THE ROLE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES
IN AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION;
AN EVALUATIVE AND COMPARATIVE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Daniel Frederick Davis, B.S., M.A.

* * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

Robert E. Smeltz
Adviser
College of Education
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my editor, critic, secretary and pillar of support during the writing of this dissertation, I wish to thank my wife, Barbara, whose love and kindness made it come to fruition.

The work on this dissertation has also been generously supported over a period of two years, by the Education faculty of the Ohio State University. Particularly, for their support, friendship, critical analysis, patience and understanding, a special debt of gratitude is due Professors Robert E. Jewett, M. Eugene Gilliom, Paul Klohr, and Franklin R. Buchanan.

The Ohio State University
May, 1972

Daniel F. Davis
VITA

February 17, 1941  Born - Brooklyn, New York

1963..............  B.S., The State University of New York-College at Oswego


1967 .............  Participant, N.D.E.A. Institute in Asian Studies, Seton Hall University South Orange, New Jersey

1969..............  Participant, N.S.F. Institute in Sociology, Ball State University Muncie, Indiana

1970..............  M.A., The City University of New York Brooklyn College

1970-1972........  Teaching Associate, in the Faculty of Humanities Education, The Ohio State University

1971-1972........  Associate Director of the Service Center For the Teachers of Asian Studies, The Ohio State University

PUBLICATIONS

"A Critical Guide to Four Published Asian Studies Curriculum Programs." (November, 1971 issue of Focus)

"The Dynamics of Modernization, A Study in Comparative History." Some suggestions for Classroom Use. (November, 1971 issue of Focus)


"Over Population, Blessing or Curse?" (February, 1972 issue of Focus) Some Suggestions for Classroom Use.
VITA (contd)

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education
   Social Studies Education. Professor Robert E. Jewett

   Curriculum  Professor Paul Klohr

   Asian Studies Education  Professor Franklin R. Buchanan
CONTENTS

Chapter                                      Page

I.   INTRODUCTION: THE STATE OF ASIAN
     STUDIES EDUCATION.                      1
     Statement of the Problem.               6
     Purpose of the Study.                   8
     Methodology and Procedure.              10
     Assumptions Underlying the Study.       14

II.  CONTEMPORARY VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF
     ASIAN STUDIES EDUCATION.                16
     The General State of Affairs.           16
     The Place of Area Studies in the
     Social Studies Curriculum.              22
     Textbooks in Asian Studies: A
     Reflection of American Foreign Policy  23
     A Review of the Informal Literature:
     Conferences, Workshops and Symposia...   26
        a. The Role of Asian Studies in
            American Secondary Education.     27
        b. Association for Asian Studies Panel
            on Asia in the Schools.           41
        c. How Can Educators Increase under-
            standing of China?              45
        d. The Role of Asian Studies in
            Ohio Schools.                    49

III. AN EVALUATION OF SELECTED ASIAN STUDIES
     CURRICULUM PROJECTS.                   53
     The Asian Studies Inquiry Program.      54
     A Look Across Cultures: China -
     Connecticut Cluster Project on
     Non-Western Cultures.                   84
     A Look Across Cultures: Japan -
     Connecticut Cluster Project on
     Non-Western Cultures.                   103
     Modular Curriculum: English/Social
     Studies - Chinese Civilization,
     1968-1970, Extramural Independent
     Study Center.                          123
CONTENTS (Contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. ARRANGEMENT OF CONTENT IN MODERN EAST ASIAN STUDIES: A COMPARATIVE CONCEPTUAL-ORIENTED MODEL</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Rationale for a Comparative Conceptual Approach</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Examination of C.E. Black's Model for Modernization</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct Concepts Necessary for an Understanding of Modern China</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA: Phase I - The Challenge of Modernity</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct Concepts Necessary for an Understanding of Modern Japan</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAPAN: Phase I - The Challenge of Modernity</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA: Phase II - The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAPAN: Phase II - The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA: Phase III - The Economic and Social Transformation</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAPAN: Phase III - The Economic and Social Transformation</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAPAN: Phase IV - The Integration of Society</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA: Phase IV - The Integration of Society</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE STATE OF ASIAN STUDIES EDUCATION

Throughout the United States today there seems to be an air of excitement over the possible rapprochement with the People's Republic of China. President Nixon's historic visit to Peking, may or may not be a portent of things to come; one may be sure, however, that whatever emerges from this high level détente will significantly alter the way in which the people of the United States view China.

In an almost prophetic twist of irony, our relations with Japan may be deteriorating at the same pace that our relations with China are improving. There are two reasons for this deterioration: Firstly, as Japan increases her technological expertise, she will surely become a greater threat to American technology. Secondly, given Japan's economic position in the modern world, she has a disproportionately small amount of power in the political arena. As Japan went about the incredibly difficult task of re-modernizing after the war, her lack of military and political clout was a blessing. Now that she has achieved post-industrial maturity, she wants and expects a greater voice in world affairs. One may suggest that as Japan attempts to take her rightful place among the world powers, she will increasingly alienate the United States.
These developments have particular relevance for the social studies, not only because many social studies teachers are also students of history and political science, but because as significant events occur in the United States, they sooner or later find their way into the social studies curricula.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to reassess the treatment of China and Japan by American textbook publishers. Most of us are aware that this treatment has usually been one-dimensional, ethnocentric, biased and stereotypical. However, it is optimism, rather than pessimism, which prompted this dissertation. One may expect that as time passes, and tensions in East Asia ease, the problems of infusing Asian Studies into the curriculum will decrease considerably.

Perhaps Asian Studies can follow the lead of Black Studies, which only a decade ago, was a nonentity, but which today is sensitizing Americans to the culture of the Black Man. One might even suggest, that Asian Studies could act as a "cultural buffer" to Black Studies in easing Americans into the truth about the role of the Black Man in American society. However, before Asian Studies can act as any type of buffer, both its content and methodology will have to be radically upgraded.

Today, at best, Chinese cultural history evokes a patronizing nod of the head from many social studies teachers. At worst, many are openly antagonistic to much of Chinese culture.
How will American social studies teachers react to these quotes?

(1) I was taught that it was virtuous to be useful to society, to curb one's individual desires, to get along well with others. To be selfish was considered bad; to be disloyal was considered bad; to be unkind was considered very bad.

(2) I was a good son and never dared to do or say anything to provoke my father's wrath. Once, after I got a zero on a math exam, he bent me over a chair and spanked me with a hand of iron. I felt greatly disgraced and concentrated on redeeming the blight I felt I had brought on my family's name.

Will teachers snicker at this long lost "tradition-directed" society in an "other-directed" America; or will they strive to understand what it means to be Chinese? The answers will not come easily. In an article reprinted in Newsweek Magazine, February 21, 1972, the author, in speaking of American Chinese relations, stated:

Perhaps no voices are more foreign to an American than those of the Chinese. The two peoples are poles apart—separated by such a vast cultural, historic and psychological chasm that it is hardly surprising that Americans have so much trouble grasping that elusive sense of 'Chineseness.' Where an American thinks in terms of 'I,' a Chinese is apt to think of 'we.' Where Western logic tends toward the absolutes of either/or, Chinese reasoning is based on the more harmonious blend of both/and. And if a primary gauge of American

---

civilization lies in its level of technical achievements and material affluence, the measure of Chinese society as Chinese see it lies in collective ethics and social organization.

Chinese and Americans, in short, are separated by far more than geography—with the result that, more often than not, they have regarded each other with misunderstanding, distrust and hostility. But now, after a prolonged and bitter era in the relations between these two nations, an American President is embarking on a precedent-shattering journey to Peking. And thus an effort toward bridging the gap of mutual misunderstanding between 200 million Americans and 800 million Chinese has suddenly become more essential than ever before. 2

Japan, however, does not quite present the problem to Americans, that they have traditionally had in understanding China. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Japan has "accepted" Western technology more easily than their Chinese counterparts. This is not to suggest that the Japanese were not equally nationalistic; it is to suggest perhaps, that the Japanese had to give up less of their indigenous cultural ideals in order to modernize.

But, to hint that either of the two East Asian countries ever received unbiased treatment at the hands of American textbook publishers would be an unfounded wish. It would be scapegoating to imply, however, that textbook publishers were mainly responsible for the one-dimensional portrayal of East Asia in our textbooks.

2 Ibid., p.37
After all, publishers are usually a mirror image of a society's wants and needs.

A brief review of our past foreign relations with China, including the "who lost China" madness coupled with the "witch hunts" of the 1950's by Joseph McCarthy, indicates a subjective paranoia of unprecedented proportions in American diplomatic history. As one United States-China scholar explained: "Americans have never been able to think rationally about China. China has always been our emotional self-indulgence, our national hangup in foreign affairs."³

In cultivating this "irrational behavior," on the part of Americans toward China, some sociologists suggest that the pendulum may be swinging back in China's favor. Perhaps this is as dangerous a position to hold as our earlier "hate China" policies. Americans seem to have the capacity to overreact to almost all events on the political spectrum. Our lack of knowledge about Chinese perceptions, not the least of which, is her view of international relations, may again create in the minds of many Americans, a euphoria which is neither accurate nor warranted.

³Ibid., p.40
Statement of the Problem:

The problem then to be dealt with for Asian Studies Education, is to create and maintain curricula materials which can remain constant in the face of ever-changing American foreign relations. A curriculum which is dependent on the whim of administrators and school-boards cannot, by its very nature, have long range significance to American students. 4

Professors Ainslee Embree and Theodore deBary, both Asian scholars and educators, who are deeply interested in the diffusion of "Non-Western" studies at the public school level stated that,

...so rapidly has our consciousness developed of the need for greater understanding of Asia, and so widespread the effort to meet it through all levels of education, through state and federal programs, through international exchange, through the intense competition among publishers for Asian materials, that the problem is no longer how to stimulate action in favor of Asian studies, but rather, how to guide these burgeoning effects in the right direction. 5

The preceding statement raises a series of questions which have to be examined and at least partially answered, if Asian Studies is to make significant and lasting inroads into the curricula of contemporary American education.

4 The Review of the Literature, in part, presents a chronological view of Asian Studies in the secondary schools, through impact-response framework.

According to Theodore deBary:

The purpose of a truly liberal or humanistic education will be served only if we accept the people and civilizations of Asia, not as factors in the cold war or as means to some immediate practical end, but because their experiences in living together, what they have learned about life and what they have come to understand about the universe, is now seen as part of the common human heritage. They are to be studied, therefore, as people who can teach us much about ourselves, whose past can give us a new perspective on our own history, and whose way of looking at things challenges us to reexamine our own attitudes. 6

If we accept deBary's premise of a "common human heritage," curricula should reflect a humanistic and cultural world outlook, as opposed to reflecting a limited course in "world politics or international relations in the Far East." And whatever its value to area specialists or graduate students, this limited approach does not meet the needs of secondary school students.

It would seem then, that there is at least a dual problem: (a) How does one go about selecting and evaluating existing curricula materials with an eye toward a "common human heritage" approach? and (b) if the existing materials do not measure up to our needs for a "common human heritage," how does one go about selecting new approaches to Asian civilization which will center on a multidisciplinary humanistic framework?

6Ibid., p.ix
Purpose of the Study:

The primary purposes of the study are twofold. The first purpose is to select criteria by which to evaluate existing Asian Studies projects, and to decide on the basis of those criteria, whether they fit the needs of secondary social studies students. The second purpose of this study is to reconstruct a model for the arrangement of content within an Asian Studies course which (a) is conducive to concept learning, (b) unearths prerequisite concepts necessary for an understanding of Asian Studies in the secondary schools, (c) draws upon several of the social sciences, (d) is comparative in nature, (e) raises universal questions which may be applied to other modernizing societies.

Ancillary objectives of this study include finding data pertinent to understanding and effecting other area studies, and making a modest beginning toward a conceptual framework of Asian Studies education.

Methodology and Procedure:

In an attempt to establish peramiters on the nature of Asian Studies education, the initial phase of the investigation is devoted to an examination of the pertinent literature in the field. The reader will find a general overview of the contemporary state of the literature in Asian Studies education. Beyond this limited review of the state of the field, one finds very little in the way of formal literature.
The next section is devoted to an examination of conferences held within the past two years concerning the question of Asian Studies in secondary education. This "written" dialogue is divided by conferences, and then sub-divided by themes, within the conferences. (From an analysis of these data is this investigator's operational construct to evaluate curricula materials in Asian Studies.) Therefore, Chapter III is designed to give the reader a broad view of four major curricula projects published within the last five years.

The format of the evaluation comes from what has been regarded in social studies curricula as a viable operational tool by which to evaluate curricula projects. In broad terms, six variables will be employed: (1) Scope and Sequence, the breadth and depth of the projects; (2) Social Studies Methodology, the ability of the projects to transform social science concepts into social studies material for viable classroom use; (3) Level of Questioning, the ability of the projects to ask questions which indicate both a high level of abstraction and allow for a divergence of thought; (4) Arrangement of Readings, the ability of the projects to arrange Readings to aid in reflective reasoning and inquiry. (Do the authors arrange their Readings in such a way as to juxtapose different views on the same major issue, or is the material arranged to encourage students to support the unit's assumptions?); (5) Adequacy of Sources, are the sources objective,
multi-dimensional, and current; or are they subjective, one-dimensional and outdated? (6) Evaluation, Given an examination of all of the preceding variables, is the project suitable for classroom use?

Given the foregoing apparatus for evaluating curricula in Asian Studies, one should ask: What significant cognitive and affective themes have been mistreated or ignored in the four projects under analysis? Chapter IV should then provide an indepth examination of those themes. One theme consistently ignored by the authors of the four projects was the application of comparative concepts in the examination of East Asian civilization. Chapter IV explores the use of the comparative concept of modernization with the following rationale in mind: Comparative concepts are - (1) by nature fluid and changing; (2) force the student to make ongoing comparisons, an activity rarely developed in social studies classrooms, i.e. incorporate other adjunct concepts which may be applicable for other societies; (3) allow students to view sociological dysfunction in a historical milieu, and one hopes that the student may then be better able to contend with a rapidly changing world; (4) may be readily converted into a model which can serve as a guide to hypothesis testing concerning other modernizing societies and hence, can facilitate the arrangement of content around a logical philosophical framework.
Assumptions underlying the Study:

A number of assumptions underlie this study. These fall into two major categories. First, Asian Studies has intrinsic significance by the very nature of our general lack of information and lack of empathy concerning other cultures. Second, area studies may often act as an important vehicle in the process of reflective thinking. This writer, being sensitive to the need for limiting assumptions in a study of this type, suggests that the major assumption should be that Asian Studies education cannot cure all of the ills inherent in public secondary education. Many educators who are infatuated with the culture of the "exotic East" often times expect students to share in their enthusiasm. It is quite true that all of the alleged ingredients for an exciting curriculum may be found in Asian Studies; it has a "high" culture, divergent philosophies, intrigue, rebellion and a host of other fascinating themes. However, the same may be said for Greece and Rome. And if Mencius is to become the Chinese counterpart of Plato, there is some question about the need for Asian Studies in secondary education. (Plato, more often than not, means that high school students memorize the fact that Plato authored The Republic but know nothing of his philosophy.)
If Asian Studies is to succeed in accomplishing the kinds of objectives this investigator assumes it can, its proponents must first admit that the world is already over-crowded with people who are making the same kinds of assumptions about their own "specialties." With this "limitation" in mind, we can begin to analyze some of the great possibilities Asian Studies holds for us in the secondary school curriculum. Theodore deBary, in his text, Approaches to Asian Studies, stated that:

...granting that much more can be done to provide in secondary education, the kind of factual information on Asia that is basic to further learning, it may still be questioned whether we can expect that the Western students' preparation for Asia will ever be brought to the level of his knowledge concerning the West. 7

If deBary's assumption is valid, then one must find a conceptual model which can facilitate the gathering of data from which to investigate other modernizing societies. In simplest terms, the kind of education we can gain from the study of other peoples, is largely determined by the questions which we ask and the facts which we seek.  

---

7Ibid., p.xi
The "Civilization" course offered at Columbia University, seems to be raising the right kinds of questions: (1) How do the people make a living (the material foundation of life?) (2) How do they live together (their social organizations and processes?) and (3) How do they think of themselves and of other people in the world and the universe (their images as reflected in religious philosophy, literature and art)?

By learning a general technique of how to study a particular culture, one may assume, or at least hope that the method can be internalized and employed for observing other cultures. Acquiring empathy does not come easily. It comes with a rational understanding of the differences, as well as the universality, of given societies. True empathy ought not be confused with sentimentalism. The former is an acquired skill, the latter, a passing projection of one's own guilt. "True empathy," in the words of one author, "can be a kind of 'unilateral cultural disarmament' because the better one understands others, the better one understands himself. Nothing is lost by knowing more about others; nothing is gained by limiting one's own view."

---


But, if we continue to ask the wrong questions, i.e. "the Soviet Union is our enemy and we must learn how to cope with them" or "Why is Cuba of strategic importance to the United States?" we will continue to arrive at wrong answers.

Those "wrong" answers will condition students "to view other peoples and countries as pawns in a power game and to think of them as actual or potential allies or enemies."\(^{10}\)

Perhaps the most honest point we can make about almost all cultures, is that they usually have an unconscious preoccupation with themselves. Seymour Fersh makes the following observation:

> From the moment of birth, the infant in all cultures is encouraged to be ethnocentric—to believe that his homeland, his people, his language, his everything is not only different but is superior to those of other people. The elders (by demonstration and remonstration) teach that the ways in which we do things are the 'natural ways,' 'the proper ways,' and the 'moral ways.' In other places, they—'barbarians,' 'infidels,' 'foreigners'—follow a 'strange' and 'immoral' way of life. 'Ours is the culture; theirs is a culture.'\(^{11}\)

It would be absurd to suggest that a course in Asian Studies or any other "study" could end ethnocentrism. One may suggest, however, as Marshall McLuhan so aptly phrased it, that "awareness can help an observer to realize that what he 'sees' is largely already behind his eyes. Our need today

\(^{10}\text{Ibid., p.47}^3\)
\(^{11}\text{Ibid., p.37}^3\)
is culturally the same as the scientist's who seeks to become aware of the bias of the instruments of research in order to correct his bias."\(^{12}\)

A by-product of inter-cultural understanding, one hopes will be intra-cultural tolerance. The United States is still very much a multi-ethnic society. To refer to a particular ethnic group as "culturally disadvantaged" is to commit the same error in perception at an intra-cultural level that one commits at an inter-cultural level. At a more personal level, empathic understanding of cultural variations may help bridge the cultural gap which exists between parents and children in post-industrial societies. When one considers the technological "advances" of the last two decades, one could argue very persuasively that both parents and children need a cultural perspective from which to communicate.

In passing to the initial stage of the study, the reader is reminded that the study will proceed on two levels: the second level deals primarily with evaluation and organization of content, but at the same time, its basic structure flows from the first level of the study, which relates to the general state of the findings relative to Asian Studies education.

\(^{12}\) Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy (Toronto: Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1962) p. 31
CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF
ASIAN STUDIES EDUCATION

A. The General State of Affairs

In December of 1965, a conference on "Foreign Language
and Area Studies in the United States," was held at Princeton
University. It was the first coordinated effort on behalf of
educators and "Non-Western" specialists, to address themselves
to the question of Area Studies at the secondary level. A
transcript of this conference appeared in the Spring, 1966
issue of The Educational Record.¹ There were five papers
reproduced in The Educational Record, for discussion purposes.
Of the five papers presented, Howard Mehlinger's paper, "Area
Studies at the Secondary Level," seemed most appropriate for
the purposes of this study.

Mehlinger began his paper by capsulating the past two
decades of attempts to find a place for "Non-Western" studies
in the secondary schools of the United States. In his initial
remarks, Mehlinger made the point that for pragmatic political
reasons, the emphasis on "Non-Western" studies was initially
placed at the graduate level.

¹Princeton University Conference on "Foreign Language
and Area Studies in the United States:" A Guide For High
School and College Programs, December 17-18, 1965. The
However, as the critical shortage of specialists decreased, along with a similar decrease in cold war tensions, the emphasis shifted. Throughout the country, American universities began to reappraise what was essentially a pragmatic attempt to keep themselves abreast of world currents. According to Mehlinger:

...the secondary schools have been quietly undergoing a similar self-appraisal. Though the schools’s interest in international relations and area studies can be traced back to World War II, it is during the past decade that the most significant gain, both in quantity and quality of instruction devoted to non-Western areas of the world, has taken place. This can be observed in the substantial increase in the number and percentage of high school students enrolled in modern foreign language; it is also evident though less dramatically, in the changes that have taken place in the teaching of social studies. 2

Mehlinger also pointed out that in many cases these changes were taking place at the secondary level before similar efforts were being made in undergraduate education. This emphasis, at the high school level, undercut the notion that curricula innovation, somehow had seeped down from the top, in this case, the undergraduate schools.

Secondary schools, according to Mehlinger, are vocational in orientation to the degree that schools view college preparatory courses as preparation for students to meet with success at the undergraduate college level. Because of this utilitarian approach schools introduced courses in "Non-Western" studies in order to promote goals and objectives which were compatible with their view of patriotism and citizenship education. In 1965, Mehlinger stated that:

If the social studies are to assume the major responsibility for teaching about non-Western areas in the secondary schools, we must have: (1) specially designed courses on non-Western areas or at least courses in which units on the non-West can be included; (2) books and other materials on non-Western areas for both teachers and students; and (3) well trained teachers who are knowledgeable about one or more non-Western areas. 3

In a study conducted by the North Central Association Foreign Language Project, it was discovered that the patterns of social studies courses, in the 1960's, have changed little since 1920. The curriculum was comprised of civics, world history, American history, and either a Problems of Democracy course, or an economics elective, in the senior year. In a survey of three hundred and sixty-eight schools, conducted in 1965, the following was determined:

Seventy-five required from four to six semesters of social studies; American history was required in ninety-nine percent, government in forty-five percent,

---

3Ibid., p.244
world history in thirty-five percent,
Problems of Democracy in thirty percent,
civics slightly less than thirty percent,
and economics in sixteen percent. The
decade between 1950-1960, saw a great in-
crease in world history requirements.
International relations was required in
two percent of the schools and offered as
an elective, sixteen percent of the others
have been growing more popular; almost one-
third of the schools indicated that they
had added the course since 1961. 4

In a more recent study, cited in the Mehlinger article,
the author suggested that the "schools may now be giving more
attention to topics related to international and intercultural
relations than they did in 1963." 5

There are some encouraging signs that "Non-Western"
culture courses will become part of many high school social
studies curricula. For example, in June 1961, The Pennsylvania
State Council of Education required that all high school pu-
pils must have at least one semester of a course in world
cultures for graduation. The state of Wisconsin now requires
a two year sequence in world history, at the eighth and ninth
grade levels, in which one of the years will focus on "Non-
Western" history. 6

While there is almost total agreement among educators
that other cultures should be studied at the secondary level,
there is little agreement about the rationale or the method-
ology to be employed.

4 Evelyn Jones, "Social Studies Requirements in an Age of
Science and Math," Social Education, XXVII (January 1963) p.18
5 Howard Mehlinger, "Area Studies and the Secondary Schools,"
The Educational Record, Vo. 47, No. 2 (Spring 1966) p.247
6 Curie N. Dunlap, "The Teaching of International Relations
in the Schools," (Unpublished MS, 1965, cited p.248 of The
Educational Record)
Howard Mehlinger was accurate when he said:

More often than not, the objectives underlying the inclusion of a unit or course... on a 'non-Western' area are stated in terms of national interest rather than of the value of the child. Therefore, units or courses on Communism and the U.S.S.R. became popular because 'we must learn to get along with the Russians, or more often, the U.S.S.R. is our enemy and we must learn to cope with it.'

This "pragmatic motive" as Yu-Kuang Chu called it, may be necessary,

...in trying to persuade federal and state legislatures or private donors to make available the needed financial support for this new educational development. The provision for non-Western studies in the National Defense Education Act passed by Congress in 1958, is a case in point. However, if limited to this motive, students are apt to view other peoples and countries as pawns in a power game and to think of them as actual or potential allies and enemies. Even the humanitarian motive leading the young people to see the need for the rich nations to help the poor nations before time runs out may leave a bad taste in the mouth of the students who may feel that the non-Western countries are problem areas adding to the burden of the West. Also, the pragmatic motive often leads to an attempt at broad coverage of the non-Western world in the curriculum at the expense of a depth study of one or two areas.

7 Mehlinger, "Area Studies" The Educational Record, p.253
Chu contended that, "the study of peoples and cultures outside the Western world can liberalize an individual in ways not open to an education confined to one's own cultural heritage."  

Such prestigious organs, such as, The Commission of International Understanding of the Association of American Colleges, declared in its January, 1962 report:

That henceforth no individual can be accepted as liberally educated unless he has a reasonable acquaintance with non-Western cultures, both for their intrinsic worth and for the fresh light they may shed on Western ideas and values. 

One gets the impression from reading the Commission's address, that there is a "positive correlation" between "liberally educated" and "a reasonable acquaintance with non-Western cultures." In this writer's opinion, some overzealous proponents of this philosophy have taken this correlation to mean that a liberal treatment of non-Western cultures should also result in a corresponding witch hunt in the treatment of American relations with Asian countries. Theodore deBary acknowledged earlier as an Asianist with deep concern for public school education, stated that:

...nothing could be further from sound educational procedure. Whatever the

---

9 Chuch, *TOPIC*, p.21
10 "International Education: The Project" an address delivered at the White House Conference of International cooperation. Washington, D. C. November 30, 1965 (cited in the Kansas Extramural Project, p.44)
timing and sequence of undergraduate courses, still it is profitless to assume that general education in the Western tradition must be prejudicial to a true understanding of the East. On the contrary, experience shows that a genuine appreciation of one is the best qualification for the other. These two basic needs, an adequate grounding in the major contributions to the development of Western civilization and a substantial exposure to the contributions of Asian civilizations, should be seen, not as incompatible or antagonistic but as complementary and mutually indispensable. 11

B. The Place of Area Studies in the Social Studies Curriculum

One question which has plagued curriculum coordinators in colleges, as well as in secondary schools, should be analyzed in some depth: Is it advisable to create new course offerings in Area Studies, or should one attempt to penetrate existing courses? No doubt that an intensive course offering in an area study would be preferable to a course such as world history with "area" overtones; but, at what expense? The intensive course offering would probably have elective status and directly affect those few who registered for that elective. Although the first example is perhaps not as exotic as the elective, one is relatively assured that it would have impact over the largest number of students. The likely candidate to absorb "area studies" into an already existing curriculum, would be world history.

"Traditionally, the world history course has been limited to the history of Western Europe. But now, more and more time is being given to non-Western areas and, at the same time, world history is changing from an elective to a required course."\textsuperscript{12} Evidence of curricula changes in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, suggest that area studies will indeed have a significant impact on social studies curricula in the near future.

All too often, however, exotic nomenclature may "jazz up" a course syllabus, but have little significance to the course itself. A more obvious, if less colorful way of determining a course's content, is simply to look at the text being used. If a teacher is using a "World Geography" text, one can be relatively certain that the students are being taught geography.

C. Textbooks in Asian Studies: A Reflection of American Foreign Policy

Over the past decade, a significant number of textbooks, films, paperbacks and other assorted materials have been published. It would be futile to make any comprehensive attempt to review them all. (An indepth analysis of four major curriculum projects will be discussed in Chapter III). However, there are three or four texts and pamphlets which have had significant impact at the secondary level.

\textsuperscript{12} Mehlinger, "Area Studies," The Educational Record, p. 248
Until 1955, any treatment of the non-Western world was usually a strategic attempt to gloss over significant differences between peoples and "approach the questions of international relations with a kind of virginal innocence and idealism. This approach, although useful in helping students establish goals for which we should all strive, did little to make the present world more understandable."\(^{13}\)

The curricula in the early years, (1955-1962) of "Non-Western" studies, in the secondary schools, took the form of Foreign Relations pamphlets, which as the title suggests, emphasized another country's culture only if it fit the needs of American foreign relations. India was pitted against the People's Republic of China, as "our experiment in international democracy." Students were told that India must succeed in her economic and social plight against starvation and deprivation, for if she failed, China, the Soviet Union's "experiment in international Communism," would over take all of Asia. Eisenhower's "Domino Theory" was an all pervasive "concept" in the public schools of the United States during this period. Here we are today, after President Nixon's historic visit to "Red" China, and nowhere to be found is that awesome threat of total Communist domination. Ironically, India is perhaps

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p.249
worse off than she was in those prophetic years. China, as
witnessed by millions of the American viewing public, seems
to be doing quite well.

The second phase of books and materials began about
1963, with two significant texts: Leften Stavrianos' *A Global
History of Man,*14 and Ethel Ewing's *Our Widening World.*15
Stavrianos has had a major impact on secondary social studies;
his approach is novel and significant. "Stavrianos attempts a
global history, describing the history of man as it might
appear to an observer from Mars rather than to a Frenchman,
an Englishman, or an American."16 Stavrianos deemphasized
chronology and emphasized themes which cut across international
boundaries.

Ewing's *Our Widening World,* is an impeccably researched
text which is oriented toward cultures rather than politics.
Since its original printing, the publishers have seen fit to
make the text available in the form of pamphlets. One supposes
they decided on a new format to woo perspective selection
committees, which have moved away from expensive textbooks,
to equally expensive (but hidden) paperbacks.

