Educating Mongols and Making 'Citizens' of Manchukuo

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ABSTRACT

To control its new possessions Japan needed a mobilisation strategy of its own. In developing this strategy Japan placed great emphasis on education. The Japanese authorities saw education as tool for shaping society to serve their purposes and as part of their broader efforts to establish their dominance. This essay focuses on Japanese education policies towards the Mongols in Manchukuo. The Mongols of Manchukuo had a special place in Japanese policies in the new state. A clear Mongol political presence was essential to the Japanese construction of Manchukuo as a multi-ethnic state. The central problem for the Japanese was whether to make the Mongols of Manchukuo good and useful citizens of Manchukuo or whether to make them the spearhead of a larger Japanese orientated Mongol state north of China. Japan's education policies amongst the Mongols reflected these contradictory aspirations and therefore highlight Japan's general educational dilemmas in its Asian colonies.

Japan constructed its territorial empire in an age of political mobilisation. Nationalism and ideas of democracy had become powerful political forces around the world, including Eastern Asia. To control its new possessions, therefore, Japan needed a mobilisation strategy of its own, a strategy to harness the energies of its subject peoples for the war effort and to win their support or at least their acquiescence in Japan's dominance. In developing this strategy Japan placed great emphasis on education. From the Meiji restoration Japan had had decades of experience in using education to promote modernisation and to instil values of loyalty and submission in a people who were being asked to undertake new tasks and face new situations. Whether or not education actually underpinned the Meiji transformation of Japan, Japanese policy-makers were convinced of its value and they brought this conviction to their policy-making in the new regions.[1] The Japanese authorities saw education as a tool for making their

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subjects more useful to the imperial project and for generating loyalty to the greater Japanese empire.

The first region in which the Japanese attempted to develop an education system which was not aimed ultimately at the assimilation of subject peoples was the state of Manchukuo, founded by the Japanese Kwantung army in 1932. Whereas Japan's colonies, first Hokkaido and Ryûkyû and later Taiwan and Korea, experienced a deliberate programme of assimilation, Manchukuo was constructed ideologically as a partnership between five ethnic groups, at the time commonly referred to as 'five races', Japanese, Chinese, Mongol, Manchu and Korean. The aim of Japanese policy was to preserve these separate ethnic identities but to locate them within a new, constructed Manchukuo identity, and to place this whole complex within Japan's Greater East Asian empire. Japan's educational endeavour in Manchukuo, therefore, faced two challenges. First, the Japanese had to decide what role the people of Manchukuo would play in the broader empire in order to determine the kind of practical education to be provided. And second, Japan had to devise a means of encouraging appropriate kinds of loyalty at each of those three levels of identity – ethnic, Manchukuo and imperial. It did so, moreover, at a time when many kinds of national, ethnic and political consciousness had developed amongst its subject peoples, so that Japanese policies were always vulnerable to alteration or obstruction when they came to practical implementation.

The Mongols of Manchukuo had a special place in Japanese policies in the new state. They constituted the second largest ethnic group in Manchukuo after the Chinese.[2] And approximately 40% of Manchukuo consisted of Mongol lands still controlled by Mongol princes. A clear Mongol political presence was essential to the Japanese construction of Manchukuo as a multi-ethnic state. This need probably encouraged the Japanese to inflate their estimates of the number of Mongols in Manchukuo.[3] Second, by recognising the Mongols and Manchus as native or indigenous to the region, the Japanese could make clear the immigrant status of the state's Chinese majority and so refute China's claim to the region. During the decades preceding the creation of Manchukuo, the Mongols themselves had experienced a steady migration of Chinese settlers into their lands and an increasing intrusion by Chinese authorities into the traditional prerogatives of the Mongol princes. Acknowledgement of their indigenous status was welcomed by the Mongols in the context of this struggle. And third, the presence of large Mongol communities across the border in the Soviet-dominated Mongolian People's Republic and in central and western Inner Mongolia[4] – still formally ruled by China – gave the Mongols great strategic importance to the Japanese. The Mongols of those areas were useful in a geo-political sense as a wedge between Russia and China.

Japanese education policies for the Mongols, therefore, had three main purposes. First, they wanted to produce a generation of Mongols with a modern education which would fit them for taking part in building the state of Manchukuo

and later the Greater Japanese Empire. Second, they wanted to train Mongols in civic virtues appropriate to citizens of Manchukuo and to be obedient and pliant subjects. And third, they wanted the educational system to act as a showpiece, so that the Mongols outside the Japanese sphere might see Japanese presence as an attractive model for their own future.

Japan, however, faced serious problems in trying to shape the future by controlling the education of Mongols. Education became an arena within which different Japanese strategic interests competed for decisive influence. The central problem for the Japanese was whether to make the Mongols of Manchukuo good and useful citizens of Manchukuo or whether to make them the spearhead of a larger Japanese orientated Mongol state north of China. Japan's education policies amongst the Mongols reflected these contradictory aspirations. At the same time, because much of the implementation of Japanese educational policies at every level was in the hands of Mongol officials and teachers, those policies were open to being blocked by the Mongols or subverted to other ends. More broadly, many Mongols sought to play a subtle game of co-operating with the Japanese as far as it was consistent with what they saw as Mongol interests while simply failing to assist in other areas of Japanese policy.

THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERN EDUCATION

Formal education is a powerful agent for transmitting skills, values and social norms. In order to integrate Mongols into the new state and into the modern world in general, and to guide, restrain and control them efficiently, the Japanese needed to introduce a modern and universal education system. Japan's attempts to create a generation of Mongols with a modern education started immediately after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932.[5] The Japanese set up primary and secondary schools, conducted literacy classes, provided technical training in agriculture, animal husbandry, medicine and hygiene, industry and business. They established normal schools, girls' schools and a military academy. They also sent Mongolian students to Japan for further studies.

These educational opportunities were revolutionary in Mongolian society. Before the Japanese arrived, 95% of the population was reported to be illiterate,[6] and there was only a handful of private and public schools in the Mongol areas. Until the twentieth century, conventional schooling for Mongols had taken place mainly in private schools and Buddhist monasteries. Young boys who wanted to become lamas learned Tibetan, the language in which they recited the sutras. Only princes, young men who were destined for office positions in league and banner administrations, and the children of some well-off families attended private schools and learned Mongolian and Manchu languages.[7] The first public (non-private) school had been established by Prince Gungsangnorbu of Qarcin in 1903. He was inspired and encouraged by the promulgation of the new school

regulations of the Qing government in 1903 which abolished the old-fashioned civil service examination system or *Keju*. Gungsangnorbu visited Japan in 1903, invited a Japanese teacher to Mongolia and established two schools, one for girls and one for boys. He also sent the first Mongolian students to Japan a few years later.[8] After the fall of the Qing in 1911, the Chinese Republic introduced regulations to allow for comprehensive schools throughout China, including the Mongol lands, and in 1922 made further reforms to the educational system which encouraged the establishing of public schools.[9] Financial and practical matters, however, were left to each province and development was uneven. It was dependent on the provincial governors and, in the Mongol case, on the banner heads or princes. A small number of banners set up public schools with a handful of pupils. The most important school in this region was the Northeast Mongol Normal School (Dongbei Menggu shifan xuexiao) established in Mukden (today's Shenyang) by the initiative of a number of Mongol intellectuals such as Merse (Guo Daofu), Kesinge and Wang Zongluo in 1929. This school aimed to educate Mongol teachers who later would take up teaching positions in Mongol banners and leagues and promote wider Mongol education. Most of the students who graduated from this school became very nationalistic because the director, Merse, was a devoted nationalist and believed in the central importance of education for the future of the Mongol nation.[10] This school lasted in its original form for only three years and had an enrolment of about 200 Mongol students. As the Japanese occupied Manchuria, this school was renamed as the First Hsingan Normal School (*Xing'an diyi shifan xuexiao*).

