

**Post-Conflict Reconstruction of
Education and Peace Building:
Lessons from Okinawa's Experience**

March 2006

Japan International Cooperation Agency

Okinawa International Center

This report is based on the discussion and findings of the study group, organized by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The views expressed in this report are those of the members of the study committee and do not necessarily reflect the official views of JICA.

Throughout the report, Japanese personal names are transcribed in the order commonly used in Japan, i.e. family name first, followed by the personal name

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FOREWORD

Education is everyone's fundamental right, and the foundation for building a peaceful, stable society. Recognizing this, many countries of the world are working together with the aim of bringing universal basic education to developing countries by coordinating the efforts of governments in these countries with governmental aid programs of countries like Japan, international organizations, and NGOs.

However, at the present time, there is still a long way to go, as both "hard" and "soft" measures are obviously needed. In addition, the collapse of the East-West Cold War structure in the 1990s and the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 have led to regional conflicts in several countries, posing new threats to the spread of education. As we face a future when it might be insufficient to meet basic human needs, education has taken on new importance for its role in social integration; and finding an approach to "educational reconstruction" for nation-building after regional conflicts has become increasingly urgent.

Given these circumstances, we believe that lessons on critical issues for the reconstruction of education in post-conflict developing countries can be learned from examining Okinawa Prefecture's experience of post-conflict educational reconstruction and peace education. Okinawa experienced the devastation of a major ground battle in World War II that took one of every four lives in the prefecture. It is said that, for evacuees returning after the war ended, Okinawa looked from their ships to be beyond "burnt ruins" and to have become, literally, a barren wasteland. Thus, education in post-conflict Okinawa had to start from, literally, nothing.

This report compiles Okinawa's valuable experience and know-how acquired in overcoming these conditions through the cooperating efforts of government officials and local residents. With the increasing importance, noted above, of basic education and educational reconstruction for a nation's development, it seems especially timely to explore the possibilities for systematizing Okinawa's experience in educational reconstruction and peace education as well as for international cooperation that made the best use of Okinawa's special characteristics.

The research for this report was carried out under the supervision of Tsukayama Tomoyasu, chairman of the research committee for this project, who is also Managing Director of the Okinawa Foundation for International Exchange and the Development of Human Resources. Mr. Tsukayama served for many years at local education sites and in educational administration at the Okinawa Prefectural Government.

In addition, valuable contributions came from the advisory Research Committee that included educators and journalists who worked for post-conflict educational reconstruction, as well as specialists in international assistance for education to developing countries, in educational reconstruction, and in building peace. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to the managing director, to all members of the committee, and to the many people whose work made possible the completion of this report.

Finally, it is our hope that this report will be helpful for building education in developing countries, will serve to further exchanges between the people of these countries and Okinawa, and will encourage the widening of international cooperation.

March 2005
ARAI Hiroyuki
Director General
Okinawa International Center
Japan International Cooperation Agency

CHAIRMAN'S PREFACE

This report, which benefited from international cooperation, is based on the results of a study group's work over six months starting in October of 2004. The research presented makes us keenly aware that Okinawa's post-conflict educational reconstruction progressed along a steady course fully utilizing Okinawans' characteristic "flexibility with determination and strength;" and, that peace education, though it went through many changes, consolidated the Okinawan people's fervent hopes for peace. The report also demonstrates that Okinawa's experience can be highly instructive for developing countries today. In addition, it confirms that Okinawa has extensive human and organizational resources capable of enhancing international cooperation in education, though many still remain as untapped potential. For the future, we plan to share the results of this research throughout Japan, to strengthen the network of contacts among those who participated in it, and to maintain the cooperation of organizations and individuals who carried it out.

I want to emphasize that this cooperative work was done not only for the sake of developing countries. Through international cooperation, Okinawa greatly benefited by being itself reinvigorated and by gaining recognition around the world as a center for conveying the message of peace. I was much impressed to discover that looking for ways to assist developing countries has led to a reexamination of education in Okinawa, revealing previously unimagined advantages and possibilities.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to all those whose efforts made it possible to complete this research, along with my fervent hope that their work will advance international cooperation in Okinawa and expand the prefecture's role in international society.

March 2005

TSUKAYAMA Tomoyoshi

Executive Director

Okinawa International Exchange & Human Resources Development Foundation

**Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Education and Peace Building:
Lessons from Okinawa's Experience**

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RESEARCH PROJECT SUMMARY

1. Background and Purpose

(1) With the collapse of the East-West Cold War structure in the early 1990s, a new series of frequent regional conflicts erupted that included religious and ethnic confrontations, struggles over natural resources, and terrorism, all of which posed major obstacles for development and stability in developing countries. In these circumstances, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and other organizations are making major efforts to build peace by providing assistance for post-conflict reconstruction, for preventing future conflicts, and for sustaining development. There is growing recognition of the importance of post-conflict educational restoration for building peace and protecting human rights.

(2) In Okinawa's experience of a major land battle in World War II, the loss of human life was compounded by the devastation of basic social organization and industry. Although a fundamental reconstruction of education was vital for educating and training people to lead Okinawa's reconstruction and its future, the war had killed large numbers of teachers and destroyed many schools. In all of Japan only Okinawa has the distinct experience of foreign aid (and foreign rule) over a post-conflict period of twenty-seven years. Until now, the reconstruction of education in Okinawa has been studied from a historical perspective. In the future, it can be analyzed from the viewpoint of developmental assistance and peace-building that will provide lessons for the application of reconstruction aid today.

(3) Furthermore, from the experiences of wartime devastation and foreign rule came the Okinawan people's especially strong desire for peace as expressed in the construction of "Himeyuri Monument" and the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, the establishment of regular classes on peace in the schools, and the regular scheduling of such events appealing for peace as local peace festivals. This chapter analyzes the recording and transmission of war experiences in Okinawa and the practice of peace education and local activities appealing for peace; and, it examines the role of these activities in building peace.

(4) As noted above, this research project organizes the history of Okinawa's educational reconstruction by viewing development aid as a way to build peace, and subsequently offers suggestions for the application today of aid for reconstruction and educational development.

2. The Organization of the Report and a Summary of Its Content

The report is organized into four chapters which include an introduction (see Table of Contents). The introduction gives an overview of research objectives which are to compile basic information about Okinawa, to present a total picture of Okinawa's post-conflict reconstruction in education and in other fields, to explore ways in which lessons from this study can be applied to education in developing countries, and to survey the changing nature of international aid up to the present time.

Chapter 1 divides the process of Okinawa's post-conflict educational reconstruction into three periods. It discusses features which are characteristic of each period and which offer useful suggestions for developing countries.

Chapter 2 discusses how the practice of peace education became specialized in post-conflict Okinawa, its background, distinctive characteristics, and specific methods.

Chapter 3 presents analytical categories for applying Okinawa's experience of educational revival based on the discussion in Chapters 1 and 2. It also identifies features shared by Okinawa and, in particular, developing countries in the process of reconstruction, while examining the possibilities for Okinawa to assist such countries.

3. Committee Members

Committee Members

TSUKAYAMA Tomoyoshi	Executive Director, Okinawa International Exchange & Human Resources Development Foundation
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HOSHINO Toshiya	Professor, Osaka School of International Public Policy
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OGATA Yuka	Research Associate, Okinawa Peace Assistance Center

(Positions as of March, 2005)

4. Method of Report's Compilation

This report shows how education was promoted according to Okinawa's characteristic "flexibility with determination and strength" under powerful influences from other countries throughout the eras of the independent Ryukyu Kingdom and even after it. It is hoped that the report's compilation can be useful for aiding the reconstruction of developing countries.

The original essays for the report were written by the authors listed, and revised by the authors and compilers based on discussions among the researchers.

<u>Introductory Chapter</u>		
1	Outline of Okinawa's Post-conflict Reconstruction	TAKUSHI
2	International assistance for education in developing countries	YOKOZEKI and secretariat
	1. Issues of Education in Developing countries	
	2. The Historical Development of International Assistance for Education	
	3. Post-Conflict Development of Education	KOMATSU
<u>Chapter 1 Educational Reconstruction in Okinawa</u>		TAKUSHI
1-1	Phase I (1945-1951): Emergency Measures and Quantitative Improvement in Education	
1-2	Phase II (1952-1957): Designing Educational System	
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<u>Chapter 2 Peace Education in Okinawa</u>		TAKUSHI and OGATA
2-1	The People's Accounts of the Battle of Okinawa for Future Generations	
2-2	Putting Peace Education into Practice in the Schools	
2-3	How government and citizen groups make Okinawa a transmission center for peace ?	
<u>Chapter 3 Possibilities for Applying Okinawa's Experience on Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Education in Developing countries</u>		
3-1	A Summary of Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Education in Okinawa	UESUGI
3-2	Educational Reconstruction in Developing countries as Viewed from Okinawa's Experience	KOMATSU
3-3	International Assistance for Education from Okinawa: resources and possibilities	YOKOZEKI, UESUGI and secretariat

BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT OKINAWA

1. Distinctive natural and geological features

In all of Japan only Okinawa has the special characteristics of a separate island group with a subtropical climate. It has much in common with the island countries of the Pacific and Southeast Asia in fields ranging from agriculture to medical treatment.

(1) Location

The 160 islands of Okinawa (42 inhabited) extend 1,000 km east to west and 400 km north to south over a wide area of the ocean. Okinawa Prefecture has forty-nine self-governing communities including the capital city of Naha (as of April 1, 2005).

It is located approximately halfway between Kyushu and Taiwan. Inside a circle with its radius as the 1500 km between Naha and Tokyo are such major Asian capitals as Taipei, Shanghai, Seoul, and Manila. China, Southeast Asia, and Oceania are very nearby, so Okinawa is called Japan's southern gateway.

(2) Area

Okinawa Prefecture's total land area is 2,273.71 sq. km., approximately 0.6% of Japan's total. After Kagawa, Osaka, and Tokyo, it is the fourth smallest prefecture in the country.

(3) Climate

The climate is subtropical oceanic and the temperature is warm with a year-round average of 22.7 degrees centigrade. Okinawa is blessed with a rich natural environment where coral forms in the ocean and such rare species as the Pryer's woodpecker live. The average annual rainfall is approximately 2,037 mm, more than 26% higher than the average in Japan and comparatively higher than other local areas of the country.

2. Special historical and cultural characteristics

(1) Relations and trade with the countries of Southeast Asia

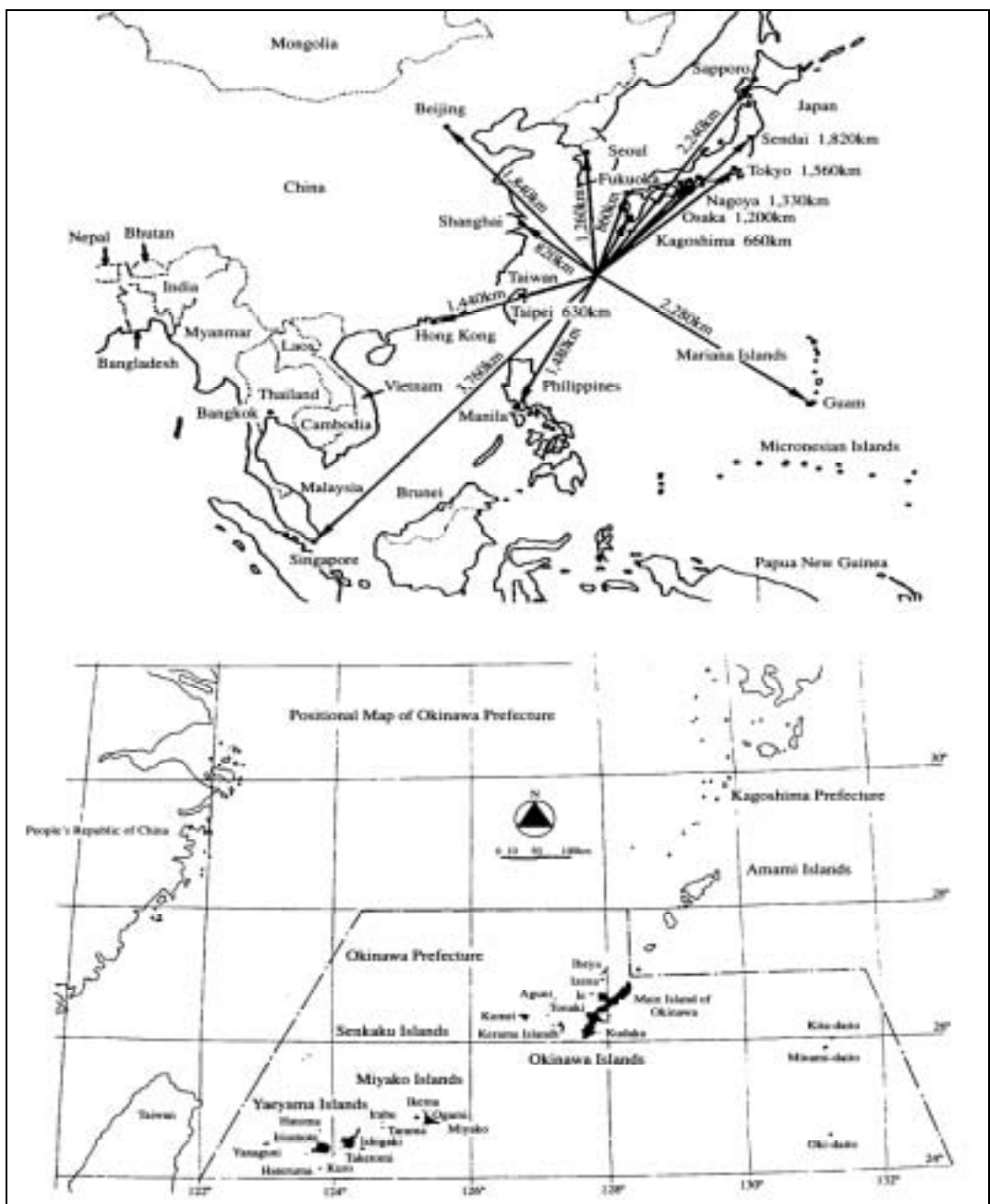
Since Okinawa is close geographically to China and the countries of Southeast Asia, diplomatic relations and trade flourished with them. Trade during the period of the Ryukyu Kingdom with Japan, China, Korea, Siam, Java, Sumatra, Annam and elsewhere brought many strong influences from other countries that are evident in the cultural legacy of Okinawa's distinctive

performing arts and historic relics. From this historical experience, Okinawa formed its distinctive culture by skillfully adopting aspects of Japanese and Southeast Asian culture.