16 Mehlinger, "Area Studies," *The Educational Record,* p. 248
There are two more recent textbook additions to "Non-Western" studies, in the secondary schools. The first is Edwin Fenton's, *Tradition and Change in Four Societies: Brazil, India, China and the Republic of South Africa*. Each unit begins with a study of the traditional culture, deals briefly with impact of the West, and concentrates on one facet of contemporary life in the area. The approach is interdisciplinary. The project's primary objective is to prepare students to perceive a culture as a whole.

The second project, *The Asian Studies Inquiry Program*, will be discussed at length in Chapter III. The project has been made flexible enough to permit its use in Junior high school, as an elective course in the twelfth grade, or to be introduced into existing world history courses. Perhaps even more so than the Fenton project, *The Asian Studies Inquiry Program*, will have great impact on Asian studies for years to come.

D. *A Review of the Informal Literature: Conferences, Workshops and Symposia*

Although one could continue ad nauseam, on textbook analyses, the same unfortunately is not true for methodology, subject matter emphasis, or the need for teacher training. (A thorough Eric search revealed five articles pertaining to the treatment of "Non-Western" studies at the elementary and secondary levels, in the public schools).
Most of the available data concerning Area Studies in the elementary and secondary schools, were to be found in the form of dialogue transcripts which have emanated from various conferences. Fortunately, for this writer, access to those conferences were made available through the Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies, at The Ohio State University.

In one sense, it was a blessing that there was a dearth of "formal literature." The transcripts of those conferences which follow, gives the reader a feeling of spontaneity and realism, not often found in the formal literature. It would have been relatively simple to categorize and classify each subject area, i.e. teacher preparation, methodology, scope and sequence. This writer feels however, that the conference papers and the subsequent discussant remarks would have had to have been deleted. What may be lost in organization, is gained in the sense of immediacy which one receives from reading the edited, but authentic, version of the conference.

A. "The Role of Asian Studies in American Secondary Education" A Report of Two Conferences Sponsored by the Association for Asian Studies under a Grant by the Institute of International Studies, United States Office of Education.

The most significant conference to date, concerning Asian Studies in the secondary schools, took place in New York during February, 1970, under a grant by the Institute of International Studies. The participants reflected a broad range of interests. Asian scholars from various universities
were in attendance, along with representatives of Asian Studies interest groups, as well as administrators and teachers of Asian Studies.

The conference took the form of general themes, presented by guest speakers, covering the state of the field of Asian Studies education. These themes were then critically commented on by designated discussants.

1. THEME: "Toward an Understanding of International Education."

The first guest speaker was Stanley Bogue, Director of the Center for the Study of India, New Albany, Indiana. Bogue identified objectives which were pervasive in a curriculum: (1) to transmit cultural heritage; (2) for national survival; (3) as a part of a discipline, and (4) to promote world mindedness. He noted that most curricula are dominated by what he termed "the constraints of essentialism."

The essentialists according to Bogue, see the "primary purpose of education to be the transmission of certain elements of the cultural tradition which are so important that they cannot be left to chance." 18

---

18 Ibid., p.21
This expository function, according to Bogue, is largely ineffective in affecting any meaningful conceptual learning. Rather, he sees the function of the school, "to train children to become rational members of a pluralistic society."\textsuperscript{19} Within this heuristic framework, Mr. Bogue opted for a spatial system from which to view international education. Bogue stated that, "there seems to be a relationship between certain of mans' institutions and particular defined space systems. This relationship follows from a realization that human social systems (or societies) are ultimately bound to environment - real or perceived."\textsuperscript{20}

Bogue mentioned that, "secondary messages" or "frame of reference value judgments" could not altogether be eliminated, but he stated that they (secondary messages) "can lose some of their power if we are aware of this bias of the system attaching the secondary messages to perceptions."\textsuperscript{21} Bogue would prefer an in depth study of one society by which generalizations and analytical questions could be generated for application to other societies.

Professor Ainslee T. Embree, of Duke University, and Miss Judith Jamitis, were the discussants of Mr. Bogue's presentation. In commenting on Mr. Bogue's "national survival rationale," Embree pointed out that, "this rationale is often used by educators because they think it will appeal to recalcitrant school boards or to other official bodies."\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p.22
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p.27
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., p.30
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p.37
In addition, Embree criticized Mr. Bogue for not using examples to support his rationale.

Miss Jamitis, a Curriculum Specialist, for the International Understanding Project, addressed herself to the process of inquiry used in the aforementioned project. She described in some detail, a series of multimedia learning units pertaining to world cultures in which both teachers and students have taken an active role in developing, implementing and evaluating. Her emphasis was on the use of meaningful materials along with participation from students as well as teachers.

2. THEME: "The Dimensions of International Education in New York State."

The second guest speaker was Norman Abramowitz, of the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, New York State Education Department. His discussion centered around an inventory of programs developed by the New York State Education Department. It is not within the scope of this investigation to list the many projects with which New York State has been involved. Suffice it to say, that to date, it is probably the most inclusive and significant attempt to infuse international relations into the secondary schools of the United States.

Perhaps more significant than Abramowitz's paper, were the comments made by Professor Leon Sinder, of the Department of Anthropology, Long Island University, New York. Dr. Sinder began by indirectly chastizing Mr. Abramowitz for his continued use of the term "non-Western."
Dr. Sinder stated:

I think that very word severely limits the possibility of our sensitizing teachers to what they are about to do. Reference to 'non-Western' a priori is based on the premise that the West is the belly button of the world and that we are going to measure all other people in terms of this belly button. 23

Dr. Sinder spoke of moving away from treating cultures in terms of spatial relationships. In a rationale similar to the one used by Margaret Mead, in her book, Culture and Commitment, Sinder stated: "The problem of urbanization, the problem of youth culture, nationalistic pride - these problems are the same everywhere." 24 For Sinder, "immediacy was more important than ancient history which merely traps us in our own inconsistencies." He stated that, "an Indian living next to the Taj Mahal really is not very much of a Taj Mahalan in culture; half the world is under twenty-five years old, this is where the emphasis should be." 25 Dr. Sinder also questioned the need for more material in Asian Studies. He wondered if, "it would not be better to abandon this whole material approach and concentrate instead on sensitizing the human condition. Sensitizing to the human condition is not Asian studies or Latin American studies." 26

__________________________
23 Ibid., p.63
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., p.64
26 Ibid., p.65
As for sequence, Sinder would reverse the educational process. He would begin by teaching about the world, and become more specific in college years. He concluded by noting that, "We must look for the bonds between cultures because if we focus on the specificities of one culture or another, we will end up crying on one side and laughing on the other, with no understanding." ²⁷

The second discussant to Mr. Abramowitz's paper, was Mr. Peter Bennet of Staples High School, Westport, Connecticut. Mr. Bennet's statements were pragmatic in nature and dealt specifically with Asian Studies in the classroom. For Bennet, using a "mirror approach," (focusing in on another culture and another group of people to help individuals look at themselves) should be the primary objective of international education.

Bennet called for hard data to convince intransigent school board members that "the study of other cultures is not a frill, but urgently necessary, and that perhaps the continued study of the supposed basics, given the urgency of the situation, is the frill." ²⁸ Bennet suggested that a cadre of revolutionary elites was necessary to spread the gospel of Asian Studies education. Being a teacher, he realized full well the lack of impact teachers traditionally have had on curriculum revision. To this end, he proposed having an influential

²⁷Ibid., p.66
²⁸Ibid., p.67
administrator accompany any teacher in a workshop, institute or in-service program. Institutes, as they now exist, fail according to Bennet because, "teachers are told what they ought to do in order to do a better job. It is not demonstrated to them in the way in which they are taught: Do as I say, not as I do, is the clear message. Teachers are told they should teach inductively but they are not taught inductively in most of the in-service programs." ²⁹

Bennet identified what he believed were three strands necessary to implement a successful Asian Studies program at the secondary level: (1) a long term association with University scholars; (2) that secondary level teachers must be intimately involved in the creation of their own material; and (3) extensive use of literature and audio-visual materials. Bennet was opposed to students merely talking about their stereotypical images of other cultures. Rather, he focused on a "camera approach" with which to analyze other cultures. Bennet stated:

What I try to do in my own teaching is to ask the student what I would see if I visited another culture that would provide me with evidence for the validity of his statements about it. I ask the student to act as a camera and to show me what would visually reflect what he is

²⁹ Ibid.
trying to tell me. This drives the student to a wholly different set of perceptions and does not allow him to talk in the vague abstractions which abound in cross-cultural courses. 30

3. THEME: "The Question of Asian Identity."

The third guest speaker was A. Elgin Heinz, Curriculum Specialist for Asian Studies for the Office of Instructional Development and Services, San Francisco, California. Heinz outlined some interesting ethnic developments which could have direct bearing on the question of Asian Studies, in the secondary schools. He stated that Northern California and particularly San Francisco, as of late, has been the scene of much discontent by Chinese Americans. In one "Asian Identity Symposium," 31 according to Heinz, the Rev. Larry Jack Wong was applauded when he said:

Why do we need a conference on Asian Identity? We have it. Asians are ignored in opportunity programs; they are fragmented in the ghetto; they are the only people left that can be used by the politicians to divide and oppress the have-nots. Time is being wasted in discussion. We need to get together with the brown and black people and find, not who we are, but what we are supposed to be about. 32

---

31 University of California at Berkeley, January 11, 1969.
32 Ibid., p. 70
Heinz went on to indicate that in a similar conference held in California, a position paper indicated that accommodation, under the guise of acculturation, has forced the Chinese American to reject his own culture in favor of the more dominant one, in order to survive. Because of these and other pressures, the California State Department of Education initiated an Asian-American Studies program, based on the following premises: (1) human behavior is rational; (2) mankind is the crew of a spaceship: Earth; (3) the social studies are relevant to the needs of youth; (4) minority cultures must be studied - but not in isolation; (5) no course is so crowded that it cannot include the concepts and values inherent in ethnic studies.

In his summary, Mr. Heinz made an interesting observation. He pointed out that elementary school teachers have generally treated "non-Western" materials with an open mind. He concluded by stating that "perhaps this conference was dealing with the wrong people, at the wrong level." 33

The discussant of Mr. Heinz's paper, was Professor Jackson Bailey, Professor of Japanese Studies, Earlham College, representing the Great Lakes College Association. Bailey made four remarks which he felt ought to be considered in any attempt to reorganize Asian Studies education. His remarks were:

1. How do we deal with the teachers, supervisor, his principal, his state board?
2. Institutional requirements hamstring the possibilities of really good teacher-training all around the country.
3. Are materials geared to the right level?
4. The good guys go to graduate school; if you can't, if you're not good enough, then by all means, be a teacher or take some other post in the public schools. Unquestionably, this is the attitude that prevails in our institutions of higher education. The graduate schools are the villains as much as anyone. 34

4. THEME: "Africa and Asia: Links and Lessons."

The fourth, and final guest speaker was Barry K. Beyer, Director of Project Africa, and Associate Professor of History, Carnegie-Melon University. Dr. Beyer, using Project Africa, as a paradigm, suggested three areas of investigation necessary for implementing a "Project Asia:"

1. Research: about teaching and learning about the region. In the case of Project Africa, a survey of 3,259 seventh through twelfth graders in a variety of types of schools from all sections of the United States were canvassed. The survey results revealed "that American students possess a very clear-cut and strongly stereotyped image of this region that could be described as 'Tarzan-like.'"

34Ibid., p.93
In addition, another survey canvassed what had been written in the professional literature about teaching about Africa, south of the Sahara, which included already available instructional materials.

2. **Development of materials:** Project Africa focused on the secondary grades, dealt with Africa south of the Sahara, and was planned for students of average ability. In addition, the programs were conceptually oriented and multi-disciplinary in approach.

3. **Teacher Training:** For Dr. Beyer, in-service workshops were the vehicle by which to disseminate new materials and identify new strategies for classroom use.  

Dr. Beyer concluded by listing eight points to consider in implementing a "Project Asia:" 1. Start with a viable rationale; 2. Engage in and disseminate the results of basic research on teaching about Asia; 3. Concern with materials development; 4. Attend to the needs of elementary schools; 5. Cooperation between scholars, teachers, media specialists, and specialists in curriculum and instruction; 6. Involve Asians; 7. Relate in a positive way to teacher training; 8. Establish an on-going service center for teachers of Asian Studies.

The discussants to Dr. Beyer's paper were Gerald W. Marker, Coordinator for School Social Studies, Indiana University,

---

35Ibid., p. 115
and Seymour H. Fersh, Educational Director of the Asia Society. Gerald W. Marker agreed with Dr. Beyer, that teachers need training in selecting and employing materials, rather than in designing them. He was also dubious about the real value of bibliographies and suggested that even if they were of any real value, the Asia Society and Focus Newsletter, already did a commendable job.

In addressing himself to the question of whether or not Project Africa presented a suitable paradigm for Asianists, Marker's answer was an "obvious yes." He lauded Dr. Beyer for bringing together scholars, educators and psychologists, to produce a product that could never have been done separately. However, he suggested that there were two or three things about Project Africa which he believed did not fit in the Asian educationalist view of the curriculum.

Obviously concerned with concepts and principles, Mr. Marker argued that the study of Asia did not belong in the curriculum until the seventh grade. Marker also raised the question of whether or not Asian Studies, in the elementary school, was practical. In terms of priorities, he saw other kinds of learning taking precedent over Asian Studies, and stated that: "Even if I thought teaching about Asia in the elementary grades were desirable, I would be very pessimistic about its ability to become securely lodged there."36

36Ibid., p.127
Marker was also somewhat pessimistic about the time school systems were willing to devote to Asian Studies. He saw, as a solution, providing the teacher with a variety of small units which could be substituted for the materials presently used in elementary schools. In addition, Marker felt that the goals stated in Project Africa were unrealistic for a unit, a semester course, or for that matter, a full year course. Rather, he indicated that, "the teaching of some basic social science concepts, skills, and principles of human behavior was a respectable goal for any program developed by the Association."\(^37\)

In his final remarks, Marker commented on the dissemination of any new social studies project. He was discouraged about the value of teacher workshops based on his own previous experiences, and the general retrenchment of funding from both state and federal sources. Marker opted for dissemination of materials, rather than for the retraining of teachers, as the goals for Asian Studies in the next decade. In a somewhat pejorative statement, Marker pointed out: "...that we must recognize their limitations (teacher workshops) while at the same time developing a package that can be mailed to the potential adopted with some assurance that if he follows directions, he can be assured some measure of success."\(^38\)

---

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p.128

\(^{38}\) Ibid.
Mr. Fersh's comments to Dr. Beyer's paper were crisp and to the point. He did not see the value of a survey which would probably tell us what we already knew; that students were generally ignorant of, and held stereotypical attitudes toward Asian societies. Unlike Mr. Marker, Fersh was convinced of the need for Asian Studies at the elementary level. Fersh was confident that at the affective level, students had to get the "feeling" for another culture, before they could begin to approach it at the factual level. As for the need of "Asians" in a curriculum project, Fersh felt one could go overboard. He cited Dickens, de Toqueville, and Laski, as examples of foreigners who have had great perceptions of American society.

The most interesting, and in a sense radical statement to come out of the conference, was Fersh's statement that, "Materials that exist in the field of Asian Studies are seven times more than we need for our current plans. What we need is a center to which all of us can begin to send materials with some security that they are being sorted and stored."\(^{39}\) Fersh cited the November, 1969 issue of *Social Education*, devoted to Asia, as the kind of things one could do for teachers of Asian Studies. He went on to suggest that, "There are many journals and social studies organs in which the center surely could get a column as a way of disseminating information on its activities."\(^{40}\)

\(^{39}\) *Ibid.*, p.130
\(^{40}\) *Ibid.*, p.131
B. "Association for Asian Studies Panel on Asia in the Schools," Sponsored by the American Association for Asian Studies. Dr. Samuel Chu, Chairman, The Ohio State University
March, 1971

1. THEME: "Should Secondary Teachers and Asianists Get Together?"

The introductory paper was presented by Peter Bennet, a high school teacher from Westport, Connecticut, involved in Asian Studies at the secondary level. The paper was intended to be especially provocative in order to gain the maximum amount of feedback. Bennet suggested that for a number of "good" reasons secondary teachers were unprepared to teach Asian Studies. Bennet outlined two major reasons for this condition: Firstly, he stated that school systems did not provide meaningful materials and did not allocate enough funds for in-service training. Secondly, with regard to teacher training and institutions as well as Liberal Arts Colleges, "The educational pattern destroys possible opportunity for most secondary teachers to become interested and trained to possibly teach some facet of Asian Studies." 41

Bennet contended that the intrinsic value of Area Studies that Asianists enjoy at the college level, cannot be filtered down to the secondary level. Asian Studies must have pragmatic appeal if it is to make its way into the curriculum. Bennet went on to say that:

It strikes me that somewhere along the line without a massive effort, somebody should be finding a well conceived pilot project working

41 Conference: "Association for Asian Studies Panel on Asia in the Schools." Sponsored by the American Association for Asian Studies, Dr. Samuel Chu, Chairman, Columbus: The Ohio State University, March, 1971. p.2
in whatever areas of Asian Studies we might choose, to see if indeed, those particular studies,...help students to learn not just to ingest data, not just to memorize, but to learn how to learn. 42 Bennet opted for "regional in-service workshops." His rationale was that at a regional level, workshops become economically feasible and can operate efficiently in a collaborative framework.

The panel was loosely organized, and the initial respondent was Ainsley Embree, of Duke University. Embree’s general reactions to Bennet’s topic were that some Asianists and teachers should get together, and others should not. Embree’s concern was: "Who is likely to be of use to the secondary school teachers?" 43 As for Bennet’s workshop proposal, Embree saw it as being an enormously difficult task, requiring much funding, and a great deal of organization. Embree suggested the recruitment of graduate students, particularly young doctoral students in Asian Studies, for the high school, was not as outrageous as it seemed. Embree pointed out that:

School salaries are often as good as university salaries these days, and it seems to me here one might be realistic not to depend upon the occasional workshop but for school systems to be imaginative enough to say we will recruit qualified people as we recruit qualified people in other areas. I think school superintendents would be astonished at the response they might get if they were willing to hire qualified people. 44

42 Ibid., p.9
43 Ibid., p.15
44 Ibid., p.17
Perhaps the most pertinent remarks to come out of the panel discussion, were made by Seymour Fersh, Educational Director of the Asia Society. Fersh stated that:

Two things happened outside the schools, as is often true, so that in a sense, remember when we used to say the American flag follows the American dollar, well the American curriculum follows the American flag. And as the flag went out into the world and as the world came into our country, the students came to school asking questions. They were not waiting for the teachers to teach them about Asia, they were going to school to learn about Asia. I think that is the significant shift. 45

Fersh has been consistent in his plea to place the student before the subject. He stated, "The first thing that I would suggest is that you begin to shift the notion, instead of saying teaching about Asia, you say, learning about Asia, and you get quite a different notion because when you say learning, then you begin to remember that student for whom the school was built." 46

The following quote, from Mr. Fersh's remarks, is a brief "semi-comedic," if somewhat pathetic, history of the role of Asian Studies in the schools, from the 1950's through the 1970's:

...the first period was one of neglect. Remember China was in the index, where it would say 'China — p.6, Cradle of Civilization.' There would be page 187, 'Marco Polo' and then there would be page 412, 'Emerging Nation.' Then after World War II and N.D.E.A. which should have been a clue because of the title

45 Ibid., p.16
46 Ibid., p.19
of the Act, as to what the motivation was, we could have studied these countries a long time ago. We began to study them after World War II because we became involved in them and I think we went through a period that you could call, 'I never knew that.' There was some theory that if they knew the data, they would also understand what it meant. Well, it did not work that way and we moved into a period you could call, 'I never thought of that,' where you began to realize that the data didn't tell you how to conceive that and some of us began to talk about context that if you could understand an event, you had to understand the context.

...I think another era we are moving into is 'I never appreciated that.' It is the realization that other cultures have something to offer, that they enrich us, and I don't catch that very much in our approach and whenever I hear people talking about the problems of studying other cultures, I suspect they don't understand the appreciation. 47

Fersh suggested, in reference to the above statements, that the subject matter knowledge, which may be important at the graduate and undergraduate level, should not be the major objective in the public schools. Fersh stated, "It is not Asia we are after, we are interested in what makes a human being and how can we begin to produce them in our own culture." 48

Daniel Roselle, editor of Social Education, was the next dissuivant. Roselle took issue with Mr. Bennet's comments that "Asianists and secondary school teachers are not together."

47 Ibid., pp. 19-20
48 Ibid., p. 21
He was bothered by the theme of Bennet's paper, and suggested that it was an unfounded generalization. Roselle used the November, 1969 edition of *Social Education* (an issue devoted exclusively to Asia), as an example of the kinds of accommodations one can receive from Asianists. He cited an almost endless list of Asian scholars who "worked together, closely, harmoniously, and without financial renumeration." In response to Bennet's question, Roselle insisted that "the real question is utilizing the services of those Asianists who are interested in asking what kinds of materials should be studied about Asia in our secondary schools?"  

Roselle, however, did chastise scholars who spoke of generalizations such as, "monogamous marital patterns compel feminine responses, when all they really meant was that a number of women in Asia marry;" or "The juvenile world in Japan is characterized by infinite tensions indicative of social Darwinism." He assumed that the author meant to say, "Children of Japan often compete against one another."  

C. "How Can Educators Increase Understanding of China?"
A Report from the Institute on Man and Science.
Sponsored by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation,

---

1. THEME: "How Can Educators Increase Understanding of China?"

This seminar took the form of four papers that addressed themselves to the above theme. The task of the conference was to develop general principles for a China Studies curriculum in elementary and secondary schools, or in colleges. The following questions were posed:

1. What is the purpose of teaching about China? (How do we know when a course on China is successful?)
2. What examples of 'pilot projects' best exemplify these general principles?
3. How should China Studies projects be related to other subjects? (e.g. to studies in human ecology, demography, art, history, or urban studies?)
4. At what educational level should China Studies be undertaken? (How do teaching requirements at these differ?)
5. What are the implications of China Studies for teacher training, attitudes and values?\(^{52}\)

Most of the articles and papers reported in this conference were basically discussed at the February 1970 Conference, reported earlier in the Review of the Literature.

\(^{52}\)"How Can Educators Increase Understanding of China?" A Report from the Institute of Man and Science, Sponsored by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Jonathan Spence, Chairman, Rensselaerville, New York: September 1970, p. 2
2. **THEME**: "On Teaching About China at the Secondary Level."

The only original article to come out of the Conference was a paper entitled, "On Teaching About China at the Secondary Level," prepared by members of the University of Michigan Field Staff, for the National Committee on United States - China Relations. The following four themes came out of this paper:

1. Should not the goal of secondary education about China be to develop in students a sympathetic response to the problems and hopes of China?

2. Is it not false to discuss a traditional China under an ideal Confucian system which has not existed for the last sixty years? (Indeed, advanced research is suggesting that the ideal system never did exist in pre-modern China.)

3. In trying to understand modern China, teachers should make use of audio-visual aids available from Peking.

4. Should not the United States students be encouraged to study China's domestic problems by role-playing, the same way in which international issues dealing with the Western world are approached?\(^5\)\(^3\)

The concluding remarks made by Jonathan Spence, of Yale University, were perhaps the most significant points made at the Conference. Spence concluded that, "there was poor coordination between research scholars and those teaching at the secondary level."\(^5\)\(^4\)

---

\(^5\)\(^4\) *Ibid.*, Appendix p. 1
Spence cited, The Asian Studies Inquiry Program, (see Chapter III, part I) and "The Asian Studies Newsletter," Focus on Asian Studies, as significant contributions at the secondary level, which were either unknown or ignored by most Asian Studies scholars.

Spence suggested that most scholars showed little or no awareness of the administrative complexities of teaching at the secondary school level. Along similar lines, most scholars were unaware of what Spence called, "the innovative power and the tenacity of many secondary school teachers working in the field of Asian Studies." At the secondary level, Spence emphasized the following points as crucial to an introductory course on modern China:

1. Materials should be exciting, in order to draw out students of high ability. Visual aids should be complimentary but not dominant.

2. The evaluation of written materials should be made primarily by the students.

3. Texts for the course should be annotated so that the teacher does not need a prolonged period of preparation.

4. The course must be intellectually valid, and written materials must not be biased. (Spence acknowledges the fact that this is particularly difficult given an "emotionally charged area" such as modern China.)

---

Ibid.
D. "The Role of Asian Studies in Ohio Schools."
Sponsored by The Association for Asian Studies,
Samuel Chu, Chairman, Columbus, Ohio
The Ohio State University, October 12-13, 1970.

This conference was attended by representatives from the
Ohio State Department of Education, from individual Ohio pub-
llic school systems, from the United States Office of Education,
The Association of Asian Studies, Commission on Secondary
Education, and Asian scholars. The emphasis at this meeting was
to focus in on the findings of the New York State Conference
in February, 1970.

I. THEME: "Diffusion and Adoption of Materials in Asian Studies."

Gerald W. Marker, Co-Director and Coordinator for Social
Studies at Indiana University, presented a paper which centered
around the problem of diffusion and adoption of materials in
Asian Studies. Mr. Marker outlined three areas where diffusion
breaks down and suggested that by "basing our efforts upon prin-
ciples supported by research, we can maximize the impact of our
meager diffusion efforts by partially neutralizing these impedi-
ments to change."\(^56\)

By research, Mr. Marker hoped that at the point of "aware-
ness" (when the individual learns of the innovation), his
"interest" (where the individual seeks more information), will
be "evaluated" (the point at which the potential adopter weighs
the merits of the innovation in respect to his needs), with
regard to the "dispelling of negative forces, i.e. (1) the

\(^56\) Conference: "The Role of Asian Studies in Ohio Schools,"
Sponsored by The Association for Asian Studies, Samuel Chu,
Chairman, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University,
October 12-13, 1970, p.171
necessity for acquiring new attitudes, skills, or knowledge; (2) the professional myth which deems it unethical to adopt a product invented by someone else; (3) fear of community opposition, and; (4) lack of early results to document program merits.  

Perhaps the most clearly stated rationale for Asian Studies as a strictly empathic and inquiry endeavor, was made by James Hantula, Laboratory School, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa. It was Hantula's contention that the rationale which came out of the New York State Conference "minimized the conventional reasons for the study of Asia in favor of 'thinking skills' while leaving unstated, objectives relating to citizenship, imaginal development, creative thinking and the interest of the child." To augment his contention, Hantula suggested that Asian Studies units ought to be infused into existing social studies curricula and provide for complementary studies.


Rather than merely holding another Conference on what "ought to be" in Asian Studies education, the "leadership" of the Ohio Conference critically reacted to the New York State Conference with regard to its implications for an Ohio model. The more universal objectives were quite acceptable; (i.e. to see man in his global context).

\[^{57}Ibid., p. 172\]

\[^{58}Ibid.\]
However, the specific rationale pertaining to Ohio taxpayers, educational administrators, teachers and students, seemed somewhat vague. It was further stated that the needs and interests of the individual school systems should also have been reflected. To this end, the Ohio conference agreed to take an attitude survey to determine the feelings of administrators, teachers, and students with regard to the need and scope of Asian Studies at the secondary level.

The participants of the conference agreed that administrative and public support was "a top priority issue." Without it, they felt there would be no chance of significant curriculum change. The "pragmatic motive" mentioned early with some disdain, was rekindled to meet the needs of local citizens who say Asian Studies is a preparation for "knowing one's enemy."

Teacher preparation would take the form of in-service training, with an emphasis on adapting materials to meet their own classroom needs. Methodologically, it was felt that Asian Studies would not receive top priority, therefore, it was agreed that Asian Studies should be a vehicle by which social science concepts and analytical skills were transmitted. There was some agreement about the use of existing materials. Most of the participants conceded that there is no longer a dearth of "good" materials for the classroom. Therefore, what was in order was a clearing house which could begin to identify, not only what
was commercially available, but also what materials were best able to help introduce teachers to the field of Asian Studies.

The conference ended on the note that there would be three priority considerations for the "Ohio Plan": (1) The establishment of an Action Committee composed of conference members; (2) The Action Committee was assigned to work closely with the Ohio State Department of Education and the Ohio State University; (3) That a survey would be conducted to gain information concerning attitudes and needs of Ohio teachers as a necessary and warranted input of any curriculum proposal.

It is all too obvious from scanning the literature, that there was only a vague consensus concerning Asian Studies at the secondary level. However, one point which most participants agreed upon, was the need for a critical analysis of existing curricular materials in Asian Studies. This investigator, in Chapter III, attempts to attend to the issue of evaluation, by identifying and employing instruments which may be used in evaluating Asian Studies curricular materials.
CHAPTER III
AN EVALUATION OF SELECTED ASIAN STUDIES CURRICULUM PROJECTS

Curricular projects may be analyzed in various ways. They may be viewed through the lens of content, scope, sequence, use of terms, arrangement of materials and emphasis. However, most analyses of curriculum projects focus on only one or two themes at most. Because of the nature of the four projects under investigation here, a more comprehensive set of criteria will be utilized. In effect, many lenses will be employed.

The projects under analysis here have been chosen because they are relatively widely circulated and deal with East Asian Studies. However, they are significantly different enough in scope, sequence and methodology, to warrant a comparison. The criteria to be used were subjected to the judgment of a jury of competent social studies specialists and educators, in the field of Asian Studies. Refinements were made and the final criteria represent the best judgment of this group. These criteria are:

I  **Scope and Sequence**: the breadth and depth of the projects.