In 1932, the Japanese Kwantung Army founded the state of Manchukuo and included the eastern Mongol regions into it. The authorities in the new state fully realised the importance of education in moulding the new nation. Manchukuo centralised its educational administration under the Education Department. Even private schools were brought under the strict control of the government.[11] However, the educational affairs of Mongols were largely left to the Hsingan Office (*Kôan kyoku*/*Kôan sôsho*), a special administration founded in 1932 with responsibility both for the administration of the four Hsingan provinces in the north and west and for Mongol affairs in the remainder of Manchukuo.[12] Through the Hsingan Office, large sections of Mongolian society had their first opportunity to receive a modern education. By 1933 there were 46 schools with a total of 2,501 pupils in the Hsingan provinces.[13] By the end of 1935, the number of schools had increased to 145 and the pupils to 8,110.[14] Six years later, in 1941, the school number had risen to 335 and the enrolment to 23,579.[15]

Hsingan Provinces	Schools	Pupils (Girls)	Teachers (Female)

East sub-province	Primary 7	516		14	
South sub-province	Primary 2	200		6	
	Private 14	231		14	
North sub-province	Primary 11	301	(99)	36	(2)
West sub-province	Primary 5	750		25	
	Girls 1	147		5	(3)
Hsingan bureau	Normal 1	120		12	
	Technical 1	100		12	
Total	**46**	**2501**	**(256)**	**126**	**(5)**

Table 1. Schools in Hsingan Provinces, 1933[16]

East Province	27	1953	62	
South Province	62	3518	109	
West Province	42	1923	73	
North Province	14	707	41	
Total	**145**	**8110**	**285**	

Table 2. Schools in Hsingan Provinces, 1935[17]

East Province	35	2,277	92	
South Province	236	17,223	389	
West Province	48	3,108	133	
North Province	15	971	49	
Total	**334**	**23,579**	**663**	

Table 3. Schools in Hsingan Provinces, 1941[18]

Type of School	**Schools**	**Pupils**	**(Girls)**	**Teachers**	**(Female)**
Kokumin gakkô (primary school)	201	23,742	(3,962)	567	(50)
Kokumin yûkyû gakkô	54	4,206	(231)	118	(3)

(advanced primary school)					
Kokumin gakusha (lower level post-primary school)	137	5,054	(706)	85	(1)
Kokumin gijuku (private school)	18	470	(50)	27	(9)
Kokumin kôtogakkô (middle school)	10	1,475	(137)	104	(2)
Shokugyô gakkô (secondary level vocational school)	2	142		13	
Shidô gakkô (normal school)	4	550		32	
Total 426	**33,637**	**(5,086)**	**946**	**(65)**	

Table 4. Mongolian Schools in December 1941[19]

During the period from 1932 to 1937, Japanese control of the Mongols, and the Manchukuo population in general, was rather loose. The Kwantung Army and civil officers (mainly members of the South Manchurian Railway Company) guided education policy from within (*naimen shidô*), but there was no influence from the metropolitan authorities. Part of the reason for this hands-off policy was that the Japanese wanted to preserve peace within the new established state and to avoid stirring up any antagonism towards Japanese dominance in Manchukuo. In addition, the Kwantung army had begun what it called 'cultural work' in the 'Northwest' (the northwestern provinces of China) and the western part of Inner Mongolia. This 'cultural work' included the sending of teachers, medical doctors and secret agents across the borders of Manchukuo into Chinese-dominated Mongol regions in order to win the sympathy of people there for the Japanese cause. In order to reinforce this programme of winning Mongol hearts and minds, the Japanese sought to present their policies towards the Mongols in Manchukuo as an attractive example of what other Mongols would experience if they too came into the Japanese orbit.

In 1937, however, a new school system was introduced. Control over educational affairs became more centralised and education officials were also sent directly from Tokyo.[20] The metropolitan officials felt superior to the local Japanese civil officials and conflicts emerged within the administration. Not only in education administrations, but in all kind of administrative sections, both in central or provincial governments, the number of Japanese advisors and em-

ployees increased steadily. For example, in 1934 the government of Manchukuo had 1, 587 administrative officers, 53% (835) of them were Japanese and 47% (752) non-Japanese. By 1940, the ratio of Japanese increased to 69% (1,628) out of a total 2,314.[21]The education of Mongols was taken out of the hands of the Hsingan Bureau and given to the Department of Education of Manchukuo (*Bunkyôbu*).[22] There seem to have been two reasons for this change. First, after having been engaged in building the new state for six years, the Japanese now wished to consolidate their authority. It had taken those six years, for instance, for the education authorities to commission and develop a set of textbooks for Manchukuo schools. Once the textbooks were ready, the authorities introduced them as a matter of course. Second, there was a broader political reason. By this time, the Japanese had developed a sphere of influence in central Inner Mongolia, where in 1937 the Mongolian Allied Leagues Autonomous Government was established under the leadership of Prince De.[23] Prince De's government was dominated by Mongols, but it ruled a substantial Chinese population, and it would have been natural for Prince De to seek to acquire the Mongol regions of Manchukuo. A shift of borders would have strengthened the Mongols numerically in Prince De's proto-state as well as helping to meet pan-Mongol aspirations. Central Inner Mongolia, however, was less securely attached to the Japanese empire than Manchukuo, and the loss of the Hsingan provinces would have seriously compromised Manchukuo's multi-ethnic character. The Japanese authorities in Manchukuo appear to have feared that the continuing separate status of the Mongols in Manchukuo might encourage them to contemplate a shift into Prince De's sphere. Despite their special status, the Mongols in Manchukuo were, after all, still a minority in a state dominated by the Japanese politically and by the Chinese demographically. The Japanese had also clashed with the Mongol princes in Manchukuo over the contentious issue of land ownership and they were aware that the discontent of the princes might lead them to look elsewhere. Furthermore, from 1937 the Japanese Army was engaged in its full-scale war in China. The Japanese prime minister Prince Konoe Fumimaru announced the formation of a New Order in Asia and all subjects of the Japanese empire were called to mobilise in its defence. In order to remove a possible basis for secessionism from Manchukuo, the Japanese apparently considered it wise to reduce the special status of the Mongols.

Modern education was undertaken in three fields: school education, social education and cultural work.[24] The state needed new institutions, new technologies and modern-minded government employees. Training these employees rapidly was the first and foremost goal of the Manchukuo education system. To this end, school education focused on the establishment of vocational schools[25] as post-primary (elementary) schools. Even the prime minister of Manchukuo asked the first study group of educators, sent to Japan in 1934, to pay special attention to vocational education. [26] In 1935 the Ministry of Mongolian Affairs

established training centres for industrial techniques in every Hsingan province in order to provide human resources for industry and trade. [27] In 1938, most of these centres were transformed into vocational schools for particular skills such as agriculture or industry. Social education involved the creation of educational and training centres, the holding of popular lectures and language courses, and the establishment of libraries and cinemas. The Kyôwakai (Concordia Association), to be discussed in greater detail below, was active in social education for both adults and children. It set up large numbers of youth centres and trained young people ideologically in 'state-building spirit' and physical training. 'Cultural work' included a vast range of activities, including the building of museums and the establishment of cultural centres for Mongols (*Môko Kaikan*) which provided cultural services for Mongols.

