroad. Japan was quickly forced to find its own course of development.

The consequence was a series of educational reform movements emphasizing international cultural policies such as the report of the Central Committee of Education "On the International Exchange of Education, Science and Culture" or the report of the Committee on the Industrial structure entitled, "The Long-term Vision of Industrial Structures," which advocate direct overseas investments. However, these

movements were later overshadowed by the criticism of school textbooks from the business and industrial sectors, campaigns for greater defense capabilities and establishment of academic bodies by the Ministry of Education officials. The purpose of the series of actions such as these was to eradicate the sense of guilt felt by the average Japanese about their war of invasion and then to restore nationalistic heritage. The restoration of the blood-thirsty propaganda of the wartime "Eight Worlds under One Rule," however, does not mean successful establishment of an international cultural policy. The many peoples of Asia pride themselves in eliminating Japanese colonial interventions and achieving their own independence. This pride is at the heart of the founding philosophy of their new nation. The number of Japanese schools abroad increased in the meantime along with greater direct foreign investments and emergence of multinational enterprises. These schools are dependent on the Japanese businesses operating in the area and are usually a victim of egoism on the part such of businesses. Consequently, they have lacked the opportunity to directly assist peaceful coexistence with the peoples of their host country. The isolationist and

withdrawn nature of Japanese schools abroad cannot be easily overcome by opening mixed-nationality classes, as the previous U.S. examples illustrated so eloquently.

[Table 1] British and American Overseas Schools (11)

Host Country	School	Founded	Notes
Japan	• Hokkaido International	1 9 5 8	Gr. 1-9, Enr 32 (US 19), WASC, USDS
	• American School in Japan	1 9 0 2	Gr. N-PG, Enr 1122 (US 851) WASC, USDS
	• Aoba International School	1 9 7 6	Ages 1-6, NK, Enr 167 (US 25)
	• Japan International School	1 9 8 0	Gr. 1-9, Enr 150 (US 24)
	• Christian Academy in Japan	1 9 5 0	Gr. K-12, Enr 312 (US 41), WASC
	• International School of the Sacred Heart	1 9 0 8	Gr. K-12, Enr 671 (US 175), WASC, IB
	• Nishimachi International School	1 9 4 9	Gr. K-9, Enr 385 (US 19), USDS
	• Saint Mary's International School	1 9 5 4	Gr. K-12, Enr 850 (US 195), WASC, IB
	• Seisen International School	1 9 6 2	Gr. N-12, Enr 511 (US 84), WASC, IB
	• Santa Maria School	1 9 5 9	Gr. K-6, Enr 140 (US ?)
	• International Christian School	?	Gr. K-12, Enr 16 (US ?)
	• Saint Joseph International School	1 9 0 1	Gr. K-12, Enr 265 (US 20), WASC
	• Saint Maur International School	1 8 7 2	Gr. N-12, Enr 372 (US 150), WASC, IB
	• Yokohama International School	1 9 2 4	Gr. N-12, Enr 380 (US 115), IB
	• Sancta Maria International School	1 9 5 6	Gr. K-8, Enr 131 (US ?)
	• Nagoya International School	1 9 6 3	Gr. N-12, Enr 222 (US 46), WASC, USDS

Host Country	School	Founded	Notes
Korea Rep. of	• Kyoto International School	1 9 5 7	Gr.K-8, Enr 37 (US19)
	• Canadian Academy	1 9 1 3	Gr.N-12, Enr 614 (US170), WASC, IB
	• Marist Brothers International School	1 9 5 1	Gr.K-12, Enr 327 (US?), WASC
	• Saint Michael's International School	1 9 4 6	Gr.N-6, Enr 170 (US16)
	• Hiroshima International School	1 9 6 2	Gr.K-9, Enr 60 (US?), USDS
	• Fukuoka International School	1 9 7 2	Gr.1-9, Enr 35 (US22), USDS
	• Christ the King International School	1 9 5 6	Gr.N-12, Enr 334 (US94)
	• Okinawa Christian School	1 9 5 7	Gr.N-12, Enr 329 (US205), WASC
	• Neighborhood School	?	Gr.K-12, Enr 253 (US173)
	• Maranatha Baptist Church School	?	Gr.?, Enr ?
	• Seoul Foreign School	1 9 1 2	Gr.N-12, Enr 662 (US425), WASC, IB
	• Seoul International School	1 9 7 3	Gr.N-PG, Enr 450 (US281), WASC
	• Korea Christian Academy	1 9 5 8	Gr.1-12, Enr 87 (US80), WASC
	• Seoul Academy	1 9 8 3	Gr.N-8, Enr 110 (US?)
China	• American School of Guangzhou	1 9 8 1	Gr.K-8, Enr 20 (US13), USDS
	• The International School of Beijing	1 9 8 0	Gr.K-8, Enr 113 (US35), WASC, USDS
	• Shanghai American School	1 9 8 0	Gr.K-8, Enr 11 (US10), USDS
	• Shenyang American Academy	?	Gr.K-8, Enr 5 (US?), USDS
Taiwan	• The American School of Maanshan	1 9 7 8	Gr.K-8, Enr 45 (US45)
	• Morrison Christian Academy	1 9 5 2	Gr.K-12, Enr 472 (US394), WASC
	• Dominican School	1 9 5 8	Gr.N-9, Enr 655 (US?)
	• Taipei American School	1 9 4 9	Gr.K-PG, Enr 1148 (US608), WASC, USDS, IB