(2) Defeat in war and U.S. rule

During World War II Okinawa was an area of Japan where a large-scale ground battle took the lives of many residents. After the war the United States military ruled Okinawa until reversion in 1972. In Japan it was treated administratively as a foreign country. Until reversion, the system of education was also influenced by the U.S. and developed special characteristics that made it different from education in Japan.

Figure 1 : The Position of Okinawa Prefecture



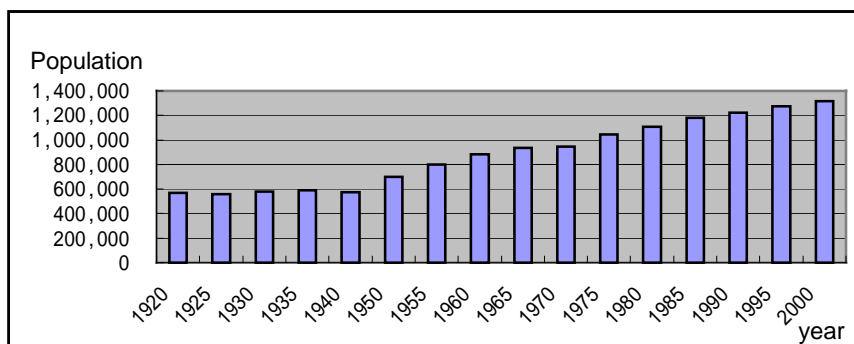
(3) Migration and emigration

Before and after the war many people emigrated overseas from Okinawa, especially to South America, and at present more than 300,000 people of Okinawan descent live abroad. Emigrants settled in their new localities where they built communities of ethnic Okinawans that maintained strong contacts with Okinawa, its culture and society.

3. Population

With the large number of overseas emigrants, the population of Okinawa before World War II rose and fell repeatedly around the 500,000 level. War-related deaths accounted for a sudden decrease just before and after the war ended, but the large number of returnees from overseas and a baby boom subsequently caused a sudden increase. After that, the ratio of increase has declined gradually, and in October of 2004 the population was approximately 1,357,000. 91% live on Okinawa Main Island, and are concentrated in the southern part which includes the capital city of Naha. A birth rate of 2.18% in 1972 has tended to decline and was 1.21% in 2003. The death rate has fluctuated in recent years around 0.6%.

Figure 2: Changes in the Total Population of Okinawa Prefecture



4. Economy and Industry

(1) Economy

During recent years Okinawa's economy fell into recession and low growth, but after reversion, with the expansion of public works projects and development of the tourist industry, growth has almost always exceeded the national average. On the one hand, the share of expenditures related to the U.S. military that used to dominate total prefectural income has declined since reversion, making for less dependence on a base economy. On the other hand, the share of public expenditures has increased, indicating a high dependence on government finances.

Table 1 Major Indexes of Okinawa and position in national level

prefecture's index	unit	Okinawa	rank	total Japan	surveyed
area	km ² sq.km.	2,272	44	377,887	Oct.10, '03
area of U.S. bases sq.km.	km ²	2,331	1	312.3	late Mar. '03
U.S. military installations	locations	37	1	135	late Mar. '03
population	thousands	1,349	32	127,619	Oct.1,'03
pop.density	persons per km	594	9	338	Oct.1,'03
births per 1000	persons	12.1	1	8.9	2003
deaths per 1000	persons	6.3	47	8.0	2003
natural increase	persons	5.9	1	0.9	2003
percentage of primary industries (of total production in Okinawa)	%	1.9	25	1.3	2001
percentage of secondary industries(of total production in Okinawa)	%	15.4	47	27.1	2001
(in manufacturing, percentage of above)	%	5.3	47	20.3	2001
(in construction)	%	9.8	5	6.6	2001
ratio of tertiary industries	%	87.0	2	76.6	2001
estimated value of farm production	100 millions of yen	931	33	89,011	2003
annual income per person	thousands of yen	2,057	47	2,971	2003
wholly unemployed(labor manpower survey)	%	7.6	-	4.7	2003
total salaries paid(average)	1000 yen per month	318	39	390	2003
paved streets and roads	%	46.1	5	25.2	Apr. 1, '03

Average individual annual incomes have increased year by year since reversion, but at 2,058,000 yen in 2001, they remain the lowest among Japan's 47 prefectures. Furthermore, they were only 71.4% of the national average in 2002.

(2) Industrial structure

Compared with Japan as a whole, Okinawa's primary industries account for 1.9% of the prefecture's production, surpassing the 1.3% for all of Japan. But secondary industries account for only 15.4%, which is 11.7% percentage points less than Japan's 27.1%. The percentage in manufacturing is especially low, only one-fourth of Japan's as a whole, indicating Okinawa Prefecture's weakness in material production capacity. At 87.0% its tertiary sector is 10.3 percentage points above the national average of 76.7%, a result of the large contributions of the tourist and information transmission industries.

References

- Okinawa Prefecture Development Planning Department, Planning Office (2005a), Conditions in Okinawa (A summary of the present state of the prefecture), Okinawa Prefecture: Okinawa, Japan
-(2005b) Outline of the Present State of Okinawa Prefecture, Okinawa Prefecture Development Planning Department: Okinawa, Japan

CHAPTER 1
Educational Reconstruction in Okinawa

CHAPTER 1 Educational Reconstruction in Okinawa

A number of special characteristics can be noted when looking back at post-conflict educational reconstruction in Okinawa.

First, reconstruction began relatively early. This can be attributed to the high level of concern about education among educators and parents. Records show that in 1954, nine years after the war ended, school attendance was 99%.¹¹

Second, one reason that high rates of school attendance were achieved in a short time after the war was that attendance rates had also been high previously, before and during the war. In Japan an educational system was established in 1872 (Meiji 5). Eight years later in Okinawa “educational modernization” was implemented, which was education that trained students in the language and customs of Japan. By 1884 the number of elementary schools in the prefecture had increased to 53, as schools were built in almost every local area, but school attendance rates were said to be low.¹² In 1884 the rate was only 2.4%, but increased to 92.8% by 1906. Reasons for this increase included (1) the awakening to a new age by the samurai class, (2) heightened awareness among the farming class that learning would improve their livelihoods, and (3) a reduction in taxes levied on the farming class.¹³ During the Taisho (1912-1926) and early Showa (1926-1989) Eras, middle and vocational schools were built, and a school of education was established for training teachers.

Third, although living under U.S. military rule, Okinawans adopted a policy from early on of implementing education with much the same regulations and content as in mainland Japan. Japan’s legal system did not extend to Okinawa; nor did its laws in administration, politics, the economy, or in many other areas. But, in the field of education, Okinawans applied the same regulations and systems as in Japan, and conducted teacher training exchanges with the mainland. In the 1960s, the Japanese government provided aid and planning for various aspects of education.

The effort to conduct education the same way as on the mainland derived in part from the enthusiasm of Okinawan educators. However, it can also be explained by a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the U.S. military for making the large budgetary expenditures required for education. For the U.S. military, the purpose of ruling Okinawa was to maintain its bases there. The military forcibly seized land to build military bases despite the strong opposition of local residents. In comparison, U.S. authorities did comparatively little to suppress the efforts of local educators, from the start of the occupation, to implement “education as Japanese citizens” for Okinawan children. However,

¹¹ According to “Ryukyu Seifu Yoran 1955”(Ryukyu Seifu Bunkyo-kyoku,1955), attendance at elementary schools, which was compulsory, was 99.48% in 1940 and 99.58% in 1954. It was 97.4 % at middle schools in 1954.

¹² Okinawa City Board of Education.(1990) p. 16 .

¹³ Okinawa City Board of Education.(1977) p. 16 .

later, when opposition to American military rule and demands for reversion grew among Okinawans, the U.S. military tightened suppression of teachers' organizations.

Fourth, as mentioned in the third point (above), many issues in post-conflict Okinawa involved disputes with the U.S. military. These included adoption of the Four Education Ordinances, establishment of teacher training exchanges with the mainland, and permission to receive monetary aid from the Japanese government, all of which had wide public support.¹⁴

The next section of Chapter 1, "Okinawa's Post-conflict Reconstruction," focuses on the period of U.S. military rule before reversion.

1-1 Phase I (1945-1951) : Emergency Measures and Quantitative Improvements in Education

The reconstruction of education began in some local areas even before the Battle of Okinawa ended, and schools opened soon after the battle. Even with virtually no buildings, facilities, equipment, or textbooks, by late April of 1946 (the year following the battle), 113 schools had opened on Okinawa Main Island and in the nearby islands with a total of 78,000 pupils and 1,173 teachers in response to the will and determination of parents, educators, and others concerned about education.¹⁵

This section describes the period of reconstruction from the chaos and devastation just after the battle until the signing of the Peace Treaty with Japan in 1952.

1-1-1 The Battle of Okinawa and Education

(1) Teacher and student brigades

The Battle of Okinawa, one of the most devastating for the Japanese and American militaries in World War II, was fought over a three month period after the U.S. military landed. Known as the "typhoon of steel," this battle took the lives of 12,500 American forces, 90,000 Japanese forces (including 28,000 conscripted into local defense corps), and more than 100,000 civilians who represented the largest number of victims.

Not only teachers, but also students, including those in their mid-teens, were drafted from their local schools for combat duty. Boys were assigned to units of the "Emperor's Blood and Iron Brigades" or "Communications Battalions," and girls to units of "Military Nurses." Shelling was so relentless during the three months of the Battle of Okinawa that it even changed the landscape. Furthermore, in order to delay a U.S. military landing on Japan's mainland, the Japanese military adopted the strategy of a protracted war of attrition, abandoning local residents in the midst of the

¹⁴ On these issues, see Section 1-2-3, "Formulating education laws", Section 1-3-1, "Enhancing teacher training" and Section 1-2-2, "Financing education".

¹⁵ Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education.(1997) p. 297.

heavy fighting without food or places to evacuate, resulting in large numbers of victims. Many local residents, including teachers, were drafted into the defense corps.

(2) War orphans

The tragic Battle of Okinawa that took so many lives ended in late June of 1945, but life was grueling for the survivors. The number of children orphaned by the battle has never been clearly determined. The U.S. military built more than ten refugee camps in Okinawa for sheltering children and elderly civilians without relatives to care for them. According to histories of child welfare in post-conflict Okinawa, these facilities accommodated approximately 1,000 orphans and children who had become separated from their parents,¹⁶ as well as about 400 elderly persons.

The first school to open after the battle, “The Ishikawa School,” will be discussed below, but of the 4500 students attending in September of 1945, 850 were war orphans.¹⁷ We now turn to the period beginning in 1947 when post-battle confusion was beginning to settle down, and the first post-conflict centralized civilian administrative body, called the “Okinawa Civil Government,” was established for the Okinawa island group. It consolidated facilities for orphans and the elderly who had been housed at scattered locations. In 1953, after the administration of Okinawa had been separated from the mainland, a special child welfare law was enacted and programs for the welfare of orphans were established.