In order to quicken the pace of modern educational growth, teachers' training was also essential. In Japan as well as in Manchukuo, courses were initiated in order to train teachers for service in Mongolian schools.[28] The teachers from Japan varied both in qualification and occupation: they included graduate students, soldiers and priests. In Tokyo, three places were significant for people interested in going to Mongolia: the Mongolia studies section of the Foreign Studies Department of Tokyo University, the *Zenrin gakuen* (The Good Neighbourhood Academy) and the *Man-Mô gakkô* (Manchuria-Mongolia School) in Kanda.[29] The first priority of teacher training policy was to provide sufficient teachers to meet the needs of the public schools.

The tasks of state building demanded that Mongols be not only educated but also healthy. For this reason, the Manchukuo authorities also established girls' and nursery schools, as well as modern medical institutes. Girls were not only to be educated as obedient wives and good mothers, but also as the main mediators of modern hygiene. Since post-natal mortality was high, nurses and midwifes were urgently needed. Schools for nursery and midwifery were established and girls were sent to study at nursery schools in the other parts of Manchukuo and Japan.[30]

Schooling was the fundamental step for integrating Mongols into the industrialisation process in Manchukuo and thus into the larger Japanese economic zone.[31] Convincing the nomadic Mongols to accept public education and to adopt modern sciences was, however, not an easy task. This reluctance was partly because many Mongols, especially the monks, feared that the modern schools would alienate their children from traditional Mongol ways of life and religious beliefs. Similar apprehensions about the long-term effects of modern education emerged in Vietnam and in parts of Africa under French colonial administration[32] and amongst the Muslim elite in India in the early period of British domination.[33] But the most important reason for Mongol scepticism about modern education was a rather more simple fact: the land was sparsely populated.[34] If children were to attend school, they would have to leave their families at a very young age, and parents were generally reluctant to permit this. Even though the banner

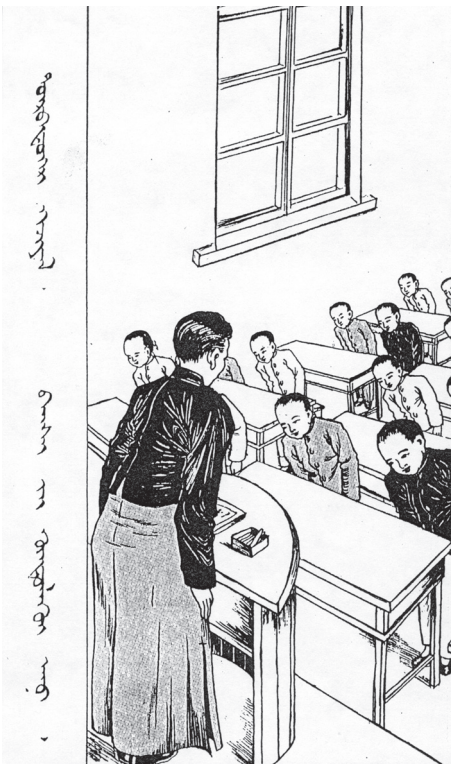

FIGURE 1. Illustration from a 1937 'Moral Education' textbook in Mongolian; 'Lesson four, honouring the teacher'

office paid for accommodation of students and for their food, clothing and even pens and notebooks, growth in the number of children at school was very slow to begin with.[35] In order to mobilise people to send their children to schools the authorities had to explain the advantages of education. Visual materials such as newspapers, films and pictures were used as vehicles. The Hsingan Office (or Department for Mongolian Affairs) initiated an education campaign to reduce illiteracy and enlighten the Mongolian populace.[36] Several Mongolian newspapers such as *Mongol setgül* (Mongolian Courier) and *Mongol sine setgül* (New Mongolian Courier) (1937) were circulated free of charge, providing news not only on politics and economics, but also on other practical topics such as modern hygiene, medicine and more. The weekly *Mongol sine setgül* was especially

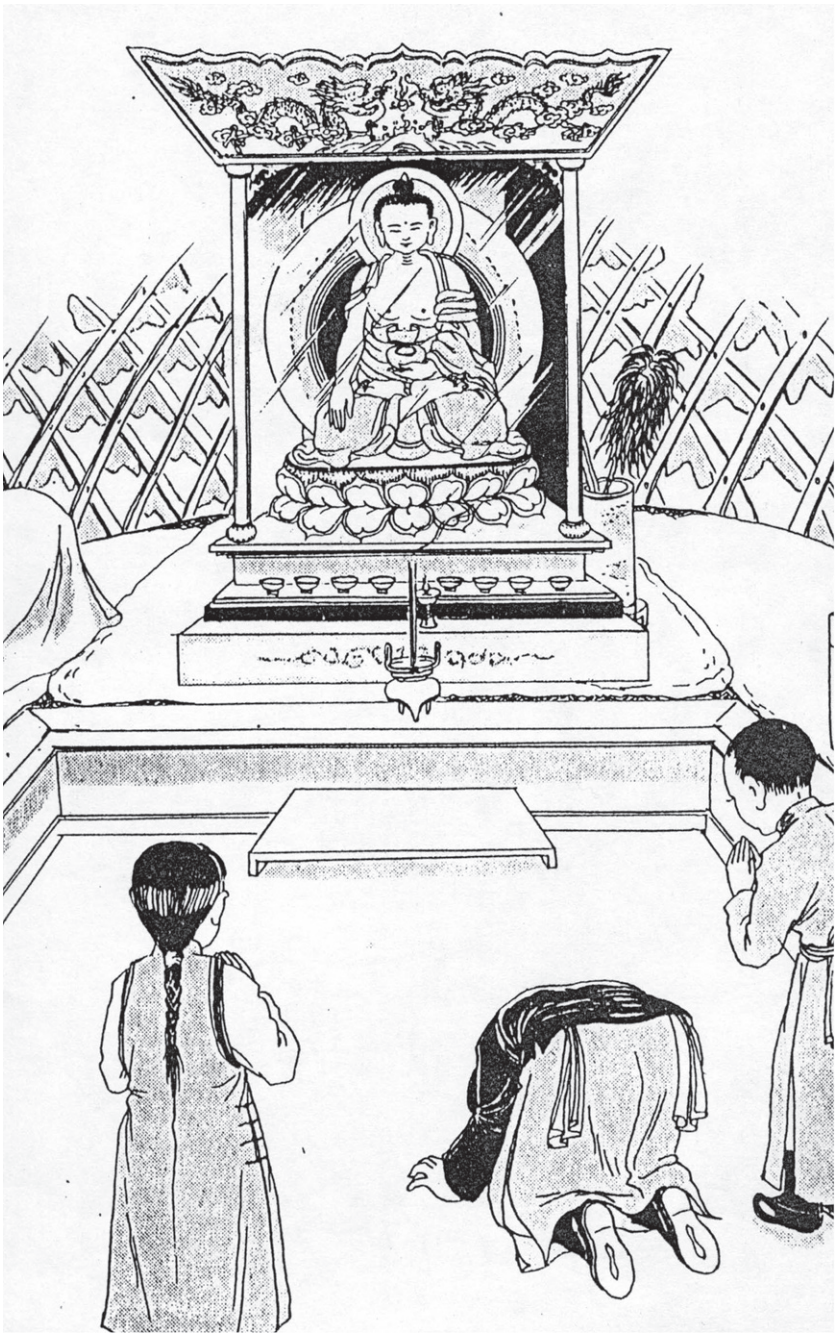

FIGURE 2. Another moral education textbook illustration ‘Worshiping the Buddha’

active in the campaign against illiteracy. It had a children's section consisting of drawings and texts that often juxtaposed the advantages of literacy with the disadvantages of illiteracy. Those who could read and write were praised and those who could not were scorned. For example, in issue no 197 (15 November 1940) children were shown enjoying reading, while a grown-up who could not read stood behind the children, depressed and annoyed. Another picture likened those who could not read to a blind man who cannot see which way to go.[37] Through the media, this kind of black-and-white 'literacy is good, illiteracy is bad' picture was created.