II  **Subject Matter**: the ability of the projects to attend to the question of subject matter coverage with special attention to emphasis or lack of emphasis, in relationship to goals and objectives as stated by the various authors.
III Social Studies Methodology: the ability of the projects to transform social science concepts into social studies material for viable classroom use.

IV Level of Questions: the ability of the projects to ask questions which indicate both a high level of abstraction and allow for a divergence of thought.

V Adequacy for Grade Level: the ability of the projects to use sources which are objective, multi-dimensional and current as opposed to sources which are subjective, one-dimensional and outdated.

VI Arrangement of Readings: the ability of the projects to arrange Readings so as to aid in inductive reasoning and inquiry. (Do the authors arrange their Readings in such a way as to juxtapose different views on the same major issue, or is the material arranged to encourage students to support the unit's assumptions?)

VII Evaluation: given an examination of all the preceding variables, is the project suitable for classroom use?

Asian Studies Inquiry Program
John U. Michaelis and Robin J. McKeown, Coordinators
University of California at Berkeley
Field Educational Publications, Incorporated

The Asian Studies Inquiry Program revolves around three themes: (1) Asian Thought; (2) Traditional Patterns of Asian Life; (3) Changing Patterns of Asian Life.
Each theme is then examined, in detail, in the following pamphlets:

1. Asian Thought: Confucianism and Taoism, Buddhism, Gandhi, Chinese Painting, Chinese Popular Fiction.

2. Traditional Patterns of Asian Life: Man and His Environment in Asia, Food and Survival in Asia, Man and Woman in Asia, Class and Caste in Village India, Cultural Patterns in Asian Life.

3. Changing Patterns of Asian Life: East Meets West, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution, Life in Communist China, Modernization of Japan, China and the United States.¹

I SCOPE AND SEQUENCE:

1. Asian Thought:

Each pamphlet had a brief introduction in which the authors gave a short synopsis of the materials in the subunit. What followed was a series of Readings, often translations of primary sources, which gave the student more than the typical textbook approach.

¹John U. Michaelis and Robin J. McKeown, Coordinators, Asian Studies Inquiry Program; "(Hereinafter referred to as A.S.I.P.)" (San Francisco, California: Field Educational Publications, Inc. 1971)
In the pamphlet, *Confucianism and Taoism*, the authors offered varied selections of analects and parables to assist the student in understanding the divergent philosophies. The Readings covered such areas as: Government, Virtue and Leadership, Human Relations, Filial Piety, Learning, Education and War. In addition, each chapter had a set of conclusions by which the student could "pull together" some of the major themes which were to come out of the project. The following pamphlet in the series, analyzed the impact Buddhist thought had on China. The selections included a biographical account of Buddha's life as well as the impact his philosophy had on East and South East Asia.

Other pamphlets in the series, surveyed Chinese popular fiction with selections that canvassed the classical traditions, the literary revolution and Modern Communist fiction. The authors pointed out that "our interest here is not a mere confrontation with Chinese art. Rather, we seek an understanding of, and appreciation for, the aesthetic, philosophical, and religious values of Chinese society, through the medium of painting."²

They stated that "Europeans and Americans who looked at the world with intellectual and scientific curiosity, simply did not understand the traditional Chinese who wanted to come into sympathetic and harmonious relationship with nature, to identify with mountains and lakes and, thereby, find the path to harmony and world order."  

The concluding pamphlet examined the life and experiences of Mohandas Gandhi. The Readings surveyed Gandhi’s experiences in South Africa, including an attempt by a mob to lynch him upon his return in 1896. The remainder of the pamphlet reviewed his experiences with the British during the Boer War; his teaching of Satyagraha (non-violent political action); his views on Untouchability; his arrest and trial; and ultimately, his assassination.

2. Traditional Patterns of Asian Life:

The second subunit was sociological in nature, investigating the traditional patterns of Asian life. According to the authors, "this cluster of five units attempts to give the students an awareness of the similarities and differences among traditional patterns of life in Asia."  

---

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8

They suggested that the students would gain insights into the behavior of Asian peoples by examining their various institutions. The goal of this unit was to view Asian cultural patterns in a more sophisticated light. For example, the authors suggested that geography "has traditionally been centered about the belief that man's activities are predominantly a function of environmental limitations."\(^5\) Accordingly, the authors had two themes in mind: The first was to acknowledge and explore diversity through geography. The second was to suggest that, within a geographical milieu, there were a variety of choices open to man.

The first selection gave an overview of the geography of Asia, using articles which described "The Monsoon in India," "Life from the Sea," "Farmed Earth and the Mekong River." Within this framework, the authors asked whether or not "physical geography was the sole cause for a dual society?"\(^6\) From the Reading, "Life from the Sea," an article describing maritime life amongst the Japanese, the authors considered whether or not maritime nations were more inclined to be industrial and/or commercial, as opposed to continental nations.

The second group of Readings, entitled Man and His Environment in Asia, had described man's ability to succeed where he had initially failed. The first Reading examined a successful irrigation project in Hunan, and the second; explained how

\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Ibid.
"worthless" land was reclaimed. The following two articles, in the series, were sociological in nature: The first, "A Water Myth in the Philippines," attempted to show the fears and mistrust of both the United States and the Philippines over the question of a Cholera epidemic. The second article was similar in that it also came out of a conflict situation. Here, however, both villages were indigenous to the land; one village had a major pumping station on their land, while the other, did not. The article then examined the effects this new acquisition had on the people of the village.

The next pamphlet in the series described *Food and Survival in Asia*. The authors hoped that this series of articles would help students view poverty in a different perspective; not only by examining the obvious questions of starvation and food shortage, but also by analyzing poverty in terms of aspirations, political and social institutions. Other articles portrayed poverty in the big cities of Calcutta, New Delhi, and Hong Kong. Through these articles, the authors hoped to move from considering the tendency of traditional cultural patterns which sustained deprivation, to raising questions about the possible impact of population growth on deprivation in Asia. The authors offered a series of themes to bring the students to some valid generalizations. The following are two examples: "Defend or reject the methods the villagers have developed to protect
himself from the dangers he fears. How do traditional patterns of culture, influencing family relationships, effect the improvement of farming?"  

The next pamphlet in the series described *Class and Caste in Village India*. The purpose of this unit was to develop in some detail, the origin, tradition and development of caste in India. Also, the authors explored the problems that have been created by a government, when it decided to "legislate morality." In the specific article, the authors described the caste system, by analyzing its impact on mores, through violation of caste rules. Particularly, in the article on "Pollution," the authors offered questions that made interesting comparisons for students in the United States. The following set of articles explored the practice of caste living, the untouchables and regulations of caste in traditional India. The concluding article explored the hypothesis that Industrialization would go a long way in solving the problem of caste in India.

The final pamphlet, in the series, was entitled *Cultural Patterns in Asian Life*. The authors stated that these "Readings do not constitute an analysis of any social system in Asia. Instead, emphasis is placed on the relationship between culture and the human personality." The Readings selected, explored customs and attitudes, etiquette, the concept of beauty, women of Burma and philosophy of religion.

---

7Ibid., p. 18
Examining the Japanese family for example, the authors asked, "What is the primary function of the individual in Japanese society? What do you think about the Japanese view of the individual? How do you think the Japanese would view American individualism?" 

3. **Changing Patterns of Asian Life:**

The authors' main objectives for this set of five pamphlets were as follows: (1) to examine the circumstances under which Europeans and Asians first met; (2) to understand the attitudes and conceptions which each civilization developed towards the other as a result of initial superficial contact; (3) to examine the basic differences in Japan's and China's reaction to the West. 

The first four Readings, "The People of Kytay," "The Descriptions of the World," "The Best Race Yet Discovered," "Ritchesnesse and Plentiffullnesse," were all first-hand accounts from those who had witnessed events in China. They ranged from the observations of Marco Polo, who thought of China as a land of wealth and beauty, to accounts of missionaries whose own zealousness and ethnocentrism blinded them from the realities of the Asian world. The third reading,

---

9Ibid., p.48
were autobiographical accounts made by various Europeans who visited Japan between the 1500's and 1600's. (According to European accounts, the Japanese were moderately pretty, warlike, committed Harakiri and in their judgment, "the Japanese were the best race yet discovered...".) In Reading five, the European philosopher, Leibniz reflected on Chinese society, stating in his humble manner, that there was much that could be learned from the Chinese. Reading six, contained comments by Japanese concerning their own view of Europe. It was obvious, from reviewing their comments, that they had carefully assessed the advantages and disadvantages of borrowing from the West.

Probably the most revealing article was entitled, "Imperial Edict to the King of England." The authors felt that this was the key article in the chapter, because it set up the relations China was to have with the West for the next two-hundred years. The anonymous author of the next Reading, "The Distant and Strange Continent of Europe," took the reader on a chronological voyage by comparing the Chinese dynasty (era) with the history of Europe. For example, "During the time of our Five Dynasties Period (A.D. 907-60) the settlements of Northern Europe, for the first time, set up stable systems of rule and laid down the various ranks, which then spread to other countries."
According to the authors, reading twelve was essential for a complete understanding of Chinese attempts at modernization. The article was written by a proponent of the Self-Strengthening Movement\textsuperscript{11} and was an eloquent attempt to convince the Chinese government to use Western technology in order to remain independent. Most curricula projects, unlike the Asian Studies Inquiry Program, completely ignored the Self-Strengthening period, (1860-1890). Consequently, students came away with the generalization that the Chinese were so intransigent that there were no honest attempts at modernization.

The next pamphlet explored Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution, and had the following objectives: (1) to examine the social context of revolution in the 20th century China; (2) to discuss and compare the effectiveness of the 1911 Revolution and subsequent revolutionary movements; (3) to inquire into the character and personality of China's revolutionary leaders; (4) to study the strategies of the Kuomintang and Communist programs; (5) to investigate the factors contributing to the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek and the subsequent success of the Chinese Communist Party; (6) to obtain information which could add to the development of generalizations on the role of revolution in developing nations, particularly in Asia.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Sometimes known as the Tung-chih Restoration. The Self-Strengthening Movement, was an attempt by various groups of Chinese intellectuals to make a clear break with the past.

\textsuperscript{12} Michaelis and McKeown, Changing Patterns of Asian Life, Teacher's Guide, A.S.I.P., p.23
The first three articles painted a bleak picture of Chinese life before the Nationalist Revolution in 1911. The final articles explored the role of famine as an almost yearly occurrence, and investigated peasant life, concluding that it had not substantially changed for centuries. The third Reading, like the second, spoke of the despair that permeated city life. In contrast, Reading four described the life of the few who could afford luxury.

The next group of Readings examined the life of a nascent revolutionary, by depicting Mao's childhood as typical of many early revolutionaries, and then went on to describe the revolution itself. "The May Fourth Movement," which some scholars suggested was the first true Nationalist Movement in Chinese history, was handled excellently by the authors' choice of Readings. Other supplementary Readings took the student from the Birth of Chinese Communism, through the first Manifesto of the Chinese Communist Party, to the peasant movements in Hunan. Each of these articles were built upon the theme that the Kuomintang was already becoming ineffective in handling the problems of Modern China. In addition, there were internal conflicts between members of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as between members of the Kuomintang. The authors of the program chose to examine this Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party Schism, The Shanghai Coup of 1927 and the Long March to exemplify the degree of
Chinese Communist Party/Kuomintang hatred. The questions asked in the teacher's guide, led the students to make latent observations of what seemed manifestly incorrect. In other words, it would seem as though the annihilation campaigns against the Communists, and the Long March would end, once and for all, the threat of incipient Communism, but instead, just the opposite occurred. The last two Readings analyzed the "Roots" of Mao's Victory, and included General Wedemeyer's "Report on China," as well as "Memorandum of Foreign Service Officers in China." "The Foreign Service Memorandum" was a point by point account of Kuomintang inefficiency. In this Reading, the author described Wedemeyer's attempt to "clean up" the Kuomintang in order for them to once again become a significant political and military force.

According to the authors, "The purpose of (the next) unit is not to have the student memorize the conclusions of scholars, but to have them form their own, by investigating the issue for himself."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 30
The authors stated that:

This unit would increase the student's ability to analyze significant contemporary issues by providing him with experience in doing so. One of the chief values of open inquiry into an issue of this kind is to be found in the larger questions that are raised about the nature of man, about man in society, and about man's responses to the challenges that confront him. 14

The first two Readings were eye-witness accounts of rural life in Modern China. Unlike the list of subject matter questions asked by the authors previously, these questions dealt with interpretation. Readings three, four and five, offered a panorama of city life in China. It is interesting to note that the first article, "What it's Like to Live in Peking Today," was first published in March 1968, during the height of the Cultural Revolution. With all the internal upheaval recently, including President Nixon's visit to Peking, this article may already be outdated.

Readings seven and eight, contrasted two points of view concerning lao-dung - or "voluntary" physical labor. The first account gave a positive view of the nobility of manual labor. The second account pointed out the hatred that existed between students and workers.

14Ibid.
The authors stated that, "these conflicting reports were given so that the student may engage in contrastive analysis."

Articles nine and ten, dealt with the effect of Mao Tsetung's thoughts on urban China. The first article suggested how difficult it was for one to climb the ladder of advancement merely by living the regime's propaganda. Success was measured by one's ability to see before hand what was expected of him. The second article viewed the impact of mass media for propaganda on the Chinese. Articles eleven and twelve, like seven and eight, contrasted points of view over China's attempt at her "Great Leap Forward."

The next pamphlet in the subunit was entitled Modernization in Japan. The authors' objectives in this unit were as follows: (1) to increase the student's awareness of the technological, industrial, and urban development which had taken place in Japan; (2) to increase the student's understanding of the impact of modernization, not only in the Japanese but on all people and; (3) to increase the student's ability to inquire into the dynamics of complex social issues.

The first two Readings compared the experiences of two capitalists; the first, the very successful Konosuke Matsushita; the second, the not so successful, Majine Akinai. In both cases, however, the "Protestant Ethic" of hard work permeated their philosophies.

\[15\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \text{31} \]
\[16\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \text{36}\]
The subsequent readings compared the needs and strivings of an upwardly mobile middle class couple, with an industrial worker's view of his own milieu. "People at Play in Urban Japan," was basically a searching sociological analysis of all post-industrial societies. The coordinators had selected (1) "After hours Pleasures," (2) "Pleasure in Sports," (3) "Pleasure in the Arts," and (4) "Pleasure in Ownership," to emphasize modern Japan's need to possess. All the articles, save "Pleasure in the Arts," had the same aesthetic flavor. This article deviated, in that there still seemed to be a love and respect for traditional Japanese beauty. (i.e. Haiku, Origami) The Readings for "People in Conflict in Urban Japan," concentrated on inter and intra-personal conflict. Fitting young against old, young against young, and finally analyzing the impact of modernization.

The final pamphlet in the series was entitled, China and the United States. The objectives of this unit were: "...to examine the historical relationship between the United States and China, to increase our understanding of the nature of Sino-American relations today, and, more important, to develop understandings for determining the course of future relations."\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 42
The first two episodes examined the profit motive of American naval vessels in China. Both were personal accounts of men who had initial contact with the Chinese. The first was entitled, "China Ho," and was a geographical survey of the Empress of China trip from New York harbor to Canton. The second and third episodes viewed American involvement with illegal drug traffic, in the form of opium. Reading four was a composite of missionary appeals to Americans on behalf of the "heathen" Chinese. The fifth Reading contrasted "America's Christian responsibility" with the practice of Ku-li (coolie) labor on the West Coast. Readings six, seven and eight, compared and contrasted American views on Chinese immigration. The first episode came from Mark Twain and was relatively sympathetic to the mistreatment of Chinese-Americans. The next episode entitled, "Chink, Chink, Chinaman...," was a thinly veiled diatribe based on economic need, for halting Chinese immigration to the United States.

Most teachers, in one way or another, have treated the Boxer Uprising as part of their World History course. Article eight, especially in view of the preceding anti-Chinese episodes, treated the Boxer Uprising in an entirely different perspective. Reading nine was a reaffirmation of the Open Door Policy, by way of the Stimson Doctrine, which declared that the United States would not recognize any territory taken by force.
Reading ten, "The War within a War," probed the interpersonal conflicting ideologies of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Reading eleven, was a quasi-fictional account by Theodore H. White, of American-Chinese allies after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Reading twelve, "Fallen Heroes," was a brief account of Derk Bodde's discussion with a few Chinese intellectuals, exploring their disenchantment with the Kuomintang. In addition, it offered some insights into Chinese intellectual views of American-Soviet relations. Reading thirteen, was an address made by Harry S. Truman, which attempted to explain to the American public, the Chinese crossing of the Yalu River and the subsequent Korean War. Reading Fourteen, paid specific attention to Owen Lattimore, a "China Specialist" and the impact that the McCarthy Era had on his life and career.

Reading fifteen was an interview by Edgar Snow with Chou En-lai, over the Quemoy-Matsu question, in 1958, entitled "Soy Sauce and Prawns." Reading sixteen was a satirical poem, showing the idiocy of American Trade Restrictions on Mainland Chinese goods. The final episode was taken from J. William Fulbright's, The Arrogance of Power. In this excerpt, Fulbright explored the possibility of America approaching relations with China by "liberating the imagination."
II  SUBJECT MATTER:

The most outstanding characteristic of the Asian Studies Inquiry Program, was its choice of materials. For the most part, they were carefully chosen and linked together with a minimum of insignificant facts. However, this "wide open" approach can lead to a lack of cohesion between significantly intertwined events. The result might well be a microcosm of a particular event with no real view of its wider significance. The difficulty in creating a continuity of narratives which will act as a "lead in" to a parable or a selection from a novel without creating a long, and often boring, textbook approach, is a persistent problem in developing curricular materials. For the most part, the authors did well in their positioning.

There was of course, no way to include everything. The authors chose to exclude most of Chinese dynastic history. And there was no way of including it without making the program twice as lengthy. Perhaps a solution to this dilemma might have been found in an approach which emphasized "recurring themes" in Chinese civilization. Later, in this analysis, some common themes will be identified -- themes which may serve a useful purpose in a unit of this type.

III  SOCIAL STUDIES METHODOLOGY:

The authors, in the Teacher's Manual, listed five major objectives: (1) "...to demonstrate a significant degree of knowledge concerning the cultural patterns of Asian life."
(2) "...to grapple with issues and problems of universal concern and through such classroom experiences, gain insight into the behavior of man." (3) "...to improve his ability to observe behavior from a variety of perspectives." (4) "...to demonstrate a marked improvement in his ability to use inquiry skills as a result of his learning experience with the Asian Studies Inquiry Program.\(^{18}\) (The inquiry process, according to the authors, embraces three important clusters of skills: (a) acquiring, comprehending, and interpreting information; (b) analyzing information; and (c) synthesizing information). In addition, the authors listed a prototypical inquiry model which moved through six states: 1. orientation of materials and information; 2. defining, determining or bringing into focus, problems, issues or events to be considered; 3. analyzing the pertinent information; 4. hypothesizing or generating a tentative explanation, solution or conclusion; 5. acquiring as much evidence as is necessary to validate, reject or modify the hypothesis or tentative; 6. synthesize the findings, information and insights into warranted conclusions or generalizations.\(^{19}\)

\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 8

\(^{19}\)Ibid.
Each teacher's manual included a short explanation of the inquiry model along with a "dialogue (which) illustrated the spirit and operation of classroom inquiry." The illustrative dialogue raises a number of questions. Reflective thinking is a long and difficult skill to acquire. John Dewey, along with many others, have written widely on reflective thinking; i.e., *How We Think* and *Theory of Valuation*. The authors' assumption, in their introduction, that the inquiry method can be learned by scanning a few pages and reading a "dialogue" is educationally unsound, unless such activities are accompanied by many other related operations. In addition, the authors, in the introduction to their dialogue, made oblique references to the fact that the "dialogue" was a composite of a series of dialogues, rather than one continuous ongoing experience. Inexperienced teachers may be led to believe that what they were about to read, occurred uninterrupted, in one classroom session.

In effect, the authors, by making it seem as though their model is almost automatic, tended to mislead their readers about the reflective approach. That is, they oversimplified a complex process. For example, in their projection of what would occur when the students "gather information," the authors stated that, "it was inevitable that examining, defining and probing, would occur."\(^\text{20}\) Again, to assert that such was "inevitable" was to oversimplify the way in which the reflective approach functions in learning.

\(^{20}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p.9}\)
IV LEVEL OF QUESTIONS

The questions in the Asian Studies Inquiry Program, should reflect the objectives of the program. In addition, the questions should be divergent enough so as to allow the student to deal with them on different levels. Norris M. Sanders, in his text, Classroom Questions, sees reflective questions along a continuum. The most obvious and ordinary questions deal with memory. Following this, the student should be able to translate the given information into his own words. At the next level, interpretation, the student should be able to determine whether ideas and facts are identical, similar, unrelated or contradictory. Subsequently, the student should be able to apply this information to solve problems, using previous knowledge. At the analytical level, the student should be able to reason from the specific (deductive) to the general, (inductive) and reason from the general to the specific. At the synthesis level, the student should be able to bring together all facts to offer many possible solutions to a given problem. And finally, at the evaluation level, the student should be able to set up standards to determine whether ideas or objects meet the standards they set up.

For the most part, the authors did a credible job, but there were some questions that did not meet their own standards. The following question was number eight in a series of nine questions dealing with the first set of Readings:
"Do you agree with Chuang-tzu that education merely confuses men's minds and creates doubt? What would some consequences be in your society if knowledge were abolished as the Taoists wished?" This was what might be called a "loaded" question. Both the words "merely" and "consequences" led the student to agree that education was not futile, and indeed, there were "consequences" for such irrational thoughts. (Both "merely" and "consequences" were used pejoratively, in this question).

Question number nine, was more subtle, "While the goal of both Confucianism and Taoism is a virtuous society, which philosophy do you think is incompatible with democratic principles? Give reasons for your answer." There were clearly elements in both philosophies which were antidemocratic. The authors seemed to have asked the students to converge on one answer, without defining what they meant by democracy. If they believed, as some do, that Taoism was more democratic, others might have argued that Taoism was negativistic and nihilistic. If the authors believed that Confucianism had the ingredients for a democracy, some would argue that social stratification was so rigid, there could not have been any social mobility.

---

22 Ibid., p.19
Question number four, in the second set, reads as follows: "How is it possible to act without action? Are the Taoists simply playing on words?" Here the question was influenced by the last sentence. Why not simply ask, "Is it possible to act without action?"

Some of the questions asked made it difficult for a student to choose an alternate response. For example, "In most Taoistic landscape paintings, the individual is very difficult to locate. Why do you think the artist portrays man as insignificant?" Perhaps, it would have been more effective to have asked students to imagine, or to paint, in a style consistent with Taoist philosophy.

Only two questions in this chapter that actually called for a position based upon data, was the following: "Give evidence in support or rejection of the Taoist theme of the superiority of weakness to strength." Another particularly excellent question asked was: "What relationship can you draw between the Western attitudes toward nature and the development of science in Western countries?"

The second set of questions came from Changing Patterns of Asian Life. The articles in this series were narrative and historical in content. This undoubtedly accounted for the kinds of questions that were posited in this chapter. It was evident

---

23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p.21
25 Ibid., p.20
from an analysis of these questions that the authors were willing to accept some divergent thought about philosophy in the last chapter, but were unable to make the same concessions to history. According to Sanders' matrix, most of the questions fell into the first two categories of memory and translation. For example: "According to Leibniz, what are the strengths of Chinese civilization? In what way does he feel, is China superior to Europe? Which aspects of Western knowledge most interested Japanese scholars?" 26 One of the most significant questions offered by the authors was: "Compare Chinese and Japanese reaction to the intrusion of the West and Western ideas." 27 However, this was a complex question dealing with many facets of Japanese and Chinese traditional thought. A question of this magnitude, could not have been answered, except at the most cursory level, without additional information.

Some excellent questions of interpretation were asked for in which the student had to determine whether ideas were similar, identical, unrelated, different or contradictory. For example: "How did the 1911 Revolution differ from the American Revolution?" or, "Considering the structure of Chinese society during this period, was the Marxist idea of proletarian revolution applicable?" or, "What customs or practices followed by

---

27 Ibid., p.19
the Aokinai family would be found in an American family?" or, "Do you sense any similarities between the issues and events which led to both the Opium War in China and the American Revolution?" or, "What were the bases for American antagonisms toward coolie labor? Why was the reaction particularly violent in the Western states?"28

In general, most of the questions were well designed and achieved the stated objectives; some were hampered however, by phrasing which inhibited divergent thinking. Questions numbered four and one, above, although they may be classified high in Sanders' hierarchy, assumed that there were similarities. One might well have asked, how students could have begun to see those relationships without a covert "prodding" to see a relationship.

In addition to questions, the teacher's manual had a brief passage which gave the instructor the major concepts, or generalizations, to have been "generated." Again, one might have raised the question; why should the teacher have been given information that students themselves, did not have? Often, a teacher's manual tends to "teacher proof" a curriculum. Perhaps unconsciously, a classroom teacher begins to accept only those ideas that have come out of the guide. After all, if a student's generalizations were correct, why then did they not appear in the manual? More importantly, these generalizations are often debatable, and open to various interpretations.

---

28 Ibid., p.24
For example, in the teacher's guide, on *Asian Thought*, the authors stated:

In the West, there was tendency to polarize one's views in a 'good - bad' spectrum, but 'though philosophically different' neither Confucianism nor Taoism, became zealously exclusive of one another. It was possible for the Chinese individual to be a Confucianist or Taoist at the same time. This tendency to allow for mutual respect had produced a tolerant attitude toward other philosophies and religions. The long Western history of religious persecution was lacking in traditional China. 29

Although what the authors stated above, was to a large degree true and should have been fully explored by the students, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that they might be missing some significant elements by making such a "grand" generalization. Certainly, in part, this "compatibility" had to do with the fact that neither of these "religions" had institutions by which to gain power, as was the case with the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, neither of these two religions are religions in the Western sense of the word, and therefore, do not have a conflict. (i.e. Jesus vs. Allah, that was exhibited during the Crusades) In addition, when Buddhism began to encroach upon the economy of China, by redirecting funds to the monastery coffers instead of to the state treasuries, the Chinese passed legislation and in some cases, burned villages and murdered Buddhist followers. What is suggested here, is not that the authors were completely inaccurate in their assessments, but rather, that they might

have been creating "myths" about China that were as untrue as those that they were striving to correct.

Along similar lines, the authors, in an attempt to give more meaning to each of the articles, prepared a short introductory passage (usually between 100/150 words). Most of the introductory passages were excellent, and helped the student limit his frame of reference. Sometimes, however, they "away too much." For example, in comparing Confucianism and Taoism, the authors offered two relatively simple parables to clarify a more complex statement. The nature of a parable is such that it must be simple enough as not to need explanation. Consider this portion of the introduction of a Confucian Parable: "'The Sparrow and the Phoenix,' not only tells us a great deal about the virtues most valued by the Chinese, but also clearly illustrates one of the basic precepts of Confucianism. (Consider the implications this simple story holds for Emperor and subject alike)." Three introductory remarks could have limited the student's response by asking him to "Consider the implications this simple story holds for Emperor and subject alike." A better purpose would have been served, if both the Taoist and Confucianist parables, were placed side by side, with nothing else said.

---

Given the nature of the Readings, the authors had to insert a brief narrative to make sense out of certain articles. Sometimes, the authors, in their narrative made gross generalizations which tended not to stand up well under close scrutiny. In order to bridge the gap between the American Open Door Policy in 1900, and the Stimson Doctrine of 1932, the authors offered this explanation:

This Open Door Policy was soon to be threatened by Japanese aggression in Manchuria throughout the 1920's and as each year passed it became clear that Japanese militarists would be content with nothing less than the conquest of China and all of southeast Asia. If there were any doubts of Japanese intent in Asia, they were dispelled when Premier Tanaka Giichi announced, in 1927, his positive policy of protecting Japanese interests in Manchuria and China, noting that, 'In order to conquer the world, we first must conquer China...' The reaction of the United States to this statement of policy and to the resulting acts of Japanese aggression in Manchuria was indicated in an announcement made by Secretary of State, Henry Stimson, on January 7, 1932. The announcement expressed American watchfulness and concern, and later became known as the Stimson Doctrine. 31

It must be remembered that the above quote is informational and not open to debate, since there was nothing in the pamphlet which dealt in any significant way with the role of Japanese militarism in the 1930's.

31 Weitzman, China and the United States, A.S.I.P., p.39
There are many authors, Takehiko Yoshishashi, (*Conspiracy at Mukden*) James Crowley, (*Japan's Quest for Autonomy*) David Bergamini (*Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*) who differed considerably among themselves as to whether the rise of the Japanese military in the 1930's, was due to: (a) a group of lower eschelon army officers in Mukden; (b) the general staff, including some civilians who knew and accepted the rise of Japanese militarism; (c) the Emperor, himself. In addition, the authors of the project, stated that the Stimson Doctrine "expressed American watchfulness and concern." There are many who would suggest that it was, from the beginning, a "non-policy;" that is, it was written in such a way as to insure no American intervention against the Japanese.