1-1-2 United States Military Rule and Education

(1) US’s image toward Okinawa

In his book *America’s Okinawa Policy*,¹⁸ Miyazato Seigen writes of his impression when he started his research on *Okinawa that American Policy toward Okinawa* was one of “paternalism.” Paternalism is “the authority of a father over a child, or the feelings of superiority toward a person of lower status, who, nevertheless, is treated kindly.” A special feature of U.S. rule in Okinawa was that Americans saw Okinawans as the pitiable victims of Japanese imperialism and as a minority in Japan.

(2) Severance from Japan and residual sovereignty

When the occupation began, opinion was divided in the U.S. government over the rule of Okinawa. It wasn’t until a number of years after the war that a policy solidified for the long-term

¹⁶ The actual number of war orphans was far greater, but precise figures are not available. Because there is an especially strong sense of kinship and friendship in Okinawa, many war orphans lived with friends or relatives who took them in after the battle. Thus, they were not cared for in refugee camps.

¹⁷ Ryukyu Shimpō.(1998) p. 13.

¹⁸ Miyazato.(1986).

retention of Okinawa. The rise of communism with the founding of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War, along with deepening divisions in the Cold War, were strong factors motivating U.S. policy toward Japan and the establishment of long-term bases in Okinawa. According to the 1952 Peace Treaty with Japan, the United States alone held the right to rule Okinawa, but in consideration of relations with the Soviet Union and other nations, the American government recognized Japan's residual sovereignty there in order to disavow any territorial ambitions.

(3) Training personnel for military government

In 1944 the U.S. Navy Offices of Naval Operations and Strategic Services published "Civil Affairs Handbook--Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands" and "The Okinawans of the Loochoo Islands: a Japanese Minority Group" as guides for military government in Okinawa. Based on source materials for the years 1935-1940, they presented information about education that included school systems, content, names of schools, their locations, names of principals, numbers of teachers, numbers of students, and even salaries.¹⁹

After America rushed into the Pacific War, the U.S. Army and Navy set up courses for training military government personnel to organize civilian administration in occupied areas. Approximately 3800 military government personnel were assigned to Okinawa, including 630 Navy and Army officers, interpreters, and enlisted men as support troops in such fields as health care and sanitation.²⁰ These military government personnel were deeply involved in the restoration of civilian government in Okinawa. For example, Captain Willard Hanna, chief of the Education Department at Military Government headquarters, set up a textbook editing section²¹ that directed the writing of text materials which, instead of teaching militarism, were closely based on daily life. Mimeographed copies were produced and used as textbooks. In addition, responding to a teacher shortage, the Military Government founded an Okinawa School of Education²² to train teachers for new educational projects and facilities.

After that, most authority in the Military Government resided with the Tenth Army which had been the main invasion force in Okinawa. During the first phase of the occupation, a Military Government (M.G.) operated according to directives in a "Technical Bulletin," which also regulated most local civil affairs just after the war.

Only one in the 122 pages of written orders concerned education, but it stipulated prohibitions on such activities in prewar Japanese education as teaching nationalism and holding Shinto

¹⁹ Naha City Board of Education.(2000) p. 154.

²⁰ Okinawa Times.(1983).

²¹ See 1-1-4, "Compiling textbooks".

²² See 1-1-7, "Training teachers".

Ceremonies, and set a new educational policy in which boards of education were to be appointed locally from each district.²³

Such written documents and policies specified the following issues to be addressed by U.S. military rule of Okinawa in restarting education: (1) dividing Okinawans from Japanese; (2) prohibiting the teaching of prewar Japanese militarism; (3) democratizing education by implementing the school board system and other changes; (4) early restarting of education while people were still in refugee camps. On the other hand, the “Nimitz Proclamation,”²⁴ issued just after the U.S. military landed in Okinawa, declared that “current regulations are to remain in effect,” leaving a basis for applying the Japanese system when education started again after the battle. Later, by the time people moved from refugee camps back to their former places of residence, the U.S. military had established the Education Department in the Military Government, set up the textbook editing section, and begun formulating plans for education and designing the school system. The administrative rights for conducting school in refugee camps resided mostly with the Okinawa Education Department, comprised of civilian educators, and the Military Government’s policies were communicated through this department. In April of 1946, the Okinawa Civil Government, a civilian government which included the Education Department, started functioning. Also in April, the post-conflict educational system began operating with the issuance of an elementary education ordinance and implementation of the early post-conflict 8-4 system in the schools.

1-1-3 Restarting Education Amidst the Burnt Ruins

(1) The first post-conflict school: “The Ishikawa School”

After their April 1, 1945 landing in Okinawa Main Island, the U.S. military set up camps in local areas for combatants of the former Japanese military and separate camps for civilians where refugees were assembled. There were many children among the civilians, and in May of 1945 the Military Government issued an announcement urging that schools begin.

On May 7, 1945, an elementary school opened in the refugee camp at Ishikawa (presently Uruma City), located in the central part of Okinawa Main Island. This was barely one month after the U.S. landing. Fierce fighting was still spreading in the southern part of the island. On May 11 the U.S. military began a full-scale assault on Japanese military headquarters in the basement of Shuri Castle. After that, the Japanese headquarters command began a withdrawal to the south and,

²³ Naha City Board of Education.(2002) p. 154.

²⁴ This first proclamation of U.S. Naval Government declared that the Japanese government’s authority ceased in the occupied Southwestern Islands. It was named the “Nimitz Proclamation” after Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander of the occupation. He as now a military governor, who exercised all authority and administrative responsibility for the residents of the Southwestern Islands and in neighboring waters. It also declared that residents’ private property rights were to be respected and that existing laws were to be maintained, which meant that Japanese ordinances were still in effect under U.S. military rule.

considering that the Battle of Okinawa ended on June 23, it was a remarkably early time for the restarting of school.

The elementary school that opened in Ishikawa was first called “Ishikawa Elementary School.” In May of the following year, 1946, Principal Yamauchi Hanmo issued a “Report of conditions for the opening of school.”

Testimony 1-1 Principal Yamauchi Hanmo of the Ishikawa School

Until recently naive teachers taught children according to the nation’s wartime policy that the Americans and British were devil beasts. Frightened by rumors that the M.P.’s would investigate them, they frantically covered up this past history, and some hid in the attics of houses left standing in the burnt ruins. . . .

This was a big problem when Mr. Yamauchi began looking for professional teachers. He went with a Japanese American U.S. soldier to visit a woman teacher hiding in fear of the American military. “I guarantee your safety,” he told her, and brought her down from the attic . . . Fearing retaliation by the Japanese military, male teachers were persuaded that “You will not be educating American children, but protecting your own children.”

Teachers had children sing songs they knew, tell stories they’d heard, play games, do multiplication tables up to nine times nine, and practicing writing characters on the ground. . . . At times we had to run under trees to avoid shrapnel from cannons fired by U.S. warships at Japanese kamikaze planes attacking them.

Excerpted from Sone Shin’ ichi, “Account of the Ishikawa School, the first post-conflict school that opened while gunfire could still be heard,” “*Ryukyuan Culture*, Fifth issue.1974”

Conditions at the time are summarized below from a report published in *History of Post-conflict Education in Okinawa*

Number of pupils when school opened: fourth graders and below, 790 (395 boys, 395 girls)

Number of teachers: 20 (9 men, 11 women)

Equipment and supplies:

There were none of these--no school building, no textbooks, no school supplies, and no chairs or desks.

Conditions:

After school opened, more pupils attended as the number of refugees increased. In late June there were 1,617 boys and 1,127 girls for a total of 2,744. The number reached 4,500 in October when the first elementary sports meet was held with officials of the U.S. Military Government and associated persons attending. Teaching a huge group of 4500 in one place became very difficult, so branch schools were planned, and in October the students were divided into three

schools, two for elementary and one for secondary. Teachers “were paid in rice and canned goods,” and they received more than other civilians.²⁵

Conducting classes

When school first opened, the children’s faces were pale because of food shortages, so the curriculum was minimal. Japanese writing was limited to the two 50-character alphabets, katakana and hiragana. Math covered mental arithmetic and multiplication tables. Reading and writing of the roman alphabet was taught.

After the children gradually recovered their strength, classes concentrated on inculcating a sense of responsibility, kindness toward others, courtesy, and hygiene. Reports indicated that the U.S. military provided assistance for health examinations and small pox vaccinations, as well as for school supplies, including 300,000 sheets of paper, gym and baseball equipment, blackboards, and one organ.²⁶

(2) Schools open one after another

Having looked at conditions for the reopening of schools in Ishikawa, we now turn to conditions in other areas. The following example from Naha City is documented in Naha City’s history.

Naha City was Okinawa prefecture’s prewar capital, its most populous city, and the center of

Testimony 1-2 Recollections of Motomura Tsuru who worked as a teacher when Tsuboya Elementary School was founded

I was assigned to Tsuboya Elementary at the end of January 1951. There were about 150 pupils with a staff of 8, teachers and principal. We were paid in such U.S. military supplies as canned goods, bivouac mattresses, mosquito nets, and army fatigues. The free rations of food we got were never enough, though. So sometimes after class or on Sundays the M.P.’s would lead us out to the Mawashi or Haeburu areas to dig for sweet potatoes. Lying under thick growths of green vines were the white bones of corpses, places where we found lots of sweet potatoes. We gathered the harvest of sweet potatoes to store, and all the families were told about it. . .

In March, the schools received mimeographed teachers’ copies of textbooks, one for each grade. As I recall, they were for Japanese language and math. The first small-scale elementary school sports meet was held around that time. One U.S. military field-use fold-up organ was our only musical instrument, but, with each class using an empty fuel can as a drum, it was a lively occasion. When grade assignments were made in April, I was assigned to the fourth grade class. Teachers were paid in wages, and I remember that my first salary was 240 B-yen.

Motomura Tsuru, “From the Time Tsuboya Elementary School First Opened,” Naha City Educational Research Center, in “Post-conflict Education, Starting from Zero (1) 1988,” excerpted from *Bunka*, 1974, No. 5.

²⁵ Ryukyu Shimpo.(1988) p. 46.

²⁶ Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education.(1977) p. 8.

its commerce and government. In its Tsuboya district, where much of the land was seized for use by the American military, there were about 1,000 neighborhoods with many children, but the adults were so consumed with making a living from day to day and rebuilding their homes that they had little time for the children. Just after the defeat in war, unexploded shells were lying all around the district. "People agreed this was dangerous and something had to be done about it. At first the school was built as a place where someone could look after the children"²⁷.

Tsuboya Elementary School opened on January 27, 1946. This was the result of the strong desires of people in the community who were concerned about their childrens' safety and futures. There were 155 students and a staff of nine, one of whom had been an upper level student in middle school under the previous Japanese system. In April of that year the Tsuboya Kindergarten annex was built.²⁸

The number of pupils increased after people began moving in from northern Okinawa and returning as repatriates from the South Pacific. So in 1946, starting with Tsuboya Elementary, ten schools opened in Shuri, Oroku, Asato, and other locations. Two more schools opened the following year, 1947, six middle schools in 1948, and one more school opened in 1951.

By the end of the 1940s, it could be said that all of the education shut down during the war had been largely restarted.

(3) Reopening schools in northern Okinawa

Many people prominent in the education field before the war had evacuated to Nago in the northern part of Okinawa Main Island, so their leaders gathered in July of 1945 for an "education conference" held under U.S. military rule. At the conference it was affirmed that the basis of education from then on would be such values as "humanitarianism, morality, and respect for work," "education emphasizing the virtues of a shared human community."

The conference drew a public gathering of 400 people that resulted in the opening of an elementary school in the Taira district.²⁹ In July of 1945, American officers brought together the children of Sedaka district to announce that a school would open, and classes began for boys and girls sections of elementary school to the eighth grade, and for a kindergarten section. Each of the three sections had nearly 2,000 pupils.

As seen above in Naha and in Nago to the north, schools opened at a comparatively early date. The account below shows that, rather than course studies, the emphasis was on assuring the children's safety and giving them guidance for their lives.

Nearby the school was a U.S. military supply warehouse, which the children were forbidden to approach, and because it was feared that unexploded shells lay around the

²⁷ Naha City Board of Education.(2002) p. 162.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 164.

²⁹ Editorial Committee for Nago City History.(2003) p. 152.

area, gasoline drum cans surrounding the school grounds served as a fence. That's why this was sometimes called 'the drum can school.'..... Children in the upper grades spent most days leveling earth on the school grounds. Without copy books, desks, or chairs, classes were held with pupils huddled on the floor inside tents."³⁰ (Naha City, Tsuboya Elementary School)

What were called schools were really just open fields shaded by pine and banyan trees where about 400 children gathered to hear childrens' stories and sing songs. To keep the children there as long as possible, the American military distributed dried apples and biscuits, and many children came to school just because they wanted these afternoon snacks.³¹ (Taira, Nago City)

According to the education bulletin issued in April of 1946 by the Okinawa Education Department, the central civilian office of educational administration, in late April of 1946 there were 101 elementary schools on Okinawa Main island and 12 on nearby islands for a total of 78,458 pupils and a teaching staff of 1,173.³²

1-1-4 Compiling Textbooks

Textbooks were needed when education started again, but almost all of them had been destroyed in the battle, so in Okinawa, separated from mainland administration, special textbooks had to be compiled. Compiling textbooks began on August 1, 1945 when the Okinawa textbook editing section was established in the Education Department of the U.S. Navy Military Government.