Host Country	School	Founded	Notes
Hong Kong	• Hong Kong International Sch	1 9 6 6	Gr.K-12, Enr1386(US788), WASC, USDS
	• Chinese International School	1 9 8 3	Gr.N-4, Enr 91, Curr-UK Nat
	• Island School	1 9 6 7	Col Prep Gen Acad Enr1250(US63), Curr-UK Nat
	• Shatin College	1 9 8 2	Gr.6-9, Enr 95(US8), Curr-UK
	• Hong Kong Baptist College	?	Gr. ? I B
Philippines	• Brent School	1 9 0 9	Gr.N-12, Enr375(US121), WASC, I B
	• Cebu International School	1 9 2 4	Gr.K-10, Enr195(US20), USDS
	• International School	1 9 2 0	Gr.K-12, Enr2450(US800), WASC, USDS, I B
	• Maryknoll College Foundation	1 9 2 6	Gr.N-12, Enr5559(US?)
	• Saint Jame's High School	1 9 1 3	Gr.8-11, Enr 453, Curr-Nat
	• St.Paul College of Manila	1 9 2 4	Gr.8-Col Curr-Nat
	• St.Stephen's High School	1 9 1 7	Gr.K-12, Enr 1350
	• St.Scholastica's College	1 9 0 6	Gr.K-PG, Enr 5490(US12), Curr-Nat
	• International School Bangkok	1 9 5 1	Gr.K-12, Enr 1300(US598), WASC, USDS, I B
	• Ruamrudee International School	1 9 5 7	Gr.1-12, Enr 870(US30), WASC, I B
Thailand	• Chiang Mai International School	1 9 5 4	Gr.K-8, Enr 64(US14), USDS
Burma	• The International School of Rangoon	1 9 5 5	Gr.K-8, Enr 80(US?), WASC, USDS
Malaysia	• International School of Kuala Lumpur	1 9 6 5	Gr.K-12, Enr829(US305), WASC, USDS
	• Kimabula International School	?	Gr?
	• Upland School	1 9 5 2	Gr.K-11, Enr166, Curr-UK
	• Dalat School of the Christian and Missionary Alliance	?	Gr.1-12, Enr 185, WASC
	• Chefoo School	?	Gr.1-6, Enr 62

Host Country	School	Founded	Notes
Singapore	• International School of Singapore	1 9 8 1	Gr.K-12, Enr 366(US15), Curr-US UK
	• Singapore American School	1 9 5 6	Gr.K-12, Enr1881, WASC, USDS
	• Tanglin Trust School		Gr.N-6, Enr 1297
	• Bontang International School	1 9 7 5	Gr.K-8, Enr ?
	• Caltex American School Foundation	1 9 5 3	Gr.K-8, Enr 70(US50)
	• Far Eastern Academy	1 9 2 6	Gr.1-12, Enr ?
	• International Preparatory School (PTE), Ltd.	1 9 7 1	Gr.K-8, Enr ?
	• World College of South East Asia	1 9 7 5	Gr.1-7, Enr 1289(US57), IB
	• Bandung International School	1 9 7 1	Gr.N-8, Enr 127(US24)
	• Jakarta International School	1 9 5 1	Gr.K-12, Enr 2106(US797), WASC, USDS, IB
Indondsia	• Medan International School	1 9 6 9	Gr.K-9, Enr 80(US32), WASC, USDS
	• Bamboo River International Sch.	1 9 6 8	Gr.K-8, Enr 17(US17)
	• Surabaya International Sch.	1 9 7 2	Gr.N-9, Enr 152(US?)USDS
	• Pasir Ridge Sch.	1 9 7 2	Gr.K-8, Enr 110(US60)
	• Bandung Alliance Sch.	1 9 5 6	Gr.1-6, Enr 39
	• Bogor Expatriate Sch.	1 9 7 4	Gr.K-6, Curr-Australian
	• International School of Lhokseumawe	1 9 7 3	Gr.N-8, Enr 55(US18)
	• Wesley International Christian Sch.	1 9 7 1	Gr.K-8, Enr 24
	• Caltex American Sch.	1 9 5 3	Gr.K-8, Enr 80
	• Sentani International Sch.	?	Gr ?
	• ISS School at Tembagapura	1 9 7 2	Gr.K-8

[ Abbreviation ]

Gr ..... Grades

Nat ..... Native Type

K ..... Kindergarten

WASC ..... Recognized by Western

N ..... Nursery School

Association of Schools

PG ..... Post Graduate Course

and College



Enr	..... Enrollment	USDS	..... Assisted by Office of Overseas
(US)	..... Number of Americans		Schools of Department of State
Curr	..... Curriculum		in 1985.
US	..... American Type	IB	..... Member School of International
UK	..... British Type		Baccalaureate

## 2. JAPANESE OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

By way of reviewing the distribution of Japanese schools abroad during the pre-war periods, here is the breakdown of elementary schools located in the former territories of Japan.

Sakharin	.....	230	(as of 1935)
Manchuria	.....	682	(1943)
Korea	.....	520	(1940)
China	.....	58	(1939)
Taiwan	.....	147	(1939)
Southeast Asia	...	31	(1937)
Pacific Islands	..	34	(1941) <sup>(12)</sup>

By comparing these figures with the number of present Japanese schools shown in Table 2, i.e. a total of 25, the sheer size of overseas education in those days becomes self-evident. The defeat in the Pacific War brought about immediate closure of these numerous schools, a more dramatic decrease than what was experienced by Germany when over

4,000 German schools in the United States was reduced to only a few after the two world wars. Some of the children of these schools were abandoned in the tremendous flight and confusion. Four decades after the termination of the war, the existence of these children has become a large social issue. There is a lot that the Japanese can learn from this bitter memory. First of all, the danger of intervention in sovereignty of foreign countries and the great sacrifice that may be paid by expatriate Japanese. Among the numerous Japanese schools in Asia, only the Japanese School of Taipei survived, thanks to the personal contacts it was able to maintain with the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

In the post-war periods, economic recovery spurred by the "tokujyu" - special economic boom accompanying the Korean War - and reparations to Southeast Asia triggered renewed expansion of Japanese interests in these areas. These efforts were oriented southward, to Southeast Asia, mainly because Japan's progress to the north was hindered by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. Businessmen assigned to Southeast Asia in these early years of Japanese expansion into the area were called "death assignments" because they were often stoned as objects of long-standing hatred.