V ADEQUACY FOR GRADE LEVEL:

Because of the nature of the program, it was difficult to place the reading material in any particular grade level. Many of the articles were written in such a way as to allow for a variety of responses. Others, because of the nature of the material, required rather high level reading skills. Moreover, the vocabulary and writing style differed from author to author. In general, significant reading skills were necessary for a complete understanding of the project's material. Some of the Readings were so stimulating, however, they might have acted as a catalyst for those who may have had reading difficulties.
VI ARRANGEMENT OF READINGS:

The authors have been most effective in their ability to juxtapose conflicting accounts of historical incidents and philosophies side by side. Their choice of subject matter material was excellent. In no case was the acquisition of factual knowledge held to be the primary objective. For the most part, China especially, was treated objectively and in some cases sympathetically. One shortcoming, however, in the selection of appropriate subject matter was the omission of relevant material about Japan. The way in which Japan moved from a feudal society to a modern industrial state, along with all of its component factors: the Bakufu, the Daimyo, Primogeniture, the Tokugawa Ethic, and the rise of Modern Japanese Man, could have been handled more fully.

VII EVALUATION:

Although the treatment of inquiry left something to be desired, there was a wealth of excellent information from which to make one's own decisions. The program did an excellent job not only of dispelling stereotypes, but also, showing where the stereotypes originated. The multidisciplinary approach was exemplary. Most pamphlets had at least one or two articles which looked at an event from a sociological, as well as an historical, view point. The treatment of Communist China was on the whole, eminently fair. One wonders however, if more would have been gained had the writers not identified those passages which were propagandistic.
Careful attention to the questions, ought to be considered by the teacher using these materials. Without consciously planning to do so, there seemed to be ample evidence that the program materials failed to foster, as fully as might be expected, divergent thinking. If, as Richard Jones stated, in *Feeling and Fantasy in Education*, "imagination is important in concept development," the authors have then tended to shortchange the students and the teacher by limiting their responses. With these limitations in mind, the *Asian Studies Inquiry Program*, could be a great deal of help in the teaching of Asian Studies education in the secondary schools.

**A LOOK ACROSS CULTURES: CHINA**

**CONNECTICUT CLUSTER PROJECT ON NON-WESTERN CULTURES**
United States Office of Education, Title III, 1968
Larry Condon, Coordinator and Editor
Barbara L. Belanich, Project Director
Greenwich Public Schools, Sponsoring System

The Connecticut Cluster Project on Non-Western Cultures, centered around a lesson plan approach. The format of each lesson was organized in the following manner:

1. Component of culture.
2. Concept: The major 'idea' identified for the lesson. These concepts are the determinants for each reading selection, but each reading may contain a variety of ideas which a class may choose to investigate. As a result, the initially identified concept may give way to a second concept of greater significance to the class.
3. Experience: The content of the lesson, identification of pertinent material for the teacher as well as a description and explanation of this material.

4. Suggested Teaching Strategies:
Specific development of materials with some guides for putting them to work, often in the form of directed discussion, group work, role playing, an activity, or some combination of these.

These suggested strategies are not intended to provide the teacher with a ready-made lesson plan; rather they are intended to provide a nucleus for the teacher and students who wish to look across a culture. Only if the teacher brings to them his own creativity and ideas and takes from them that which he finds useful will these strategies be meaningful and challenging to the students. 32

In order for this project to be implemented, the following items are necessary: Section I, approximately thirty books and articles, from which the lessons are drawn and Section II, approximately seventy books and articles, from which the lessons are drawn. Two views might be taken with respect to this vast array of materials. Obviously, the initial cost is beyond what is commonly budgeted for materials, and probably most administrators would look askance at this alternative. A long range view however, of having a significant number of texts dealing with Asian Studies, supports the fact that there is only an initial outlay of funds. In return, the school has a collection of books that can have impact, not only for students in a particular class, but for anyone who desires to use them.

32 Larry Condon, Coordinator, Connecticut Cluster Project on Non-Western Cultures: A Look Across Cultures: China: "(Hereinafter referred to as C.C.E; China.) (Greenwich, Conn.: United States Office of Education, 1968.) p.11
Since most high school libraries are woefully inadequate in this area, the second approach would serve a double function. It could, indeed, contribute to the resource center concept within the school as a whole.

I **SCOPE AND SEQUENCE:**

Component: **Stream of Life** - This component examined Chinese tradition and its impact on various institutions, i.e. family in its Confucian context; the traditional role of women; the concept of mutual responsibility and the role of Civil Service Examination on the traditional family.

Component: **Religion** - In this section, the authors explored Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism in relationship to government, human relations, social organization, man's place in the natural order, and the impact of the religions in Art and Architecture.

Component: **Geography** - In this section, the authors surveyed the immense natural geographic barriers which isolated China. The concepts to have been attained were the impact of river flood plains on population density, along with analyzing cultural differences as a result of many geographical climates and the profitable interchange of goods and ideas that were carried out, despite the barriers of geography.
Component: History - The first segment was a traditional review of pre-Republican China. The next segment was devoted to the "Search for Nationalist Unity, between 1800-1927." The next three segments reviewed the conflict between the Nationalists and Communists. One segment was devoted to the schism between China and Russia. The last two segments emphasized the total impact Communism had on economics, education, and social development.

Component: Traditional Art, Poetry, and Literature - This component analyzed traditional art, poetry, and literature. The concepts were varied: for some, much of "Chinese art reflects the philosophy and spirit of the Chinese people." For others, it was "the struggle of the Chinese artists in a universal struggle." The last lesson on literature scanned the Communist view of art and literature as the servant of the state and party.

Component: Culture in Transition - This unit emphasized the impact the Communists had on traditional Chinese institutions. Education was no longer an upper-class commodity, it existed for the masses; schools were an important force in shaping the new political man. Intellectuals performed manual labor; new marriage laws had altered the relationship between man and woman. Along with the previous "concept" the authors pointed out that traditional beliefs were hard to change even with the passing of new laws, and although filial piety had been attacked, it had not yet vanished.
Finally, the authors offered this component, "a culture can undergo radical change because of contact with foreign ideas and methods. The ancient civilization of China is disappearing."  

II SUBJECT MATTER:

The "History" component paid little attention to China before Western impact. Of the eight units pertaining to history, only one treated China before 1800. There were many themes beyond the scope of this report to detail. Suffice it to say that adequate treatment of pre-1800 China was necessary for a complete understanding of her attempts at modernization. No where in the directed discussion, was there any evidence of China's attempt at modernization. There was no mention of the Self-Strengthening Movement, 1860-1880; or a review of the "radical" ideals of the ill-fated reformer, Kung Yu-wei. There was no attempt to suggest that the alien Manchu regime could not, and would not, allow for modernization at their own expense. The Boxer Rebellion was treated in the traditional "theatrical" sense. No attempt was made to understand what provoked peasants to such extreme action. No where did the authors suggest that revolution "from the bottom" i.e. Boxer Rebellion, and reform "from the top," i.e. the Tung-chih Restoration, were characteristic of societies in transition.

---

33Ibid., p.36
One came away, after reading this lesson plan, with the feeling that the Chinese were impotent, and incapable of any modernization attempts. At best, we felt sorry for a once grand empire, which could see no further than their borders, increasing the stereotypical view, that "pragmatic" Americans hold toward the "hopelessly idealistic Chinese."

In their review of the literature, the authors stated that, "No Western power tried to conquer China. Rather, each nation sought to obtain more favorable concessions from the Chinese than the next." C. E. Black, in his book, The Dynamics of Modernization, had a very different view. Black stated:

What these societies have in common (China and Japan) is the fact that their traditional governments were sufficiently effective, because of long experience with centralized bureaucratic government, to enable them to resist direct and comprehensive foreign rule for a prolonged period in modern times. 34

Certainly, viewing China from Black's vantage point, would do much to foster the attitude that China, as a nation and as a people, had genuine integrity.

The period between 1927-1941, was also treated with some bias. In their review of the literature, (in this case a total of eighteen pages, including the film, "Roots of Madness," viewed by many as misleading and ultra anti-communist), the authors treated Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek with "kid gloves;" i.e. there was no mention of Sun Yat-sen's relationship with the Soviets. Whether it was on ideological or

34 C.E. Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p.34
pragmatic grounds, Sun welcomed Soviet advice and aid during the early years of the revolution. Yet most students, if they remember him at all, recall something vaguely about the "Three People's Principles," oddly enough, not one of which mentioned capitalism.

The following are but a few examples of how the project's coordinators treated this period of Chinese history: "Chiang Kai-shek appeared to be leading his people into the modern industrial world of the 20th century." "The growing appeal of Chiang's nationalism frightened the Japanese who saw in it the eventual loss of their control of Manchuria." "In a dramatic kidnapping episode, Chiang was forced to realize the appeal of a unified front against the Japanese to all of China's people."\(^{35}\) What the authors did not mention was the "dramatic kidnapping" episode, (the Sian Incident) was the culmination of hopeless efforts to stop Chiang Kai-shek from hoarding his troops, in order to fight the Chinese Communist Party; and to use them against the Japanese. In addition, there was no mention of the rivalry between the Chinese Communist party and Soviet Communist advisors. Students had been taught that China and Russia were a monolith which would eventually destroy the United States. Yet, the evidence more than destroyed that hypothesis, not only in the Sino-Soviet Schism of the 1960's, but in the Sino-Soviet split, of the 1930's, as well.

\(^{35}\) Condon, C.C.P.: China, p.30
This episode can be summed up by looking at the concept the authors felt this period exemplified: "China attempted to create a stable society through military means while trying to control the force of rival ideologies, and build up industrial strength."\textsuperscript{36} One could easily have written: "Nationalist China attempted to create a stable society through military torture and underground cliques, while trying to obliterate the Chinese Communist forces and build up a personal industrial empire." The concept underlying this suggested alternative is conspiratorial. Yet, the very blandness of the authors' generalizations, seemed as conspiratorial, if not more so.

Throughout the next three lessons, Mao Tse-tung and the Communists were treated as total oligarchs, having mystical and magical powers over the populace. Questions such as, "What techniques did Mao Tse-tung use in achieving the goal of making China a world power?"\textsuperscript{37} implied mechanistic and inhuman methods of achieving one's ends. Imagine a traditional American history textbook stating, "What techniques did George Washington use in achieving the goal of national unity?"

In their \textit{Culture in Transition} component, the authors presented the following concept: "Schools are institutions that can perpetuate, but also create the values of a society."

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p.32
In China, schools are presently being employed to shape a new political man." The "concept" although somewhat biased, was innocent enough; however, in their review of the literature, (a total of nine pages from three sources) the authors stated:

Every Chinese student is exposed repeatedly to the ideas promulgated by the Chinese Communist party. The Chinese student is thus conditioned to the 'party line' and will think and be expected to act in accordance with it. Therefore, the values of the party have largely become the values of the individual student.

In order to converge on their "concept," in the following question from the Directed Discussion, the authors asked:

"Chinese political education is frequently referred to as indoctrination. Would you say that the American student is equally as indoctrinated in a democracy?" If John Holt, Edgar Friedenberg and James Herndon are accurate, in their assessment of American schools, the resounding reply would be, "No sir, we are not!"

III SOCIAL STUDIES METHODOLOGY:

The most conspicuous issue that emerged in this analysis concerned an evident confusion between concepts and generalizations. According to Jerome Bruner, a concept is defined as a category. Bruner would have us think of a concept as "a basket into which we put those objects that belong together because of the attributes they are said to share under a given system of classification."

---

38 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
A category may include a wide range of different items which are treated as if they are the same. For example, there are many variables that go into the category called civil war, yet they are treated as one concept. Bruner has said that, "to categorize is to render discriminantly different things equivalent, to group the objects and events around us in classes, and to respond to them in terms of their class membership rather than their uniqueness." It is clear that the authors failed to differentiate between a definition and proposition. What they offered as concepts were in reality propositional statements or generalizations.

To truly understand a concept, one must know its extensional as well as intentional meaning. For Bruner, concept attainment is reached when one has learned the properties of a category; or in other words, its intentional meaning. Only then, can he give extensional meaning to the concept by giving examples. For example, the first "concept" to be attained in the Connecticut Cluster Project was "The attitude of a traditional Chinese family toward the birth of a child depended on the social position of the family." In this generalization, there were at least three distinct concepts

---

42 Ibid., p.23
43 Condon, C. C.P.: China, p.1
which were to be attained in order for the generalization to be effective: (1) traditional; (2) family; and (3) social position. But what are their intentional meanings? Can the student offer examples of different kinds of families; (i.e. conjugal, nuclear, patriarchal)? What is social stratification? What are the qualities necessary for one to observe social position? If the authors were going to place their emphasis on generalizations, as they inadvertently have done, it seems necessary to require that they reveal first, an understanding of those concepts which made up the generalizations.

Concepts are usually analytical, in that they can never be shown to be false. The statement that "bachelors are unmarried males" expresses a concept. A teacher could not get very far if concepts such as the one just cited were doubted as true. If, on the other hand, they doubted a synthetic statement such as "married males live longer than unmarried males," there is recourse to evidence. That is not to say that all concepts are so clear that they do not need to be analyzed, rather, it is that the analysis takes on a different form. For example, the concept of nationalism may need narrowing and classification, but once the meaning is agreed upon, it then becomes analytical. However, statements that function as a synthesis take on two forms. The first is a synthetic singular, such as "China is in Asia," and we usually refer to this statement as a fact. The second, is a
synthetic generalization, similar to the statements made in
the Connecticut Project under the title, Concept, i.e.
"concept:" the Confucian philosophy emphasized the importance
of the family and the mutual responsibilities of the family
members, or; "concept:" "river flood plains encouraged the early development of civilization in China and are the pre-
dominant factor in population density."

Generalizations are extremely important, but only when both the teacher and the student fully understand the concepts that link them together. Hunt and Metcalf stated that: "a true generalization is a more meaningful fact than any synthetic singular statement could ever hope to be, because it covers more territory, and refers to more cases." Without generalizations, predictions or explanations are impossible. If a teacher expects students to begin to hypothesize, then facts must have meaning. The singular statement (fact) that the Chinese have a traditional family unit is inconsequential, unless the student can begin to hypothesize about what an effect a strong traditional family has upon the mobility of the children and more importantly, how the concept of the traditional family unit affect stratification and mobility in all societies.

The authors of this curriculum guide failed in two significant areas. Firstly, as previously mentioned, they confused generalizations with concepts. Secondly, and perhaps more seriously, they laid out the generalizations to be attained. Richard Jones, in *Fantasy and Feeling in Education*, cited a study by Hovland and Weiss, which suggested that "subjects seem not as willing or able to use negative information," (telling us what a concept is not in the process of attaining a concept). Jones disagreed somewhat, and suggested that "negativism" was an aid to divergent thinking and a disruptive influence in convergent thinking. No true reflection can take place if a curriculum offers a "canned" response. Even if the teacher were clever enough to fain reflection, the students would soon come to realize that, in fact, what was occurring, was what Hunt and Metcalf called "pseudo-reflection."

This position with respect to "pseudo-reflection," is not to suggest that a teacher, who has a prescribed course of study to follow, is necessarily being "pseudo-reflective." It is to suggest, however, that if the process is stifled by generalizations, that already have been laid out by an author, it can and usually does, create a situation in which the student becomes conditioned to respond to the teacher's desires. This is especially true in traditional school settings in which the teacher is viewed as an authority figure.
IV LEVEL OF QUESTIONS:

Unlike the authors of the Asian Studies Inquiry Program, the coordinators of the Connecticut Cluster Project, offered no mode of questioning for inquiry. However, they did state in the introduction, that "teachers using these materials should be aware of the following themes: 1. Stream of Life, Birth, Child Rearing, Marriage, Death; 2. Agencies of Culture Continuity and Transmission; 3. Geography - work people do, Economics; 4. History - the stream of cultural development; 5. Government; 6. Art, literature, music; 7. Culture and Transition - Conflict on assimilation." They suggested that: "the reader keep in mind that a culture should not be thought of as a series of fragmented components, but rather as a cloak for the spirit of people, the harmony that unites them and gives them life direction." 45

In analyzing the types and levels of questioning, it became impossible to separate them from their sources. In many cases where the reading assignments were of similar viewpoints, a juxtaposition of different views on the same issue was not evident. For example, the second lesson was taken from Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, Columbia University Press, pp. 123-131. The concept to be attained was "The high value that was placed upon a male child in traditional Chinese society was closely linked to ancestral worship." 46

45 Condon, C.C.P. China, p. ii
46 Ibid. p. 2
In the Directed Discussion, of the Readings, the authors asked for reasons why the Chinese preferred male children, and to differentiate between the training of male and female children in a traditional Chinese society. No where in the questioning was there an application of that concept to explain why the Chinese male had difficulty in mobility. This may have been a good opportunity to introduce the hypothesis that cultures which have had a high degree of ancestor worship, have had a correspondingly low degree of societal and geographical mobility.

In a subsequent lesson, the authors asked the students to "discuss...the status and role of women in the United States as contrasted with the status and role of women in China."\(^{47}\) Toward the end of the curricular materials, the authors suggested that the role of women had drastically changed with the passing of laws under Communism. Certainly, there was room for both of these possibilities, but the period between both lessons was so lengthly, that it rendered any comparison almost impossible.

In each of the first five lessons, the authors saw fit to make comparisons between the United States and China, in relation to the family; i.e. the following questions:

\(\text{(1) Differentiate between the training of male and female children in a traditional Chinese family. How did this compare with the 'traditional' training of the American family?}^{48}\)

\(^{47}\text{Ibid., p.4}\)

\(^{48}\text{Ibid., p.2}\)
(2) Discuss in relation to the status and role of women in the United States as contrasted with the status and role of women in China. 49
(3) What was the traditional American attitude toward families living together? (In what ways did it differ? Why?) 50

Having seen many of these types of questions before, it seemed that the student was expected to "know" what American attitudes were. But did he? If the authors meant the typical W.A.S.P. family, portrayed by the media, then perhaps the students could make valid comparisons. But what of the traditional Negro family, or the "typical matriarchal Jewish Mother," or the role of the female in Puerto Rican families, living in American ghettos, were they considered "typical?"
The same kind of questions should have been raised for the Chinese family. Who were the authors speaking about: the upper class scholar gentry, the compradores in Canton, the peasant in rural Shensi Province, or the merchant in Shanghai? This type of analysis is not always possible, or, in fact, necessary. However, when it is not undertaken the student begins to make assumptions, not only about other cultures, but about himself, that are not always valid.

There were other inadequacies in the authors' treatment of questions: some questions were difficult to answer because

49 Ibid., p. 4
50 Ibid., p. 5
the antecedent was blurred. Consider these two questions:

(1) How do political philosophies in America such as liberalism and conservatism view the role of the family as responsible for their own members? 51

(2) Discuss in relation to the status and role of women in the United States as contrasted with the status and role of women in China. 52

Some of the phrasing in the authors’ questions lead students, perhaps subliminally to make certain assumptions. For example, following the previous question, the authors stated that: "Since this *The Good Earth* was written, China had fallen under Communist domination." 53 Implicit in the question was that any country that falls under domination is wicked and evil. Question two, lesson twenty-nine, had similar overtones: "To what extent is the hostile regime in China today the historical outgrowth of Western interventions of the 19th and 20th century?" 54

In the introductory lesson on Chinese religion, the authors stated that: "The Chinese have been eclectic in their religious development." Five lessons later, in lesson seventeen, on the treatment of Taoism, the authors asked, "Why would the teachings of Taoism be in conflict with those of Confucianism?" or

51 Ibid., p.8
52 Ibid., p.4
53 Ibid., p.30
54 Ibid.
"How would the teachings of Taoism be in conflict with those of Confucianism?" It is not that these statements were completely contradictory, but rather that there was no real attempt, in the Directed Discussion, to make those seemingly contradictory philosophies compatible. Because the authors chose generalizations as central to their curricula, they needed to provide an adequate base for those generalizations. In their discussion of Buddhism, the authors raised some significant questions. Basically, the direct discussion asked how Buddhism affected China. Earlier in the project, the authors made a point of insisting that culture, not horses, won over the enemy. It would, therefore, have been appropriate to ask, "What impact China had on Buddhism?"

V ADEQUACY FOR GRADE LEVEL:

It was difficult to assess the adequacy of the required Readings. The authors placed in parenthesis, before each reading assignment, a designation (i.e. average, high). In general, those designations were accurate. However, there is increasing evidence that the judgment about reading levels should be left to the teacher and the student. All too often, it is the (high) reading materials that offer the best foundation for inquiry. Preliminary evaluation of reading difficulty of the Humanities Curriculum Project, a Nuffield Foundation project in England, shows that Americans, in general, have made too much of the so-called reading level.
VI ARRANGEMENT OF READINGS:

It became increasingly obvious as one critically examined the curriculum project, that it was not so much that the authors had not paid attention to the important issues, but rather, that the sequence of Readings made it difficult to apply in an inquiry-oriented approach to teaching. Earlier, it was asserted that the authors generalized about family, role and position. Later in the project, they "emphasized that semantic shortcuts such as the stereotype of the "typical" Chinese were misleading. One wonders who was misleading whom?

VII EVALUATION:

Although the authors attested to the fact that their curriculum was not "intended to provide the teacher with a ready-made lesson," those intentions were not fulfilled. The authors tended to press for an acceptance of their own point of view. The Readings, too, tended to influence the reader to accept a prestated position.

The confusion between concepts, generalizations, and analytical questions also contributed to the difficulty of using this guide for inquiry. In the final analysis, this project reflects something of a "packaged" approach to curriculum. Fifteen or twenty good texts in Chinese history with divergent viewpoints could provide a nucleus to begin one's own organization of resources. There are many agencies, The Asian Society, The National Committee on United States - China Relations, and The Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies, that can provide a list of annotated bibliographies to suit the needs of secondary social studies teachers.
A LOOK ACROSS CULTURES: JAPAN
CONNECTICUT CLUSTER PROJECT ON NON-WESTERN CULTURES
United States Office of Education, Title III, 1968
Larry Condon, Coordinator and Editor
Barbara L. Belanich, Project Director
Greenwich Public Schools, Sponsoring System

Although the format of the Japan Cluster Project is somewhat similar to the China Cluster Project, there were some significant differences which bear examination. The general format was the same; like the China Cluster, a component was identified along with a concept, experience (review of the readings) and teacher strategy (directed discussion). Although the project coordinator was the same in both cases, the project participants were different. In addition, the components chosen for examination on the Japan Cluster, had a somewhat different emphasis.

I SCOPE AND SEQUENCE:

Component: Religion - This component viewed an almost infinite variety of religious and moral relationships. The first two units dealt with the "inherent" conflict of Christianity and Buddhism. One unit reflected Japan's unwillingness to use sin to explain the problem of evil. With religion, as with many other institutions, this program looked at Japan's ability to adopt an alien philosophy and make it distinctly Japanese. The authors wisely viewed Shinto in terms of its impact on national stability (including the concept of "kami" Whatever is, is divine spirit). Like Shinto, Buddhism is viewed through two lenses. One: the Buddhist philosophy itself, and second: its impact on Japan.
Component: Geography - Geography played a relatively small role in the program. The three lessons essentially revealed the nature of the Japanese islands and its effect on the course of her development. Additionally, the authors examined how Japan had overcome, remarkably well, the problem of limited agricultural resources.

Component: Economy - The economic component traced Japan's economic development from the Meiji Restoration through to the modern period. The major concept of the initial lesson saw the Meiji leaders acting as a catalyst for change (1868-1914). The second period viewed Japanese expansion between the wars as being spurred on by economic needs along with the impact of the United States' economic assistance in the post war recovery period. The last segment presented Japan as one of the most powerful nations in the world.

Component: Political History - The first "concept" was probably the most foundational in the unit. Through a series of Readings, the authors offered the proposition that "central to the future of the Japanese government is the persistent struggle between authoritarianism and constitutionalism."

55 Larry Condon, Coordinator, Connecticut Cluster Project on Non-Western Culture: A Look Across Cultures; Japan: "(Hereinafter referred to as C.C.F., Japan)" (Greenwich, Conn., United States Office of Education, 1968) p.26
This component was most inquiry-oriented. It had the largest number of diverse sources and allowed for the greatest degree of flexibility.

The second component was a rather detailed analysis of the Japanese system of government using the British and American pattern for a model. In the subsequent lesson, the authors offered this concept: "The current system of government is not now stabilized by strong social and political traditions." As a supplement to the above generalization, the authors stated that Japan is still subjected to external pressure and influence due to the tenuous state of their foreign trade. In the subsequent lesson, the authors made a case for Japan's strong middle class as a prerequisite for democracy. Two elements, the authors suggested were imperative for Japan to choose an alternate form of government were: Geographic isolation and the role of the Emperor. These themes imply that Japanese society allowed for a spirit of nationalism and a feeling of identity.

Two phenomena which tended to "hold back" Japan from a true consensus form of government were the continued power of the Zaibatsu (industrial combines) and the dependence of local government on Tokyo. According to the authors, this "paternalism" had manifested itself in what political scientists refer to as the one and one-half party system.

\footnote{Ibid., p.28}
Component: *Philosophy* - This rather short unit had as its central theme, what sociologists call the "situational ethic." Broken down into three themes, the unit surveyed child-rearing and its effect upon Japanese character development, the role of the Emperor worship and its impact on childhood development and finally, a view of character generalizations based upon a Western view.

Component: *Literature* - Using Donald Keane's, *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, the authors took us from ancient to modern times using as the central theme "Japanese literature as an expression of changing values of Japanese life." The authors paid particular attention to Noh and Kabuki, two unique forms of theater. Additionally, the authors offered some insights into Japanese poetry, particularly Haiku.

Component: *Art* - To initiate this unit, the authors had on file at the Connecticut Cluster Centers, two sets of slides; one (American Art) depicting "historical periods in American history, as well as elements of the prevailing social order." The second set, (Japanese Art) sought to "demonstrate the connection between art and culture." Also on file, was a set of slides from the pre-Chinese Ancient Period to 600 A.D. to the Modern Period. The "concept" employed, suggested that "there are identifiable periods in the development of Japanese art. These reflect the religions, political, and social, changes within a society." Later in the unit, more specific attention

---

was paid to art through the lens of Shintoism and Buddhism. The final lesson was devoted to Japanese architecture and sculpture. Here the emphasis was on how this art form reflected Japanese society as a whole.

II SUBJECT MATTER:

To what degree is it honest to present generalizations in the form of concepts? Is it in the best interest of inquiry and reflective thought to defend a generalization by Readings which compliment the proposed generalizations?

A major criticism of the subject matter, centers on the authors' decision beforehand that certain cognitive outcomes should be expected and reinforced. For example, in their introduction to the Economy of Japan, the authors suggested that, "Japan's traditional political, social and economic system was adapted to the needs of industrialization, and that the government took a more active role in stimulating "industrialization."58 As a source, the authors used, Japan: Lesson in Enterprise, p. 11, by Scott Foresman. The author, Hunsberger, pointed out that the Japanese farmers, partly because of Imperial taxation, provided much of the capital that was required to finance Japan's leap into the industrial age. What was not asked of the student, and an element essential for a true understanding, was why the Japanese system of taxation operated so efficiently? The Chinese also had a system of

58 Ibid., p.15
taxation in which barely ten to twenty percent ever got into
the Imperial coffers. What was it about Japanese society that
allowed for the collection of forty to fifty percent of the
per capita income, in the form of taxes, for industrialization?

In addition, to treat each discipline such as history,
geoigraphy and economics as if they were separate containers,
does a disservice to teachers as well as students. For example,
the success of the Meiji Restoration was, no doubt, heavily
tied up with economics. But to discount, or not include,
geographical factors such as size, or sociological factors
such as the mutually exclusive loyalty to the Emperor, as well
as the family, created the illusion that the Meiji Restoration
was wholly economic in content. In fact, there was a myriad
of complex relationships within all aspects of Japanese
society. Obviously, there were many facets of the Meiji Resto-
toration which needed to be dealt with in order for students
to comprehend the incredible swiftness with which it occurred.
Some of the resources that might have been utilized to throw
light on these many facets are identified below:

Kenneth Fyle's, The New Generation in Meiji Japan, deals
with the problem of modernity and the brisk way in which it
was thrust upon the Japanese. In his introduction, Fyle cited
several examples of men who observed these changes.

The historical process is suddenly accelerated
in a terrifying fashion. Developments which
otherwise take centuries seem to flit by like
phantoms in months or weeks, and are fulfilled.
The swift pace of change makes a man feel prenaturally old; for here he is in modern times, and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages. Thus does it come about that we ourselves feel well-nigh four hundred years old.

A major survey of modern world history concludes that the change undergone by Japan in the Meiji period (1868-1912) still stands as the most remarkable transformation ever undergone by any people in so short a time. 59

When the authors suggested that a particular thesis was open to interpretation, they sometimes did not offer an alternative thesis for examination. For example, one of the questions, which came from an excellent filmstrip, Japan: Emergence of a Nation, cited the Harvard historian, Albert Craig, and his view on the decline of the Samurai: "The Samurai were willing to destroy the old society and their military class in order to create a modern state..." 60 The question which followed was, "To what extent did the Samurai actually change the prevailing attitude and mores to create a modern industrial state?" 61 This is an excellent question, but nowhere in the Readings did the authors entertain the possibility that there was a viable alternate hypothesis.