Although almost all textbooks had been destroyed in the battle and no reference works were available, a few copies of textbooks from the Okinawa School of Education's affiliated elementary school were found in a cave shelter at Ginowan, and compilation began based on these, starting with lessons in arithmetic.³³

The U.S. military strictly ordered that no material could be used in compiling textbooks that was nationalistic, militaristic, or that exalted Japanese culture. Okinawa residents wanted textbooks that would give hope for the future to pupils who had experienced the tragic Battle of Okinawa, and, in 1946, agreed on an "elementary school textbook compilation policy." This policy was meant to "eliminate narrow-minded ideologies, inspire love of all humanity, instill a positive and progressive spirit for building a new Okinawa, and provide high ideals," thereby promoting a spirit to motivate Okinawa's post-conflict reconstruction.

In addition, the policy specified the inclusion of materials (1) on Okinawan ethics, history, custom, geography, industries, hygiene, engineering, etc.; (2) providing a knowledge of world conditions, especially a deeper understanding of the United States; (3) teaching the principles of

³⁰ Naha City Board of Education.(2002) p. 162.

³¹ Editorial Committee for Nago City History.(2003) p. 152.

³² Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education.(1977) p. 297.

³³ Ibid. p. 442.

hygiene; (4) on the value of self-government and respect for the individual; (5) on use of the roman alphabet and for limiting Chinese characters; (6) for teaching English in the upper grades (actually, required from first grade); (7) emphasizing reading and arithmetic. In this policy can be seen an emphasis on Okinawa's special characteristics and the influence of U.S. military rule which resulted in the inclusion of the American military views.

With the continuing shortage of materials and facilities since the end of the battle, the compilation and distribution of textbooks became difficult, and had to be discontinued in January of 1948. However, in June of that year, Allied Headquarters in Tokyo ordered shipments of 1,300,000 school textbooks to Okinawa from the Japanese mainland. Shipments continued in 1949, and, after that, education was conducted from mainland textbooks.

1-1-5 School Construction³⁴

(schools held in blue sky classrooms, stables, tents, Quonset huts, and thatched roof schoolhouses)

With most school buildings destroyed in the fierce ground battle, school started after the war in "blue sky classrooms." Conditions for education just after the battle are described in a history of Naha City.

Army surplus tents or, in some places, one or two sausage-shaped Quonset huts served as classrooms, with one section used as a teachers' room. But there weren't nearly enough of these, so many classes were held under the blue sky in the shade of trees. With no desks or chairs, pupils used empty boxes as desks and stacked wooden boards to sit on. But, when even these things weren't available, they studied squatting on the bare ground. The tents flapped loudly or blew down on windy days. And they leaked on rainy days or flooded inside if rains were heavy. This made learning quite impossible, so school was suspended on rainy days or in other bad weather.³⁵

The following figures illustrate the inadequacy of school facilities: Of the 137 schools operating in April of 1946, 110 held classes in tents or Quonset huts, 80% of the total, 14 (7%) outside, 5 (4%) in Quonset huts, 5 (4%) in wooden buildings, and 3 (2%) in prewar concrete buildings.

Schools moved from blue sky classrooms to stables, and from stables to temporary classrooms. Area residents did the construction labor as a part of their work for the military, relying for materials on cutting down trees, clearing fields, or on supplies from the military. A post-conflict history of education in Okinawa describes how schools were built in Ginoza Village, located in the northern part of Okinawa Main Island.

The work crew put up tent classrooms and thatched roof schoolhouses one after another. Of course, they were the roughest kind of temporary structures. Other than the

³⁴ On the "Restoration and construction of school buildings," see 1-2-1, "School Construction".

³⁵ Naha City Board of Education.(2001) p. 168.

principals, there weren't enough qualified teachers, so faculties were supplemented with competent young men and women. With their dedicated efforts that were truly moving and the cooperation of parents, these meager facilities gradually came to look like real schools with sports grounds and even flower gardens.

Furthermore, it was the unified efforts of schools, parents, and local communities that built these schoolhouses,³⁶ Parents, local residents, and school personnel jointly contributed their labor, using supplies obtained from the American military and wood cut from trees to construct schoolhouses and equipment.

In late 1951 the conditions of available school facilities were as follows;³⁷ for a total of 3,200 classes, 874 (26.3%) were held in permanent concrete block schoolhouses and 2,216 in temporary structures. Even combining these permanent and temporary facilities there was still a shortage of 240 classrooms. Besides destruction during the battle, the two reasons for this shortage were the many returnees from residence overseas and from evacuation on the mainland, and the post-conflict increase in children and pupils in school that resulted from adding more years of compulsory education. Beginning in the 1950s, school construction proceeded systematically according to yearly plans.

schoolhouses change with the times



thatched roof schoolhouses, Oroku Elementary School (1948)



Quonset hut schoolhouses, Naha Middle School (1951)

³⁶ Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education.(1977) p. 295.

³⁷ Editorial Committee for Nago City History.(2003) p. 248-249.

Source: Naha-City Board of Education (2001), p. 70.

Table 1-1 Condition of available schoolhouses in the Okinawa Island Group (April 30, 1951)

			elementary schools	middle schools	high schools	vocational high schools	teacher training and English schools	subtotal	
permanent structure	new construction	wooden construction with tile roofing	280	207	47	20	0	554	
		concrete	15	5	0	0	0	20	
		wooden construction with tin roofing	0	0	2	0	0	2	
		sub total	295	212	49	20	0	576	
	existing school houses	wooden construction with tile roofing	111	55	33	0	4	203	
		concrete	64	29	2	0	0	95	
		subtotal	175	84	35	0	4	298	
	total			470	296	84	20	4	874
	temporary structures	Quonset huts		252	107	45	10	3	
		wooden construction with thatched roofing		1010	354	11	0	1	1376
wooden construction with tin roofing		131	46	23	1	0	201		
wooden construction with tent roofing		70	21	4	12	0	107		
tents		12	21	0	7	2	42		
other		38	17	18	0	0	73		
total		1,513	566	101	30	6	2216		
outdoor classrooms			174	66	0	0	0	240	
total			2,157	928	185	50	10	3,330	

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p.328

Table 1-2 Condition of available schoolhouses in the Okinawa Island Group (status of schoolhouse restorations as of April, 1952)

	number of classes	main construction completed	classroom shortage	% of total classes
Okinawa	3,217	1,203	2,014	37.40%
Amami Oshima	1,272	678	594	53.30%
Miyako	365	309	56	84.80%
Yaeyama	260	203	57	78.10%
Total	5,114	2,393	2,721	46.80%

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 421

1-1-6 Local Communities and Education

With the end of the war and the restart of schools in local areas, parents worked together with school staff and faculty to further education. The contributions of parents and local community residents were especially significant in providing labor and collecting materials for school construction. To restore schoolhouses, school support groups were formed for each school that devoted tireless efforts to preparing facilities. In order to coordinate these activities in each locality and create an islands-wide movement, in 1947 education support groups were organized in each district and the Okinawa League of Education Support Groups was founded.

1-1-7 Training teachers

With many teachers killed in the Battle of Okinawa and the number of pupils increasing when education resumed after the war, there was a critical teacher shortage.³⁸ As the civilian agency for educational administration in the early post-conflict period, the Okinawa Department of Education cooperated with the Education Department of the U.S. Military Government to plan a teacher training facility, and in January of 1946 the Okinawa Teacher Training School opened in Gushikawa Village, located in the central part of the main island. The 108 students in its teachers preparatory school division, 60 in its foreign languages division, and 64 in its agriculture division ranged in ages from sixteen to thirty. They were taught by the principals of youth schools and the faculty of the School of Education that had been in operation before the war.

The Teacher Training School started with these three divisions--instructors, foreign languages, and agriculture--and was under the direct control of the U.S. Military Government. It began with courses of two months duration for training elementary instructors, three months for foreign language teachers, and one month for agriculture teachers. Then an Okinawa foreign language school, the "Okinawa School of Foreign Languages," opened in September of 1946 and the Agriculture Division split off to become the independent Central High School of Agriculture in 1947, so the Teacher Training School became a facility exclusively for training regular classroom instructors.

³⁸ Yara Chobyoy, who served as the first post-conflict president of the Okinawa Teachers Association and later as Chief Executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, writes as follows in his published reminiscences. "One-third of the teachers had died in the war. Furthermore, all of the prospective teachers who had been attending the teacher's school were sent to the front lines of the Battle of Okinawa, the girls in the Himeyuri Student Nurses Corps and the boys in the Teachers Youth Corps of the Emperor's Iron and Blood Brigades. None survived. An estimated 4,500 died, which meant the loss of all teachers trained over a four-year period. Many teachers who survived the battle had to change jobs just to make a living amidst extremely impoverished conditions, so there were very few experienced teachers."

To help alleviate the teacher shortage at the time, graduates of middle schools under the former (prewar) system or of the new high schools were employed as “assistant teachers” in Okinawa.³⁹

Trainees were either graduates from high schools under the new system (the 8-4 system), middle schools under the old systems, or teachers preparatory schools. The American military was wary of teachers from the prewar period, and initially ordered their credentials invalidated, restoring their licenses after they had completed a short training course.

Begun in 1946, the teacher training for assistant teachers was two months long for the first group of trainees just after the war, four months long for the second group, and six months long for the third group. The lengthening of courses indicates that, in a time of emergency just after the battle, credentials were granted quickly in two months, but that the training period was gradually extended.

With courses to train working assistant teachers two months for the first entering class, four months for the second, and six months for the third, the length of training time had tripled in the space of one year.

Those completing these courses were granted teachers licenses for elementary school and were

Testimony 1-3 Memories of attending the Teacher Training School

Oshiro (formerly Tomihara) Nobuko (entered the school in 1947)

The school was co-educational with 15 men and 15 women in the First Section.

For English class we relied on Yamashiro Akio and were relieved to have Mr. Fumikazu as our teacher. At my girls school, English had been banned in 1942 as the language of enemy countries. . . .

Next, our principal, Shimabukuro Shun'ichi, earnestly explained democracy. I leaned forward and listened attentively to a lecture entirely different from what we'd heard during the years of militaristic education. Looking back on them, I'd never had any doubts about militarism during my four years at girl's school. I'd burned with the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, believing unquestioningly in certain victory. . . .

From now on, we no longer had to sacrifice ourselves for the nation. It was great for everyone, just getting used to our freedom. After attending Shun'ichi's class on democracy, we were able to feel confident with the new education policy. Furthermore, we were inspired in our daily studies by Mr. Arakaki's science class, especially our outdoor nature observations of things like changing cloud formations, by Mr. Nakaishi's philosophy lectures in Tokyo dialect, by Mr. Maedomari's heartwarming classes on the principles of education, . . . as we tasted the joy of learning about unfamiliar things.

Magazine of the Fumi-no-kai, Okinawa Teachers School, a student of the Okinawa Teachers School, Second Section, second term, 1998

³⁹ In February of 1950 there were 976 assistant teachers in elementary schools, 31% of the total number of teachers. Tamaki.(1987) p. 27.

obligated to teach on the elementary level for one year. Soon after the opening of the Teacher Training School, the affiliated Elementary School was established as an annex. The period for on-the-job training at the affiliated elementary school was two weeks for the first entering class and four weeks for the second and third entering classes.

In April of the following year, 1947, the existing course sections were abolished and replaced by a one-year-long “First Section” admitting graduates of middle schools and the new high schools who had passed a qualifying examination, and a six-month-long “Second Section” admitting working teaching assistants who had passed a qualifying test. Like the former teachers course, these first and section sections were established for the rapid training of elementary school teachers.

In April of 1948, the six-three-three system was implemented and, as part of this reform of the school system, the six-month program to train working assistant teachers was abolished in 1949, replaced by a two-year training program. The purpose of this program was to train middle school teachers. At the same time, a “research course” was created to train middle school teachers in one year. To take the entrance examination for either of these required an elementary school teachers license, and those completing the “research course” were granted a middle school teachers license.

The courses and programs at the Teacher Training School included “education,” “philosophy,” “literature,” “English,” “music,” “art,” “science,” “math,” “physical education,” “school upkeep” “Okinawan culture,” and “home economics” (for girls).