The years of establishment listed in Table 2 are based on the applications filed by each school to the Ministry of Education. Most schools, however, have an earlier history. Thus, the years of establishment in the list may not necessary be accurate. According to this table and other sources, Japanese schools were opened in Taipei in 1947, Bangkok (1956), Rangoon (1964), Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore (1966), Manila (1968), Kaohsiung and Djakarta (1969), Pnom Penh (1970) and Saigon (1971). One can well trace the southward footstep in line with the Insular Defense Line of the United States.

During the periods of rapid economic growth in the 60s, Japanese capital outflow into Asia increased dramatically despite the worsening situation in Vietnam, consequently flooding the Asian markets with Japanese products. This time of great expansion remarkably coincide with the expansion of Japanese schools from Asia into other parts of the world. Toward the late 1960s, the United States became desperate over the prospects of victory in Vietnam. American soldiers had been indoctrinated that they were "eradicating the Communist menace" and creating "a democratic and prosperous society" faced with unexpected resistance from the Vietnamese public. They became quickly disenchanted with their war efforts. Without proper

discipline, they shouted in fright "Shoot anything that moves!" until the fall of Saigon in 1975. The Japanese schools in Saigon and Pnom Penh disappeared in the aftermath of the war.

A year earlier, Toshio Tamamoto was arrested in Chiang-Mai, in northern Thailand, for polygamy in his self-styled harem. The renewed advance of Japanese capital into Asia was promoted by numerous brokers, or middlemen, who engaged in various covert, sometimes illegal operations. The arrest of Tamamoto symbolized not only the money-hungry but also an immoral image of Japanese businessmen. It triggered anti-Japanese sentiments in the area, especially in the face of prominent Japanese ingress into the area. The arrest also left an impact on the Japanese management, which, after this incident, encouraged dispatch of the entire family, to discourage securing "local wives" by their men stationed abroad. It is a historical irony that direct overseas investment policy was formerly proposed in this very same year. It was after this Tamamoto incidence that "education of overseas children" was undertaken on a more formal vein. The same year, the Central Committee of Education mentioned, for the first time, the need to reorganize the education system.

As described earlier, the United States' defeat in the war in Vietnam was apparent before 1970. As a result, U.S. discarded its "political democracy" and switched to power politics. The result of this is the mushrooming of oppressive governments in South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Nothing was farther detached from democracy and sovereignty of the people than these administrations. Foreign capitals, including those of Japan, contributed to the creation of economic power structure in these countries through close cooperation with local strongmen. The obvious consequence was political corruption and poverty of the peoples. Light was shed on the role played by the foreign capital only after a strongman like the former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was ousted by a popular uprising. Unfortunately the operating principle of Japanese corporations advancing into the Asian markets, as well as the behavior of their dependents, are not easily defensible.

If the teachers dispatched to Japanese schools by the local Boards of Education and the Ministry of Education are mindful of their own promotion and wealth, with least objection against economic invasion, the education at their schools would be nothing but deplorable. The withdrawn and secluded nature of Japanese schools abroad is attributable

more to the unjust intervention by Japanese interests in Asia than to the severe examination systems at home. Japanese schools in Asia tend to blame the problems to "social insecurity" of the area as something that is experienced daily, rather than separate incidents that occur when problems such as textbook issues arise. Blaming the host nation for the problems arising from one's fault is base cowardice, unfit for an educational institution. "Social insecurity" has a significance almost like that confused outcry of American soldiers in Vietnam.

Situated in unfriendly local environments, Japanese schools abroad may fare better if they make sincere efforts to eliminate their exclusive attitude and unjust intervention into Asia. Otherwise, there would not be ways to ascertain general interests of the Japanese race. The termination of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1976 and the new policy of introducing foreign capital, in a way, give the Japanese an opportunity to avert these efforts. Hundreds of Japanese firms began their "March into the North" and first of Japanese schools was opened in that very same year.

The isolated nature of Japanese schools is a ubiquitous problem, casting a dark cloud on the administrators and scholars alike who are engaged in the education of

Japanese children abroad. A former Ministry of Education official is full of remorse after years of dedication to establishing of Japanese schools abroad mainly assisting Japanese businesses advancing overseas. (13)

Trying to review what measures have been taken to solve the problem in the meantime, one cannot help but becoming disappointed by what has been done. The administration gathered together scholars and endeavored to maintain the "status quo" and ask for technical assistance. More covert purpose was curtailing of criticism against the poor practice of educating children living overseas. The manuals hurriedly prepared and distributed in the meantime illustrate the point. The direct intervention of the political authorities on the research conducted by The Center for Education of Children Overseas in Tokyo Gakugei University or interference into the establishing of the Intercultural Education Society, fueled by the strong pressures from the industrial and business sectors and the Liberal Democratic Party is an uncondonable illegal act. The manuals the authorities prepared and distributed lack professional insight and are, on the whole, useless. They are useless because the scholars supportive of the administrators lacked knowledge and solidly based conviction. Those who cooperated with political forces in establishing

of the above Society are out of the question. But there are other scholars of comparative education such as those who compiled the manual "Family Life Abroad" (1985, Ministry of Education) who equally lacked vision and professional insight. This manual is a collection of meaningless words, deliberately shunning away from the true problems. The end result is the cover up of these problems. "Happy Lives in Japanese Overseas Schools" compiled by the PR Dept. of Maruberi Corp. (1985, Gakusei-sha) is much more straightforward and untinted by political intentions. Conspiring to cover up the true problems bespeaks of the incurable self-righteousness on the part of the administrators, whose hands now reach deep inside the academic circles, endangering Japan's international cultural policies.