An alternate hypothesis could have been explored. In fact Marius B. Jensen, in his text, Sakamato Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration, argued, that without external pressure being applied by Western powers, the Tokugawa Shogunate could have

60Condon, C.C.P.;Japan, p. 18
61Ibid.,
continued for some time. Jensen takes issue with the broad generalization that these lower class samurai and merchants were chiefly responsible for the downfall of the Bakafu. It is not suggested here that Jensen is correct and Craig incorrect in his analysis of the motives of the Samurai. Rather, the point to be made is that questions such as these offer interesting possibilities for inquiry, and might, therefore, be viewed as crucial resources in an array of curricular materials.

Probably the most fascinating, and often misinterpreted phases of Japanese history involved the rise of the military during the 1930's. The authors of this curriculum guide spent one lesson on what was perhaps the most significant development in Japan's modern history. Without trying to defend Japan's position during those chaotic years, there should have been some consideration of the events that led up to the Mukden Incident, and the subsequent bombing of Pearl Harbor. The guide did not reveal any other references to this period in Japanese history. To indicate, as the authors did, that "Japan's expansion in the period between the wars was spurred by economic need" is again acceptable as a tentative hypothesis. Would it not be appropriate, however, to begin to ask questions about what other kinds of developments along with economic necessity allowed for Japan to adopt a "military solution?" The United States was also devastated by a depression 

\[62\] Ibid.
and did not follow a similar course of action. If, in fact, this concept, as they call it, was to have significance, it must be transferable to other societies with similar conditions.

One of the obvious problems in compartmentalizing disciplines, such as this guide did, was to also create in the minds of the students, a compartmentalized image as to why certain phenomena exist. What is most objectionable is that the reading assignment on which this generalization was based came from pages 11-14, in the Hunsberger pamphlet, *Japan: Lessons on Enterprise*.

In their direct discussion, the authors asked for the "economic justifications given by the Japanese propagandists for expansion before and during World War II."\(^{63}\) The word "propagandists" tends to elicit a negative response. Therefore, the question was answered almost before it was posed. Should the student be informed for example, of American and European exclusionary immigration acts during this period? Would it be appropriate to examine the Washington Naval Agreement of 1927, in which Japan was concerned about the British build-up in the Pacific? Would the concept of "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" make more sense if it were viewed through the lens of Russian domination of Eastern Europe and American control in Latin America? It is not that Japan was, or was not, justified in her attempt at economic

\(^{63}\) *Ibid.*, p. 29
hegemony over East Asia, it is that students ought to begin to see what the kinds of political, social and economic ramifications existed for a super-power in the midst of "lesser countries."

Most post-war historians have suggested two general hypothesis concerning Japan's military expansion in the 1930's: (1) that Japan's aggression with regard to her foreign policy was a prime cause of the Pacific Conflict beginning in 1931; and (2) that the policy of aggression was caused by a combination of ultra nationalism, political assassinations, military conspiracies, and factional disputes within the imperial army, which enable Japan's military leaders to seize control of political power to launch the nation on a program of expansion.

There is much in this period that lends itself effectively to hypothesis testing and inquiry. James Crowley, in his book, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy*, argued that not only in the "Mukden Incident," but also in the "Marco Polo Bridge Affair," seven years later, "the operational orders of the general staff were not technically flaunted by the field armies; and that the basic policies were formulated in the cabinet."[^64] Yet, the authors in Lesson number twenty-eight, citing a text, stated: "...and it is true that, due to economic problems and jealousy of civil leaders, that the military returned to power during

the 1930's and 1940's." According to another highly respected
author, Takehiko Yoshihoshi, in his text, *Conspiracy at Mukden*,
it was two junior army officers that had to decide whether or
not to create the "incident" before a representative from the
Japanese General Staff was to arrive. Still more provocative
is David Bergamini's text, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, in
which the author suggested that Emperor Hirohito led Japan
into war against the West. Although somewhat conspiratorial
in nature, David Bergamini's thesis was that the Emperor
(Hirohito) was not a figurehead, but rather, was the driving
force behind Japan's aggression during this period.

This writer is not suggesting that each unit can be as
detailed as the ideas described above. What is being suggested,
is that teaching a generalization based on economic determinism,
without looking at other significant developments may create,
in the minds of students, a very simplistic and often incorrect
view of history. One of the teaching strategies employed by
the authors was to "understand the Japanese through our own."
This is an admirable but difficult technique to apply. There
seems to be sufficient evidence to support the evaluation that
the authors made comparisons when it suited their purposes. In
other words, they tended to compare America in a favorable light.
For example, lesson number thirty-five identified the continued
impact of a small number of business families that continue to
exert a great deal of influence in Japanese government.
One could make a similar argument about concentration of wealth in the United States. Such a comparison would have been a good opportunity to "understand the Japanese through our own." If one is looking for objective analysis and transfer of learning, then every opportunity to make comparisons must be scrutinized. For example, the British have restrictions on income and inheritance. This might have been a good opportunity to begin to investigate the question of income distribution with all of its ramifications and consequences. The authors chose not to suggest such an examination.

III SOCIAL STUDIES METHODOLOGY:

As, in the China project, the Japan project suffered from a confusion over generalizations and concepts. It would be redundant to make the point again. Suffice it to say, both projects could have been of higher intellectual quality, had the authors made sure of their terminology.

IV LEVEL OF QUESTIONS:

The skill of questioning is perhaps the most important single evaluative tool at the disposal of the teacher. Since it is beyond the scope of this investigation to analyze, or categorize, every question, a cross-section of the questions, using Norris M. Sanders' model, will serve as prototypes.

According to Sanders, the first level of questioning is Memory; "it should be noted, that more complex mental processes cannot take place until the facts or information have been
remembered. These questions usually ask, what, when, where and who?" There are four other levels of questions, Level II - Translation; Level III - Interpretation; Level IV - Application and Level V - Analysis. When it is appropriate, levels beyond Memory (Level I), will be identified. If Sanders is correct, in his hierarchy, then "what," "when," "where," and "who," should precede "why." Yet one is not always able to ask questions in that order. Perhaps teachers often take some such order for granted and jump to Level III, Interpretation.

For example, Lesson number two, based on (according to the program) one page of reading, asked the following questions:

1. Why are bad impressions of Japanese relations given by foreign writers?
2. How has Japan been influenced by Buddhism? How had Buddhism been influenced by Japan?
3. Why does the author feel a convert must explain his reason for changing his religion?

Very often, the word "why" preceding a question forced the answer to be defended. For example, in number three, the question was: "Why is the Japanese view of Christianity somewhat distorted?" It seems that much is taken for granted, i.e. In order for a student to answer this question satisfactorily, he would have to know: a) if there is such a homogeneous concept of Christianity; b) what the traditional view of Christianity was; c) what the Japanese view of Christianity was and from where it came. Only then may he
begin to answer the question. However, the question is posed in such a way as to have one defend the "fact" that the Japanese view of Christianity is somewhat distorted.

Much of the Readings and questions were statistical in nature and offered data for some possible hypotheses; i.e. "What is the population of Japan (1960 stats)." "What is the population of density of Japan?" "What is the prospectus of habitable land in Japan (in%)?" All of these facts are of little value, however, if they are not interpreted or used to make assumptions.

To ask students to locate seven major cities in Japan and to look up their "industrial emphasis" serves little purpose. It would have been a good opportunity to compare American and Japanese cities, using the concept of industrial nodes and the megalopolis. Today, geographers are projecting for both the United States and Japan, that outlying suburbs of parallel cities will merge into one large megalopolis, i.e. Baltimore and Washington, D.C. and Tokyo and Yokohoma.

Lesson number nineteen, on Japan's Post-War economy and the American Occupation, is necessary for a true understanding of modern economic recovery. For some historians, it was America's finest hour. For others, it was a paternalist attempt to pressure the Japanese into accepting America's model of economics and government. The authors asked some stimulating and serious questions concerning the Occupation, however, to answer them adequately, the student would need more than nineteen pages of Readings which the authors suggested.
The entire section on Political History, lesson number twenty-six through lesson number thirty-seven, was excellent. Because the questions often reflected the Readings, they were often intriguing. In their directed discussion, the authors asked some very significant questions, i.e. "Why does the author feel that the Japanese might tend to reject a stress on individual rights?" A series of questions from Pearl S. Buck's, *The People of Japan*, were provoking and suggested, perhaps, that the Japanese psyche is not compatible with democracy.

Particularly effective was lesson number thirty, in this project. The concept was "the continuance of the current system of government in Japan depends, in good part, on the flexibility of that system." Using American political history, the authors offered a variety of materials, such as the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's, New Deal, to show how law had provided for tradition and change in the current system.

V ADEQUACY FOR GRADE LEVEL:

Similar to the China project, the authors had parenthetical designations for Readings. The reservations which were held for the China project, also hold true for this project.
VI ARRANGEMENT OF READINGS:

Two criticisms of the Readings, both methodological, seem warranted: (1) The authors have compartmentalized their project into disciplines. This approach tends to limit a student's responses. They could have used Readings that zeroed in on the same concept from a different vantage point. The following are a list of "concepts" from various parts of the project which should have been juxtaposed to give the student some greater insights:

(1) "Japan's island nature has affected the course of her development."

(2) "Geographic isolation has allowed the Japanese to develop a strong sense of political and cultural integration."

(1) "Shintoism, the immemorial national religion of Japan, is unique among the religions of the world for the contribution which it has made to the political theory and national stability of its own adherents."

(2) "The Japanese Emperor continues to retain the emotional loyalties of the Japanese people, leaving intact a tradition which an alternative form of government might be built."

(1) "During the Meiji transformation (1868-1914), the Imperial government acted as a catalyst of change adapting the traditional society and economy of Japan to the requirements of an industrial system."
(2) "Business families that rose to the top during the Meiji period continue to have a great deal of opportunity to influence Japan's government and its operations."

(1) "Japan appears to lack much of the "Loyal Opposition" which has been important to the stability of the United States and British government."

(2) "Interest groups have tended to work through the party in office rather than the opponent because only one political party has controlled the government since 1947."

(1) "Japan is dependent upon foreign trade, especially with the United States."

(2) "The stability of the national government is today closely tied to foreign trade and thus to external pressure and influence."

In each of the pairs of examples cited above, there was no attempt by the authors either to place them in a more appropriate sequence, or to refer back to previous lessons in order to view the concept from an alternative or complementary vantage point. (2) My second objection is that the authors often times presented a generalization as though it were a concept and offered no alternate possiblities either by their own questions, or from Readings which"presented the other side."

Sometimes, however, this type of divergence occurred in the course of the project. Unfortunately, there was no effort made by the authors to deal with this seeming contradiction.
The Component: Political History, offered the concept that, "Central to the future of the Japanese government is the persistent struggle between authoritarianism and constitutionalism." The authors cited excellent Readings and offered some very interesting value questions. (i.e. "Is there any reason to believe that authoritarianism might be more desirable for Japan than democracy?") They then listed some fascinating topics for opposing points of view, and debate; i.e. Resolved: "The people are the worst judge of what national government policy should be."

What could be suggested at this juncture, is that perhaps concept twenty-six above and concept thirty-one, as follows: "Japan may be relatively well-suited for democracy because she has developed a reasonably strong middle class," may conflict. In both lessons the authors paid attention to the impact of Samurai in democratic development. But such a statement as: The 'man on horseback,' the military man, has generally emerged as the new leadership in times of internal destiny," may be incompatible with, "Democracy was originally introduced into Japan by the Japanese, themselves, largely because leaders thought that democracy went hand in hand with industrialization." If they are not incompatible, they should at least be justified. As John Dewey stated in his text, Theory of Valuation, it is this "incompatibility which makes
for learning. When a disjuncture is created in the minds of students they become uneasy and try to resolve it. It is that tension that causes reflective thought."\(^{65}\)

The philosophy component made an honest attempt to partially explain child-rearing and its effects upon later character development. What was objectionable, was not their attempt to explore the subject, but rather their use of sources. The source for this concept was Douglas G. Haring, "Aspect of Personal Character in Japan," *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*, written in 1946.\(^{66}\) In the directed discussion, the authors asked, "What are some of the recent hypotheses that have been proven true?" "False?" If they were talking about recent hypothesis from the 1946 text, then they may no longer be true, and possibly a hindrance to understanding modern Japanese society. If they were talking about recent hypotheses (i.e. 1965) then there was no source material listed to refute the hypotheses made in 1946.

In conclusion, the Readings for the most part, were adequate. Many authors were native Japanese; those who were not were highly regarded in the field. The Readings were not arranged to foster inductive reasoning. There was also


little juxtaposition of different views on the same major issue. (As was noted earlier, with regard to Craig's thesis and role of the military in pre-war Japan). The material was arranged to encourage students to support the unit's assumptions in the sense that their approach was synthetic (aiming toward generalizations) as opposed to analytic (aiming toward concepts and analytical questions). A prospective school system could retain much of what was included in the project. If one was willing to rearrange some of the Readings, and perhaps, include others to give mobility to alternative hypotheses, much could be said for the program. In addition, if the "concepts" offered in the beginning of each lesson could have been viewed as generalizations to be defended or refuted, the array of curricular materials could be most effective.

VI EVALUATION:

Any curriculum project is bound to leave out some themes that others feel are an integral part of the culture of a people. There is little in this unit which is unnecessary. However, the authors could have improved their project with respect to the arrangement of components. As mentioned previously, compartmentalization of subject matter, i.e. geography, political science, history, philosophy, makes it difficult for students to be able to transfer ideas and concepts from one discipline to another. In addition, it tends to make simplistic, the cause
of very complex events, (i.e. the economic treatment of Japanese militarism in the 1930's). As an alternative to the compartmentalized disciplinary approach, perhaps major themes in Japanese history could be identified which might cut across discipline lines and give the student a more realistic knowledge of the complexity of institutions and the kinds of events which have impact upon them.

MODULAR CURRICULUM: ENGLISH/SOCIAL STUDIES
CHINESE CIVILIZATION, 1968-1970
EXTRAMURAL INDEPENDENT STUDY CENTER
The University of Kansas, at Lawrence
Course prepared by: Robert W. Demerritt, Instructor
Eastern Civilizations
The University of Kansas

Given the nature of the Kansas Extramural Independent Study Project, it is necessary to review, in some detail, its aims and objectives. Similar to the Connecticut Cluster Project, materials normally found in a guide of this nature have already been provided in a text designed to be used with this model, (Eastern Civilization Readings). The author stated at the outset, that his aims were modest. They were "simply to acquaint the student with some of the ideas Chinese have felt important throughout the ages."67

Using a logic similar to the one employed by Oliver and Shaver, in their text, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*, the author saw that value conflict over competing goods and personal interpretation made it difficult or impossible to converge upon a correct interpretation or translation of Chinese philosophy and literature. According to the author, since there is often little consensus in America over certain "value issues," why make different assumptions about the Chinese? The author cited our value conflict in interpreting the Constitution, with regard to the public school prayer issue, as but one example. Using this strategy, the author reaffirmed his belief that: "there are no 'incorrect' answers to any of the writings or discussion topics in the module."\(^{68}\)

Because this project was extramural (taken in correspondence), all communication was written. The author suggested in the teacher's guide that in "reading a student's essay, it was possible always to take the opposing point of view, noting your arguments and returning the paper to the student for revision."\(^{69}\) He made clear that all that was necessary for the student, was to elucidate or clarify his earlier position. There was no attempt to coerce a student into a position stated by the instructor. He also suggested having students read one another's papers for two reasons. First, to show

---


\(^{69}\) *Ibid.*
the student that scholarship was basically examining and re-examining evidence in order to reach "an informed conclusion." Secondly, to unleash students' critical abilities, without retribution from scholars. The author stated the following:

    it is our hope that you will attempt to gain insights from the writings themselves rather than from the commentary of an 'expert.' In fact, your opinion on the readings is every bit as valid as the so-called expert's, for the process you will be undergoing in this course is exactly identical to that of the scholar. He reads, and thinks about Mencius, and then writes down, in a book, what he has thought -- if you do the same, you need neither fear nor depend upon the expert. 70

In order to strengthen this "non-expert" approach to Eastern Civilization, the author reproduced ten different translations from a chapter in the Tao Te Ching. He emphasized that all the translations were produced from the same Chinese characters. Two extreme positions among the ten translations will give some indication of the "flexibility" scholars have in interpreting, not only the Tao Te Ching, but almost all of philosophy. The following translation was taken from Chapter 18, of Archie J. Bahm, Tao Teh King, pp. 24-25:

70Ibid., p.IV
(1) When people try to improve upon, and thus deviate from, the way Nature (tao) itself naturally functions, they develop artificial codes of right and wrong. (jen and yi)

When knowledge becomes highly abstract, men are deceived by mistaking abstractions for realities.

When instinctive family sympathies are replaced by rules for proper conduct, then parents become "responsible" and children become "dutiful." (hsiao)

(2) Chapter 18 from Dwight Goodard, trans., Laotzu's Tao and Wu Wei, p. 19:

When the great Tao is list sight of, we still have the idea of benevolence (jen and yi) and righteousness. Prudence and wisdom come to mind when we see great hypocrisy. When relatives are unfriendly, we still have the teachings of filial piety and (hsiao) paternal affection. When the state and the clan are in confusion and disorder, we still have the ideals of loyalty (chung) and faithfulness.

Notice, whereas Bahm's interpretation of the Confucian concepts were viewed as "artificial and imposed from without," Goddard's interpretation was much more sympathetic toward the Confucian ethic. Given the above illustration, plus the fact that "Chinese thinkers themselves have often argued over their meaning," students were urged to think in those terms and to use them in their writing assignments.
I SCOPE AND SEQUENCE:

Because the content of the module was taken from two texts, there will be no need to delineate it here. The content included only the original writings of Mencius, Confucius, Tao Te Ching and Chuang Tzu, Hsun Tzu and Mo Tzu, Han Fei-tzu and Lord Shang, Buddha, Ch'en tu-hsui and Lu Hsun, Pa chin, Lui shao-ch'i and Mao Tse-tung, Dream of the Red Chamber (novel). The sequence is almost arbitrary, except for the position of Mencius, as the authors stated:

We began our study of Chinese thought with Mencius for two reasons. First, Mencius is much less difficult to understand, by virtue of his examples, anecdotes, and stories than is his predecessor, Confucius. Second, Chinese have traditionally begun their education with Mencius. School children were made to memorize long passages from Mencius even before they were able to understand what the passages meant. Gradually, they were taught the meanings of the characters and began to understand the content of Mencius' work. By the time the student was able to tackle the writings of Confucius, any question of interpretation would be resolved by referring to Mencius. We should attempt to do the same. 70

One's initial reaction to the preceding paragraph is that it is antithetical to many educational philosophies and certainly antithetical to reflective teaching. However, a more careful analysis suggested insights into educational development, that many do not practice in classrooms. By not paying attention to chronology, which admittedly is easier in philosophy, than it is in history, the writer or teacher can use

70 Ibid., p. IV
secondary sources in order to make the original more meaningful. Some might suggest that textbooks already serve that purpose, but there is a difference between reading Plato to understand Socrates, and reading a textbook author who had read Socrates to understand Plato. One might, well, question why traditionally, English literature has preceded American literature? Especially in poetry, it might be much more meaningful to read Frost and then turn to Keats.

The same situation often occurs in history courses. The constitution, could be introduced by the Federalist Papers, Marxism by Lenin and Trotsky, the Monroe Doctrine, by Theodore Roosevelt, John Kennedy's treatment of the Cuban Missle Crisis, and by Stimson's interpretation of the Open Door Policy. This is not to say that "backing into" events as this approach is sometimes called, is always necessary or warranted. It is to assert, however, that there is often a middle road to difficult but stimulating topics; the alternative does not have to be a watered-down textbook interpretation.

II SUBJECT MATTER:

In the previous three projects, in differing degrees, the subject matter played a central role. The Kansas Extramural Project, unlike the others, evaluated here, was more concerned with process than with product. Characteristically, the author suggested to the reader, that he should spend more time thinking than writing. This was a refreshing change from most social
studies curricula. Therefore, the subject matter in this project is almost incidental to the process of thinking and reflecting. The object of the subject matter was simply to give one a vehicle by which to think.

III SOCIAL STUDIES METHODOLOGY

Unlike some projects which explore the "New Social Studies Methodology," this project had, as stated earlier, "modest claims." They did not list a version of Dewey's reflective model, nor did they illustrate through a dialogue, what outcomes might be expected if one "does it correctly." They simply did it. Perhaps the real strength of this approach was the fact that the course could be taken through correspondence. The student was told at the outset, that:

This kind of questioning put squarely on you the burden of study, thought, and learning, where (whether you like it or not) it will be for the rest of your life. Ideally, one should spend more time thinking about the readings than reading them, and similarly, one should spend more time thinking about the answers to the questions than writing them. 71

The very nature of a correspondence course forces the author "not to give too much away." He knows he cannot be there to hint and cue, for if he were, the answers would come too easily. He knows that he must make the student think, but not merely idle thoughts; he must think and defend what the authors have placed in the curriculum. One wonders if it would not be a good idea to have curriculum writers and classroom teachers treat their subject in the same manner.

71 Ibid., p. IV-V
The results might be as exciting as those that came out of the Kansas Extramural Project.

One of the criteria listed in the introduction to this chapter was: Is the material arranged to encourage students to support the unit's assumptions? However, this unit's assumptions are so unpretentious; they have little to defend. Perhaps curriculum developers should re-examine their aims and ask themselves if their aims are too pretentious. Have we over extended our expectations, not only of our students, but of ourselves?

IV LEVEL OF QUESTIONS:

The unit consisted of nine lessons, each with a reading assignment between twenty-five and seventy-five pages. The writing assignment allowed for writing usually three short essays on specific problems. The following is a cross-section of typical questions, taken from the module:

(1) Imagine yourself the head of a traditional Chinese family. Your eldest son has just attained the age at which he should begin to receive an education and you are to choose for him a tutor. Mencius, Confucius, Lao Tzu, and Chuang Tzu, all appear as candidates for the job. Whom would you employ? 72

(2) Imagine yourself the ruler of a state in ancient China attempting to institute a 'jen' government. Imagine also that both Confucius and Lao Tzu are your advisors. What might each advise you to do? On what points would they agree with one another? On what points would they disagree? You may wish to answer this question by means of a dialogue between Confucius and Lao Tzu as you imagine it would have occurred. 73

72 Ibid., p.VI
73 Ibid., p.9
(3) Rightly or wrongly, it has been said that Mencius was China's greatest democratic philosopher. Drawing upon specific ideas in Mencius' writings, prove or disprove (to your own satisfaction) this statement. 74

(4) Confucius praised antiquity as the 'Golden Age.' Han Fei-tzu seems to have had a different conception of the 'Golden Age.' How did Han Fei-tzu analyze China's antiquity? How does his analysis of antiquity relate to his overall conception of the world? 75

(5) Discuss the Buddhist concept of 'self' and 'duty.' 76

(6) Do you find any distinctly Western influence operating in the Family? If so, what are they and how do they influence the lives of people? You may wish to discuss the Western impact on the three brothers. (In writing this essay it may be helpful to refer to the traditional Chinese doctrinal writings as a yardstick for traditional China). 77

Using Sander's hierarchy of questioning, many of the questions in this module fall into the more sophisticated portion of his matrix. The author expected that the first three levels (Memory, Translation, Interpretation) of Sanders' hierarchy, have been attained. Implicit in the questions, therefore, was a working knowledge of the particular philosophy. For example, the following question:

In contrast to Mencius' emphasis on jen and yi, Confucius laid great stress on li and hsiao. Explain what you feel the meaning of these terms might be. How are they put into action in government? In the everyday lives of men? How do they relate to the whole of Confucius' ethical system? 78

---

74 Ibid., p.11
75 Ibid., p.5
76 Ibid., p.13
77 Ibid., p.15
78 Ibid., p.17
The question just mentioned, is really a five part question, which, if analyzed, covers much of Sanders' matrix. The first part of the question asks: "In contrast to Mencius' emphasis on jen and yi, Confucius laid great stress on li and hsiao." In order to answer that portion of the question, the student would have to: (a) recall the facts (Memory, i.e. know the difference between the four stated concepts); (b) translate the information into his own words (Translation, i.e. to know who said what); (c) determine whether jen or yi and li or hsiao were identical, similar, unrelated, different or contradictory (Interpretation). In order to answer the second part of the question: "Explain what you feel the meaning of these terms might be;" the student would have to be able to "apply" his previous learned materials in a new situation. In order to answer the remainder of the question, the student would have to be able to think deductively and inductively. In order for a student to answer the following question from the project:

In the Confucian system, what is the relation of the individual to society? You may wish to write an essay comparing the relationship of the individual to society, in 20th century America to that relationship in early China. Can we properly say that Chinese society was individualistic? 79

he must first set up a paradigm in which he determines: (a) what the relationship was between the individual and society (China) and (b) what the relationship is between the individual and society (in 20th century China). He must decide (Evaluate)

79 Ibid., p.18
whether or not "Chinese society was individualistic." He, then must do the same evaluation for the individual in 20th century American society. After which he may, using his values according to the standard he has set up, conclude any number of possibilities.

Earlier, in the analysis of the Connecticut Project, reference was made to analysis and synthesis. Essentially, what Hunt and Metcalf, and others, have said is that before one synthesizes, one must analyze. In addition, in order for synthesis to take place, students must "be free in their selection of solutions." All too often, teachers reject this approach because it is assumed that the student does not have enough information to make an intelligent choice. Unfortunately, many styles of questioning do not permit the student to set up an analysis from which to synthesize. In other words, the student may be asked for his opinion, but he is not permitted to bring his previous stock of knowledge and values, into the question in order to evaluate it. Compare these two questions:

A. Imagine yourself the head of a traditional Chinese family. Your eldest son has just attained the age at which he should begin to receive an education and you are to choose for him a tutor. Mencius, Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu all appear as candidates for the job. Whom would you employ? Why? 80

80 Ibid., p.9
This question places the student in a specific situation (within certain limitations) by which he must evaluate, based on previous knowledge, his decision to educate his child. Implicit in the question is his own educational philosophy which he must defend. It incorporates all seven of Sanders' levels of thinking and gives the student a feeling, that based on his own best judgment, with facts at hand, he has perhaps, for the first time, begun to explore his own personal philosophy of life.

B. What was the major emphasis of Chinese education? What do you think the major purpose of education should be? Should education be primarily conceived with reinforcing cultural values? What has been the purpose of your education? 81

The first part of this question assumes that there is a major emphasis in Chinese education. If the authors of the Connecticut Project mean Confucianism, they are in the majority, but what of the followers of Taoism, or those who agree with the writings of Han Fei-tzu? The second part of the question is vague. It does not really allow, as the first question did, for an analysis of one's educational philosophy, rather it suggests that the student make remarks about what he feels education ought to be. Often times, questions such as this one, intentionally reinforce the feeling of many teachers that students really do not know what they want, nor can they articulate it. In addition, the third portion of this question, reinforces the concept to be attained at the beginning of the unit.

81 Condon, C.C.P., China, P. 2
This concept was, as follows: "Chinese children were traditionally brought up to be affable, gentle, and obedient so that they would become socially acceptable and least likely to foster rebelliousness or ambition." It assumes a monolithic position about traditional Chinese education and unwittingly forces the student to accept its premise.

Many teachers assume questions take on an either/or proposition. That is, either they are fact, or, opinion. The questions which have come out of the Kansas Project have both. The overall effect is not merely a carrot held out to sooth a student's deflated ego. Rather, it is an honest and effective attempt to bring together values and scholarship. It reflected very well the philosophy delineated earlier in this chapter.

V ADEQUACY FOR GRADE LEVEL:

The writer's initial response to the Readings, might very well be that they are over the heads of the majority of students. Using conventional methods of reading indicates this might well be the case. However, the questions which came out of the Kansas Extramural Project, were so provocative and stimulating, and the penalties for "incorrect" answers, so slight, perhaps many of the so-called "poor readers" will prove that self-fulfilling prophecy, false.
VI  ARRANGEMENT OF READINGS:

As was stated in the introduction, the Kansas Project's curriculum was built around Chinese concepts. It is for that very reason that the arrangement of Readings was not extremely significant. Once the student has internalized the concepts, he could begin to apply them throughout all of the readings. This approach allowed for flexibility not found in any of the previously mentioned projects. In addition, because the author opted for a "non-expert" approach, there was no real need for an artificial juxtaposition of views, because they already existed in Chinese philosophical thought.

VII  EVALUATION:

The author stated, in regard to having students read one another's papers, that, "this process has uses far beyond the scope of this course alone, for this is the type of process that ideally ought to go on in all thinking." However, most teachers still insist that material must be covered. Dewey once said, "modern education allows one to taste but never to swallow the food of thought." The Kansas Extramural Project lets one leave the table of thought with a full feeling in his stomach.
This chapter has analyzed four major projects: The Asian Studies Inquiry Program, The Connecticut Cluster Project: China, The Connecticut Cluster Project: Japan, and The Kansas Extramural Project: Chinese Civilization, in terms of common criteria. Not every criterion was applicable in each of the projects because of their differing emphases. The report of the analyses of the project was made in basically two parts: (1) the content of the project, and (2) an evaluation of its strengths and weaknesses. This entire analysis was undertaken against a "state of the field" backdrop developed in the preceding chapter.