The best essays and drawings of school children were published in newspapers as good examples in order to encourage children to learn and to go to school. To the same purpose, competitions between Mongolian and Japanese schools were organised, and those who won were given awards. The model child presented in ethics lessons was one who never missed a day of school and always arrived on time. School textbooks introduced subjects such as the development and growth of economics, industry and technology in the new Manchukuon state, themes included 'mountains of corn and soybeans', 'high-flying aeroplane',

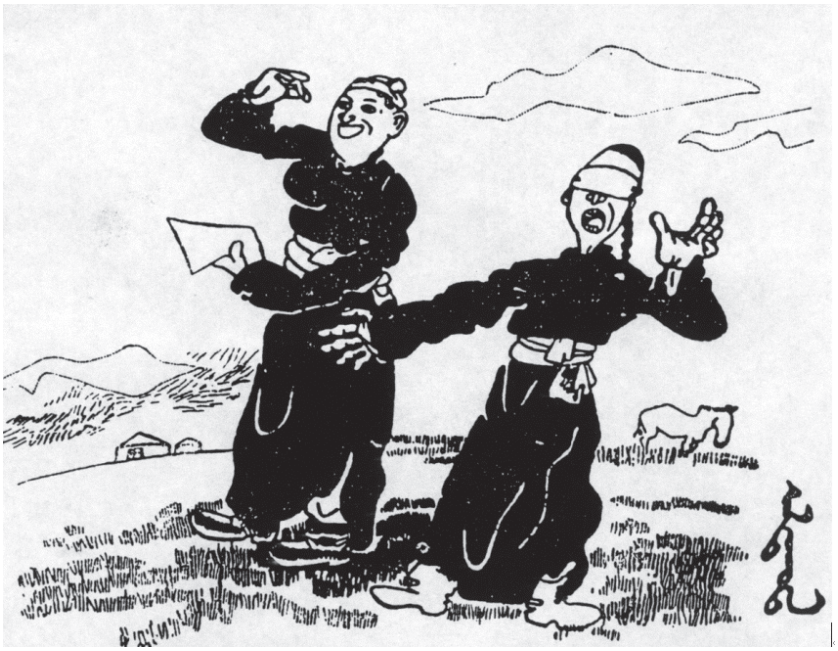

FIGURE 3. A cartoon from a contemporary Mongolian Newsletter, 'Those who cannot read are like the blind'

'fast-running train'. [38] In these ways, the necessity of an education was made known to the broader public. As Heissig observed, propaganda through media such as newspapers, radio and film was a crucial element for the transmission of education and for recreating a certain cultural mind-set among Mongols.[39] The spreading of education also centrally involved Mongol authorities and intellectuals. They generally had no great need for Japanese ideology in education, but the spread of modern education and raising the 'educational level' of the Mongols were also the aspirations of Mongol nationalist intellectuals. Indeed, for many Mongol intellectuals there were a number of positive aspects to the Japanese educational forms, particularly its discipline and access to 'modern' knowledge.

On the other hand, perhaps as a result of the commitment of Mongol intellectuals to their own agendas, the Japanese were ambivalent about the level of education they were prepared to provide to the Mongols. In 1933, the Kwantung Army stated a policy that 'in Mongolia higher education should not be provided except to high quality people. The schooling of the Mongols should be carried out within Manchukuo and Mongolia. Schooling in Japan should be limited to special cases'.[40] Apart from the Hsingan Academy, Hsingan Medicine Academy and Hsingan Military Academy there were hardly any higher educational institutions for Mongols in Manchukuo. There were a number of universities in Manchukuo, but none of them were established solely to serve Mongolian students. It is obvious that the Japanese had no intention of allowing other ethnic groups to achieve a status of equality with the Japanese in the co-prosperity sphere. Nevertheless, the special cases which the Kwantung army document referred to turned out to be rather numerous. Dozens of Mongolians went to Japan for training[41] and hundreds studied in higher education institutions in Manchukuo. [42] Some of these were directly sponsored by Japanese official bodies. Media and official statements openly described these young Mongols as the leaders of the future of Mongols, and Manchukuo as 'a member of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity'.[43]

A still larger number was funded by the Mongol princes with the aim of modernising Mongol society.[44] In 1939, the Mongol princes and leaders, mainly from Hsingan South and West provinces and other four banners in Manchukuo, established an Association for Mongolian Welfare (*Môko kôseikai*) and established two middle schools, several vocational schools, supporting primary education and sent students to Universities within Manchukuo and in Japan. Funding of 1,500,000 yuan per year came from the government as a compensation for the Mongol lands submitted to the government.[45] This association was incredibly active. It seems that the Mongol princes and leaders realised that they had almost entirely lost their land and 'special status', but they did not want to also lose their people, and desperately tried to educate as many of them as they could, as

quickly as possible. Their dream was to raise the general educational level of the Mongol population and hasten the day when they could be rid of both Chinese and Japanese direction. Apart from establishing schools and other cultural institutions, this association sent more than three hundreds Mongol students to the Universities and technical colleges in Manchukuo and about 200 students to Japanese Universities and middle schools, within only three years (between 1940 and 1942). [46]

No matter whether the students were sent or financed by Japanese or the Mongol authorities, they had the common aim or ideology – to contribute to the future of the Mongol people and their education. For example, Kesigtogtag, a Mongol who studied in Japan, stressed the importance of education for the Mongolian future. He wrote that the reason why Germany could recover from the defeat of the World War I and become a great power again was nothing other than the strength of their education system. In his opinion black Africans had been subject to slavery because they had had relatively little education.[47] Many of these students returned from the studies more strongly nationalistic than they had been before. As Kelly and Altbach have commented in relation to the European colonies, 'education became a route for developing incipient nationalism. Many among the colonised saw education as a way of learning new ways and developing new states free from colonial control'.[48] The fear that well-educated subjects would turn against them is reminiscent of Japanese educational policy in Korea. In a traveller's account the Koreans were likened to 'little worms, not at all rebellious', but the students who trained in Japan would become anti-Japanese and awaken the 'worm-like simple Koreans to dangerous causes'.[49]

In this way Japanese education policy towards the Mongols pointed in two contradictory directions: on the one hand they promoted their education so as to integrate them into the new state, but on the other hand they tried to limit the Mongols' education level so they would remain subjects that could be easily manipulated and controlled. It was rather a half-hearted attempt to educate.

SHAPING GOOD CITIZENS[50] AND CREATING NEW IDENTITY

The purpose of educating Mongols in modern knowledge was ultimately to create good and useful citizens for the new state and contribute to the greater Japanese empire. Good citizens should first of all understand the nature and 'spirit' of the state. Second, they should be loyal to the state and identify themselves with it.

The nature of the Manchukuon state reflected its local history and social structure. The Japanese Kwantung Army faced two problems in the formation of the new state and in justifying their action and presence in Manchuria: how to deal with increasing Chinese nationalism and how to overcome the reality of a population with an absolute Chinese majority. The Kingly Way doctrine of Chinese classical thought provided a good model to attract the conservative Chinese administrators and Manchu aristocrats. The diversity of ethnic groups and their conflicts with each other offered an opportunity for the idea of 'harmony of five races'. Therefore, the idea of a nation with five ethnic groups was a plausible alternative to Chinese nationalism in a region with a Chinese majority. They recognised the Manchus and Mongols as natives. The Mongols already had a political identity which the Japanese could not overlook if they wanted to compete with the Chinese. Calling Mongols and Manchus natives was the most useful element in constructing the idea that Manchuria was not Chinese. They admitted that many Chinese had settled in Manchuria centuries ago, but claimed that this did not mean they therefore had rights to land. Official documents stated that 'the independence of Manchukuo was brought about by a spontaneous movement of the Chinese inhabitants acting in concert with Manchu and Mongolian natives'.[51] The Japanese therefore put much effort into the construction of a Manchukuo identity and integrating the Mongols into it.