Efforts for correcting unjust interference into Asia and improving the isolationist attitude of Japanese schools have its own limits, especially because it has to be initiated by the Japanese themselves. Therefore, one cannot over-emphasize the need for accurate understanding and problem-solving efforts totally detached from their current interests and motives. Whether one likes it or not, the problems of Japanese overseas schools must be addressed from a wider perspective, as a part of Japan's international cultural policy. Avoiding the issue saying, "Children are



not to blame," as some prefer to do, will only intensify the problem, depriving children of their future. Japanese schools in Asia are, so to speak, the roots of this very policy. The attitude of some scholars who compare Asia with the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and the Asean nations to Manchuria must be reviewed and critized.

[ Table 2 ] Japanese Overseas Schools (14)

Host Country	School	Founded	Enrollment
Korea, Rep. of	Japanese School in Seoul	1 9 7 2	3 1 3 人
	Pusan Japanese School	1 9 7 5	3 0
China	Beijin Japanese School	1 9 7 6	2 7 9
	Shanghai Japanese School	1 9 7 6	6 1
	Guang Zhou Japanese School	1 9 8 2	2
Taiwan	Taipei Japanese School	1 9 7 3	8 9 4
	Taichung Japanese School	1 9 7 6	1 0 0
	Kaohsiung Japanese School	1 9 6 9	2 4 5
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Japanese School	1 9 6 6	1,5 6 1
Philippin	Manila Japanese School	1 9 6 9	3 0 8
	Cebu Japanese School	1 9 8 3	1 7
Burunei	Brunei Japanese School	1 9 8 4	1 0
Thailand	Thai Japanese School	1 9 5 6	1,0 2 6
Burma	Rangoon Japanese School	1 9 6 4	3 4
Malaysia	The Japanese School of Kuara Lumpur	1 9 6 6	5 0 4
	Penang Japanese School	1 9 7 4	6 5
	Kinabalu Japanese School	1 9 8 3	2 7
		1 9 8 5	1 4
Singapore	The Japanese School	1 9 6 6	1,9 2 4
Indonesia	Jakarta Japanese School	1 9 6 9	8 7 0
	Bandung Japanese School	1 9 8 4	3 4
	Sekolah Japang Surabaya	1 9 7 9	5 8
	Sekolah International Japang Medan	1 9 8 0	1 7

Host Country	School	Founded	Enrollment
	Ujung Pandang Japanese Language Class	1 9 7 8	1
	Asahan Japanese School	1 9 8 3	2

### 3. GERMAN, FRENCH AND NORDIC OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

The largest number of German overseas schools were located in the United States before World War I. Today, a large number of them are found in Latin America, not counting those in Europe. As Table 3 shows, only seven are located in East and Southeast Asia, an unexpectedly low figure in view of the economic power of West Germany. This seems attributable to the slow economic recovery of this country in these areas after losing territories in Asia and the Pacific after the First World War. For details of German overseas schools, refer to the report made by the author's collaborator, Shigetaka Imai.<sup>(15)</sup> Mr. Imai reports that instruction at these schools bases firmly on the established international cultural policies of West Germany. The ties maintained with educational systems of local immigrant and resident populations, as well as those of the host national, have a lot to teach to Japanese educators.

This "open" attitude is commonly shared not only by the British and American schools but also by the French schools, suggesting the wealth of history and experience. They make

a sharp contrast with Japanese schools nicknamed as "Shosha Schools", subordinated to the whims and egotism of major Japanese businesses. Overseas German schools are characterized by the concensus formed by the Meeting of the State Education Ministers. Deepening international ties, however, tends to deteriorate local variety and facilitate uniformity enforced through centralized control. In this sense, the operation and course of development in German schools have to be closely watched in the future. In the case of the German School in Tokyo, the largest student group is made up of German students, followed by a large group of Japanese students. Regardless of formal regulations, greater ties between Germany and Japan, illustrated by an increase in international marriages and a greater number of Japanese students attending local schools, are likely to further enhance this trend. The terms of service of teachers and administrators are usually longer than at Japanese overseas schools and they maintain active contacts with Japanese schools and colleges by cooperating with them in their courses in German.

The number of French overseas schools is second largest in the world, except for Chinese schools. The Ministry of Education of France maintains that "the network of French schools abroad is important for the activities of our

brethren, indispensable to economic expansion just as a light cruiser, and it is a tool for cultural activities," as cited by Hideo Kakinuma. The Ministry is justly proud of its unique network of French schools abroad when it says, "We have a newtwork of schools unique in the entire world."<sup>(16)</sup> French overseas schools are most widely distributed in Africa and count only 13 in East and Southeast Asia.

A notable feature is the existence of two schools in China, one in Vietnam and three in Indonesia. The two schools in China may have resulted from the same reasons as that of the Japanese, British and American schools. In Vietnam, rumor has it that another French school is found in the capital city of Hanoi, owing greatly to the unique diplomacy France has maintained with Vietnam since the war. The building of three French schools in Indonesia may be attributed to France's loan-lending, being a member of the Creditor Nations Conference.