This investigation turns next to the arrangement of content in modern East Asian studies, through a comparative conceptually-oriented model, which will be reported in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV

ARRANGEMENT OF CONTENT IN MODERN EAST ASIAN STUDIES:

A COMPARATIVE CONCEPTUAL-ORIENTED MODEL

There is general agreement in the field of social studies education that concepts ought to play a significant role in the development of social studies curricula. But which concepts? The Social Studies Curriculum Center at Syracuse University identified eighteen substantive concepts that "appear to be appropriate for elementary and secondary programs in social studies."¹ Only one concept, "comparative advantage," of the eighteen substantive concepts identified, implied any sort of comparison. Interestingly, comparative advantage is an economic term which identifies itself more with a country's decision to forego a particular industry with the expectation that another industry will bring in a higher yield, and only vaguely lends itself to a comparative concept. Another group of concepts was identified by the Wisconsin Social Studies Committee. The Committee attempted to identify several basic conceptual ideas that underlie the central elements of history and each of the social sciences in order "to help our young people extract

meaning and bring order from the sea of facts which may otherwise inundate them."² However, the concepts identified were so vague as to render them meaningless. The latest National Council for the Social Studies Bulletin, entitled "Concepts in the Social Studies," in a list of thirty-five essential concepts, indicated two which were comparative in nature, (Comparative advantage and social change) to be treated at the secondary level.³

It appears to this writer that all three committees have short changed the student by choosing to ignore the use of comparative concepts, especially with regard to traditional and and modernizing societies. This conceptual approach has a number of advantages:

1. Comparative concepts address themselves to the dynamics of change, rather than to the typically stagnant treatment one has come to expect with regard to the "non-Western" world.

2. Comparative concepts, by treating a society as fluid and dynamic, prevent students from stereotyping traditional societies as "incomplete" before Western impact.

²A Framework For the Social Studies In Wisconsin Schools (Madison, Wisconsin: State Department of Public Instruction, 1964) p. 4

3. Comparative concepts incorporate a host of adjunct concepts, many of which are not only applicable to a particular country's quest for modernity, but are also useful in analyzing other modernizing societies.

4. At a contemporary level, the problems which have come to plague us in post-industrial societies have usually not been treated in an historical milieu. Therefore, another rationale for using comparative concepts, is to allow students to observe the disintegration of the traditional society, in a dynamic perspective.

5. Comparative concepts, which treat traditional and modern societies, can be readily converted into a model which can serve as a guide to reflective thought, in the nature of the dynamics of changing institutions.

6. Once the model is internalized, it can facilitate the gathering of data, in which hypotheses may then be generated for other modernizing societies.

The model chosen for examination in this chapter, was developed by C. E. Black, in his text, The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History. Many models seem full of promise at an abstract level, but become unworkable when one attempts to apply the criteria to a particular society. In order to justify a models approach in general, and C. E. Black's model specifically, this writer will attempt first to identify the rationale for his model, and then apply
the criteria to Japan and China as modernizing societies. Both of these countries were chosen for valid reasons:

Firstly, China and Japan have had similar, if not identical, experiences with "Western impact." Secondly, they are significantly different with regard to the way in which they reacted to Western intrusion, to warrant a comparison. Thirdly, both China and Japan have had "high cultures," and one hopes that through investigating their philosophical and intellectual reactions to the West, students will begin to view themselves, and the world around them, in a more empathic perspective.

It will help if the reader has an overall view of Black's model before it is applied to China and Japan. Black introduces the reader to modernizing societies, by sensitizing him to the fact that any significant change in one sector of society effects all other sectors. Black has written a rather lengthy description of these sectors. This writer has taken it upon himself to convert them into viable questions for use in a social studies classroom at the secondary level.

1. **Intellectual**: Was the intellectual community of a given modernizing society willing or able to respond to Western impact?
2. **Political**: What type of political organization (control) existed at the time of initial impact? Was the political structure central, feudal or tribal?
Did this political organization have viable institutions which could react favorably to modernization? What was the function of political control in the given traditional society before Western impact?

3. **Social**: What was the general organization of social classes at the time of impact? Were the social classes arranged in such a way as to respond favorably to Western impact? Was the given society status oriented or goal oriented?

4. **Economic**: Was the economy of the given traditional society organized in such a way as to inhibit, or to allow for, economic flexibility? Were the economic institutions, at the time of impact, flourishing or decaying? Were there indications of proto-modernizing institutions within the traditional framework?

5. **Psychological**: What was the role of the individual vis-à-vis his society? (Specifically, was the framework tradition directed, inner directed, or other directed?) Were the roles and mores clearly defined, or were they already becoming somewhat blurred? Did the structure of the traditional society allow for vertical or horizontal loyalty? Did the traditional society inhibit individualism?

6. **Demographic**: What was the nature of the population at the time of impact? Was it rural, urban, migratory or agricultural? Were there any signs of handicraft industries?
In applying these six variables, according to Black,

One may think of traditional societies as patterns of inherited institutions which may be static or fluid at the time modern knowledge makes its initial impact on them. The effect on modern knowledge is to change the functions that (these) traditional institutions must perform, and this in turn affects the institutions themselves. It is in this sense that the impact of modern functions on traditional institutions lies at the heart of the process of modernization. 4

It would be ideal if all societies were either modern or traditional, unfortunately, that is usually not the case. Some societies are more traditional than modern; and some societies are more modern than traditional. In order to compare and contrast various societies, other arbitrary classifications are necessary. Black suggests that there are four phases a nation goes through in her quest for modernity. For each of these phases, Black sets up a number of criteria which, if met, will place that given society in a particular phase along the spectrum.

Phase I - The Challenge of Modernity: the initial confrontation of a society, within its traditional framework of knowledge. When analyzing this phase of modernization, it is important to inquire about the reaction of the traditional leadership. There are generally three alternative responses; the leadership will either: (a) combat new ideas, (b) accept some and reject others, or (c) accept a fundamental reorganization of society.

---
Phase II - The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership: the transfer of power from traditional to modernizing leaders. This phase is more complex than the first, and significantly more questions have to be asked in order to determine its position on the spectrum: (a) Was there an assertion on the part of the leadership to modernize? (b) Was the revolution which brought the leadership into power, violent or non-violent? (c) Was there an effective and decisive break with agricultural institutions? (d) Was there land reform which permitted the most effective use of agriculture? (e) Was there a creation of a politically organized society, where one did not exist in the initial phase? (f) Was there a creation of a nation-state with an effective government and a reasonable consensus?

Phase III - The Economic and Social Transfer: the development of economic growth and social change to a point where a society is transformed from a predominantly rural agrarian way of life to one predominantly urban and industrial. This phase is quite difficult to categorize, some of the criteria often differ in degree, rather than in kind, from Phase II. The criteria for this phase are: (a) Does the identity of the individual move from local to national loyalties? (b) Is there rapid growth in secondary education and medical care? (c) Is there a shift of the work force from agriculture to manufacturing? (d) Are the cities overcrowded? (e) Is there a value lag behind economic and social developments?
Phase IV - The Integration of Society; the phase in which economic and social transformations produce a fundamental reorganization of the social structure through society. This is the phase we usually refer to as the modern or post-industrial society. As a society becomes more complex, criteria by which to judge it also increases in complexity. (a) Has there been a change from autonomous regional organizations to those which are fragmented with individual isolation? (b) Are the individual's ties more diffuse in areas such as labor and nation-state? (c) Has the traditional family and agrarian sector been so neutralized that the individual can no longer return? (d) Has political power become institutionalized through bureaucratization? (e) Has wealth become more evenly distributed? (f) Is the social class scale flexible enough to allow for social mobility? (g) Is mass production maintained by mass consumption? (h) Is there a general political consensus?

Space does not permit an elaborate analysis of a society passing through these phases. Perhaps the following diagrams will give the reader some indication of how the model operates. The United States, using those variables mentioned earlier, would pass through the four phases in the following fashion:

**United States**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHALLENGE</th>
<th>CONSOLIDATION</th>
<th>TRANSFORMATION</th>
<th>INTEGRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre - 1776</td>
<td>1176 - 1865</td>
<td>1865 - 1933</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The United States was one of the first countries to pass through those four phases. The same model however, may be applied to countries in various phases of modernization.

**Soviet Union:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHALLENGE</th>
<th>CONSOLIDATION</th>
<th>TRANSFORMATION</th>
<th>INTEGRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre 1861 (Freedom</td>
<td>1861 - 1917</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the serfs)</td>
<td>(Russian Rev.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the criteria set up in the model, the Soviet Union will enter the fourth phase sometime during this decade.

**Ghana:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHALLENGE</th>
<th>CONSOLIDATION</th>
<th>TRANSFORMATION</th>
<th>INTEGRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre 1957</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the criteria set up in the model, Ghana has had a transfer of power from the traditional to modernizing leadership but, as of yet, has not reached the point where her society has transformed itself from an essentially rural to an urban society. In addition, there are societies such as Mozambique and Swaziland, which have yet to reach the second phase. Usually they represent the last vestiges of European colonial possessions in Africa.

As one begins to examine the nature of modernizing societies, certain distinct patterns emerge. There are a number of ways in which to classify nations emerging from traditional societies.\(^5\)

---
\(^5\)Daniel Lerner in *Passing of Traditional Societies*, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press 1965) identifies three phases: modern, transitional, and traditional. However, Lerner's model applies only to the Middle East. Others such as Organski and W.W. Rostow, have also identified phases of emergent nations.
Using the criteria listed below, Black has arrived at seven distinct patterns of modernization.

**Criteria:**

1. Whether the *transfer* of political power from traditional to modernizing leaders in a society occurred early or late relative to other societies; whether the immediate *political challenge* of modernity to traditional leaders, in a society, was *internal* or *external*; whether a society enjoyed a continuity of territory and population during the modern era, or underwent a fundamental regrouping of lands and peoples; whether a society was *self-governing* in the modern era or experienced a prolonged period of *colonial rule*; and whether a society entered the modern era with *developed institutions* that could be adapted to the functions of modernity or with essentially *underdeveloped institutions* that had to give way expressly to those borrowed from modern societies.

**SEVEN PATTERNS OF MODERNIZING SOCIETIES**

**FIRST PATTERN: (GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE)**

The earliest countries to modernize, setting the pattern, to a significant degree, for all other societies. "Great Britain and France are distinguished from other societies by the extent to which the challenge of modernity was an internal one, by their continuity of territory and population in the modern era, and by the adaptability of their traditional institutions to modern functions."\(^6\)

\(^6\)C. E. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 108
We have often made much of our own experience as a model for subsequent revolutions, however, Black states that, "this influence has been limited and indirect since the intellectual and social environment that produced the American Revolution has few counterparts in other parts of the world."\(^7\) The French Revolution on the other hand, contributed both ideology and institutions that were widely imitated. French republicanism was the model for modernizing leaders in much of the Moslem world as well as in Latin America.

**SECOND PATTERN** (Offshoots of the first Pattern)

The term "offshoots" designates those countries which have been settled by Old World immigrants (i.e., United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia). They differ from the first pattern in that the transfer of power was late, and under different circumstances; there was some regrouping of lands and peoples, and a long period of colonial rule. Of the countries mentioned in this pattern, the United States was most violent in her attempts to unseat the traditional leadership. What these countries had in common were as follows:

1. There were underdeveloped frontier regions where land was abundant but authority was weak. (The Proclamation of 1763 is but one example of British attempts to maintain some sort of political continuity in the colonies.)

\(^7\)Ibid.
2. This frontier served as a safety valve for social problems and the adventurous immigrants.

3. The need for labor to develop the resources in the frontier caused large immigration from Africa, Europe and Asia. Needless to say, the sociological problems of a heterogeneous society, with people of various cultures and languages, created much disunity.

**THIRD PATTERN:** (European countries in which the consolidation of leadership occurred after the French Revolution but was a direct or indirect result of its impact.) Like the first two patterns, these countries also had institutions that were adaptable to modernization. This pattern was also characterized by violence and much regrouping of peoples and territories.

**FOURTH PATTERN:** (Latin America)

The societies in this pattern are the twenty-two independent countries of Latin America, with a combined population of some 230 million. Unlike the second pattern, modernization was late, and was to a great degree under foreign influence. The transfer of power to the indigenous rulers did not result in a modernizing leadership, but, rather tended to maintain similar forms of neo-colonialism. One of the significant reasons for late consolidation, according to Black, "can be explained in part by the agrarian wealth of these countries, which inhibited the development of an urban population, and
seems to have been due primarily to the values of the politically active inhabitants." In addition, the thrust toward modernization was severely limited by the fact that the small European minority were not inclined to share their power with the Mestizo and Indians.

FIFTH PATTERN: (Russia, Japan, China, Iran, Turkey, Ethiopia, Afganistan, and Thailand)

All countries in this pattern "experienced some degree of foreign intervention in modern times -- periods of foreign occupation in parts of their territory, preferential treatment for foreigners in the form of capitulations, and extensive reliance on foreign loans and advisers." These various kinds of interventions were nevertheless a very different experience from the direct and prolonged foreign tutelage represented by colonialism. The leaders of these societies may have been humiliated in varying degrees by the extent of their reliance on more modern societies, but with the exception of relatively short periods of occupation, it was a question of dependence rather than subjugation.

What is most significant about this pattern is that all these nations initiated programs to protect themselves from total domination. Black calls it "defensive modernization." This defensive modernization was manifested in the ideas of quasi-reformers such as Peter Stolypin of Russia, Kung Yu-wei of China, Môngkut and Chulalongkorn of Siam and the Emperor

---

8 Ibid., p.117
9 Ibid., p.120
Manelik of Ethiopia. Often foreign specialists were brought in to train future scholars, and many times, students were sent overseas to train for their specialties.

In most cases, the initial break with the past was not a result of indigenous revolutionary forces or an occupation by a foreign ruler. The emancipation of the serfs in Russia in 1861, the overthrow of the Shogunate in Japan in 1868, the replacement of the Chinese classics by modern learning in 1905, are but three examples of the decisive break with the past made by the ruling elite.

SIXTH AND SEVENTH PATTERNS: (More than one hundred independent societies of Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania).

Those societies constituting the sixth pattern, have traditional cultures which are sufficiently well developed to interact with those of the more modern tutelary societies in their adaptation to modern functions. Those constituting the seventh pattern, do not have their religious, lingual, or political institutions sufficiently developed to adapt to functions of modernization. They have been forced, because of their colonial experience, to borrow those institutions necessary for modernity from their colonial masters.

Any comparative model, including Black's, must have some flexibility with which to operate. No society, save an ideal type model, can fit into every nook and cranny of a country's quest for modernity. In viewing the application of this model
to any developing society, even the most casual observer will see that certain criteria will have already occurred in earlier phases, while others perhaps will have yet to occur. It is not the purpose of this, or any other model, to create air tight compartments for classification. Rather, it is merely a vehicle to introduce students to the concept of change in societies. Alternately, one hopes that the student will become sophisticated enough to prove the model too vague and general. However, if students are to become more sophisticated in comparative analysis, they will need the tools by which to make those comparisons.

Earlier in the chapter, it was stated that one of the by-products of a comparative conceptual approach was the incorporation of a host of adjunct concepts and themes, many of which will have applicability not only for the society under investigation, but for other modernizing societies as well. Therefore, before one can begin an analysis of China's or Japan's challenge to modernity, those adjunct concepts and themes will have to be identified and defined. The following is a listing of those concepts:

1. **The concept of Ethnocentrism**:
   
   To view one's self as the center of the universe.

2. **The concept of Accomitable Change**:
   
   Imperial China has had the ability to absorb alien cultural ideas, and indeed entire cultures, into her society
without creating fundamental disorder. Her success in absorbing these alien ideas has convinced her of the natural superiority of Chinese society.

3. The concept of **Barbarianism**:

As an adjunct to the above theme, "lesser" societies including those with superior military forces, would eventually acquiesce to what Confucius called (Wen), the art of culture. It is essential that the student come to understand that this concept, for about two millenia, was infact an accurate description of the state of affairs in East Asia.

4. The concept of **Tribute**: (The Tributary System)

As an outgrowth of the first two themes, China's foreign relations took on the same air of superiority. What developed was a satellite system of foreign relations, in which Japan, Korea, and most of South East Asia revolved around China, paying her homage in the form of tribute.

5. The concept of **Xenophobia**:

China, unlike her counterparts in the West, (Greece and Rome), was not afforded any substantial cultural or intellectual intercourse. As a result, she became fearful of foreign exchange on an equal footing.

6. The concept of **Confucianism**: (As it effects modernization)

Confucianism, basically a set of rules of conduct for human behavior, was extended to the sphere of foreign relations. Since Confucianism is based on a moral, but hierarchal
relationship between people, it becomes easy to see how China could begin to treat other societies in a similar vain.
7. The concept of *Universal Kingship*:

The total and complete acceptance of the concept of dynastic rule, to the point of being unable or unwilling to assume other forms of polity were available.

8. The concept of *Civil Law*:

Because Confucianism was a legal, as well as an ethical concept, there was never a reason for the imperial government to adopt a civil posture toward her population. Some scholars have suggested that one of the reasons for China's acceptance of extraterritoriality, was her admitted inability to treat the Westerners along jurisprudential guide lines.

9. The concept of *Social Structure*:

The Chinese society was divided into four classes: Scholars, peasants, craftsmen and merchants. Social classes in China, unlike Japan, were not hereditary; they were flexible. Under the government examination system, any educated male might apply for a government degree, by passing a series of rigorous examinations. The low status of the merchant class led businessmen to believe that the only honorable position for their sons was as scholar gentry. Hence, they would shift their investment from business to land, resulting in a lack of any ongoing business tradition.
10. The concept of **Multigeniture**; (dividing of the land among all of the sons)

Ostensibly, it was initiated in "times of trouble," when the imperial government feared that large land owners with standing private armies threatened the empire. Unintentionally it forced most of the males to remain on the land, thereby creating no nucleus for future modernization.

In addition, it was detrimental to capital accumulation, for even if a large family amassed a fortune, it would dwindle to nothing after it had been divided among the offspring for three to four generations.

11. The concept of **Extended Family System**;

The Chinese family included not only parents and children, but also grandparents, their married children and other relatives. The family was patriarchal in that the female received her kinship from the male's line. The system provided security in that the young supported the old in retirement. However, it tended to blunt individual initiative and discourage private enterprise. (Both of which are necessary for modernization).

12. The concept of **Overpopulation**;

China is perhaps the most vivid illustration of the Malthusian View of Population: (a) Malthus and others, using China as a model, stated that whereas food increases arithmetically, people increase geometrically. (b) In addition,
he pointed out that this race was counteracted in one of two ways: (1) positive checks: an increase in death rates due to famine, disease, plague and war; (2) preventative checks: decrease in the birth rate due to abstention.

13. The concept of Traditional Chinese View of Population:

The problem of overpopulation occurred about every two to three hundred years. As conditions worsened, local disturbances culminated in all-out peasant rebellion and a long period of civil war. The traditional Chinese view of family size, has always placed a virtue on large families. According to Confucius, "to die without offspring is one of the great unfilial acts." According to Mencius, "There are three things which are unfilial and to have no posterity is the greatest of them. It is man's first duty to insure the continuity of the male line of succession." Proverb: "Grain is stored against famine just as sons are brought up against old age."

Keeping these themes in mind, one is better able to understand China's predisposition with regard to modernization.
CHINA: Phase I – The Challenge of Modernity

Scholars agree that the traditional nature of China's foreign relations was basically ethnocentric:

By virtue of her cultural excellence, economic affluence, military power, and vast territorial expanse, China stood pre-eminent in East Asia for two millenia. Since early Ming times (1368-1643) there had been instituted a hierarcical system of 'international relations' in East and South East Asia with China occupying the position of leadership. 10

With the coming of the West, in the form of Great Britain, the Chinese did not have the value system which would allow them to react in anything but a superior position. In fact, some early negotiations were suspended because British emissaries refused to kow tow to the Emperor.

These problems, more than opium itself, precipitated the Opium War. Even with the harshness of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the Chinese were still unable to conceive of themselves in an inferior position. Given their views on international relations, jurisprudence, tributary vs. diplomatic relations, it would seem that the Chinese could not have responded any differently.

China's first significant response, however, came in 1860 after they had been humiliated by foreign wars, internal

---

rebellions, population explosion, ethnic conflict and natural
calamities.

China responded in a fashion typical of a humiliated but
once great empire. She had tried to combat new ideas, but being
unsuccessful, tried the next logical step which was to modern-
ize in order to defend her tradition. This period, known as
the Self-Strengthening Movement, can be divided into three
periods:

The first, roughly from 1861-72 stressed
the adoption of Western firearms, machines,
scientific knowledge, and the training of
technical and diplomatic personnel. In the
second period there was increasing recog-
nition that wealth was the basis for power.
The third period saw an increase in light
industry. An investigation of China's tra-
ditional attitudes toward merchants made
it obvious that any incipient capitalism
was doomed to failure. 11

In assessing the Self-Strengthening Movement, using
Black's model, the Chinese could only accept what were, in
fact, merely manifestations of modernizing societies. There
was no attempt at assimilating the foundations of Western
institutions. Their vision was limited; no one, not even the
most radical reformers of the day, dreamed of a modern state.

For example, in March of 1861, the Foreign Office (the
Tsungli Yamen), was created to replace the ancient tribute
system. Most Westerners reacted with pleasure, since it

11Ibid.
indicated a radical change in China's political posture. Unfortunately, it became all too evident that this foreign office had little or no autonomy; the power remained with the Empress Dowager and her Grand Council. Prince Kung, who headed the Tsungli Yamen, in a memorial requesting its establishment specified, "As soon as the military campaigns are concluded and the affairs of the various countries are simplified, the new office will be abolished and its functions... will revert to the Grand Council."  

This brief introduction to China, just cited, is the popular, and to a large degree "accurate" image of China's initial response. However, it is not the only response. Some scholars have suggested that this "impact-response" framework implies that it was the West, rather than China, that initiated the confrontation. Paul A. Cohen warns us to keep in mind,

...that the 'total West' never had an impact on other societies. Shanghai in the late nineteenth century seemed 'Western' in contrast with an indubitably Chinese hinterland, but Shanghai was no more a microcosmic version of Western culture than New York City is of the culture of North America.  

---

13 Ibid.  
14 Ibid., p.30
More importantly, those men who left the West to do missionary work in China were not typical of men in the West. Once they interacted with China, by adopting their languages and customs, they were the ones to respond to Chinese impact. In addition, language like people, have a frame of reference that becomes blurred as one attempts to transliterate ideas from English to Chinese. According to Paul A. Cohen:

It makes little sense, then, to talk of direct Chinese responses to such Western ideas as national sovereignty, Christianity and progress, before these ideas could evoke responses, they had to be communicated and they could be communicated only by being filtered through Chinese language and thought patterns. Inevitably this resulted in a distortion of the original ideas. (For example, 'liberty' or 'freedom' was translated as tzu-yu, which literally means 'from the self' and has connotations of 'licence' or 'lawlessness'). And it was to the distorted version rather than to the original that most Chinese responded. 15

Another danger, according to Cohen, in this impact-response model is to treat China as a political monolith, not taking into consideration the variety of responses which emanated from many different sources. Given China's size, lingual varieties, ethnic minorities, and alien elite, one must be careful in trying to glean a general response from a nation as complicated as China was in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Some scholars have even suggested that the alien Manchu dynasty saw modernization as helping the indigenous Chinese, while hurting themselves, and therefore,

---

15 Ibid., p.31
acted accordingly. Some scholars also have suggested that had China had an indigenous elite at the time of modernization, her response would have been totally different.

Nevertheless, there were certain themes which emerged from China on the eve of modernization: Rebellion - In China, the issue of modernization was complicated by the necessity of carrying on a two-front struggle against the alien Manchu dynasty as well as against the Western intruders. Both the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Rebellion, according to Black's criteria, were responses which belonged to the old, rather than new world. The Taiping Rebellion, despite its curious Christian trappings,\(^{16}\) was essentially a peasant movement which lacked any clear-cut political doctrine and suffered from inadequacies of political organization. The political goal of the Taipings was to overthrow the Ch'ing (Manchu) and establish a new dynasty. However, some scholars,\(^{17}\) suggest that the Taiping Rebellion differed from other peasant rebellions in that "the Taipings attacked not only the ruling dynasty, they attacked the traditional social order itself."\(^{18}\)

\(^{16}\) Hung Hsui-ch'uan, the early leader of Taiping movement, believed himself to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ.

\(^{17}\) Vincent Shih, Franz Michael and Joseph Levenson.

\(^{18}\) Crowley, *Modern East Asia*, p. 45
Although there is no consensus about where to place the Taiping Rebellion, one point is agreed upon, the Taiping Rebellion would have been a very different affair were it not for the presence of the West. Given the Taiping Rebellion, other uprisings, natural calamities and a population explosion, one could not have picked a more impropitious time for Western contact. Reform: The years following the Taiping Rebellion (1860-1890) were known as the T'ung chih Restoration. As Black points out, in this phase, usually the initial response to Western impact is restoration rather than innovation. For example,

In the sphere of civil government, while the importance of selecting men of talent for official posts was generally recognized, 'talent' continued to be defined in a traditional sense...and Chinese remained convinced that as long as the bureaucracy was staffed by men of talent, institutional changes would be unnecessary. 19

When suggestions were made for updating the traditional civil service examination, the response was that indeed there would be an updating, in the form of more substance and less calligraphy and style. Nothing, however, was done to update subject matter, especially with regard to Western learning.

Black suggests that traditional leaders, although often times willing to make initial responses to modernization, rarely, if ever, carry them to their inevitable conclusion since they, given the nature of the movement, destroy themselves in the process.

19 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 39
Mary Wright, in her text, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration*, states that,

The trouble was that true military modernization could only go so far before it disturbed the equilibrium of the traditional society. A modernized army with a competent officer corp, would have disrupted the very social order the new arms were designated to protect. (And the same could be said of T'ung-chih efforts in the field of educational modernization). 20

In her assessment of the T'ung-chih Restoration, Mary Wright also validates Black’s thesis that countries in this phase reacted in an ambivalent manner towards modernization.

This last of the great restorations of Chinese history was at the same time the first, and the most nearly successful, of a series of efforts to modify the Chinese state to a point where it could function effectively in the modern world without revolutionary changes in the traditional Chinese values or in the institutions that embodied them. 21

Black also indicates that after initial restoration attempts fail, the leadership finally accepts, in varying degrees, the need for Westernization. Paul A. Cohen, in an article entitled, "Ch'ing China: Confrontation with the West 1850-1900," states that,

In the two decades from the end of the T'ung-chih period to the outbreak of the

---

21 Ibid.
Sino-Japanese War (1894), China was free of major internal unrest. But the penetration of Westerners and of Western influence, instead of abating became more intense than ever. In response to this, the central preoccupation of most Chinese reformers shifted to the challenge of the West, and there emerged among them a growing recognition of the need for true change and innovation, not just restoration. 22

Although the need for change was finally accepted by many Chinese reformers, for one reason or another, they felt obliged to camouflage their advocacy by justifying their reformist attitude as being an extension of traditional Chinese thinking. Perhaps the most famous phase to come out of this period was "Chinese learning for the essential principles, Western learning for the practical applications."

The Chinese went to elaborate ends to justify their reformist attitudes. At one point, during the reforms of 1898, they suggested that Western learning originated in China. (This writer is not trying to denigrate the Chinese reformist movement, rather he is indicating by example, the inevitable agony China must have gone through in efforts to modernize and at the same time maintain her traditional society.)

Until this point, all reforms, in one way or another, attempted to maintain the Confucian order. By 1898, China had been soundly defeated by French forces (1885), and even more

22 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p.43
humiliating, they were literally destroyed by a former tributary state: Japan in 1895. Many Chinese began to accept the fact "that foreign military superiority was rooted in the West's advanced knowledge of mathematics and urged that Chinese study both the mathematics and the natural sciences of the 'barbarian.'\textsuperscript{23}

These "humiliating defeats" brought on the reform movement of 1898, which began on June 11, the date of the Emperor's first reform decree. It ended abortively on September 21, with his imprisonment and the assumption of power by his aunt, the Empress Dowager.

This young Emperor, with the help of the reformer, Kang Yu-wei, began to use as his model, not the sage kings of ancient China but rather the enlightened monarchs and forward looking countries of modern times. Peter the Great and the Meiji Emperor became the model for reform. Orders were sent out to reform the civil service examination system, to replace the Grand Council with twelve new boards, to establish a bureau of people's affairs, to create a parliament in Peking, with a Constitution and a division of powers. This was the first time such radical changes had been launched from the top.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{24} According to Black's model, Kang Yu-wei would be categorized as a dissident member of the traditional political leadership, and the Emperor Kuang hsu, as a member of the incumbent traditional leadership itself.
When the air had cleared, it became painfully obvious that all Kang Yu-wei had accomplished was to alienate practically everyone in a position of power. In the field of education, he jeopardized those who studied long and hard for the civil service examinations; in the field of politics, he alienated those in a position of seniority; and in the field of religion, he alienated monks, by attempting to convert temples into schools. In short, he disrupted the function of practically every major Chinese institution. "All in all, it can be said that the reforms of 1898 were long on good intentions, and abysmally short on the practical political wisdom and experience needed to put their good intentions into effect."25

Two prominent authors, Edwin Reischauer and Paul A. Cohen, warn us, however, about the dangers inherent in excessively comparing Ch'ing China with Tokugawa Japan. Cohen stated,

If China and Japan alone are compared in respect to effectiveness and rapidity of response to the 'challenge of modernity,' Japan must necessarily come off well, China poorly. But, if the comparative perspective is considerably widened and the modernizing experiences of China and Japan are measured

25 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 47
26 Cohen's use of "challenge of modernity" was in reference to C. E. Black's model. Cohen stated, "In his stimulating book ... Black adopts a worldwide perspective, arguing for the existence of seven distinct patterns of political modernization. Significantly, he views China and Japan as belonging to the same political pattern."
against those of the rest of the nations of the world, we are liable to find that both Japan and China come off relatively well. Scholars may even contend one day that China's response to the West in the late Ch'ing was reasonably effective. 27

Edwin Reischauer commented along similar lines when he stated that one cannot help but be struck by the differences in response to Western impact, but that,

Such differences in tradition and, consequently in response to the West must be understood if one is to bring any perspective to the study of the modern century of East Asian history. Without such perspective, one could easily fall into the erroneous assumption of some 'old China hands' that the disorganized chaotic China of the past century represented the normal or even inevitable China. The weakness of the Chinese state during the century of treaty relations from 1842 to 1943 (the period of unequal treaties) gave Western observers the misconception that Chinese political life was, by its own nature and habit, normally disorganized. 28

In a sense, this writer believes that a model such as C.E. Black presents, allows us the best of both possible worlds. At the level of induction, those generalizations which suggest that both Japan and China reacted to Western impact by defensively modernizing would have to be considered an accurate assessment. At the more specific level of deduction, using Black's criteria from a different vantage point, it would suggest that the somewhat differing responses were worthy of analysis.