The Teacher Training School operated until May of 1950 when it was absorbed into the University

Testimony 1-4 Yamashiro Akio’s memories of the Teacher Training School as a student in the second entering class of the Second Section

The school began as a coeducational institution to fill the severe post-conflict teacher shortage. It was divided into two sections, one yearlong class and one six-month class. Everyone had to live in the dormitory, and the school provided lodging and meals during the short-term teacher training programs. Along with the six-month class was a yearlong class divided into first and second semesters. It was, in reality, a school where the assistant teachers working there had passed entrance examinations and trained quickly.

It was a time of teacher shortages. Principals had a tough job, I think, to maintain stability by hiring enough teachers and preventing resignations. When principals heard about people who had gone beyond middle school graduation, they always went out right away to recruit them.

Finally, the first day of school arrived. But I was shocked at the school, even though I had heard about it before. In those impoverished circumstances of daily life and without textbooks, school supplies, or other essentials for learning, specialized teacher training courses had to be completed in a very short time, making it hard on teachers and students alike. The students, in particular, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to their studies.

Yamashiro Akio, “The Road to Becoming a Teacher,” Okinawa Teacher Training School Fumi-no-kai, 1995.

of the Ryukyus, founded that year. Professor Tamashiro Tsuguhisa of the University of the Ryukyus described the special characteristics of training at the Okinawa Teacher Training School in his book *Education Policy under the Occupation of Okinawa and Public Education in America*⁴⁰. He explains that the changes in the training program and its variety of courses resulted because it had to be makeshift and improvised, indicating the gap between supply and demand.”⁴¹

Thus, while it was initiated by the U.S. military, the Okinawa Teacher Training School helped alleviate the post-conflict teacher shortage in Okinawa. At the time, the military was intent on promoting American democracy, and had backed a plan for education at the college-level, but the result was a short-term training facility. The two reasons for this were that local residents demanded a rapid response to the teacher shortage and that the military worried about providing the required funds.

The graduates of the Okinawa Teacher Training School were granted licenses as elementary school teachers, and incurred an obligation to work at a school. They studied at the school for periods ranging from six months to one year, received scholarships of twenty-five yen, and were provided with a portion of their school supplies.

When the Okinawa Teacher Training School closed with the opening of University of the Ryukyus, four teacher training facilities were set up on the main island in April of 1950 for assistant teachers working at the time. The training period lasted six months, and those who completed the program’s requirements were granted a certificate of completion and a teaching license from the Central Board of Education. In March of 1953, their purpose successfully accomplished, these facilities were closed.

The Teacher Training School and the Foreign Languages School remained in operation for over four years, graduating a total of more than 900 students. Those graduates worked as schoolteachers and interpreters, continued their studies at the University of the Ryukyus or at universities on the mainland, or attended universities in the United States on GARIOA (Government Relief in Occupied Areas) scholarships. They made enormous contributions to the reconstruction and development of Okinawa that had been devastated by war.

1-1-8 Administrating Education

(from the Education Department of the Okinawa Advisory Council to the Education Department of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands and the Education Department of the Island Group Government)

On August 29, 1945, the first post-conflict centralized government organization, the Okinawa Advisory Council, was inaugurated as an advisory body to the U.S. Military Government. The Advisory Council was comprised of 15 members representing each district of refugee camps, and

⁴⁰ Tamaki.(1987) p. 23.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 25.

consisted of 13 departments, including agriculture, commerce and industry, health, security, and education. Textbook compilation, which had already started, was now carried out at the Education Department; and, according to records of its meetings between November of 1945 and March of 1946, such issues as teacher training, the opening of schools, and the extent of the Department's authority were discussed in detail.

In January of 1946, according to a directive from the U.S. military, the existing Education Department was absorbed into the Okinawa Department of Education, a central administrative organ that covered not only Okinawa main island, but also the neighboring islands. Structurally, the director of the Okinawa Department of Education came under Military Government Headquarters. However, functionally, the director had the ultimate responsibility for carrying out education, and Military Government Headquarters maintained supervision and provided aid for educational materials.

The military announced to each district that it was planning for the building of school facilities, providing aid to local principals, implementing eight years of compulsory education for children then six to fourteen years old, and compiling textbooks at Military Government headquarters.

Later, in April of 1946, the Okinawa Advisory Council was abolished with the inauguration of the "Okinawa Civil Administration." The Okinawa Department of Education now became part of the Civil Administration and was called the "Okinawa Civil Administration, Department of Education." It declared a new spirit for building Okinawa with promulgation of an "elementary education ordinance" and "regulations for implementing it" that emphasized Okinawan identity and Okinawa's special character. During its existence, the first post-conflict unified school system was established according to the eight-four structure, lasting until 1948 when it was changed to a six-three-three structure one year later than on the mainland. This Department had thus overseen the establishment and local implementation of the post-conflict unified system of education. It remained in operation until the Okinawa Island Group Government was inaugurated in 1950.

1-2 Phase II (1952-1957): Designing Educational Systems

About this time the United States decided to rule Okinawa for the long term, and began massively expanding its military installations there into the largest base in the Far East. The resulting seizures of land, which Okinawans view as physical and spiritual sustenance bequeathed from their ancestors, threatened both their economic survival and their identity, which is closely connected with this vital spiritual support. The United States, however, declared Okinawa to be their essential "keystone," "a base for protection against the communist threat," and accelerated base construction. Okinawans had been deeply disappointed when the San Francisco Peace Treaty severed them from Japan, and now demands for reversion increased.

The civilian administrative body under U.S. military rule had changed from the Okinawa Advisory Council in 1945 to the Okinawa Civil Administration in 1950; and, in 1952, the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (G.R.I.) was inaugurated with three branches of government--legislative, executive, and judicial--whose administration extended to all the Ryukyu Islands until reversion in 1972. With inauguration of the G.R.I., something resembling a civilian administrative structure was finally put in place.

Education also went through systematic changes from a system responding to an emergency to one that could look to the future. Just after the war, the U.S. military controlled almost all aspects, such as systems and budgets, and also monitored content. But, compared with this period, more of education was subsequently entrusted to Okinawans and the content became increasing like education on the mainland as U.S. military involvement loosened.

The U.S. military implemented a policy intended to limit its budgetary expenditures, to suppress, as much as possible, demands for expanded civilian government, and to improve people's livelihoods as much as necessary in order to maintain the functioning of the military bases. In an effort to reduce the increasing burden of expenditures going to Okinawa, it also adopted measures promoting more economic activity and autonomy by fostering productivity with the establishment of the Ryukyu Power Public Corporation in 1954 and the Ryukyu Waterworks Public Corporation in 1958.

In the field of education, along with quantitative increases in the number of schools and students, there was qualitative enrichment in content. Lectures and research conferences were held on improving the content of all courses. As for the school systems, the issuing of Ordinance⁴² 66 (Ryukyu Education Ordinance) established Okinawa's distinctive system of elected local school boards. The University of the Ryukyus opened in 1950. In order to train personnel urgently needed for Ryukyu's reconstruction, the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR)⁴³ changed to a system of contract students⁴⁴ and initiated national scholarship study for young Okinawans at Japanese universities on the mainland with funds provided by the Japanese government. Still, with meager school budgets, a critical shortage of school facilities persisted for the growing number of pupils, and schoolhouse construction remained a problem for education in Okinawa even after this time.

⁴² The ordinance was formulated and promulgated under American rule of Okinawa by an agency of the U.S. government.

⁴³ Created in 1950 to rule Okinawa as the local agency of the U.S. government. Officially named United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, or USCAR for short. It continued operation until reversion to Japan.

⁴⁴ They signed contracts with USCAR agreeing to work for Okinawa's development, and attended colleges on the mainland.

1-2-1 School Construction

(1) Efforts of the G.R.I.

Even after it moved to the G.R.I., school construction continued to be a big problem for education in Okinawa. With the inauguration of the new government, “solving the problem of school construction” was one of the most important missions among those explicitly carried over from the old government.

On April 22, 1952, the Central Board of Education issued a “Statement on Schoolhouse Construction,”⁴⁵ describing the seriousness of the problem.

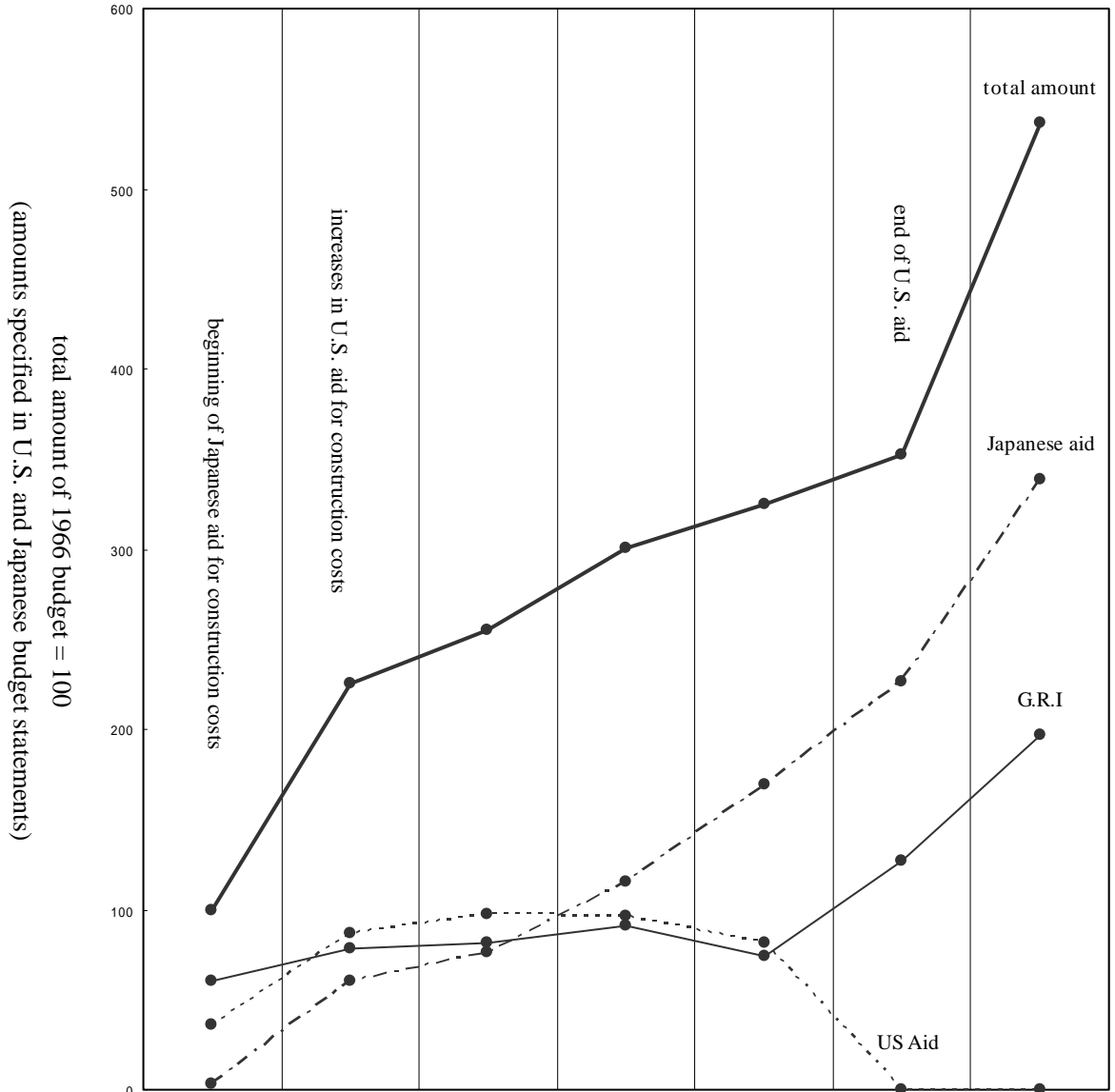
1. 46% of the schoolhouses in all the Ryukyu Islands and 37% of the school buildings on Okinawa Main Island were already constructed.
2. Most of those judged to have inadequate classrooms are thatched-roof or temporary structures.
3. In those classrooms without storm doors, it is impossible to conduct classes in rainy weather.
4. In the Naha district, the lack even of temporary school structures and the shortage of classrooms have forced seven schools to hold double class sessions and two schools to hold triple sessions. In all the Ryukyu Islands, 110,000 pupils learn under these conditions.

Schools were built during this period largely with aid from USCAR. In 1954, 400 classrooms were newly constructed and 120 damaged in the war were repaired. 650 classrooms were newly constructed in 1955 and 596 in 1956.

Construction planned initially under the 1956 budget was nearly completed, but could not keep up with the increase in pupils, so available school buildings that year were at 87.9 % sufficiency. After 1956, construction shifted away from restoring war-damaged schools, and concentrated mainly on special classrooms in order to accommodate the natural increase in young children and pupils. In the 1960s, construction began on middle school classrooms for vocational studies and home economics, as well as on high school dormitories and other facilities. Still, budgets were tight and school building shortages remained a problem for post-conflict education in Okinawa.