Contrary to the international education policy of West Germany, French schools are well-supervised by the central authority. It is not easy to evaluate how good this may be, but supervision from the Ministy of Education or an official organization serving in lieu of the Ministry may be needed to a certain extent to prevent direct control of schools by

the students' parents and to prevent education from being used to fulfill the interests of business that have expanded abroad. Unlike schools at home, alien schools are at the forefront of international contact. If they try to satisfy the wishes of the parents, it is difficult to maintain fairness, with a consequent risk of destroying racial, national interests.

Japan's Ministry of Education has always suffered from poor understanding of international interaction, as illustrated by the biased views found in school textbooks. In administering education of children overseas, the Ministry only demonstrates how inadequately it is coping with the situation. The French example may be detrimental to the Japanese because of the strong central control. A true dilemma to Japanese educators. The Licee Franco-Japonaise advocates two main purposes: (1) To teach Japanese students the French language and culture to foster their cultural understanding, and (2) To teach French students and others the basics of a language by encouraging them to learn the language of the host nation, in addition to the studies required by the official curriculum. Reflecting this, the Licee has students of many different nationalities.

[Table 3] German and French Overseas Schools (17)

School	Host Country	Number of Schools	Location
German School	Japan	2	Tokyo, Kobe
	China	1	Beijin
	Hong Kno	1	
	Malaysia	1	Kuala Lumpur
	Singapore	1	
	Indonesia	1	Jakarta
French School	Japan	1	Tokyo
	Korea Rep.of	1	Seoul
	China	2	Beijin, Liao-Yang
	Hong Kong	1	
	Philippine	1	Manila
	Vietnam	1	Ho Chi Minh Ville
	Thailand	1	Bangkok
	Malaysia	1	Kuala Lumpur
	Singapore	1	
	Indonesia	3	Jakarta Bandung Balikpapan

Table 4 shows that alien schools of Nordic (Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish) origin found in East and Southeast Asia come to six. Although Sweden a country is known for the export of industrial products, e.g. fighter planes, automobiles and cameras, their overseas schools are leased affected by this. Like the Norwegian and Finnish schools, the main purpose of operating overseas schools is the education of the children of Christian missionaries. Their location in the countryside and the general "wide-open" environment, a far cry from most Japanese schools, may be

attributed to this operating purpose. On the other hand, these schools are beset with financial difficulties. The recent strong yen in Japan is posing a particularly serious problem threatening the very subsistence of their teaching staff. In building a boarding school of the Finnish school, the authorities not only requested financial assistance from the home government but also from the local residents of Otsu City, where the school is located. Being a rare case, it was something welcome and interesting. The only blemish it left behind this fund-raising campaign was the slander aimed at Korean schools.

[ Table 4 ] Nordic Overseas Schools (18)

School	Host Country	Number of Schools	Location
Swedish Schools	Japan	1	Kosai
	Vietnam	1	Bai Bang
	Thailand	1	Hua Hin
Norwegian Schools	Japan	1	Kobe
	Taiwan	1	Taichung
Finnish Schools	Japan	1	Otsu

#### 4. OVERSEAS SCHOOLS OF ASIAN ORIGIN

The political split between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea), and between the People's Republic of China (China) and the Republic of China (Taiwan) subsequently split the overseas schools affiliated with these nations, often accompanied by covert political maneuvers, with the either party attempting to strengthen its influence. The Republic of Korea was founded by the U.S. Forces in 1948, which then were stationed in Okinawa after the end of the Pacific War. Taiwan became the seat of the Chiang Kai-Shek government, after his flight from the mainland, supported by the U.S. Forces in 1949. It is natural that the Chinese and Korean public could not condone puppet governments such as these. The United States Military Forces intensified its control of East Asia by setting Okinawa the cornerstone of its defense, and by allying with mainland Japan, Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. Japan as a consequence, became integrated into America's Asian Policy in terms of politics, military operations, economy and culture. There are 8 Department of Defense Dependents Schools in Okinawa, 15 in mainland Japan, 7 in Korea and 10 in the Philippines.<sup>(19)</sup>

This has complicated the issues of Korean and Chinese residents in Japan. The immigration of these people to



Japan is directly attributable to the pre-war colonial policies and war-time forced labor in Japan. The responsibility of the Japanese government therefore cannot be negated. Japan's political and economic post-war prosperity, however, was based on re-conquering of Asia. The eye witnesses of Japan's military ventures in Asia, therefore, have been maltreated, or ignored at best. Blandishing the American-style Communist-Democratic antagonism, both the government and the people of Japan regarded the existence of the immigrant populations, as something detestable, as evidenced by the continuous harrassment and oppression directed at these people.

The attitude of Japan's comparative education has been questionable all along. Some college courses of this subject were meeting places of the students from the South Korea and Taiwan. Some even seemed like classrooms on the South Korean Education. One educational institute of comparative education for many years functioned as if it were a body dedicated solely to the study of the South Korean education. The Japan Comparative Education Society has had a prominent number of Korean scholars. Although nothing is wrong with the large-number enrollment of South Korean and Taiwanese exchange students and scholars in academic institutions, the problem is the exclusion of their

opposing sector. The author of Korean Education in Japan (Aires, 1984), Park Sang Dok was once rejected participation in an conference of the Society held at the University of Kyoto. Obvious discrimination such as this will naturally have its cause and effect. The cause is the integration of comparative education into the U.S. and Japanese Asian policies. The effect is spiritual oppression of these scholars. In this sense, Masunori Hiratsuka has succeeded in restoring the rhetoric for conquering and ruling other races. Under the cover of comparative education, he engaged in thought control, propaganda and maneuvering of public opinions. Hiding behind the facade of education in Korea, the Society fulfilled just one purpose - recognition of South Korea as an independent nation. In an environment such as this, one cannot expect a sound growth in comparative education, especially if it is related to Asia.