27 Crowley, Modern East Asia, P. 48

Adjunct Concepts: Japan

As was the case with China, there are certain concepts and themes which need to be explained in order to understand Japan's quest for modernity.

1. Feudalism:

A system of mutual obligations in which the two major classes had a set hierarchal arrangement. (a) Shogun (Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo). As "Generalissimo," he was recognized as having been delegated the Emperor's military authority. As a result, his private government became in a sense, a provisional military government set up on behalf of the Emperor. (b) Daimyo (local lords). With the decline of the Shogun, the power of the Daimyo increased. The stronger Daimyos became absolute rulers within their own domain. (c) Rōnin (masterless warriors). The Rōnin became the backbone of modernization, as their lords were dispossessed from the land, for one reason or another.

2. Social Class Structure under Feudalism:

In theory, Japan followed a Confucian division: (a) samurai or warior - administration; (b) peasants since they were primary producers; (c) artisans, as secondary producers; (d) merchants as non-producers. In reality, only the first class was distinct. The last three classes were allowed to intermingle. For the samurai, however, there was no intermarriage and political authority was ruled by the hands of the military.
3. *Dynastic Cycle in Tokugawa Japan*:

"Centralized military and political power had become so effective that private groups could no longer hope to challenge it." This period of peace was so effective, Reischauer wrote, that "natural disaster probably did more to disrupt Tokugawa rule than any human incidents." With a period of prolonged peace, "the soaring expenditures of the bakufu and the individual daimyos began to exceed their income, which for the most part was tied to the less rapidly expanding agricultural yield." The government was becoming more inefficient and corruption was commonplace among officials. Often public works fell into disrepair. 29

4. *Economic Growth and Intercourse*:

Although the Tokugawa peace disrupted the feudal structure, it was a time of steady growth and development in the economy as a whole. With new innovations from the Dutch and Chinese, there was a slow shift from subsistence farming to commercial farming, in which a significant portion of the land was devoted to cash crops (cotton, sesame seeds for oil, mulberry leaves for silk worms, indigo, tobacco and sugar cane). This farming in turn created new demands for labor which now gave poor families an alternate means of support.

5. **The Breakup of the Extended Family Unit:**

This breakup of old extended family patterns produced well-to-do landowning families who could devote time and economic support to village industries.

6. **Relationship of Economic Growth to Feudalism:**

Unlike China, which had a flexible social class mobility, Japan's strictly enforced stratified society precluded any possibility of the lower classes' involvement in political leadership. Consequently, merchant families like Mitsui and Mitsubishi never "wasted" their time seeking status or political power.

7. **Tokugawa Ethic:**

The family code handed down from Confucianism presented virtues which led to success in business as well as in government. The strong family code is still evident in modern Japan. What we in the West call paternalism is a way of life for Japanese entrepreneurs, as well as for their industrial employees.

8. **Rise of Nationalism:**

Two contributing factors led to a national identity. One was the recent contact with nations of Europe and the resulting period of isolation, which glorified Japan's cultural and political distinctiveness. Reischauer stated that, "It was probably no mere accident that Japan, the one Asian country
to go through a feudal experience comparable to that of Europe, was the only non-Western country which developed a strong national consciousness before the late 19th century."\(^{30}\)

Secondly, China's imperial experience made many Japanese re-examine the theoretical power of the Emperor. People became aware that "loyalty, the great Confucian and feudal virtue, was ultimately due the Emperor and not the Shogun."\(^{31}\)

9. **Sankin-Kōtai (The Hostage System):**

The individual military strength of the Daimyo posed a serious problem to the Shogunate. The hostage system forced the Daimyo to spend at least half of one year in Edo. It proved entirely effective in keeping the vassals of the Tokugawa in line. By placing half of the Daimyo at any given time at the mercy of the Shogunate, it reinforced the hostage system and reduced the possibility of rebellion. In addition, it placed a heavy financial burden on the Daimyo, reducing their capacity to rebel.

One of the latent functions of this system was that it developed a good network of roads, and brought samurai leaders from all over Japan to Edo. It created a commercial economy where many Daimyo converted their rice income into money. Thus, while the hostage system proved effective, it ultimately led to the undermining of the feudal economy.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., p. 662
\(^{31}\) Ibid., p. 663
10. **Bushido (Way of the Warrior):**

This code of the samurai or warrior, despite its elaborateness, suffered from inherent weakness and contradictions. It was suited primarily to the social system and ethical needs of a period of constant warfare.

**JAPAN: Phase I - The Challenge of Modernity**

Although Japan had obviously derived a great deal of its culture from China, it was sufficiently unique to have had a very different response to the Western challenge. The simplest way to understand Japan’s entrance into modernity is to analyze those predisposing factors which made her entry more painless and with less dislocation than any other society before, or since.

**Loyalty:** The internal political organization of Japan was feudalism. It preached loyalty to itself not to the nation. In pre-modern Tokugawa ethic, classes and occupations were rigidly compartmentalized; social and geographical mobility was regulated by a system of sanction and barriers. In a very real sense, the vertical loyalty of a hierarchal feudal system, reinforced by the Confucian ethic, created a unifying central theme which existed as far back as the 16th century. Given these factors, Japan may be called a community oriented society, in that: (a) individualism was submerged in the group, or toward persons standing for the group, which the prevailing social ethic required and (b) the concept of majority and
minority opinion were alien. The opportunity for free realization of individual human possibilities was absent in Japan;
(c) The Japanese accepted unequal status, but had the right and duty to develop himself within his place. In some such terms as these, many modern Japanese have sought to reconcile democracy with Confucian benevolent paternalism and to claim the attributes of an egalitarian philosophy for what was essentially an authoritarian social prescription. A respect for authority was a social habit inculcated in the Japanese by centuries of ethical teaching and mandatory regulation. Whereas the Chinese exalted filial piety above other virtues, the Japanese ideal was the samurai who would sacrifice his family for his lord. Thus modern leaders could expect to gain the loyalty of the Japanese. According to Lawrence Olson, "When it is understood that diligent performance of one's obligations were as important as acceptance of one's place, it is not difficult to see how a consensus of belief and behavior could be enforced, once it was reached."³²

In contrast, loyalty in China was diffuse. Although, at the upper level, China had what amounted to a bureaucratic institution, family obligations, competed with one's duty to the Emperor.

Pragmatism: Although Japan had gone through a phase of isolationism due to some bad experiences with Christianity, her class divisions were fragmented enough to foster a variety of responses to Western intrusion. Well before Perry's "Opening of Japan," the Japanese had a practical understanding of Western scientific knowledge, especially in the field of military science. Japan's knowledge of China's numerous defeats at the hand of Western countries, was more than enough to convince her of their own military inferiority.

Geography: Japan's size made communication relatively simple. The Sankin-Kōtai (see Concepts) offered Japan the unique opportunity of having her leaders in one place most of the time. Reischauer stated that, "within a few weeks of Perry's arrival, the whole country knew of this monumental event." 33

Leadership: Japan drew its nationalist leadership from elements closely identified with the old regime. According to Reischauer, "Some restless samurai, disillusioned by their inability to drive out the foreigners, switched to advocate the development of national strength through further foreign intercourse, and by this new approach developed into prominent leaders." 34

---


34 Ibid., p. 188
It is interesting to note that the most dissident samurai (those furthest away from the Shogun) were also, by comparison, economically and socially backward. It was this very fact that brought the new leadership together against the Tokugawa Shogunate. Using Black's criteria, these samurai were, "the dissident members of the traditional political leadership."\textsuperscript{35} Reischauer stated that Japan's response to the West was so completely nationalistic "that most Western observers took it for granted, not realizing that responses elsewhere in Asia were not the same."\textsuperscript{36}

According to Rupert Emerson, in his text, \textit{From Empire to Nation}, "Japanese nationalism did not follow the standard colonial pattern - nor can it be attributed to the typical Western educated intelligencia - or the middle class brought into being by alien intrusion. In Japan these were the products and not the creators of a new society."\textsuperscript{37} Whereas Black sees Perry's "Opening of Japan" (1853-1854) as being disruptive enough to create a revolution against the Tokugawa Shogunate, Emerson believes that the changes which were taking place in Japan, prior to "the shock of Perry's appearance were essentially a response to the autonomous development of maladjustments.

\textsuperscript{35} C. E. Black, \textit{Dynamics of Modernization}, p. 165
\textsuperscript{36} Reischauer, \textit{The Modern Transformation}, p. 189
\textsuperscript{37} Rupert Emerson, \textit{From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples} (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1963) p. 256
and of altered social and economic relationships with the Japanese system itself.\textsuperscript{38} Emerson was suggesting that through the economic base of feudalism, agricultural production was overtaxed. As a result, infant industries and trade were under-taxed and allowed to flourish. Feudalism then, according to Reischauer,

\begin{quote}
Far from having retarded this growth, seems to have been a major cause of it. Townsmen and peasants, barred from political power by the feudal class system, did not dissipate their energies in political and social efforts, but devoted themselves to economic advancement.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Social Factors:} One of the latent results of a prolonged period of Tokugawa peace, was to create a class of warriors who no longer were in the business of maintaining the empire. As the peace continued, class lines between the samurai and the merchants became increasingly blurred; by the middle of the 19th century, many of the more enterprising samurai were ready to take their role in an urban modernizing society.

\textbf{The Imperial System:} Perhaps the most significant factor, with regard to modernization, was the ability of the Japanese to rationalize change by justifying it as strengthening modern institutions. The fabrication that modernization was part of the "Restoration of the Emperor" made it relatively easy to sweep aside centuries of feudal domination.

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p. 32

\textsuperscript{39}Reischauer, \textit{The Modern Transformation}, p. 191
Linear vs. Cyclical Development: Japanese institutions, with regard to state and society, showed little return to established models. Both their political and social institutions showed continuous and evolutionary growth. China, because she was continually beset by similar problems, (i.e., residual feudalism, defense against "barbarians," a continuous power struggle between the Emperor and upper bureaucracy, and the relationship between the bureaucracy and the peasant) had a more cyclical conception of history, and often times reverted to the ideology of previous dynasties in order to solve her internal and external problems of disunity.

CHINA: Phase II - The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership

This period differs from the first, in that the leadership becomes convinced that "defensive and xenophobic reaction has exhausted itself and the effort to reestablish the old order has been replaced by a deliberate attempt to shape the society on the model of Western intruders."\textsuperscript{40}

Scholars differ as to where this period begins in the history of a society. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration is such a clear break with the past, there was almost total agreement as to it being the beginning of modernity. However, in China, one could make a good case for either 1911 - the Nationalist Revolution or 1905 - the abandoning of the Civil Service Exam as to the beginning of the modern era. Block chose 1905, and

\textsuperscript{40}Emerson, \textit{From Empire to Nation}, p. 206
for good reason; the Civil Service Exam had been the intellectual and bureaucratic foundation of the Empire for one thousand years. To acknowledge it as anachronistic was to admit that traditional intellectual methods were no longer applicable. This period was also characterized by intense nationalistic feeling. China’s response to Nationalism, however, was quite different than Japan’s response. In a comparative sense, it was long delayed and did not effectively begin to operate before the last years of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth. Some authors suggest that indeed, it was not until the May 4, Movement of 1919, directed against Western concessions to Japan which were written into the Versailles Peace Treaty, that Chinese nationalism began to reach out into the masses of people. It became obvious to many that the fate of the "Hundred Days Reform" of 1898, which was rational, moderate, and operated within the context of existing institutions, was doomed to failure.

The men who dominated Chinese politics in the first two decades of the 20th century were marked by their agreement that China had failed. Only radical departure from the old ways could save the very existence of China. Beliefs that had been the foundation of the political system for a millennia no longer carried conviction...." 41

The period which followed this consensus was to a large degree identified with Sun Yat-sen, and the establishment of a republic. This period also meets Black's criteria for the creation of a "politically organized society, where one did not exist in the initial phase." This "politically organized society" revolved around Sun Yat-sen's political philosophy of "democracy," "nationalism," and "people's livelihood."

According to Emerson,

Although he (Sun) found some democratic elements in the Chinese tradition, his argument rested much less upon them, than upon the assumption that in adopting democracy, China would not only be following and improving upon - the political pattern of the West, but would also bring itself into line with what he portrayed as the world current, flowing from theocracy through autocracy to democracy.

In theory, democracy was aimed at introducing initiative, referendum, election and recall to the Chinese people. In this stage the military was to play a significant role. For two years the military government would be in control. The next six years would be a period of political tutelage where the Chinese would learn the aforementioned aspects of democracy. However, nationalism was significantly more important than democracy, which was to be used as an instrument to unite and strengthen the Chinese nation in its struggle against imperialism.

---

42 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 68
43 Emerson, From Empire to Nation, p. 238
We, in the West, have corrupted Sun's interpretation of democracy; far from advocating greater civil liberties, Sun stressed China's need to receive a collective freedom for the people as an organized whole. At that point in history, China was nothing more than a sheet of sand which had to be pulled together. "If we want to restore China's liberty" he proclaimed, "we must unite ourselves in one unshakable body; we must use revolutionary methods to weld our state into one firm unity." But there was an inherent contradiction in Sun's logic. At one part of the spectrum, Sun was fiercely anti-Western, yet he "remained hopeful, almost to the moment of his death, of massive economic and technical assistance from the West and Japan."45

Another of Black's criteria asked whether or not there was a creation of a nation-state with an effective government and a reasonable consensus. This is a particularly difficult question to analyze, given the sporadic nature of Chinese nationalism. What is perhaps even more difficult is to find a viable definition of Nationalism in general. The most respected scholars in the field cannot agree on a unified definition.46

45 Ibid., p. 262
If we were to use Thomas Hodgkin's definition of nationalism: "Any organization that explicitly asserts those rights, claims, and aspirations, of a given African or Asian society in opposition to European authority," we could agree that China in 1920 was indeed nationalistic. However, if we were to use K. H. Silvert's definition: "Nationalism is the acceptance of the state as the impersonal and ultimate arbiter of human affairs," we would be hard pressed to give an unequivocally affirmative reply. China, in the 1920's, certainly met many of Silvert's criteria, but continued Warlordism and competing family loyalties would tempt this writer to footnote any decision to call the Nationalist regime, "the ultimate arbiter of human affairs." The list is endless, some scholars such as Rupert Emerson, give nationalism very loose peramiters. He states that, "nationalism is no more than the assertion that a particular community is arrayed against the rest of mankind." Other scholars such as James Coleman, give very restrictive criteria: "Nationalism is only those types of organizations that are essentially political, not religious, or economic in character, which have as their objective the self-government of a recognizable nation."

49 Emerson, From Empire to Nation, p. 241
This writer would like to state parenthetically, that one of the fallacies which emanate from social studies methods texts, is the implication that it is relatively simple to arrive at a viable definition of a given concept. One must be struck by the way in which these authors have chosen very uncomplicated concepts to analyze. Arriving at a working definition of "Nationalism" or of "Modernization" is an almost impossible task. Nevertheless, regardless of how disjunctive a concept nationalism and modernization are, its importance for the social studies precludes the possibility of ignoring them.

To return to the question of whether or not China in this phase meets Black's criteria, James B. Grieder stated that, "with the accession of the Nationalists to power in 1928, (the persistent problem of warlordism was finally eliminated) China was governed, for the first time, by a government that could claim jurisdiction all over the country." There were a number of significant areas in which progress was made.

The banking system was thoroughly revised to make it - on paper, at least - a suitable agency through which to underwrite large scale industrial investment and to handle the credit requirements of China's international trade. The legal system was restyled and modernized to bring it closer to Western standards. Ambitious programs

---

51 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 224
were undertaken in railways and highway construction and in the development of communications. The educational system was revamped, with increased emphasis given to the development of facilities for advanced training and research. And, as we might expect, the military establishment was subjected to continuing retraining and reorganization, regardless of cost, with German advisers replacing the Russians of an earlier time. 52

However, to imply that Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists controlled the loyalty of all Chinese, is to beg the question. There were three areas in which the Nationalists had little control: (1) Chiang's control of the warlords was conditional. Any attempt Chiang made to assert his total authority violated these conditions. At best, this period of "unification" was a shaky peace made from deals, rather than from a sense of nationalism. (2) By the early 1930's, the Chinese Communist Party had sufficiently grown in strength to play a significant role in Chinese Nationalist politics. (3) The threat of the Japanese in Manchuria loomed darkly over Chiang's head, but never deterred him from his major objective: the obliteration of the Chinese Communist Party. Taken together, "it is hardly surprising...that 'national unity' remained the principle object of Chiang Kai-shek's domestic policy." 53

52 Ibid., p. 225
53 Ibid., p. 226
Political and social reform made little headway in an era of increased military expenditures.

Black sees the reform of Land tenure, to be a crucial phase of a country's attempt at modernization. His reasoning suggests that since landlords are the main support of the traditional government, any change in their status usually meant a political revolution. Unfortunately, this was not the case in Nationalist China. The social classes from which Chiang received his support were the merchants, professional groups, professional bureaucracy and the landlords. This is hardly the kind of group which would lend its support to radical political and economic reformation.

Because Chiang never made a total break with the landed aristocracy and professional groups, he turned inward again to extoll the virtue of Confucian China's uniqueness. Some scholars suggest that the "Nationalist party sought to exploit the latent resentment that lingered in some quarters against the intellectual and social disruption consequent upon the coming of the West and Western values."54 This is a difficult, often times irrational phases to examine. Black makes two significant point that the reader ought to keep in mind while examining modernizing countries:

54 Ibid., p. 228
(1) Nationalism is not an end in itself, but a means to an end - modernization. Yet the struggle for independence is often times so long and costly, and the emotions aroused are so powerful, that nationalism frequently comes to overshadow modernization and divert it from its main course. 55

(2) The struggle for independence absorbs so much in lives and efforts, and the resources required to defend the frontiers and maintain an independent status so great, that other matters come to play a secondary role. The powerful appeal of nationalism is moreover, frequently used by conservative leaders to prevent reform, and the nationalism that was generally linked with liberalism before independence becomes more often than not, a force for conservatism. Nation building was essential to modernization, because it was the most effective way to mobilize the efforts of the peoples concerned, but it also causes some of modernization's most difficult problems. 56

In a sense then, it is perhaps best to think of China during this period as having a dual consensus. The first and most obvious were those members of the urban middle class who backed Chiang Kai-shek. From 1935 onward, however, another group of people sought political consensus: the Chinese Communist Party. Had Nationalist China lived up to Black's criteria for Land Reform, perhaps there would not have been a peasant class so alienated from the Nationalists, that they could be persuaded to join the Chinese Communist Party.

In trying to analyze the rise of the Communist Party during this period, two themes should be explored: The first was the Yenan period of Chinese Communism, (1935-1947) and

55 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 75
56 Ibid., p. 76
secondly, the way in which Chinese Communists' theories were placed in a historical milieu, using Marxist explorations.

Briefly, the Yenan period began with the Long March and created a sense of almost heroic mysticism among the 15,000 or so, of the 90,000 who fled to northern China, under the constant annihilation campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek. The political and psychological significance of this period cannot be overstated. To a large degree, many of those young men who trekked 6,000 miles in one year are still in power in the People's Republic of China. Using Black's criteria of national consensus, the Long March was significant because it was during this period that Mao Tse-tung achieved effective control of the Chinese Communist Party, something Chiang Kai-shek was never able to do with the Kuomintang. Up until this point, Mao was engaged in a constant and bitter power struggle with Chinese Bolsheviks for control of the party's apparatus.

According to James Crowley, "If the Long March demonstrated anything, it was the ability of man to defy the most overwhelming odds, to triumph over the most formidable and fearsome barriers that nature could present and that other men might erect."57 Mao's deep and abiding understanding of the nature of revolution led him to believe that the peasants, not the intellectuals, or the proletariat, were the "potential bearers of socialist revolutionary consciousness."58

57 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 271
58 Ibid., p. 287
When World War II came to an end in 1945, it also ended the uneasy Chinese Communist/Kuomintang truce, forced upon Chiang Kai-shek in 1937, in order to prevent a total Japanese domination of China. To a casual observer, the Nationalists had an almost staggering advantage. They held a 4:1 superiority in manpower, greater military technology and had technical advisers from the United States. Benjamin Schwartz put it most concisely when he said, the victory of the Communist forces, over the Nationalist armies, is "one of the most striking examples, in history, of the victory of a small but dedicated and well organized force, enjoying popular support, over a large but unpopular force with poor morale and incompetent leadership."\(^59\)

By October of 1949, the Chinese Communist forces had rid China of Nationalist control and had enough of a political consensus to catapult them to the third phase of modernization; Economic and Social Transfer.

JAPAN: Phase II – The Consolidation of Modernizing Leadership

Employing the same set of criteria, we applied to China, will be used in treating Japan's consolidation of modernizing leadership.

In reference to Japan's effort to modernize, Black asks if there was an assertion on the part of the leadership to

modernize. Given Japan's feudal experience, and a host of others mentioned in the earlier phase, the answer is definitely yes. Japan had two predisposing factors not present in China: (a) a homogeneous, vigorous people accustomed to hierarchy, and (b) an Emperor; a symbol of unimpeachable legitimacy to carry out the burden of nationalism. According to Marius B. Jansen:

The arrival of the West in the middle of the 19th century made impossible a preservation of the delicate balance of centralization and decentralization, custom, and reaction, status and ambition, that had characterized late feudal society. The Restoration was nothing less than the opening of a political system that had been closed for more than two centuries. 60

In essence, the Meiji Restoration was a coup directed by a few leaders against a suffocating feudal rule. In one very real sense Japan was unique; it was the only country to impose nationalism from above. "Perhaps most important for the early Meiji transition, the leaders of the new regime had time to experiment and plan because there was no revolution from below." 61

A full treatment of the Meiji Restoration is both complex and unnecessary for applying Black's model. It is sufficient to know that (a) the government gave clear and strong leadership; (b) the government was the chief modernizing

61 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 103
force in many fields; (c) the government provided political stability and sound monetary institutions, which were prerequisites for industrialization; (d) patriotism was often a significant motive for many entrepreneurs who industrialized Japan; (e) the Meiji Restoration was both internal and non-violent.

Usually during this phase there is an "effective and decisive break with agricultural institutions, and a land reform to permit the most effective use of agriculture." Japan fulfilled this criterion. In 1873, five years after the Restoration, Japan passed the Land Settlement Act. Because it was the chief source of revenue, as it was in feudal Japan, the land tax was heavy. Before the act was passed, agricultural taxes were stabilized at two and one-half percent of the average value of the crop. "With these Meiji changes, commercial agriculture became the basis of the government's income and, by extension, the basis of Japan's emergent capitalist economy."^62

Along similar lines, elementary education and the military were reformed. In 1872, the Education Code provided the central government with a means of shaping its subjects' minds, which in the long run was a more effective tool than external supervision and control by the army's police and an all pervasive bureaucracy.

^62Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 105
In the case of Japan, there already existed a reasonable consensus for change. What Japan had to create were political parties to manifest that consensus. Any convincing appraisal of the era of party rule has to recognize that the ascendancy of the parties rested on a peculiar balance of tactical strengths and strategic weaknesses. The parties enjoyed three decades of sustained growth by catering to key interest groups in Japanese society and by striking compromises with nonparty elements in the political elite. They proved highly effective in acquiring and using political power. Their successes, however, were pragmatic not ideological. Although the majority of the people accepted party rule as a matter of course, just as they had accepted oligarchic rule during the Meiji period, the parties were not able to cloak themselves in a mantle of legitimacy. Many had lingering doubts about the propriety of party rule, whose emphasis on open political conflict, partisan sentiment, and political log-rolling challenged deeply rooted social attitudes. According to Peter Duus:

Other, more radical elements in society particularly in the army, were inimical to the very idea of parliamentary process. When the army created a moment of national crisis in 1931, the parties lacked the moral strength to sustain their pragmatic hold on the government. The result was the swift demise of party hegemony, although not of the parties themselves. 63

---

In a larger sense, then, there was a reasonable consensus about where Japan was to go with regard to modernization, however, there was indecisiveness about how and who the vehicle was to be.

The Japanese military during the 1930's became that vehicle, and raised some interesting questions within Black's paradigm. Black stated, "The nationalism that was generally linked with liberalism before industrialization became more often than not a force for conservatism."\(^{64}\)

In the case of Japan, this phase of nationalism caused some of modernization's most difficult problems. Party cabinets during the 1920's, according to conservative elements, were growing weak and running scared. The rise of immigration quotas in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, gave more fuel to the conservative reaction. With a consensus that Japan had to have a strong navy, the "capitulation" of the cabinet to various naval agreements in the 1920's convinced conservative elements, especially the military, that the cabinet could no longer function.

As was the case with China, the ruling elite courted the business interests and paid little, or no attention, to the agrarian sector. Between the economic slump that occurred immediately after World War I, coupled with the depression, the rural sector bore the brunt of economic distress.

\(^{64}\) Black, *Dynamics of Modernization*, p. 75
According to Crowley:

Semiskilled workers thrown out of work, returned to their native villages; daughters of farm families employed in textile mills likewise lost their jobs; falling silk prices robbed many farm families of an important source of outside income; and a series of bumper crops resulted in a sharp drop in the price of rice. 65

Although there was agrarian reform in this phase, one suspects that Black could not consider all elements, and had not counted on a depression which negated all land reforms prior to 1930.

Among the many significant differences between China and Japan, perhaps the most significant was Japan's decision to choose a parliamentary form of government. One would find it hard however, to give credit to the Meiji leaders for choosing a parliamentary government because it was most democratic. Perhaps a better explanation is that the Meiji leaders saw a parliamentary form of government as an integral and indispensable part of the Western system. By the 1920's, unity which held the genro together, had all but disappeared. The new leaders, rather than being of samurai origin, were business leaders, bureaucrats and military men.

The family system as an institution came under attack as modernization brought about different social class arrangements; young people began to question the right of the family to choose their mates for them. This was a period not unlike the 1920's

65 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 203
in America, where young people consciously disobeyed their parents in a quest for "the good life." Perhaps, then, one could make a good argument for a revolution within a revolution, in describing the rise of the military in the 1930's. Although it was internal and non-violent, it nevertheless signaled the end of an era which was not to manifest itself again until American occupying forces entered Japan in 1945. "In short, the Japanese army, as seen against the background of Japanese feudalism, was almost as revolutionary an institution as the Diet (parliament) itself."\(^{66}\)

One of the criteria Black may have overlooked in this phase of intense nationalism was the elimination of class distinctions, personal loyalty and hereditary power, in forging a modern army. In fact, one of the problems which plagued China up to, and through, the Nationalist Revolution, was her inability to rid the military of personal loyalty, in favor of a more amorphous, but cohesive national force. Japan had no such problem, given her hereditary foundation of feudalism, "and the utilization of propaganda techniques of the modern west, the Japanese built itself up into as solid a pyramid of hierarchic authority as the world has ever seen."\(^{67}\)


\(^{67}\) Ibid.
Through "political indoctrination" in education, and the institution of the alleged "Peace Preservation Laws" which suppressed all "dangerous movements," one may argue either way for Black's criteria. At one level this kind of control could only occur in a country which has passed through the initial phase of modernization. However, one must be somewhat cautious in suggesting that Japan, according to Black, had a "reasonable consensus."^68

The rise of the military therefore, was the height of nationalism, and it expressed itself in "uncoordinated acts of political violence," military insubordination, and terrorism, which undermined public confidence in the ability of the parties to control the country effectively. Many people reasoned that the times were too unsettled to allow parties to continue in power. The use of patriotic and nationalistic symbols appealed to sentiments of nationalism, deeply rooted in the Japanese.

In order to fully appreciate the rise of the military in Japan, one must not only be aware of Japan's feudal and military tradition, but one must also understand the stunning way in which she defeated the Chinese, and more importantly, how she obliterated the Russian Navy at the Straits of Tushima, in 1905.

^68 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 75
As one recalls Japan's history from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 to the military takeover in 1931; one must also be struck by the fact that for over sixty years Japan had succeeded in everything she attempted. Not unlike the United States' period of manifest destiny, Japan also thought she was shaping a new national destiny for herself in Asia.