⁴⁵ Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education.(1977) p. 384.

Table 1-3 Changes in school construction budgets in amounts from each funding source specified in U.S. and Japanese budget statements



fiscal year	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
total amount of budget	2,068	4,650	5,282	6,228	6,728	7,287	11,099
U.S. aid	750	1,800	2,000	1,975	1,700	0	0
Japanese aid	73	1,231	1,582	2,377	3,498	4,667	7,016
total of U.S. and Japanese aid	823	3,031	3,582	4,352	5,198	4,667	7,016
G.R.I	1,245	1,619	1,700	1,876	1,530	2,620	4,083

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 395.

At this time school construction was funded mainly by USCAR's budget, but, beginning in the second half of the 1960s, assistance from the Japanese government was introduced. Starting in 1965, when the Japanese government appropriated \$78,000 for school construction, allocations from the Japanese and American governments increased in 1966 and 1967, greatly advancing school construction. In 1969, with the decision for reversion, USCAR ended its assistance and, conversely, aid from the Japanese government sharply increased.

(2) "School supplies of love," aid for education from the Japanese mainland

It was not only government efforts that restored school buildings destroyed in the war, but also the active involvement of civilians. 1952 saw the formation of the Association to Promote the Restoration of Okinawa from War Damage, comprised of eight organizations, led by the Okinawa Teachers Association that included the League of Parent-Teacher Associations; the Women's League; the Youth League; the Association of Cities, Towns, and Villages; the Chamber of Commerce and Industry; the Association of Farms, Forests; and Fisheries, and the Okinawa Association of Local Government Council Presidents.

This organization actively promoted the restoration of school buildings destroyed in the Battle of Okinawa. In January of 1953 Yara Chobyō and Kyan Shin'ei of the Okinawa Teachers Association traveled on the mainland for six months to explain desperate conditions in Okinawa and seek assistance.

What motivated these teachers was their belief in the need for restoration of education in Okinawa at the earliest possible date. Yara Chobyō recalls in his published recollections⁴⁶ that "The first task of the organization was protecting our livelihoods, that is, economic concerns, but we also fervently resolved to devote our efforts to restoring the school buildings that were the sites of education. I had concluded from the time I served as Director of the Department of Education (then part of the Okinawa Island Group Government) that school buildings would not be restored without help from all the people of our motherland."

Teachers collected photograph negatives of the buildings from each school, developed them over the next six months, and produced 300-400 copies of an album. They also published three special editions of their organizational newspaper, headlined "An appeal to all Japanese," "An appeal to all teachers in Japan," and "An appeal to all Japanese children and pupils," printing large numbers of copies and distributing them widely on the mainland. Appeals for funds to aid restoration of war-damaged schools were delivered to the governors of every prefecture and municipality, to the presidents of all prefectural assemblies, to school superintendents, to city mayors in prefectural capitals, to prefectural teachers unions, to women's organizations, and to media organs. The results

⁴⁶ Asahi Shimbun-sha.(1961) p. 20-21.

were donations from 10 million people totaling 60 million yen (valued at 20 million “B-yen”⁴⁷, in military script that was Okinawa’s currency at the time).

These were to be combined with 4 million yen collected in Okinawa to fund school restoration, but the American military would not permit this. Because all school construction had to be funded by aid from USCAR or from the G.R.I. budget, these contributions were allocated instead for school supplies. They paid the costs for schoolbooks, music, physical education, cooking, audiovisual equipment, and other materials which, as expressions of love from the mainland to Okinawan brethren, were called “school supplies of love.”

For Okinawans, this movement conveyed the warm feelings of people on the mainland toward Okinawa; and, for mainlanders, it was an opportunity to learn about the conditions Okinawans were living under. This nationwide pilgrimage heightened concern about Okinawa on the mainland, and spurred the planting of seeds for reversion in the soil of both places.



“School supplies of love” Kumoji Elementary School, Naha, 1955



“School supplies of love” Takara Elementary School, Naha, 1955

1-2-2 Financing Education

(1) Funding education in the early post-conflict period

For a time after the war, Okinawa was without monetary currency, and teachers’ salaries were paid in rationed commodities as part of the budgets for education. In May of 1946 currency circulation began, and budgets were compiled for cities, towns, villages, and the Ryukyu Islands as a whole. However, cities, towns, and villages lacked the funds for salaries, school construction, and necessary educational materials. Therefore, expenses for city, town and village schools were paid by the government of all the Ryukyu Islands.

⁴⁷ B-yen was military script issued after the war by the U.S. military. Currency was used from 1948 to 1958 The exchange rate in 1950 was 120 B-yen to one U.S. dollar.

See below the figures for annual government budgets from when they were first compiled in 1947 through 1952, the proportions allocated for education, and itemization of the 1952 budget for the Department of Education.

Table 1-4 Government budgets for fiscal years 1947-1952 and amounts allocated for education (units in B-yen⁴⁸)

fiscal year	total amount of government budget	budget for education	proportion
	yen	yen	%
1947	110,455,290	15,152,779	13.7
1948	75,304,325	17,205,693	22.9
1949	53,610,006	20,367,812	38.0
1950	149,925,462	48,004,944	32.0
1951	130,362,814	56,762,896	49.5
1951	328,033,486	107,669,107	32.8
1952	812,736,813	248,672,665	30.6

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 321

As Table 1-4 shows, the changing proportions for education in the total budgets of the Okinawa Civil Administration during its existence (1947 to 1952) were 13.7% in 1947, 22.9% in 1948, 38% in 1949, and 32% in 1950.

Expenses for school construction are not included because, during this period, they were paid by GARIOA⁴⁹ and not appropriated through the budget of the Department of Education.

During the period of Okinawa Island Group Government (1951-52), aid for education from the U.S. military was appropriated through this government's budget. The budget for education in 1952 was 248,627,655 yen (B-yen). A breakdown of these aid revenues shows that approximately 143,600,000 yen came from the Island Group Government and 150,000,000, or about half, came from the U.S. military.

⁴⁸ Government budgets for fiscal years 1947-1952 and amounts allocated for education.

⁴⁹ The Government and Relief in Occupied Areas Fund, aid appropriated from the U.S. government budget. Okinawa received it between 1947 and 1957.

Table 1-5 Extract from 1952 budget for the Department of Education (units in B-yen)

item	government funds	military aid funds	total	explanation
Okinawa Island Group Government	371,373,480,97	450,363,331,94	821,736,812,91	proportion of Okinawa Island Group Government's budget
Department of Education	143,627,665,00	105,000,000,00	248,627,665,00	total amount 31%
school education	142,276,608,26	99,595,772,94	241,872,381,20	administrative expenses 38%
social education	1,351056,74	5,404,227,06	6,755,283,80	military aid funds 23%
teachers' salaries	123,477,600,00	1,329,600,00	124,807,200,00	principals 221, teachers 3,626, total 3,847, proportion of total Island Group Government expenditures for personnel 42%
office employees' salaries	6,177,600,00		6,177,600,00	agents 225, office employees 18, highschools, teacher training, clerical 24, total 267
operating expenses	1,771,035,00		1,771,035,00	1. aid for experimental schools, group studying, etc. 960,000.00 2. lectures and official committees 330,980.00 3. expenses for athletic events 21,855.00 4. paper supplies and printing 20,000.00 5. central board of education 52,200.00 6. local boards of education 367,200.00 7. Council on Education 28,800.00
books	358,000,00		358,000,00	school books, dictionaries, and other books
training	953,000,00		953,000,00	high school of agriculture and forestry, industrial high school fishery high school
office expences	5,644,043,26	1,415,516,94	7,059,560,20	for school use desks and chairs: 3,836,660.00 organs: 3,216,000.00
allowances	288,000,00	32,000,00	320,000,00	allowance for dormitory superindendents 129,000.00 allowance for instructors 191,000.00
construction expenses (undetermined)		96,480,000,00	96,480,000,00	180 buildings of 4 classrooms per building

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 322

The largest item among expenditures is teachers' salaries at 124,800,000 yen, accounting for approximately 50% of the Department of Education's budget. The next largest item is construction expenses with 180 buildings of four classrooms each costing 96,480,000 yen, so personnel and construction expenses combined accounted for 94% of the total budget for education. As for funding

sources, monetary aid from the U.S. military paid for almost all school construction and for about half of teachers' salaries.

(2) The G.R.I. period: Budgets for education from 1952 until reversion in 1972

With establishment of the G.R.I., the previous island group administrations in Okinawa were consolidated into one, as were their budgets. The table below shows the changes in the total G.R.I. budgets from 1953 to 1972, and in the budgets for the Department of Education.

Table 1-6 Changes in the G.R.I.'s total budgets (units in dollars)

fiscal year	A	B	C	D	E
	G.R.I.total budgets	USCAR aid	Jpanese government aid	G.R.I.governme nt fund	D/A
1953	12,118,772	3,125,000	0	8,973,272	74.2
54	14,383,205	3,250,000	0	11,133,205	77.4
55	15,051,195	2,500,000	0	12,557,195	83.3
56	16,998,098	3,391,666	0	13,606,432	80.8
57	20,571,386	2,091,666	0	18,479,720	89.8
58	23,568,389	1,005,278	0	22,563,111	95.7
59	22,136,617	1,900,000	0	20,236,617	91.4
60	28,504,233	4,500,000	0	24,004,233	84.2
61	27,633,537	4,575,000	0	23,058,537	83.4
62	31,369,418,	4,600,000	(55555)	26,769,418	85.3
63	41,786,648	7,460,000	2,035,857	32,290,791	77.3
64	51,980,723	8,335,900	4,050,000	39,594,823	76.1
65	57,207,763	7,060,000	4,028,557	46,119,206	80.2
66	65,887,200	8,460,000	6,538,423	50,888,777	77.2
67	88,277,500	14,265,000	13,419,919	60,592,581	73.7
68	119.751.600	16.668.000	23.714.571	79.369.029	66.3
69	145,629,520	12.223.501	31.974.675	101.431.344	69.6
70	170.785.000	20.350.000	47.221.802	103.213.198	60.4
71	200,780,511	13,235,000	68,363,000	119,182,511	59.4
72	263,633,584	8,850,000	116,380,782	138,402,802	52.5
remarks	From 1953 to 1957, the exchange rate was 120 B-yen=\$1.00. The same rate applies for colums B,C and D.		parenthesis indicate funds that did not pass through the G.R.I.budget, but were paid directly to the Ryukyu Scholarship Association for scholarships		

Table 1-7 Department of Education's proportion of total G.R.I. Budgets, and sources of its funds. (Units are in dollars, except for column H which are in thousands of yen.)

fiscal year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	G.R.I. Total budgets	Dpt.. Of educations total budgets	U.S. aid	Japanese aid	G.R.I	E/B	B/A	Japanese Ministry of Education aid 1000 yen
1953	12,118,272	3,341,368	(490564)		2,850,804	85.3	27.6	2,160
54	14,383,205	3,614,736	620,833		2,993,903	82.8	25.1	5,874
55	15,051,195	4,487,168	1,305,098		3,182,070	70.7	29.8	7,722
56	16,998,098	5,107,982	1,401,867		3,706,115	72.5	30.1	10,259
57	20,571,386	5,399,824	250,000		5,149,824	95.3	26.2	12,804
58	23,568,389	7,122,854	115,000		7,007,854	98.3	30.2	16,174
59	22,136,617	6,739,105	79,116		6,659,939	98.8	30.4	18,326
60	28,504,233	8,683,621	565,000		8,118,621	93.4	30.5	30,544
61	27,633,537	9,484,890	550,000		8,934,890	94.2	34.3	39,320
62	31,369,418	10,404,405	1,763,750	(55,555)	8,640,655	83.0	33.2	58,717
63	41,786,648	13,910,186	1,975,000	287,777	11,647,409	83.7	33.3	77,882
64	51,980,723	16,640,998	2,605,000	298,631	13,737,367	82.5	32.0	142,302
65	57,207,763	18,704,058	2,360,000	289,514	16,054,544	85.8	32.7	183,478
66	65,887,200	22,537,997	2,465,000	1,031,569	19,041,428	84.5	34.2	468,609
67	88,277,500	28,052,386	7,916,000	7,578,662	12,557,724	44.7	31.8	2,870,035
68	119,751,600	34,837,891	9,845,000	9,718,656	15,074,235	43.2	29.1	4,076,019
69	145,629,520	41,774,782	3,816,511	12,889,575	25,058,696	59.9	28.7	4,981,226
70	170,785,000	48,332,169	8,425,000	16,611,710	23,295,459	48.2	28.3	6,367,918
71	200,780,511	54,360,175	0	19,214,523	35,145,652	64.6	27.1	8,173,618
72	263,633,584	71,043,331	0	27,023,275	44,020,056	61.9	26.9	10,457,061
remark	From 1993 to 1957, the exchange rate was 120 B-yen=\$1.00 The same rate applies for columns B and C		This column does not include aid to the University of the Ryukyus. Figures in parentheses did not pass the G.R. I. Budget, were paid directly to the Ryukyu Scholarship Association for scholarships.	Budget for 1966 includes \$345,000 in U.S.-Japan aid for the University of the Ryukyus				Figures in this column do not include office expenses in the Ministry of Education

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 343.