South Korean schools are found in East Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East and the United States, clearly a reflection of the recent brisk economic activities, sometimes called "The Miracle of Hang Ko River" or "Korea at Your Heels." The opening of the Education Center for Overseas Koreans and the Society for the Study of Bilingual Education also reflect the new confidence felt by these people. The strongman government in South Korea extends its

support and control into political education among its overseas populations, sometimes to an embarrassment to the United States. As shown in Table 5, there are 14 day-schools and 7 Saturday-schools in East and Southeast Asia.

South Korean Schools, which have long served as the bastion of in "ethnic nationalistic education" to the Koreans living in Japan, now see a large number of children of diplomats or elite businessmen, gradually driving Japan-born Korean children to a more subordinate position. Children of diplomats and businessmen prefer American or British overseas schools for the obvious advantages they promise in their future career. Egotism and personal gains are clearly evident here.

North Korean schools affiliated with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea totalling 154 exist only in Japan. This large figure indicates the support rendered by the Korean residents in Japan. These schools emphasize the pride and heritage of the Koreans, which is pleasant even to the Japanese who have more or less lost their national identity. The students who had been subjected to discrimination or had lived with the fear of disclosed racial identity would truly breathe freely when they move to such schools. The Japanese should have given such freedom to the Korean residents in Japan long ago. As the older

Korean generation is replaced by the newer generations, however, they assimilate Japan's cultural elements, thus weakening their "national identity." This may well be a fatal blow against the schools affiliated with North Korea, because they have been particularly eager in "nationalistic education." As a result, enrollment at these schools has dropped sharply.

After the People's Republic of China's introduction of foreign capital and recognition of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, the North Korea has been driven to isolation, to a great dismay of their brethren in Japan. Japan should not hope for dissolution of Korean societies through assimilation nor self-destruction of their homeland through a political strife so that Japanese capitals can freely march into the North. Aggressive sentiments such as this on the part of the Japanese have always fuelled "nationalistic education" in North Korean schools. The many Korean schools in Northeastern part of China are known to be most advanced. We should try to study the schools of Korean populations in Northeastern China and Sakhalin.

Popular sayings such as "Where there is water, there are overseas Chinese" or "No overseas Chinese without Chinese education," the Chinese have spread to every corner of the globe. The Office of Overseas Chinese in Taiwan

reports that a total of 5,300 Chinese schools existed in 1967. This number decreased dramatically to 3,880 by 1985, due to "international situation and interference by Red China." In Asia, in a broad sense of the word, there are 3,196 elementary schools, 21 vocational training schools, 277 primary junior schools, and 224 full-scale middle schools and 17 institutions of higher education. The Office further cites that there are 3 elementary schools, 1 primary school and 2 full-scale middle schools in Japan.<sup>(20)</sup> Although the number of Chinese schools correspond with the figures in Table 6, it must be noted that they include both Taiwan-affiliated and China-affiliated schools. The criteria for these statistics used by the Office of Overseas Chinese are not clear. It is clear that Chinese schools occupy the majority of alien schools in the world.

Due to the lack of statistics from the People's Republic of China, the number of China-related schools is not clearly known. Both countries however, enthusiastically support education by offering study opportunities in the homeland offered as part of multi-faceted programs to extend influence among overseas Chinese. Between 1952 and 1984, 42,257 students of higher institutions of learning returned to Taiwan to study.<sup>(21)</sup> The Chinese Yearbook of Education of 1984 cites the number of Chinese students who returned to

China for studies between October, 1949 and 1981 to be 145,000.<sup>(22)</sup> More offices for returning overseas Chinese are located in Kanton Province and Fujian Province, where three universities have been opened to accommodate returning students. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, China subscribes to more active policies for overseas Chinese.

As for the history of Chinese schools in Japan, Dan Sang Lim, a Chinese resident in Japan has conducted a terse research.<sup>(23)</sup> Although Taiwanese thinking is emphasized in the book, it is interesting, touching upon Sun Yatsen's behavior and how it is related to modern history of Asia. From the Manchurian Incident to the opening of the Japan-Sino War, oppression of the Chinese residents in Japan increased dramatically and toward the end of the war, tragedies were not rare. One extreme example is the massacred Chinese laborers at the Hanaoka Mine in Akita Prefecture.<sup>(24)</sup> After the war, education of the overseas Chinese experienced the rift that arose between China and Taiwan, as in the case of the two Koreas. While schools affiliated with North Korea praised the works of Kim Il-sung, Chinese schools associated with China emphasized the achievements of Mao Tse-tung. Such emphasis, however, was soon condemned by the Taiwanese special assignment forces and was brought under close supervision of Japan's offices

of national security.

Oppression at Chinese schools in Japan was not as intense as that exercised at Korean schools because: (1) China undirectly took part in the Korean War, (2) the number of Chinese residents is small in Japan, (3) problems associated with overseas Chinese exist in every corner of the world, and (4) the Chinese are less critical of the Japanese. After normalization of diplomatic ties with China, the situation surrounding the Taiwan-affiliated and China-affiliated schools was reversed. Another major issue that awaits solution is the children of Japanese immigrants abandoned in Manchuria after the defeat these children have fully grown, married Chinese spouses and have Chinese children. The education of these people who choose to live in Japan is now a problem as difficult to solve as the schools for overseas Chinese.