CHINA: Phase III - The Economic and Social Transformation

Perhaps China fits more neatly in this phase of modernization than she did in either of the first two phases. Almost immediately after China's accession to power in 1949, she dealt with the question of "other than national loyalties," something Black says is absolutely necessary for a society in the third phase. In what has been termed a Rectification Movement by Maoists, the People's Republic set out to combat: (1) subjectivism and unorthodox tendencies; (2) sectarianism within the party ranks; and (3) formalism in literature. Perhaps the Soviet experience with personality cliques and ideological schisms was more than this fledging communist party would care to experience. Rather than treat the problem when and if it arose, Mao and others simply decided that it was not to occur.

The first true land reform came in 1950. According to Black, it should have occurred in the Nationalist phase. Be that as it may, it represented the first real attempt at redistributing the land for peasant use, in Chinese history.
"In June, 1950, the Agrarian Reform Law, called for the abolition of the 'land ownership system of feudal exploitation' and the confiscation of landowners holdings and farm implements for redistribution to landless peasants." 69

It is ironic that "the Chinese people, once described as a pile of loose sand, are now more tightly organized than any other national population in the world." 70 Perhaps the most vivid example of what Black saw, as moving from local to national loyalty, were the psychological and social controls in the People's Republic of China. Reaching back to the Ching dynasty, the Communists instituted a policy of pao-chia, or mutual responsibility, where the Socialist Man was supposed to have no regard for face and be prepared to make public confessions, and, most importantly, revere the state before his family.

Whether or not the last theme is true, is an argument for Asian scholars; suffice it to say, Mao and others knew that without national loyalty they would probably end up much like their Ching and Nationalist predecessors. China's foreign relations during this period reaffirms Black's criteria that: "the security and identity of the individual becomes linked to a much greater degree with the national community than with the local or the international." 71

69 Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, p. 748
70 Ibid., p. 754
71 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 77
China's actions with regard to North Korea, Quemoy and Matsu, and the Indian War of 1962, all pointed to a "burning desire to restore China's rightful position under the sun...and to revive the national confidence and self-respect that had been lost during a century of foreign humiliation." Her close ties with the Soviet Union was prompted, at least in part, by China's need of Soviet aid and protection to forestall Western intervention. If one can recall Foreign Anti-Bolshevik intervention in Siberia after the October 1917 Revolution, it would make sense to assume that at least, American intervention on behalf of the Nationalists, was possible.

By 1956, Mao may have felt secure enough to declare: "Let a hundred flowers blossom. Let a hundred schools contend."

The reactions, by those who took Mao literally, regardless of Mao's motives, were swift and severely critical of the new communist regime. The Chinese bureaucracy clamped down on what was considered right wing slander. What resulted, pointed out the importance of ideology over technical expertise.

In viewing the Sino-Soviet split and the subsequent "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," one must remember that it was Nationalist China who entered Phase II, and to a degree, Communist China after 1949, was passing through two phases simultaneously. The Red Guard Movement, which began in 1966 was an attempt by Mao Tse-tung and Lin-Piao to rid China of

---

72 Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, p. 757
old thoughts, old customs, and old habits. To further consolidate national control, the communists, by new marriage laws, (1950) gave women full equality with men in rights of marriage, divorce and property ownership. In addition, children were praised for denouncing their parents and extended families were denounced as a throwback to a feudal past.

A brief review of family patterns before and after 1949, suggested that "the times" more than any concerted effort on behalf of the People's Republic of China, was the major cause for the weakening of traditional family ties. C. K. Yang, author of *The Family and the Village*, suggested such a hypothesis. He stated, "the traditional society dominated by the kinship factor...seems to have served social need well within its multiplicity of functions." 73 However, with the intrusion of Western ideas and commercial influence, these characteristics, common to an extended patriarchal family, could not hold up. As is usually the case with extended family breakdown, the young and the women agitate most for reform. According to C. K. Yang:

> The past three-quarters of a century of floundering efforts at transferring the family and kinship relations to modern economic and political undertakings produced endless contradictions between the particularistic and universalistic patterns of social life. 74

---


74 Ibid.
The contradiction was over the kinship tie as an organizational requirement in the traditional order and the need for objective qualifications for individuals as components of modern economic and political structures. Consequently, the extended family pattern divided the population in numerous small groups with loose kinship ties, while modern society called for "ultimate integration between the social and economic organs based on universal standards of the individual...."75

Some scholars suggested that the Nationalist revolution merely changed the monarchy to a nominal republic, yet when one views the disintegration of the extended family, in light of China's ability to absorb accomitable change,76 it can be viewed as nothing less than revolutionary. The May 4th Movement (in 1919) ostensibly a political rebellion against China's weakness, vis a vis Japan, was at least in part "a rebellion of the educated young of both sexes against the traditional social order."77 "The confinement of the family revolution and its related ideological movements mainly to the cities (a criteria for Phase III) was due precisely to the presence of collaborating social and economic forces in the urban areas and the weakness or absence of such forces in the rural communities...."78

75Ibid.
76See terms: (Accomitable Change)
77Burch, Asian Political Systems, p. 16
78Ibid., p. 17
Given the deterioration of handicraft and agriculture, along with corresponding increased urbanization, coupled with famine and war, during the 1930 - 1940's, the traditional family pattern had to be, if not destroyed, then certainly altered. For example, between 1937 through 1945, the war years, there was no clamor for family reform. But the great migration westward, "undoubtedly aided the disintegration of many traditional families and the formation of new ones in the model promoted by the family revolution."\textsuperscript{79}

By 1949, with the beginning of Communist control, the institution of the family had already undergone such strain, that little if anything had to be done, save industrialization. This of course is not to deny that "the Communist regime is bent on building an industrial society on the socialistic pattern and is fully aware of the incompatibility between such a society and the kinship oriented structure."\textsuperscript{80}

At an even more pragmatic level (defending Black's thesis) the individual's traditional loyalty to his family must somehow be subsumed into the new requirements of his loyalty to the state and to the Communist Party. Up until 1949, therefore, the disintegration of family patterns was a by product of modernization.

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., p. 17  
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 19
According to Burch:

Change of the traditional family is no longer left, however, to a spontaneous process but is subjected to the compulsory power of law and the presure of a powerful, well organized mass movement; and it is coordinated with other aspects of the Communist, social, economic, and political revolution. 81

JAPAN: Phase III - The Economic and Social Transformation

Japan's entry in the third phase, Economic and Social Transfer, occurred with the ending of World War II, in 1945. As was mentioned earlier, China fits rather snuggly into this phase; one would be hard pressed however, to make the same case for Japan. Many of the criteria Black used to clarify this phase, had already been attained in pre-war Japan. In all fairness to Black, Japan never had the individual, and therefore, competing loyalties that existed in pre-Communist China. Rapid growth in secondary education and medical care, similarly had been attained decades earlier. Today, in fact, Japan is the most literate society in the world. Where Black's model makes most sense, is in the category of value lag behind economic and social development. It is almost ironic to suggest that Japan had to de-nationalize, in order to re-nationalize, two decades later.

Japan's surrender to United States forces in 1945, can perhaps best explain the value lag. The situational ethic which has been characteristic of Japan for almost a millenia permitted

81 Ibid.
them to react to United States power and authority, the way they once reacted to the Tokugawa Shogun, and the Military clique, a decade earlier. According to Reischauer:

The fact that they were fighting the war primarily out of a sense of duty, and not because of personal hatred or fear; the underlying friendship and admiration in Japan for the United States, despite the prewar years of mounting friction; the realism of the Japanese, which made them recognize the cooperation was the only practical course, and their admirable willingness to accept new knowledge and admit past errors. 82

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the Occupation was the relationship between General MacArthur and the Japanese people. According to Reischauer and others, MacArthur's personality was more in tune with the Japanese image of a military hero than was his American image.

Probably the most significant lesson in democracy for the Japanese people was his apparent and sudden dismissal by President Truman. According to Reischauer:

The summary dismissal of this great military hero and seemingly all powerful proconsol by a mere civilian politician contrasted sharply with the inability of the prewar Japanese government to control its own generals. The lesson was not lost upon the Japanese and many of them learned more from this one incident about American concepts of democracy than from the years of American preachings about democracy that had preceded it. 83

---

82 Reischauer, The United States and Japan, p. 221
83 Ibid., p. 226
The Japanese Constitution which was forged out of the Occupation, is an impressive looking document. Its preamble espouses many of the platitudes found in its American counterpart. It is too early to predict however, which is truly the aberration, the militaristic years of the 1930's and 1940's, or the years which have followed. China's entry into the world's stage ought to evoke some interesting manifestations in Japanese institutional life.

The years following the Occupation were prosperous. Using 1934 - 1936 = 100 as an index, the Per Capita Real Income in 1962, was already 215.2. Like Germany, Japan already had the foundation for recovery. Her average Gross National Product rate from 1955 to 1960 was 10.2%, compared to Germany, 6.1% and the United States, 2.3%. Her exports in a decade from 1951 through 1961 rose from 1.9 billion dollars to 6.3 billion dollars. These statistics are significant because one of the criteria for this phase is the maintenance of mass production by a corresponding mass consumption. Besides the United States, Japan is the largest consumer nation in the world. Agricultural production has doubled and tripled during the 1950's with the use of intensive farming and chemical fertilizers.

A second major land reform occurred after American Occupation of Japan. "The basic aim was simple: to end tenancy by transfer of land ownership from landlords to their farming tenants. The method was land purchase and sale under government
auspices, not confiscation."\textsuperscript{84}

The most important development in Phase III was the shift of the work force from agriculture to manufacturing, transportation and communication. Manufacturing and construction had grown from 28\% in the early 1950's to 36\% in the late 1960's, with a corresponding decline in agriculture, forestry and fishing from 22\% to less than 12\%. By the late 1960's, Japan had developed an extremely diversified manufacturing sector, capable of producing almost every product existing in the world. According to Crowley:

Prior to World War II, Japanese industrialization had not proceeded far enough in its absorption of labor, to reduce the absolute number of workers in agriculture to substantially below early Meiji levels.\textsuperscript{85}

The transfer of labor from agriculture and other low productivity areas has been accomplished primarily by the movement of young people when they first entered the labor force as school graduates. Only one-tenth of farm children remain in agriculture; the others migrate to factory and related jobs in nearby towns and large cities.\textsuperscript{86}

During the Occupation, Japan moved into Phase III with regard to education. Nine years of education are mandatory; most children go on to senior high school and a larger proportion of each age group continue to college than in any other country except the United States. An important reform policy of the Occupation was to increase the number of colleges and universities and generally to stress enlarged educational opportunity.

\textsuperscript{84}Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 302
\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., p. 313
\textsuperscript{86}Ibid., p. 314
JAPAN: Phase IV - The Integration of Society

Although Black at the time of the book's publication, did not consider Japan to be in the fourth phase, he did state that somewhere in the 1960's they should enter into it. In reviewing his criteria, it seems that Japan has entered into the "final" phase of modernization.

The criteria for Phase IV are more subtle and difficult to detect than earlier phases. For one thing, the changes which take place during this period, are more often than not, changes in degree rather than in kind. Whereas institutions tumbled in phases I and II, by Phase IV, they perhaps become more amorphous and massified. Nonetheless, one could say with some accuracy, that Japan entered into what Black calls "The Integration of Society," sometime in the late 1960's. One of the prerequisites for Phase IV is the even distribution of wealth. According to Hugh T. Patrick:

Rapid economic growth has brought a major improvement in family incomes and standard of living. The benefits of growth have been widely distributed, so virtually everyone is substantially better off. This has been accomplished mainly through higher wages and better employment opportunities rather than through social expenditures, which have remained a small proportion of governmental budget. 87

Consequently, not unlike the United States, the aged and the unskilled labor benefited least from equal wealth distribution. Nevertheless, no working group in Japan has been completely left out of Japan’s economic progress.

Another criteria for entering the fourth Phase, is a mass consumptive, as well as a mass productive society. "Japan’s consumption pattern has been somewhat lopsided, in the housing and public amenities, (such as urban water-supply and sewage systems, better roads, prevention of air and water polution, and the solution of urban congestion) have lagged."88 Whereas overcrowding is a phenomenon of the third Phase, finding solutions to urban overcrowding is typically a fourth Phase ideal. Regardless of urban difficulties, Japan is a high consumption society. Ninety-six percent of Japan’s homes have television, seventy-eight percent have refrigerators, eighty-five percent have electric washing machines, fifty-four percent have vacuum cleaners, although only thirteen percent have automobiles and four percent have air conditioners.89

Although an individual’s ties may be more diffuse in this phase of modernization, there still remains an informal hierarchal relationship between government bureaucrats, liberal democratic party politicians and businessmen. In a meritocracy,

88 Ibid., p. 324
89 1969 Statistics
such as Japan, a large part of social mobility is achieved through education, "where the more prestigious the university (and more difficult to pass the entrance examinations) the greater the chance of being hired by big business or government ministry and eventually succeeding in politics...." 90

Not unlike the Ivy League Colleges in the United States, a few decades ago, graduates of the same university often have special relationships with one another and school ties are often reinforced by marriage.

Like the democracy verses totalitarian theme of the 1920's and 1930's, today in Japan there seems to be a conflict in a society which is both group oriented and highly competitive. The conflict is manifested in relationships many young and bright college students adopt when they enter into a business firm. They may compete (on a friendly basis) with men in their own age bracket, but never compete with men who are older. This "unwritten law," virtually assures a worker of reaching middle management, and in addition, assures him of never being passed over for a younger man. In a sense there remains at least a vestage, of the old Confucian ethic in Japanese business today.

One of the least attractive aspects of a fully Integrated Society in America today, is a Death of a Salesman Syndrome, where at anytime, one can be fired, or passed over, for a more

90 Crowley, Modern East Asia, p. 328
important position. What has emerged in Japan, is an almost paternalistic relationship between employer and employee. One hardly finds individuals quitting a job or being fired. Perhaps, as time passes, and identities become more amorphous, this arrangement will cease to exist. The geographical limitations of Japan, however, may prevent the high rate of physical mobility found in the United States.

A general political consensus, as a criteria for Phase II, still eluded the Japanese. Scholars such as Reischauer felt, however, that:

A Consensus that would envelop both parties is still distant, but less so than in the 1950's. The right-wing socialists are closer to liberal elements in the conservative party than to the socialist extreme left. If these convergent trends continue, there may then emerge, a political consensus which would undergird Japan's parliamentary structure, strengthening it for future trials. 91

However, Japan is still considered by many to have a one and one-half party system (the one-half party being the Socialists). Until the Socialists can come to power, and in turn lose an election back to the Liberal Democratic Party, there will not be true political consensus in Japan.

An additional prerequisite for an Integrated Society, is that social classes should be flexible enough to allow for social mobility. Besides Black, sociologists such as Seymour Lispet, have concluded that high industrialization yields a high rate

91 Reischauer, The Modern Transformation, p. 842
of social mobility in any country, regardless of its political institutions, historical background, or value orientation.\textsuperscript{92} Japan is no exception; it becomes very clear that the rate of mobility in Japanese society is not very different from that of such "advanced" countries as the United States, England, Germany and Sweden. For example, almost one-half of Tokyo marriages cross class boundaries.

Another significant aspect of social mobility in an \textit{Integrated Society}, is the rate of occupational succession to be very low. "Only fifteen percent of those polled are now engaged in the same occupation as their fathers."\textsuperscript{93} There is one trend worth noting: sons are somewhat more likely to be mobile if their fathers are in small enterprises, and less likely to be mobile if their fathers are in large enterprises.

Although Japan is now clearly entrenched in the fourth Phase of modernization, there are still serious questions which, at this time, go unanswered. Many, however, will be answered in this decade. Will Japan's economic growth continue at such an accelerated rate? Will other objectives, both domestic and foreign, become more important than economic growth? How will the Japanese Diet react to a socialist majority within a constitutional framework?


\textsuperscript{93}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 85
There are some educational guesses that can be posited. In the economic sphere, Japan will become more concerned with natural resources, housing, roads, sewage and other public services. The question of international political power, however, is a more difficult question to answer. Today, Japan possesses a disproportionately low amount of international political power, as compared to her enormous economic role in the world. She has welcomed this role in the 1950's and 1960's and has allowed America to carry her military burden. Many of the young people, however, are itching for power again; how this development is to be interpreted, is for time to answer.

Hugh T. Patrick stated: "the extremely strong pacifist feeling, a continuing consequence of World War II, remains an important factor, though apparently affecting the young postwar generation less than the generation that directly experienced the war."\textsuperscript{94} These and other questions make Japan an interesting and significant country to observe in the coming decade.

**CHINA: Phase IV**

There is no Phase IV for China, at least not yet. However, there are serious questions that have to be asked about the future of the People's Republic of China.

\textsuperscript{94}Crowley, *Modern East Asia*, p. 334
One of the unfailing signs of Phase IV, is the institutionalization of power through bureaucratization. For more than twenty-two years, Communist China has known only one leader: Mao Tse-tung. What will occur after he passes from the scene? Will the Communists produce a colorless tandem, as did the Soviet Union, after the ouster of Khrushchev; or will there be another struggle for power? The last decade has seen the pendulum swing to and fro, from moderation to radicalism and back again. Has this new detente with the United States signaled the beginning of a new era in Chinese foreign relations, or will China revert to the Middle Kingdom syndrome, which has characterized much of her foreign relations?

Less dramatic, but as important, is the question of demography and agricultural production. Can China control her birth rate, (does she want to)? Can she continue to feed 800,000,000 people without a quest for Lsembentraum? Will the Chinese continue to foster in the people, a sense of external crisis, be it against the United States or the Soviet Union, in order to prevent factionalism in the army?

Many scholars feel that her awesome internal economic and political problems will prevent her from having any significant impact on world affairs for a long time to come.
One word of caution, China's rhetoric and actions, have been worlds apart. She had for the most part, acted prudently in both her foreign and domestic sectors since 1949. There is no reason to expect a major upheaval at this time, in her quest for modernity.
CHAPTER V

Summary and Implications of the Study

Throughout this study, the investigator has pursued the question of whether a viable guide to curricula evaluation and organization within the area of Asian Studies education could be fashioned. The need for reform in existing Asian Studies curricula are many. For the purpose of this study however, the following problem areas were pursued:

1. The general sequence of curricula offerings in the social studies has changed little since the recommendations of the Committee on Social Studies, in 1916. Since that date, however, there have been considerable developments of new curricula offerings in the field of Asian Studies education.

2. With changing American attitudes toward East Asia, the social studies curriculum may expect to be influenced by this change in American foreign policy. However, the social studies sequence in most states is so entrenched, one may expect that Asian Studies will be infused into existing courses, rather than becoming the focus for required coursework.

3. The selection of content for East Asian studies is likely to continue to reflect a "pragmatic motive" for some years to come. There is some indication, however, that the trend is weakening. New Projects are beginning to orient themselves toward a humanities approach.
4. Effective communication between social studies teachers and Asianists has been thwarted by a duality of purpose with regard to curriculum arrangement, need for inquiry, and focus.

5. A paradigm for alleviating one aspect of the curricula problems in Asian Studies was created as an outgrowth of the study. The primary objectives of the study were to create a diagnostic tool for examining existing curricula projects, and to develop a model for the arrangement of content within an Asian Studies course, which: (a) is designed to be conducive to concept learning; (b) draws upon data from several of the social sciences; (c) is based on a philosophical logical design; (d) is fluid and dynamic in nature, and; (e) will remain aloof from everchanging views of East Asia, which, in the past have adversely affected the development of objective curricula materials in Asian Studies.

Essentially, the evaluative tool in Chapter III, raises a series of questions to which all curricula projects must answer. Although there was no attempt to rank each investigative instrument, there is a point at which the evaluator and the reader must indicate that a particular project is essentially appropriate or inappropriate for the needs of our young people.

The essence of Chapter IV was to apply a comparative concept to Asian Studies education, which was fluid in nature and would raise questions that were not attended to in Chapter III.
Because the model adapted for use is universalistic rather than particularistic with regard to inquiry, the questions it poses, rather than the answers it gives, become the main thrust of the study.

The purpose at the initial stage of the study was to identify questions in an instrument designed to evaluate existing curricula material and the arrangement of content within Asian Studies. While a model for one aspect of curricula reform was developed, it raised fresh questions for further examination and field testing.

Given the scope of the study under investigation here, the major implications are most clearly delineated when subdivided into further categories. Four categories serve this purpose:

1. **Curriculum Planning:** On the bases of the time and effort involved in uncovering the instruments for evaluation, along with the selection of a model for content arrangement, it becomes clear that the construction of a model-based curriculum requires a considerable expenditure of time and effort. It would seem evident that the services of curriculum specialists, Asianists, social studies educators, and students would be needed.

2. **The Role of Asianists and Educators:** Understanding full well, the difficulty of bringing together such a diverse group
of professionals for any extended time period, high schools, like universities should be encouraged to develop representative offerings in at least one area study. In the case of central high school districts, students should be encouraged to take area studies courses at another high school, for credit. Additionally, these area studies courses should not be limited to the "elite" segment of the student population; such studies have important implications for all students in promoting empathic understanding and self-awareness, and are adaptable to a wide range of educational objectives.

In order to implement these objectives, local colleges should service several schools in the surrounding areas on a curricular and extra-curricular basis. In addition, these colleges should make it possible for "exceptional" students to enroll in area studies courses at the college level.

3. The Role of Methodology: A curriculum implies a methodology, and although there is no consensus at the present time that inquiry should permeate the curriculum, it is generally agreed that at least it should play a central role. It is assumed that in order to go beyond the traditional transmission of knowledge, a conceptual framework should be developed. As stated in the Summary of the New York State Conference, delineated earlier in the Review of the Literature:

The underlying assumption for the promotion of thinking skills as a rationale for teaching about Asia is that the central function of the
school is to assist children to become rational members of a pluralistic society. A rational person was defined as, 'one who can think for himself, one who can use the methods of disciplined inquiry to explore concepts in the various domains of knowledge and the world around him.'

If we are to be true to the need for inquiry, then content must be stated in terms of problem-orientation rather than in terms of area-orientation. We must not become so entrenched in our own field of specialization as to lose sight of the significance of content which is to act as a vehicle for inquiry.

4. The Role of Materials: As curriculum implies methodology; methodology also implies materials. There can be, of course, no one answer to the question of materials. This investigator's particular bias is that there has already been enough written on East Asian studies. This writer is also convinced that, in Ross Mooney's language, teachers have more to gain from being producers rather than consumers of curriculum. However, one must acknowledge that the lack of time and training precludes any significant amount of curricula materials eminating from social studies teachers without significantly reduced classroom loads and released time in which to investigate curricula offerings.

Therefore, one must assume, that for sometime to come, most Asian Studies materials will be, in one way or another, packaged for "teacher-proof" consumption.

The Asian Studies Inquiry Program, evaluated earlier in Chapter III, is the most ambitious curricular offering to date. Although, one must concede that it is better than anything we presently have, its methodological shortcomings, and lack of diverse multi-media approaches, does not place it in the category of similar projects developed in different disciplines. Specifically, The High School Geography Project, The Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, and Project Africa, have done a far better job than The Asian Studies Inquiry Program, in attending to the important questions being asked in social studies education today. Of the projects delineated here, Barry Beyer's Project Africa comes closest in format to the needs of Asian Studies in the secondary schools.

5. The Role of A Service Center: As Asian Studies begins to generate and discover more and more significant curricula materials, there will be an ever increasing need for a service center to disseminate that information. This service center should: (a) maintain an active file containing samples of materials on Asia; (b) produce a concise, but important, bibliographical listing of current curricula projects; (c) offer consultative services to local school districts, and
(d) critically analyze existing materials for potential classroom use.

6. **The Role of Evaluation:** Finally, action research through field tested projects, ought to be evaluated by an adversary team, as to the potential of any particular project. Idealistically, this evaluation should be undertaken by a diverse group of professional educators who have no stake in the outcome of a project's evaluation.

II 1. **Teacher Training:** Introducing area studies into the secondary schools cannot be achieved unless we have teachers adequately prepared for the task.

A. **Pre-service Preparation:** Professor Edwin Reischauer, of Harvard University, was quoted as saying that only three percent of graduates of our large universities elect to take a course on Asia. Although the numbers may have increased substantially in the past few years, we can be relatively assured, that a significant number of future teachers will have had little background in Asian Studies. It is unrealistic to assume that new certification requirements, (although many universities now specify a course or two in "Non-Western" Studies) will substantially upgrade the pre-service training of future teachers.

B. **In-service Preparation:** It would seem, therefore, that in-service preparation, would be the best vehicle for re-training social studies teachers. There are a wide variety of
approaches to this question. In general, however, it has been conceded that short in-service workshops, after school curriculum development, lecture-dominated symposia, do not do an adequate job of retraining social studies teachers. Perhaps the overriding explanation for the failure of these approaches is that teachers are told they "ought to teach inductively," but are taught in an expository fashion.

C. Institutes: The most realistic possibilities for in-service training eminates from the National Defense Education Act (title XI) institutes. They remain a realistic possibility because they are adequately funded, pay the participant a significant amount of money, usually give graduate credit to raise teacher's salaries, and usually are held in the summer.

If these institutes have not reached their full potential, it is certainly not because the proper social and economic environment was not created. Those institutes that have failed, did so because there was usually not adequate coordination between the Asian scholars, and the social studies educators. In a perverse way, new knowledge (facts) which come out of institutes, without a proper conceptual orientation, allow the teacher to be even more fact-oriented than he was before he participated in the institute. However, if educators are found, with a background in both Asian Studies and social studies education, the rewards could be enormous. Institutes
must emphasize the act of teaching (what goes on after materials have been disseminated). This writer would include Inter-action Analysis and Video-taping, as two necessary ingredients for a successful institute.

2. The Role of the Graduate Student: In trying to introduce new and exciting materials, into the classroom, many administrators have overlooked the graduate student as an important resource. Both at the consulting and teaching level, graduate students can add a measure of expertise, not found in most secondary schools.

III I. Administrative and Public Support: In order to introduce Asian Studies, in any significant way, into the public schools of the United States, there will have to be administrative and public support. Given the nature of Black Studies, Ecology, and Urban Problems, it would be a folly to suggest that Asian Studies is high on the priority list of needs for curricula support. In some way, with hard documentary evidence in hand, Asian Studies educators must convince Boards of Education and taxpayers of the need to "understand man in his global context."

Although the "pragmatic motive" analyzed earlier in Chapter II, is distasteful to most educators, it must be conceded, given the nature of the American population, that "knowing your enemy," is far more marketable than "knowing your neighbor."

IV I. Research: Although most of the literature has been in favor of discontinuing surveys which indicate the obvious, a
different kind of survey may have significant impact in understanding teacher attitudes toward area studies. In the past, surveys have focused on the obvious need for retraining social studies teachers, along with the inadequate treatment that the "Non-West" received in most public high schools in the United States.

Teachers generally give lip service to the humanistic objectives that we all espouse as world citizens. No survey, however, has ever asked teachers to: (a) choose their social studies methodology and (b) choose their emphasis in Asian Studies, (i.e., humanistic approach, a models approach, a problems approach, or a historical-political science approach). Once this choice is made, teachers could be asked to rate themes and concepts along a continuum, with the objective of reorganizing a curriculum. One might conjecture that many "humanistically oriented teachers" would revert back to a historical-political science framework. But there should be no guessing necessary, a survey of this sort, could go a long way in indicating what the gaps are between ideals and realities.

**Conclusion:**

In pursuing the initial problems and theses which motivated this study, it became clear that several alternatives to existing patterns of Asian Studies education were available to social studies educators and curriculum planners. Although each pattern has its shortcomings, no one alternative seemed
to fit the needs of all the objectives set down in the Review of the Literature. Only the need for a conceptual framework was an overarching consideration.

A prominent social studies educator, writing in a recently published Bulletin of the National Council for the Social Studies, delineated six major themes necessary for students in the modern world, to succeed as citizens. They were as follows: (1) Culture - the way of living which any society develops to meet its fundamental needs for survival and perpetuation of the species....² (2) Change - a neutral process, it may be "progress or decline" depending on the perspective of the observer. Contact between cultures or the interaction of new ideas or material goods within a culture often result in a modification of knowledge, attitudes, and skills of the people. (3) Dignity of Man - Students should become aware of the importance of the dignity of every other individual. (4) Empathy - the ability to understand others through being able to call out in one's self responses identical with, or similar to, the responses of others through one's own experience and behavior. (5) Historical method and Point of View - History is a process, a continuing development involving constant change. It is impossible to understand the world in which we live if we assume history to be a static body of

information neatly compiled for all times between the covers of a textbook. (6) Causation: students should realize first, cause and effects are rational; second cause and effect have the character of multiplicity.

This investigator asserts that he has attended to these six themes in this study. Although it is clearly a heuristic effort, it represents a significant first step in the funding of knowledge necessary for a more adequate Asian Studies component in the social studies curriculum.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Periodicals

Beckmann, George M. "Curricular Methods of Introducing Foreign Area Studies at the Undergraduate Level," The Educational Record, 47, No. 2. (Spring, 1966), 275-283.


Mehlinger, Howard. "Area Studies and the Secondary Schools." The Educational Record, 47, No. 2, (Spring, 1966) 244-253


Conferences

"Asian Studies in Ohio Secondary Education," Sponsored by the Association for Asian Studies, Samuel Chu, Chairman, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, October 12-13, 1970.

"Association for Asian Studies Panel on Asia in the Schools," Sponsored by the American Association for Asian Studies, Dr. Samuel Chu, Chairman, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, October 9-10, 1970.