(Notes)

A: amount of revenues from summary tables of total G.R.I. Budget

B: total expenditures of Department of Education according to itemized records in G.R.I..budget statement

C,D: combined totals of amounts recorded in the "remarks" column of budget statement

H: aid funds dispersed for Okinawa according to Ministry of Education records

Four special features of G.R.I. budgets during this period are summarized below:

1. Initiation of an education tax⁵⁰.
2. Steady growth continuing for twenty years. A large increase from 12 million dollars in 1953 to 264 million dollars in 1972.
3. The large increase in Japanese government aid beginning in the 1960s. The especially sharp increase just before reversion.
4. The gradual reduction of aid from USCAR in the late 1950s, followed by an increase after that when it accounted for between ten and twenty percent of the G.R.I.'s total budget. The reversing proportions after 1968 in the amounts of aid from Japan and the United States.

(3) Education tax

The education tax was a unique feature of educational financing in post-conflict Okinawa. Based on the principle of a levy on users for education, USCAR Ordinance No.66 of "Ryukyu Education Law"⁵¹ promulgated in February of 1952, introduced an "education tax." This education tax system was intended by the Board of Education to create budgetary independence for education, and was a system widely adopted in the United States. The system was also recommended on the mainland when an education observation team from the United States visited Japan in 1950; and, although the idea was praised there, various problems with actually implementing it prevented adoption.

The education tax was imposed on all residents of each school district (city, town, village, etc.) to make up the difference between district budget requirements and the aid funds provided from the G.R.I. Department of Education. There was strong opposition from cities, towns, and villages, both because it increased tax burdens on local residents and because collection was difficult.

Collection rates between 1953 and 1958 started at 75.6% in 1953 and remained around 70% after that, which was not entirely satisfactory, but not conspicuously low in comparison with the collection rate for regular city, town, and village taxes.

After that, thanks presumably to the influence of a Department of Education information campaign for greater acceptance, 100% collection rates were achieved in seven districts by 1966.

⁵⁰ See Section 1-2-2.

⁵¹ See Section 1-2-3.

The collection rate for all education districts also increased annually, reaching 93% by the final year of 1966 and surpassing the rate for collections of regular taxes in cities, towns, and villages.



During the 1960s there was a “campaign to pay all our education taxes,” and payment rates increased. The education tax had been introduced as a progressive idea, like the local election of school boards, to make education budgets independent, but it failed to gain wide public acceptance and was abolished in 1965 in favor of a single local tax. The reasons for abolishment were that the idea of a tax for a specific purpose was insufficiently accepted; and, that continuing it had less meaning when it accounted for a relatively small portion of school district budgets. In 1958 the education budgets for each school district were supplied 83.67% by G.R.I. aid funds and 9.92% by education taxes.

Posters say, “We pay education taxes to raise our children well.” “Weeks to pay all education taxes” May 28 - August 10 “Weeks to pay all education taxes” “Let’s pay our education taxes.”

Table 1-8 Changes in collection rates of education tax

fiscal year Collection Rates by levels	1953	1954	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1965	1966
100	2	2			1	2	4	3	7
90 ~ 100	20	18	18	17	20	22	24	29	31
80 ~ 89	12	14							14
70 ~ 79	13	9							3
60 ~ 69	11	8							3
50 ~ 59	1	4							1
40 ~ 49	3	4	3	3	2	1			
30 ~ 39		2	4	1					
20 ~ 29	1	1	1		1				
10 ~ 19				1					
1 ~ 9	1		1						
0		2							
% average rates	75.6	71.5	68.4	78.8	81.7	83	87.7	90.4	93.6
number of cities, towns, and villages	64	64	64	63	63	60	59	59	59

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1977) p. 362

(Notes) from a written report of an education tax survey from Department of Education:

Collection rates are the proportion of taxes assessed for each year that are actually collected.

Average rates are the proportion of taxes assessed for all cities, towns, and villages that are actually collected. Decline in the number of cities, towns and villages results from increasing consolidations.

1-2-3 Formulating Education Laws

According to the Nimitz Proclamation, issued by the U.S. military which landed April 1, 1945 on Okinawa Main Island, the Southwestern Islands, including Okinawa, now came under U.S. military government. Nevertheless, Okinawan educators continued to hope for the maintenance of Japanese education. In the history of establishing education law, there were no disagreements between the U.S. military and local civilian government over democratization, but discord persisted over local residents' determination to move closer to education on the Japanese mainland and the U.S. military's attempts to suppress this.

(1) The Elementary School Order--first post-conflict education law

Issued in 1946 by the Department of Education, the “Elementary School Order” and the “Ordinance to Implement the Elementary School Order” can be called the first post-conflict education laws. The order described “schools where normal elementary education is conducted with a new spirit necessary for rebuilding post-conflict Okinawa,” and where “students will learn the knowledge of development of Okinawan culture, and the world, especially of conditions in the United States; and achievements of the Okinawan people are extolled,” thus affirming Okinawa’s special character while, at the same time, including concerns of the U.S. military occupation.

(2) Basic regulations for education--education ordinances patterned after basic education law

The Okinawa Island Group Government, established in November of 1950, lasted only one year and three months before the G.R.I. was inaugurated on April 1, 1952, but it oversaw the implementation of several important education regulations. First, the “Okinawa Island Group Basic Regulation for Education” was not something imposed by the U.S. military, but education law enacted by Okinawan civilians that was largely patterned after Basic Education Law (1947) already implemented on the mainland. In fact, it was almost exactly the same as Basic Education Law on the mainland, except that, instead of “Japan,” “the state,” and “the nation’s people,” it used the terms “island group,” “Okinawa,” and “Okinawans.”

Its preamble states, “We Okinawans must now assume the mission of creating a rebirth in our history after 1945. For this purpose, it is essential to build a democratic and enlightened society and to contribute to world peace and the welfare of humanity. For the realization of these ideals, we must rely fundamentally on the power of education.

“We pledge to educate people who cherish respect for the individual, and who seek truth and peace. Furthermore, we must overcome the limitations of our circumstances and thoroughly disseminate education to create a universally valid, yet richly distinct, culture.” Thus, on the one hand, the future direction for education is eloquently stated, while, on the other, the tortuous expression necessitated under occupation is reflected, in the words “limitations of our circumstances.”

Also during the period of Okinawa Island Group Government, the “Law for an Okinawa Island Group Board of Education” was implemented. Seven members were designated to form a central board of education, and, at the recommendation of the Director of the Department of Education, they were appointed by the governor with approval of the Island Group Assembly. This law also created district and central school boards and clearly defined the scope of their duties.

(3) Ordinance 66, Ryukyu Education Law--regulations determined by the U.S. military, codified all aspects of education

As inauguration of the G.R.I. approached, USCAR began formulating education laws as the basis for a system of educational administration, and in February of 1952 issued Ordinance 66, “Ryukyu Education Law.” Its concerns were (1) to promote democratization and local authority by district; (2) to establish an education tax that would make education budgets independent; and (3) to follow mainland education laws in content while reflecting conditions in Okinawa. Based largely on fundamental laws regulating education on the mainland, it contained a total of sixteen chapters and 169 provisions, including those covering “basic education law,” “school education ordinances,” “education administration” and introduction of the education tax⁵² Until this time, Okinawa Main Island and the separate islands of Amami, Miyako, and Yaeyama had each implemented different education ordinances, but this new law unified all of them.

Although consolidating everything into one law caused many problems, a unified education law for all of the Ryukyus was achieved for the first time. This law became the basis for education for six years until 1958 when education law reflecting the will of Okinawan people was enacted.

The Ryukyu Education Law is summarized below:

The articles relating to local administration of education established school districts for cities, towns, villages and other areas as independent legal entities. The organization of each school district included a local board of education and a superintendent of schools with a five-member board comprised of four members elected directly by local residents and one member who was a well-informed individual, such as a mayor.

In addition, the law was heralded as the basis for democratic education that would usher in a thoroughly new age through “social education,” “political education,” and “religious education.” For example, in requiring that each district school board include “at least one woman,” it stipulated the responsibility to provide a necessary means for strict adherence to the intent of the law that “at least one woman” be elected. Furthermore, the 1954 revised ordinance directed that, in cases when no woman was among the candidates or elected members, a woman board member was to be appointed temporarily, so a woman’s participation became mandatory.

(4) Enactment of the Four Civilian Laws on Education--”education as Japanese citizens”

Before the aforementioned Ryukyu Education Law became effective, USCAR declared it provisional until such time as a legislature was assembled and the laws governing Ryukyu were determined. Therefore, Okinawans expected that civil law would be determined by Okinawans.

Among laws enacted by civilians relating to education, the four basic laws establishing the independence of education were formulated according to the views of local residents. They were the basic education law, the school education law, the school board law, and the social education law. Their enactment meant abolishing the “Education Law” implemented by proclamation that was already in effect.

⁵² See Section 1-2-2.

The U.S., having asserted that the Ryukyu Education Law enacted by proclamation was “provisional,” declared that civilians would now enact education law. However, the U.S. was wary because people in the field of education were beginning to demand “reversion to the homeland” at this time, so USCAR twice rejected the bill submitted by the G.R.I. before the four civilian laws on education were enacted. With a preface containing the phrase “education as Japanese citizens,” these laws signaled an end to the long period of education by U.S. military proclamation, and the implementation, in name and reality, of education as “Japanese citizens.”

1-3 Phase III (1958-1972): Qualitative Improvement in Education

This section discusses the period between 1958, the year a basic education law was enacted by the will of the people and not imposed by the U.S. military, and 1972, the year of Okinawa’s reversion to the mainland.

During this period, aid for education from the Japanese government continued to increase, and the unification of content accelerated with education on the mainland. Research conclaves and other meetings coordinated plans for improving education quantitatively and qualitatively.

The founding one after another of such institutions of higher education as Okinawa University (1958), Okinawa Christian Junior College (1959), and Okinawa International Junior College (1959) greatly expanded opportunities in higher education for the post-conflict baby-boom generation.

1-3-1 Enhancing Teacher Training

(1) Teacher training program

With the aim of improving educational techniques, teachers in Okinawa urged the Department of Education to start a teacher training program in 1952. Many teachers strongly advocated revival of the prewar system of sending teachers to train on the mainland, and Okinawa’s leaders in the education field mobilized local public opinion and secured continuing cooperation from the Japanese Ministry of Education.

This teacher training program energized local education sites and enhanced teachers’ motivation to train. Returnees from the mainland eagerly offered study sessions and training seminars, contributing much to the improvement of education in their districts.

Beginning in 1960, training was offered to teachers in the vocational field, and the numbers sent to Japan increased. Furthermore, the program was expanded to include principals and education advisors, while another program was implemented for graduates of post-conflict teacher training schools to attend mainland universities where they studied educational theory. This program called

“teachers study abroad,” continued until reversion in 1972, and sent 1,431 people to the mainland for training between 1958 and 1972.

(2) Education Advisors Program

Along with programs sending Okinawan teachers to the mainland for training, another program was established in 1958 inviting distinguished teachers from the mainland to Okinawa. The Ministry of Education began operating what was called the Education Advisors Program in 1959. The letter of request sent to the Ministry in 1958 by the Director of the G.R.I. Department of Education cited the responsibility of the Japanese government and urged the program’s implementation, stating its aims as (1) adopting advanced teaching techniques from the mainland to raise the level of education in the Ryukyus; and (2) deepening mutual understanding through exchanges of teachers from the Ryukyus and Japan, and raising pupils’ consciousness of a Japanese identity.

For the program’s first year, one third of teachers’ living expenses were provided by the G.R.I. Department of Education and the rest by the Japanese government; but, starting in 1960, the Japanese government paid all these expenses. By 1971, 276 people had been invited.

1-3-2 Special Education

Special education in post-conflict Okinawa started late, compared to regular school education. It began after a six-year post-conflict gap with the opening in 1951 of the Okinawa School for the Sight and Speech Impaired. Other facilities opening in 1951 were a school for delinquent youth called the Okinawa Vocational School (later renamed the Okinawa Business Academy) and Airaku Academy, a children’s section of the Airaku Gardens sanitarium for patients of Hansen’s disease, later certified officially as Sumii Elementary and Middle School.”