The doctrines of 'togetherness' and the 'harmony of five ethnic groups' were propagated as the foundational principles of Manchukuo. Political socialisation was needed in order to convince people of the validity of the new state with its motto of 'harmony'. Social and formal education were to inculcate these ideologies. In the field of social education, the Kyôwakai (Concordia Association) was extremely active. In fact this idea of the 'harmony of five races' originated from, and was propagated by, the Kyôwakai. This Association, which held the name Xiehe-hui (or Hsieh-ho Hui) in Chinese was founded just a few months after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. It was based on the Japanese Young Men's League in Manchuria, a mass organisation in the late 1920s which had dreamed of a new world order transcending the injustices and distortions of both capitalist imperialism[52] and communism. Building a new state based on ethnic harmony was their ideal, and the Kwantung Army adopted this as the ideology of Manchukuo. [53] It represented a good way to justify their presence as Japanese in Manchuria and to address ethnic conflicts there. At first the Kyôwakai attempted to stay true to its original ideal that 'Manchukuo should not be controlled by Japan, but be an independent state with racial harmony'.[54] However, as a result of the control and political agenda of the Kwantung army, the association's ideas and actions came to be filled with contradictions. In the end it became nothing more than a propaganda machine for the Kwantung Army.[55]

One of the most significant activities of Kyôwakai was the social education of young people. Backed by the Kwantung Army in 1936, Kyôwakai founded the Young Men's Training Centre (*Seinen kunrenjo*) and began the training of

young men between 16 and 19 years old from all of Manchukuo. Its main aims were giving the young men physical exercise and training them in anti-communist and anti-nationalist ideology and physical exercise. The training period was normally from two to three months.[56] During the prolonged war with China, Manchukuo was considered to be *Kôdo koppo kokka* (super-defence country), and this mobilisation of the whole nation and empire became even more crucial.[57] In order to accomplish the mobilisation efficiently the Kyôwakai organised youth and children groups, set up branches all over Manchukuo and expanded their activities even to very remote areas. By 1942, members of the groups numbered 1,170,000 boys and 170,000 girls. The groups were made up of Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Mongols, Russians and others.[58] In this way they aimed to spread their influence as far as possible and impress upon the population the ideology of the new state and their place within it as citizens. Moreover, these youths were taught to respect group discipline and ethnic harmony. The children were to be trained from an early age as super-loyal, model citizens. [59]

Good citizens would be loyal and obedient, diligent and uncomplaining. These were the values of subordination. No elections were held in Manchukuo and education was not geared to providing the knowledge and critical skills which might be needed for democratic participation. Individualism was presented as having 'reached a deadlock' and collectivism was stressed. Individual perfection was not seen as a base for social perfection, but 'individual perfection is obtained only through efforts made for social perfection'.[60] Moral education therefore appeared to be the best way to shape loyal model citizens. To establish a base for this moral education, the Japanese turned to Confucianism. In 1932, as soon as Manchukuo was established, the State Council announced that the curriculum of every school should embody the fundamental principles of Confucianism. The Council prescribed that the Chinese classic S*ishu Xiaojing* (Four Books of Filial Piety) could be used as a textbook for moral education, but that moral discipline textbooks containing the ideas of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) were to be eliminated immediately.[61] Publication of ideologically correct textbooks was the most crucial step in educating the good citizens of the modern state, because textbooks could present a world-view that was controlled by Japan. The Department of Mongolian Affairs published the Mongolian version of these moral textbooks in 1936. Moral discipline was a major part of the curriculum and was taught from the first to the tenth school year. It covered proper behaviour, respect for teachers and the elderly, loyalty to the empire and so forth.

The Japanese chose Confucianism for three reasons. First, they believed that Confucian ethics were universal principles shared by Japanese, Chinese and other Asians, and that they would therefore be easy to reinforce.[62] Second, Confucianism prescribes a hierarchical society with a strong emphasis on duty and subordination. This emphasis suited Japanese purposes and it would promote the ideology of the Kingly Way (*Wangdao*) which the Japanese presented

as the nature of the Manchukuon regime. Third, Confucianist teachings tended to inculcate simple aphorisms about human behaviour and to present virtuous models.[63] For presenting new ideas on behaviour to a population with little experience of education, the Confucianist approach seemed more likely to have an immediate effect than an approach which laid down, for instance, fundamental moral principles. In the moral textbooks for the lower grades, the authorities mainly presented pictures illustrating very basic points of social behaviour. For the higher grades the textbooks had long passages describing historical or legendary heroes, or self-sacrificial soldiers. These stories were used to provide exemplary models for the children to imitate.

The Mongolian version of the moral education textbooks closely followed the structure of the Chinese models. Both Chinese and Mongolian versions presented moral principles such as proper behaviour, respect for teachers and the elderly, discipline, loyalty to the empire and so on, but in the Mongolian version there was a clearly Mongolian context which made a subtle difference in social meaning.

They had almost the same contents and drawn motifs, but the backgrounds and clothes of the people were coloured according to the respective ethnicity. The textbooks added specifically Mongolian lessons and a smaller but distinctive role was given to traditional Mongolian culture. One lesson illustrated the worship of the Buddha, reflecting the central importance of Buddhism in Mongolian society.[64] Another gave instructions for honouring the memory of Chinggis Khan, [65] who was close to the heart of the Mongols and a symbol of Mongol identity. In moral education, therefore, Japanese policies pointed both to specific Mongol identity and to much broader ones. As soon as the Hsingan Office was established in 1932, an editorial commission for Mongolian textbooks was organised [66] in order to provide textbooks for the Mongol schools. Through textbooks, the children were to be trained ideologically and to be instilled with faith in the new state and nation.[67]

Alongside this effort to cultivate obedience, the Japanese also sought to inculcate values of loyalty to Manchukuo. Good citizens should, after all, recognise and understand the idea of the new state and participate in the state or state-building process. Education was the agent to diffuse this idea. As Hein and Selden put it, 'Schools and textbooks are important vehicles through which contemporary societies transmit ideas of citizenship and both the idealized past and the promised future of the community. They provide authoritative narratives of the nation, delimit proper behavior of citizens, and sketch the parameters of the national imagination.'[68] To make the idea of 'state' and 'nation' visual, for example, symbols of the new states – such as the flag of Manchukuo and modern buildings with broad avenues in the new capital – were drawn in textbooks. A kind of Manchukuo patriotism and a range of patriotic activities was generated: raising the flag every day in schools, writing patriotic songs and poetry. A school song was dedicated to 'the Manchukuo state-building' (*Manshûkoku kenkoku*

no uta).[69] There were two verses:

Delight and excitement echoing in tune,
Five-colour flag waving at this moment in time
The entire nation overwhelmed with joy
The peace of the Kingly Way, ah, a state (nation) is ready.

Hopeful and courageous, the power of the tune,
The base of Eden stabilised at this moment in time.
Within and without the country, filled with joy
Flourishing harmony, ah, a nation is ready.