Pre-war schools for overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia can be known from The Research on the Education of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia of Lin Zhi-quang and Zhu Hua-yu (1936, Chuzan Univ.) and Serial Studies of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia (5-volume edition compiled by the Office for the Study of East Asian Economy Affiliated to Manchu Railway Co., Ltd., 1939-1941). When mainland China was itself victimized by the superpowers of the world, the

interests of overseas Chinese were not adequately protected and they suffered difficulties especially in Thailand. However, anti-Japanese movements recurring after Japan's invasion of China reverberated in Southeast Asia, where anti-Japan activities also became rampant. Pre-war Japanese schools in these countries thrived on the hostility they harbored against the overseas Chinese. The Serial Study cited above sought means to counter overseas Chinese who then counted over seven million.

The invading Japanese armies started systematic oppression of the Chinese, resulting in massacres. After the war, many nations of Southeast Asia declared independence one after another amid expanding nationalism. This worsened the situation of the overseas Chinese. Racial antagonism in Malaysia and Indonesia is already well known. After the liberation of Vietnam, many overseas Chinese were driven out of the country. Overseas Chinese who remained were usually demanded to discard their racial identity and be assimilated into the culture of the host nation, their schools forcibly integrated into the local education systems. In many countries, the Chinese are the majority races, e.g. one million living in Vietnam, 4 million in Thailand, 4.2 million in Western Malaysia and 4.4 million in Indonesia. (25) If the local governments force in their



education system the eradication of the Chinese culture or ban the language, a serious political strife or international struggle would not be avoided.

[ Table 5 ] South and North Korean Overseas Schools (26)

Nation	Host Country	Notes	
South Korea	Japan	Full Time Schools	1 1
	Taiwan	"	2
		Part Time Schools	1
	Hong Keng	"	1
	Philippines	"	1
	Thailand	"	1
	Malaysia	"	1
	Singapore	"	2
	Indonesia	Full Time Schools	1
North Korea	Japan	Primary Schools	8 5
	"	Tunior High Schools	5 6
	"	Senior High Schools	1 2
	"	College	1

[ Table 6 ] Chinese Overseas Schools (27)

Notion	School	Notes
China	Yokohama Yamate Chinese School Kobe Dobun Chinese School Nagasaki Jichu Chinese School	Close in 1987
Taiwan	Tokyo Chinese School Yokohama Chinese School Osaka Chinese Junia High School	

Finally, there are 16 Indonesian overseas schools around the world (Table 7) and 7 of them are located in East and Southeast Asia. Because of the abundant natural resources, Japan has long been interested in this country

since the pre-war times, and thus a large amount of studies have been made about this country by national policy-making organizations and others. Japan's advance into Indonesia in the post-war period was spurred by the fact that the Japanese Navy had secretly helped independence movements in that country. The rash ingress of Japanese capital into this country thereafter culminated as the 1974 anti-Japanese riots in Jakarta. Indonesian School in Japan is rather large in scale and is active in disseminating the culture of that country through Indonesian language courses for the Japanese.

[Table 7] Indonesian Overseas Schools (28)

Host Country	Number of Schools	Location
Japan	1	Megro
Philippines	1	Manila
Hong Kong	1	
Thailand	1	Bangkok
Burma	1	Rangoon
Malaysia	1	Kuala Lumpur
Singapore	1	

## CONCLUSION

The author wishes to make a few additions to the above overview of alien schools in Asia. First of all, the alien schools data used in this paper may contain schools of diplomatic missions for the education of their dependents, but on the other hand, not all of such schools are included

in the data. The schools run by diplomatic missions usually pose no problem unless they move outside due to greater enrollment of children of businessmen. Secondly, the data used in this paper does not include private schools located inside American military bases. Although there are non-Department of Defense Dependents Schools inside the Kadena Air Force Base of Okinawa and Yokota Base, not much is known about them. Thirdly, the paper does not refer to British and American-type international schools run privately by religious organizations because greater attention has been paid to the analysis of U.S. policies concerning overseas schools. (The author wishes to point out the following about the international schools run by religious organizations: (1) The majority of their students are children of employees of multi-nationality businesses, (2) An increasing number of these schools are adopting the International Baccalaureate system, (3) Department of Defense Dependents Schools do not offer religious education, so these schools begin to incline heavily on U.S. military bases, (4) These schools and Department of Defense Dependents Schools maintain close ties through sports exchange, etc. From these, it looks as if they want to impress others that "God favors peace through the United States.")

Forthly, the wives of Japanese employees of multinational businesses are beginning volunteer activities for slum dwellers. Therefore, we cannot hostilely deny the chance of defending their efforts. These movements, however, will not solve the profound structural problems that exist. Fifthly, many overseas Chinese are naturalized and are not aliens in their host country. Some Chinese schools included in this paper are not necessarily alien schools. When comparing Japan with other countries in terms of alien school administration, analysis of history and educational laws of each host country should be necessary. Researchers must not use separate cases to defend the current policies governing alien schools.

Fukuzawa Yukichi says in his "Datua Ron" or "Freedom from Asia" of 1885 that "Do not apply a special criterion to evaluate your neighbor country. It should be treated just in the way Westerners do." Nakae Chomin in his book "A Year and Half" (1901) writes, "I am quite dissatisfied with the way things are done in this Meiji Era." Some interpret Fukuzawa's statement as not contemptuous of Asian neighbors but is a declaration of defeat in supporting revolutionary groups in Korea. Nakae, on the other hand, paid enough attention to the discriminated "Buraku" population in Japan as well as to Asian neighbors. The difference between Nakae

and the cool-eyed Fukuzawa is self-evident.

Comparative education in Japan, as analyzed in this paper, resembles the stance taken by Fukuzawa in his "Freedom from Asia". The lack of fear and tension for dissolution of a nation, together with the general complacency of the Japanese public make the current comparative education something decadent. If used for thought control and public opinion manipulation by the bureaucracy and the industrial and business sectors, it no longer is worthy of the name "academic study." Those concerned with comparative education seem a little concerned with the modernization policy of China, but disinterested in the famine in the Negros Island. Discrimination against returnees from China, in addition to the older discrimination against Korean residents in Japan, is not even fully recognized.