For example, In *Manshû*,[70] a school textbook for Japanese pupils in Manchukuo, the two flags were illustrated with the text 'Standing side by side, receiving the morning sun, Japanese flag, Manchukuo flag, fluttering in the wind. Long live (*banzai)* Japan. Long live Manchukuo.' There were a lot of posters printed showing the happy life and uniqueness of Manchukuo. For instance, one of the many posters made by the Kyôwakai tried to picture the very ideal of the foundation of Manchukuo as imagined by the Association: at the top of the poster is the flag of Manchukuo, Pu Yi's photo was carried by the smiling masses, consisting of the five ethnic groups, at the sides of which there were two slogans in Chinese '*yonghu women de Manzhouguo*' (support our Manchukuo) and '*Zunjing women de wuseqi*' (Respect our five-colour flag).[71] The new patriotic concept 'our Manchukuo' was also introduced in Mongolian textbooks and newspapers as '*nanu manju ulus*'. The production of a new identification with Manchukuo for Mongols and the rest of the state's population was fully in process.

The outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 produced a fresh outburst of patriotic and imperial fervour in Japan, and this fervour was strongly reflected in Japanese policy in the colonial and occupied territories. Like the other peoples under Japanese influence, Mongols were mobilised to contribute to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Unity, responsibility, duty, sympathy and self-sacrifice on the part of citizens of Manchukuo were prominently propagated in newspapers and other media. Press reports illustrated discipline in meeting the hardships of a war which would create everlasting happiness. Developing the Mongols' political consciousness beyond the level of their own ethnic group was the final goal of the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo. Mongolian consciousness was to be broadened from the Hsingan provinces to Manchukuo and Mongols were to identify themselves with the new state. Later the frame was extended to include Japan and Greater East Asia. From 1942 geography, history and moral education were combined and a course *kenkoku seishin* ('State-building spirit') was introduced. In this 'State-building spirit' course, the idea of state-building was no longer limited to Manchukuo. The term '*naran manju xoyar ulus - nigen erdem, nigen setkil*' (Japan and Manchukuo, two nations – one soul, one

heart)[72], which resembled the British slogan during the Second World War 'One King, One Flag, one fleet, one empire',[73] appeared repeatedly in newspapers and school textbooks. The new state of Manchukuo was always represented as existing in an inseparable relationship with Japan and within the framework of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.[74] Thus, Japanese policy presented conflicting notions: one was an undefined Mongol identity, the other was the Mongols as citizens – subordinate people – of Manchukuo and subjects of the Japanese empire. The Japanese wanted to impose a multi-layered identity, but to produce one final loyalty: a loyalty to the Japanese emperor.

CONCLUSION: ILLUSION AND REALITY

In reality the Japanese attempt to create a model of harmony between ethnic groups in Manchukuo and a new national identity for its people, that is, an identity of Manchukuo encompassing Mongols, Chinese, Koreans, Manchus and Japanese, was unsuccessful. Aware of this reality in 1942 the Concordia Association suggested the establishment an institute for the research of ethnic 'problems'. The idea was to find an appropriate approach to policy by researching the mentality and customs of the different peoples in Manchukuo.[75] One of the reasons of their failure was that, apart from a few scholars and administrative officers, they could not escape from their own Japanese perspectives, a view of themselves as a superior and 'civilised' people. They made little effort to adapt themselves to local cultures. They also failed to generate popular loyalty to Manchukuo, to the Greater Japanese empire and emperor. Derek Heater has pointed out that 'a concentration of identity and loyalty on the nation-state is psychologically artificial'.[76] Although this statement refers to modern European citizenship, it well fits into our context here.

The Japanese efforts to socialise Mongols in patriotism, citizenship and morality through formal education was ineffective. This failure was partly caused by the contradictory aims of the Japanese in education. The Japanese wanted to produce a generation of Mongols with a 'modern' education which would fit them to their role in the state-building project of Manchukuo and later in the Greater Japanese empire, but they did not want to give Mongols all the opportunities that were available to Japanese. They hoped to engage the Mongols in the multi-ethnic state of Manchukuo and to have them contribute to the 'harmony' of that state, but they ultimately considered the Mongols, and the other groups of Manchukuo, to be second-class citizens, and they kept the different ethnic groups separated to Japan's own advantage. They wanted education to have a propaganda effect, so that the Mongols outside the Japanese sphere might see Japanese rule as an attractive model for their own future, but they did not want to give genuine support to Mongolian nationalism. Like many other colonial powers, they feared that educating their subjects too well would eventually

endanger their colonial rule.[77]

This contradiction in Japan's intentions, and the linking of a subordinated people with the dominant Japanese through education aroused opposition. Like the Chinese and Koreans, the Mongols – and particularly those young intellectuals trained in Japan – became increasingly nationalist and began preparing for the future of greater Mongolia. Their aspirations were apparent in the activities of the East Mongolian Autonomous Government which was established immediately after the fall of Manchukuo. This government sent emissaries to Outer Mongolia as well as to the western part of Inner Mongolia to discuss the common Mongolian future. Ultimately, for a number of reasons beyond their control the Pan-Mongolian dream turned out to be a short-lived one.

It is true that under the foreign domination schools were primarily designed to serve the needs of the colonisers. The aspirations of the colonised were for the most part ignored.[78] But this does not diminish the importance of the fact that the colonised also used them to advance their own ideals and cultural agenda. Mongol intellectuals and leaders had little choice but to accept Japan's modernisation programme in order to promote their own educational agendas. As in many other regions under Japan occupation, such as the Philippines and even independent Thailand, the local leadership tried to utilise the Japanese presence, as far as possible, for their own purposes.

NOTES

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[1] During the Meiji period the Japanese authorities implemented education in two tracks: one higher (elite) and one lower. In Korea and Taiwan they carried out the lower track (Tsurumi, 'Colonial education in Korea and Taiwan', in Myers and Peattie (eds), *The Japanese colonial empire, 1895–1945*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 275–311.

[2] The population statistics for Manchukuo vary greatly, especially in recording the size of the Mongol population. Estimates of the Mongol population in 1935 varied from 583,258 to 2,000,000 (Walther Heissig, *Das gelbe Vorfeld*, Heidelberg, 1941, p. 92). In 1938, the *Mongolia Chronicle* (Zenrinkyôkai, *Môko daikan*, Tokyo, 1942) estimated the Mongol population in Manchukuo at about 1,020,000. According to statistics compiled by the government in 1934, the entire population numbered 32,869,054, but unfortunately these figures did not distinguish between Mongols, Chinese and Manchus: foreigners numbered 77,545, Koreans 662,861, Japanese 76,429 and Chinese, Manchus and Mongols together 32,052, 219 (*Fifth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1936*, Dairen: The South Manchuria Railway, 1936).

[3] Heissig, *Das gelbe Vorfeld*, 1941, p. 92.

[4] During the 1930s and 1940s Inner Mongolia was divided into three parts: an eastern

region under Manchukuo, a central region pushing for independence or autonomy led by Prince De but under strong Japanese influence and a region in the far west which remained under the authority of the Chinese Kuomintang.

[5] Before 1932, there were a few individual attempts to help Mongolian children to get modern education, such as Sasame Tsuneo's efforts to bring a number of children to Japan and send them Japanese schools (see Zenrinkai, ed., *Zenrinkyôkaish*i, Tokyo, 1981, pp. 10–19).

[6] This figure may have been exaggerated to reflect well on Japanese achievements but it was probably not far from the truth. *Japan-Manchukuo Yearbook* 1937, pp. 976.

[7] *Neimenggu jiaoyu shizhi shiliao* 2, Hohhot, 1995, pp. 4–6. Some schools also provided arithmetic. In areas with mixed Chinese and Mongolian populations, Chinese and Mongolian children very often attended the same schools. These Mongols therefore learnt Chinese and became familiar with the Chinese classics (*Neimenggu jiaoyu shizhi shiliao* 1, Hohhot, 1995, pp. 52–67).

[8] Sechin Jagchid, *Essays in Mongolian Studies*, Monograph Series of the International Studies Brigham Young University, Provo, 1988, pp. 207–227.

[9] *Third Report on Progress in Manchuria 1907–32: The Twenty-fifth Anniversary Number Containing a Survey of the Manchuria Incident and League Council's Proceedings*, Dairen, 1932, p. 176.

[10] Renchimodeg, 'Shenyang dongbei Mengqi shifan xuexiao', *Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao*, no. 23, Hohhot, 1986, pp. 156–168.

[11] *Fourth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1934*, Dairen, 1934, p. 228.

[12] In 1934, the Office was renamed Department of Mongolian Affairs (*Môseibu*) and its responsibilities were expanded to cover also the Mongol banners that had been outside the four Hsingan provinces. These banners were called *Shengwai Mengqi* (Mongol banners outside the [Hsingan] provinces).

[13] See Table 1. In the summer of 1934, there were a total of 75 elementary and primary schools with 3588 pupils and 183 teachers altogether. (Xiangan zhonshu diaochake, *Xinxing de Xingansheng gaikuang*, 1934). Kokumuin bunkyôbu, *Manshû teikoku bunkyô nenkan*, 1934, pp. 1533–1534.

[14] See Table 2. Kokumuin bunkyôbu, *Daisanji Manshû teikoku bunkyô nenkan*, 1936, pp. 32–33

[15] This is the number of the Mongol schools in the four Hsingan provinces only. There were also Mongol schools in the other Mongol banners which were included in other provinces of Manchukuo after 1937. If we include the Mongol schools from these Mongol banners, the total number of Mongol schools was 426 in December 1941; for details see Table 4 (*Neimenggu jiaoyu shizhi shiliao* 2, pp. 32–39).

[16] Kokumuin bunkyôbu, 1934, pp. 1533–1534.

[17] Kokumuin bunkyôbu, 1936, pp. 32–33

[18] *Manchû jijô sôran. Kôan Môko*, 1943, cited in *Neimenggu jiaoyu shizhi shiliao* 2, 1995, pp. 32–39.

[19] *Manchû jijô sôran. Kôan Môko*, 1943.

[20] Nomura Akira, *'Manshû, Manshûkoku' kyôikushi kenkyû josetsu*, Tokyo, 1995, pp. 89–100.

[21] In the province governments the change was even more drastic. For example, in 1934, in Hsingan Provinces there were altogether 11 (9%) Japanese out of a total 127. However, by 1940 the ratio of the Japanese increased to 225 (72%) and the number of Mongolian officials dropped to 88 (28%). (Tsukase Susumu, *Manshûkoku Minzoku kyôwa no jitsuzô*,

Tokyo, 1998, pp. 43, 45).
[22] Zenrinkyôkai, *Môko daikan*, Tokyo, 1938, pp. 247.
[23] In 1939 this government was merged with the two Japanese-sponsored Chinese regimes of southern Chahar (*Chanan*) and Northern Shanxi (*Jinbei*) – both created by the Japanese Kwantung army in 1937 – to establish the Mongolia Allied Autonomous Government. Its name was changed to 'Mongolian Autonomous State' in 1941 (see Sechin Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince: The Life and Times of Demchugdongrob, 1902–1966*, Washington, 1999).
[24] *Fifth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1936*, Dairen, 1936, p. 133.
[25] The middle schools (*Kokumin kôtô gakkô*) with their 10 hours of theoretical and 12 hours of practical education per week also had very much the characters of vocational schools. Only exception was the Hsingan Academy in Wangyemiao, an institution which had the character of a military officer school. Its purpose was to educate Mongolian politicians and military officers for the future (see Walther Heissig, 'Der Mongolische Kulturwandel in den Hsingan-Provinzen Mandschukuos', *Asien Berichte*, vols.11/12, November 1941, p. 73).
[26] Erdemtu and Buyantogtaqu, *Bükekesig higet tekün-ü Mongol uta-gha-yin sorghal-un qural*, Hailar, 1993, pp. 128–129.
[27] *Neimenggu jiaoyu shizhi shiliao* 2, 1995, p. 43
[28] For example, in 1936, the Department for Mongolian Affairs (*Môseibu*) created a teacher-training body to organise courses for primary school teachers. These courses were normally two months in length and 40 or 50 teachers were assembled to take part each time.
[29] Zenrinkai ed. *Zenrin kyôkaishi*, 1981.
[30] Mômin kôsei-kai, *Mômin kôsei-kai ryûgaku-sei kaihô*, no 2, 1943, pp. 14–15.
[31] Walther Heissig, 'Der Mongolische Kulturwandel in den Hsingan-Provinzen Mandschukuos', *Asien Berichte*, Wien and Peking, November 1941, vols.11/12, pp. 78–79.
[32] See Mahomed Lamine Touré, 'Colonial and Post-Coloniam Education Policies in Francophone Africa. Concept Images from Senegal, Côte d' Ivore and Guinea', http://www.einaudi.cornell.edu/Africa/Notes/oct96/octl.html.
[33] Kelly and Altbach, 'Introduction', *Education and Colonialism*, New York, 1978, p. 18.
[34] In 1932, it was estimated the average population per square mile in the Mongol provinces was 6, in Manchukuo as a whole was 56, in Japan 443 and the United States 40.5 (*Fourth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1934*, Dairen, 1934, p. 13).
[35] The aforementioned Prince Gungsangnorbu faced the same problem. In order to convince people to send their children to the public school he set up, he had to present his own sister as a model who joined the school.
[36] In the western part of Inner Mongolia, too, the government set up campaigns against illiteracy under the slogan 'Literacy is a necessity of life and a base for the improvement of living'. (*Môko*, Vol. 8, no 10, 1941)
[37] *Keküt-ün sine setkül*, no 94, cited in Heissig, 'Der Mongolische Kulturwandel', *Asian Bericht*, Vols. 11–12 (November 1941), pp. 77–78.
[38] For example see Mongghol jasag-yun jurghan, *Mongghol utq-a-yin surghaqu bicig*, 1935.
[39] Heissig, 'Der Mongolische Kulturwandel', *Asian Bericht*, Vol. 9 (March 1941), p. 24.
[40] Uchida Yûshirô, *Uchi-Môko jichi undô*, Dazaifu, 1984, p. 355.

[41]The sending of Mongolian students to Japan started quite soon after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. In September 1936 the Department of Education and the Department of Mongolian affairs (*Môseibu*) released an act regarding the sending of students to Japan aimed at controlling the students. The minister of the Department of Mongolian Affairs or the head of the Department of Education had the right to recall students from Japan if he found that the students did not behave or were not devoted to their study. Students were under the instruction of the Manchukuo ambassador extraordinary in Japan.

[42] Sending Mongolian students to universities or middle schools in Manchukuo was called *Kokunai ryûgaku* (studying domestically) and sending to Japan was referred to as *Kokugai ryûgaku* (studying abroad).

[43] *Môminkôseikai kaihô* no. 2, 1943, p.119.

[44] The pattern of financial support for these students abroad fell into four categories: financing by the government of Manchukuo, by the Japanese foreign ministry, by the Mongolian provincial governments and self-financing (Zenrinkyôdai, *Môko daikan*, 1942, p. 316).