The maintenance of the "status quo" and technical support for the end that characterize the education of Japanese children overseas are caused by poor capabilities of the administrators, pressures from the industrial and business sectors and shameless opportunism on the part of the academicians. An overview of alien schools in Asia eloquently bespeaks the deep problems encountered. The authorities must stop interference into the academic

circles, and instead, encourage wide-ranging research in international education. Otherwise, interests of the entire Japanese race would be risked.

#### NOTES

- (1) See Takuzo Minagawa, "Alien Schools in Latin America", Research Bulletin of International Education No.3 (1983), and Hideo Kakinuma, "Alien Schools in Africa", Research Bulletin of International Education No.6 (1986).
- (2) See Shunichi Nishimura, "U.S.-Japan Military Alliance and its Educational Implications; with Special Reference to Education of U.S. Department of Defense Dependents Schools", Research Bulletin of International Education No.5 (1985).
- (3) See Masunori Hiratsuka, History of Education and Culture in Modern China; with Special Reference to Other's Educational Activities for China", (Meguro Publishing Co., 1942).
- (4) See Hiroshi Abe ed., "Japan-China Educational and Cultural Exchange and Conflict; Japanese Educational Operation in Pre-War China", (Daiichi Publishing Co., 1983).

- (5) See Shunichi Nishimura, "Education in Japan and its relation to the World; with Special Reference to International Schools", in Minoru Ishizuki and Masayuki Suzuki eds., Education in Japan and its Internationalization (Fukumura Publishing Co., 1988).
- (6) See Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol.4, (Gaibun Publishing Co., 1972), p.573.
- (7) See T. Luebke, American Elementary & Secondary Community Schools Abroad, (AASA, 1976), p.40.
- (8) Ibid., p.39.
- (9) See Overseas American-Sponsored Elementary and Secondary Schools Assisted by the U.S. Department of State, Department of State Publication 9465, (Office of Overseas Schools, 1986), p.19-
- (10) See Shunichi Nishimura, "The International Baccalaureate: a Japanese view", Research Bulletin of International Education No.6 (1986).
- (11) This table is based mainly on Schools Abroad of Interest to Americans, 1985-86, 6th Edition, (Porter Sargent Publishers, 1985) and Annual Directory, 1985/86, (IBO).
- (12) These data are based on the following materials.

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Ginjiro Takada ed., Educational Development in

Sakharin, (Sakharin Education Association, 1936).

Manchuria

Japan Residential Office for Education in Manchuria,  
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Korea

Education Section of Governor-general's Office of  
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China

Japanese Cultural Operation in China, (East Asia  
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Taiwan

Education Section of Governor-general's Office of  
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Southeast Asia

Education Section of Governor-general's Office of  
Colonial Taiwan, Education of Overseas Japanese in  
Southeast Asia, (1937).

Pacific Islands

Educational Outline of Overseas Japanese in Pacific  
Islands, (Research Institute of Pacific Economy, 1941).

- (13) See Hiroshi Kida, "Let's Reform Education of Overseas  
Japanese", (News Paper Sankei May 12, 1983), and  
Internationalization of Education and Education of



Overseas Japanese, the Report of Symposium No.5, (The Center for Education of Children Overseas, 1986), p.56.

(14) These data are based on Present State of Education of Overseas Japanese Children, (Ministry of Education, 1988), p.10.

(15) See Shigetaka Imai, "German Overseas Schools", Research Bulletin of Tokyo Kogei University, Vol.7 No.2, (1984).

(16) Ibid., p.5.

(17) Informations on overseas schools of each country are based on the following materials.

German Overseas Schools

Auslandsschulverzeichnis, Max Hueber, 1979.

French Overseas Schools

Ministere de L'Education, Etablissements d'Enseignement Francais a l'Etranger, (1980).

(18) Informations on overseas schools of each country are based on the following materials.

Swedish Overseas School

Copy offered from Skolaverstyrelsen (Its original is not identified.)

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Det Kongelige Kirke-Og Undervisningsdepartement, Norges Offentlige Utredninger, Forskrifter til Privatskoleloven, (1981).

### Finnish Overseas Schools

Copy offered from Ministry of Education of Finland (Its original is not identified.)

- (19) Ibid., pp.39-40.
- (20) Statistics of Overseas Chinese, The Office of Overseas Chinese in Taiwan, (1986).
- (21) Ibid., p.119.
- (22) Chinese Yearbook of Education, (Chinese Encyclopedia Publishing Co., 1984), p.648.
- (23) Dan Sang-lim, Education of Overseas Chinese in Japan, Asian Culture, Vol.7-Vol.9, (Asian Culture Research Institute, 1982-1984).
- (24) The Record of the 40th Anniversary of the Hanaoka Mine Incident, (The Society for Keeping Japan-China Friendship Monument in Hanaoka, 1986).
- (25) Number of overseas Chinese in each country is based on General Survey of Southeast Asia 1985, (The Society for Survey of Southeast Asia, 1985).
- (26) Informations on overseas schools of each country is based on the following materials.

### South Korean Overseas Schools

Che Mun-gil, Education of Overseas Korean, Monthly Research Report No.10, the Center for Education of Children Overseas, September 1, 1980).

North Korean Overseas Schools

Han Duk-su, Thought and Practice for Sovereign Movement of Overseas Koreans, (Mirai Publishing Co., 1986), p.313.

(27) Ibid., Duan Bai-lin.

(28) Informations on Indonesian Overseas Schools were offered from the Indonesian Embassy in Japan.