[45]The background to how the funds came from was a very sad story for Mongols, especially for the princes. As I mentioned in the introduction, the Mongol princes controlled the land of Mongol regions, even the land inhabited mainly Chinese settlers. The Chinese settlers had to pay land tax. In order to centralise its control the authorities of Manchukuo forced the princes to cede their the land right to the state. But to help things run smoothly and to enable the Mongol princes to save face, they took a form that the princes submit their lands to the emperor by their own wish (*Mengdi pengshang*). The government promised to pay 3,000,000 yuan to the Mongol regions in return. Half of the money would be used for Mongol administration and the rest would be for the foundation, that is the Association of Mongolian Welfare (Secret document of the Hsingan Office no 111. Kôankyoku, *Kaihô Môchi hôjô kankei kiroku shûsei*, 1938, p.15).

[46] *Mômin kôseikai kaihô* no.3, 1944, pp. 115–123.

[47] Kesigtogtag, 'Kokka kyôiku to kyôikusha', *Mômin kôseikai ryûgakusei kaihô*, no.2, 1943, p. 73.

[48] Kelly and Altbach, 'Introduction', *Education and Colonialism*, New York: Longman, 1978, p.17.

[49]Tomoda Yoshitake, *Shina, Manshû, Chôsen ryokô: tobu tori monogatari*, Tokyo, 1930, cited in Sonia Ryang, *Japanese travellers' account to Korea*, p. 146.

[50] With the term 'citizens' I meant simply to describe the people who were educated within a certain ideology by the rulers for participation in state building. This has little to do with the Western liberal democratic term meaning individuals who have rights, duties, and responsibilities to influence the political decision-making. Japanese authorities in Manchukuo presented Manchukuo as a modern state with modern citizens, partly in order to get recognition of 'the youngest of the Oriental States' and partly to give the local people a sense of modernity. In fact they were subjects rather than citizens in the modern sense. The citizens of Manchukuo had enough duties in contributing to state building, but not very many civic rights and freedoms.

[51] *Fourth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1934*, Dairen, 1934, pp. 13–14.

[52]They were also against capital investment from Japan, based on their ideology of following neither communism nor capitalism. But in spring 1933, they accepted Japanese capital investment in Manchukuo and their ideals began to shake (Koyama Teichi, *Manshû kyôwakai on hatten*, Tokyo, 1941, p.39).

[53]The ideology of ethnic or racial harmony is very complex. It was not merely the Kwan-

tung Army's political slogan to incorporate Manchuria into the Japanese formal empire. The original idea sprung from its own opposite: the creation of a separate or independent Manchuria. Many Japanese youth, especially from the non-privileged social class, who settled in Manchuria after 1906, felt that they were 'step-children' of Japan and wanted to make their own home in Manchuria. See Hirano Ken'ichirô, 'State-Forging and Nation-Destroying: The Case of the Concordia Association of Manchukuo', *East Asian Cultural Studies*, vol. XXV, no. 1–4, 1986, p. 37; Gavin McCormack, 'Manchukuo: Constructing the Past', *East Asian History*, Vol. 2 (December 1991).

[54] Koyama, *Manshû kyôwakai on hatten*, 1941, p.39.

[55] To begin with Kyôwakai had the character of a political opposition party although it declared that it was not political organisation. Therefore the Kwantung Army suspected it of being a political organisation aiming to compete for political power. However, in 1936, the Army recognised its usefulness as a propaganda and indoctrination organisation. But it was still framed as a 'non-governmental, non-oppositional organisation, but a body of governmental spirit'. It was named the Imperial Manchu Concordia Association (Koyama, *Manshû kyôwakai on hatten*, 1941, pp. 54–55).

[56] Ômori Naoki, 'Shokuminchi shihai to seinen kyôiku', in *Nihon shakai kyôiku gakkai kiyô*, no. 28, 1991, pp. 90–100.

[57] In March 1941, Kyôwakai was restricted once again and was fully incorporated into the political and administration system of the government. The provincial governors and local administrators became the leaders of the Kyôwakai branches (Ibid, p. 64–65).

[58] By 1943, the association had 4,285,414 members: 345,647 Japanese, 3,702,647 Chinese, 195,580 Koreans, 39,268 Mongols, 5,453 Russians and 215 others (Manshû sangyô chôsakai ed. *Manshû kokusei shidô sôran*, 1943, cited from Tsukase Susumu, *Manshûkoku*, 1998, p.83).

[59] In 1938, the youth group (Sei'nendan) and the children's group (Shônendan) were established separately. However, in the following year they were combined and called the Concordia Youth and Children Groups (*Kyôwa seishônen dan*). By 1939 there were 2000 youth groups with 390,000 members and 1000 children's groups with 210,000 members. The age of the members ranged from 10 to 19 years and they came from all over Manchukuo, including the different ethnicities (Koyama, *Manshû kyôwakai on hatten*, 1941).

[60] Ibid, p. 3.

[61] In 1934, the authorities began planning new moral education textbooks based on selected materials of the Four Books (Minami Manshû tetsudô kabushiki kaisha keizai chôsabu, 1934, p. 52).

[62] Patricia Tsurumi, 'Colonial education in Korea and Taiwan', 1984, pp. 283–84.

[63] Børge Bakken, *The Exemplary Society*, Oxford, 2000, p. 169.

[64] The Chinese version of these textbooks for first and second year schools had 32 lessons in each textbook whereas the Mongolian version had two lessons more in each case. One of the two first-year lessons illustrated the worship of Buddha and the other demonstrated elementary knowledge of health and hygiene (Arad-un jasag-un jorgan, *Bey-e jasaquyi-gi sorghaqu bicig 2,* 1936, pp. 16–17: 56–57). One of the two extra lessons for the second year was about the Manchurian flag, and pointed out that the national flag was inviolable. The other instructed the children to remember and worship Chinggis Khan. Burning incense, fresh fruit, cheese and the like were offered in front of Chinggis Khan's portrait.

[65] Arad-un jasag-un jorgan, 1936, pp. 2–3; 12–13.

[66] According to the education year book of Manchukuo, it was established in 1934 (*Daisanji Manshû teikoku bunkyô nenkan*, Shinking, 1936, pp. 32–33).
[67] Until the introduction of the new school system in 1937, the government was not able to unify the series of schoolbooks all over the country. Many textbooks with different origins were used. For example, even schoolbooks published by the Chinese national government were in use. With the implementation of the new school system this diversity was ended, and schools were only allowed to use those textbooks published or censored by the government (*Nihongo kyôikushi kenkyûkai*, 1993, p. 11).
[68] Laura Hein and Mark Selden, *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States,* p.3.
[69] Minami Manshû kyôikukai kyôkasho hensanbu (ed.), *Manshû shôgakkô shôkashû*, Tokyo, 1973, p. 155.
[70] Published by the Education Ministry of Manchukuo in 1942.
[71] Reprinted in Kuboi Norio, *Nihon no senryaku sensô to Ajia no kodomo*, Tokyo: Akashoten, 1996.
[72] See Heissig November 1941, pp. 60–61.
[73] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 235.
[74] In middle schools, to begin with the course was called '*Kokumin dôtoku*' (National Virtue), but later changed to 'Nation building spirit', too (*Kenkoku kyôiku*, no 1. 1943, p. 19).
[75] Cited in Tsukase Susumu, *Manshûkoku: minzoku kyôwa no jitsuzô*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1998, p. 130.
[76] Derek Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, London and NY: Longman, 1990, p. 223.
[77] See for example, Hashimoto Fumihisa, *Tôa no tabi*, Sendai, 1923; Tomoda Yoshitake, *Shina, Manshû, Chôsen ryokô: tobu tori monogatari*, Tokyo, 1930.
[78] Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p. 3.

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