All of these facilities combined protective care, special assistance, and education, but the Four Education Ordinances, enacted in 1958 by popular demand, required conformity with mainland education law that separated school education from social welfare, resulting in the elimination of the Business Academy from among the schools offering special education. That year special education was implemented at two elementary schools and two middle schools.

Public awareness about social issues began heightening around 1958, and special classes for mentally handicapped children increased at elementary schools, to 29 in 1964 and 85 in 1965. However, with the growing population of children from the post-conflict baby boom and no new school construction to relieve classroom shortages, worries mounted about educating children in special education classes who were graduating from elementary schools. This led to the opening in 1964 of the G.R.I. Ohira School for the Handicapped to continue the education of these children. It was the first school for mentally handicapped children in Okinawa. When it was built, there were

only sixty children in four middle school classes, but a high school division was added in 1968 and an elementary school division in 1979.

For the education of children who were ill, a system of traveling teachers was established in 1958 by Ryukyu education law (Ordinance 66, Ryukyu Education Law),⁵³ and two teachers were assigned at the Naha consolidated school district. They were sent to homes and hospitals where children unable to attend school were being treated.

(1) Education for the sight-impaired

Forced to close during the war, the Okinawa Prefectural School for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind was reopened by the Okinawa Island Group Government in 1951 as the Okinawa School for the Sight and Speech Impaired. This was the result of a request in 1947 by the Okinawa Association for the Blind to the Military Government and the Civil Administration. The school first operated in two U.S. military Quonset huts, housing 32 children with a staff of four teachers and principal, a secretary, a nurse, and a cook and custodian.

Lacking a building, the school also started with no textbooks or equipment. For general furnishings, it used U.S. military surplus blackboards, desks, and chairs. For school supplies, it used textbooks mimeographed for regular elementary schools and hearing aids for groups and individuals. But the shortage of both school supplies and a building continued until the time of reversion.

The curriculum was divided into an elementary course⁵⁴ and an intensive course, six years for elementary and three years for intensive. The intensive course offered fewer class hours in regular subjects and more in such specialized vocational subjects as woodworking, farming, making clothes, art, and handicrafts, with almost all materials donated by the U.S. military. Later, the intensive course came under the jurisdiction of the G.R.I. Department of Social Services, and the elementary course under the G.R.I. Department of Education.

Subsequently, it was determined that separate schools should be established for the sight and hearing impaired, so in 1959 the “G.R.I. School for the Sight and Hearing Impaired” divided into the “G.R.I. School for the Sight Impaired” and the “G.R.I. School for the Hearing Impaired.”

The Okinawa School for the Sight Impaired opened in 1951 with ten students in an elementary school division. Approximately twenty years later, in 1975, it had both an elementary and middle school division with a combined total of 122 students. According to a G.R.I. survey in 1955 of elementary and middle schools in all the Ryukyu Islands, the number of “blind and sight-debilitated” students registered was 72 in elementary schools and 60 in middle schools. In 1957 the School for the Sight Impaired began a program of local visits and invitations to attend the school based on information from surveys of cities, towns, villages, and public schools and from lists of handicapped persons registered with the Welfare Section of the Department of Public Welfare. This program

⁵³ On this law, see Section 1-2-3 “Formulating Education Laws”.

⁵⁴ When the school opened, this course was established for thirteen students beyond school age.

resulted in a large increase of students at the school between 1965 and 1970. When the school opened shortly after the war, it was clear that most impairments were the result of inflictions. 20% had been caused by external wounds from explosions and shrapnel, and 40% by such contagious diseases as measles with high fevers and malnutrition. Congenital sight impairments were comparatively few. This reflected the disruption and lack of treatment facilities just after the war. However, the proportion of inflicted impairments gradually decreased and the ratio of congenital impairments increased. In 1980, for example, only 9% were the result of contagious diseases while, in contrast, 65.4% were congenital.

(2) Education for the hearing-impaired

As for educating the hearing impaired, particularly noteworthy in Okinawa was education for the children with hearing disabilities resulting from the epidemic of German measles (three-day measles) that spread all over Okinawa between 1964 and 1966.

It became evident in the late 1960s and early 1970s that pregnant women with German measles had given birth to children with such congenital impairments as cataracts, heart disease, and hearing disabilities. The G.R.I. brought medical specialists from the mainland to conduct examinations. The results showed that, among 374 children suspected of contracting German measles, 339 had been diagnosed with hearing disabilities. Never before had close to 400 children with hearing disabilities entered kindergarten and elementary school at the same time. With a total of about 1,000 students in all of Japan entering elementary school classes for the hearing impaired, 400 in Okinawa alone was a huge number.

Recognizing the urgent need for educating children with hearing disabilities, relevant agencies initiated responses. The following measures were implemented by the G.R.I. Department of Education.

1. For training teachers, the Department requested that the Japanese government send specialists, and nine advisors came to train personnel in Okinawa.
2. During 1970 and 1971 the Department sent 45 teachers to the mainland to train in specialized techniques.
3. After completing their training, traveling instructors gave hearing ability training to parents and children in local areas.
4. The Department prepared for the entrance into kindergarten of children with hearing impaired by German measles, and trained specialist teachers.
5. The Okinawa School for the Deaf sponsored informational meetings for parents and children on the early detection and education of children with hearing disabilities.

6. It opened a first-year kindergarten class, revising school rules to lower the required age to three years old, which made it possible to accept children whose hearing had been impaired by German measles.

<The Kitashiro School for the Deaf opens>

In April of 1969 school began for children with hearing impaired by German measles with the start of a kindergarten class. After that, children of school age entered public elementary schools, and were taught in “classes for the hearing impaired by German measles.” But, since hearing ability training consumed most of class time, students were unable to complete the required material in the regular school curriculum. Consequently, the prefectural Department of Education began organizing a six-year middle school program, and in 1978 founded the Kitashiro Prefectural School for the Deaf. With a program of instruction in only one subject for each grade level, the school opened with nineteen classes of 140 pupils from local areas of Okinawa Main Island.

There was debate about which courses to offer in the high school division of Kitashiro School for the Deaf, but parents advocated vigorously for language ability enhancement, and strongly requested establishment of a regular curriculum. Therefore, a regular curriculum was introduced, with vocational training offered only at the second-grade level. 75 students entered regular high schools instead of attending the high school division of Kitashiro School for the Deaf. Attracting attention throughout Japan, Kitashiro School for the Deaf completed its mission and closed in 1984.

Testimony 1-5 Lives of the “German measles children”

German measles children born in 1965 are now in their mid-thirties. . . . I spoke with three mothers of children who had graduated from classes for the hearing impaired. Their children had successfully established independent lives as members of society. Each was married with children. Even in Okinawa with a high rate of unemployment, they had regular jobs and were diligently raising their own children. All three had married class mates with hearing impaired by German measles, and worried there might be problems bringing up their children, but had been able to communicate smoothly with each of them. Their children had fully accepted that their parents were hearing-impaired, and the older children had provided excellent assistance when needed to compensate for their parents’ disability. Still, it was evident that, with both husband and wife hearing impaired, achieving all this as individuals, of course, but also as parents had been extremely difficult beyond anything ordinary people could imagine. Truly admirable are the only words to describe them.

Naha City Board of Education, ed., *Comprehensive history of Education in Naha City*, 2002

(3) Education for the learning disabled

The tentative establishment of special education classes began around mid-1950, but it wasn’t until 1958 that the first school, Naha Municipal Johoku Elementary, was certified to offer special classes for the learning disabled, with seven students in its first class. The teachers starting this

program, who had trained on the mainland, not only taught the students, but also worked to develop special education by presenting classes open to the public, research conclaves, and lectures. In 1961 the Department of Education sponsored a four-week specialists' training seminar with five teachers participating from schools that had applied to begin special education classes. The following year each of these teachers started special education classes at their respective schools.

After that, special education for the learning disabled advanced gradually, but public awareness was lacking, and in 1962 there were only 13 special classes in elementary schools. Then, with increased public awareness, classes increased to 85 by 1965 with 787 children.

However, with only three middle schools offering special education classes, the need was recognized for places where these children could continue their education. In response, the first school in Okinawa for the mentally handicapped, the G.R.I. School for the Mentally Retarded, opened in 1965. Later it changed its name to the School for the Handicapped. It started with a middle school division of 60 students in four classes, but expanded as higher grades were added, establishing a high school division in 1968 and an elementary school division in 1979.

Education for the handicapped advanced rapidly after a system of compulsory education was implemented in 1979. Until then, almost all children with severe learning disabilities were "exempt from school," and did not attend regular schools. Even the children in special education classes at that time had learning disabilities that were far less severe, compared with today.

A system of compulsory attendance at schools for the handicapped was enacted in 1973. A basic policy for its implementation was established in Okinawa Prefecture as part of the Plan for the Economic Development of Okinawa, and was carried out accordingly. As a result, a prefectural school for the handicapped was established at Nago City in northern Okinawa Main Island in 1975, with schools for the handicapped opening on the separate islands of Miyako and Yaeyama in 1977 and 1979.

1-3-3 Reversion to Japan and Education

(1) Improving the conditions of education

Okinawans' fervently hoped-for "Reversion to the homeland" was realized in May of 1972 with the end of the U.S. military's twenty-seven year rule and the return of administrative authority for Okinawa to Japan. All systems the G.R.I had operated in such areas as politics, management, and education now shifted to Okinawa Prefecture and become like systems on the Japanese mainland.

The policies in the first Plan for the Economic Development of Okinawa, set forth at the time of reversion, were to make various improvements in social capital that had lagged behind during U.S. military rule, to implement structural reforms that would move the economy away from dependence on the military bases, and to correct numerous inequalities with the mainland. This plan is now in its fourth phase of ten-year time periods with the continuing aim of improving conditions that would

make possible the independent development of Okinawa. Its planning policies are determined by the Prefectural government, and special consideration is given in the proportion of aid allocated for its projects.

Testimony 1-6 Starting school at Kitashiro Elementary for the first special class of learning disabled children in Okinawa: recollections of teacher

Ikeda Yoko

Of the seven children, three were from children's welfare facilities. Because they were orphans without parents, we started by teaching them daily manners. Based on our experience on the mainland, we did away with the standard class format, changing to a curriculum that concentrated on guiding them through experience how to function in everyday life. We took them for walks up and down a low hill behind the school, counting the trees on both sides of the road and the blades of grass we picked. We had them look up at airplanes flying through the blue sky and gaze out at boats floating on the blue sea to teach them words while we talked about natural phenomena, sometimes spending the whole day this way. Learning by experience became the basis of all instruction, and the children happily pursued their studies....

During individual research presentations in November of 1958 on "Conducting Special Education Classes," which discussed the content of special education instruction and scientific surveys, it was reported that teachers had to create all teaching materials and instructional tools themselves.

Ikeda Yoko, "The first special class of learning disabled children, in Naha Municipal Institute for Educational Research, Post-conflict Education: Starting from Zero, No. 2, 1999.

Regarding education, Okinawa embarked on this plan under the severe post-conflict conditions of extreme shortages in school facilities and teachers; and, while efforts have continued, improvements are still insufficient in many aspects of education, as indicated by the urgent need for a policy to upgrade facilities. For compulsory education, wholesale improvements are needed to equalize school sizes and facilities by dividing, consolidating, or constructing additions; to improve special educations and schooling in remote areas; to equalize the size of high schools; and to construct new high schools. Following the development plan, improvements have been rapid in the "hard" facets of education for kindergarten, compulsory schooling, high schools, and special schools, with buildings on a par with the nation as a whole ten years after reversion. The quality of elementary school buildings has even surpassed the standard nationwide. Gymnasiums and swimming pools, maintained at a very low level before reversion, have also reached the national standard (See Table 1-9).

Table 1-9 Year by year status of improvements in school facilities (comparing Okinawa Prefecture with the nation as a whole)

																								units in percentage
facilities	type of school	May 1972		May 1973		May 1974		May 1975		May 1976		May 1977		May 1978		May 1979		May 1980		May 1981		May 1982		
		nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	nation wide	Okinawa	
ratio with school buildings fully meeting standards	kindergartens	48.6	83.9	46.2	82.8	53.1	84.0	60.1	86.0	65.7	86.0	69.6	86.0	73.9	87.3	80.1	88.6	83.5	90.3	88.9	92.0	91.4	92.3	
	elementary school	74.8	95.0	76.1	95.7	67.6	89.0	70.3	88.0	75.1	89.0	81.3	90.0	78.0	82.6	78.5	83.7	82.8	85.5	87.1	87.2	89.5	88.6	
	junior high school	72.1	96.6	75.0	95.5	66.1	90.0	70.3	91.0	74.5	91.0	79.2	91.0	74.7	95.0	79.7	98.1	83.0	89.0	85.6	89.6	89.0	89.7	
	senior high school	51.1	78.0	51.4	80.2	60.4	82.0	65.4	84.0	71.8	95.0	63.0	69.0	67.9	71.3	69.1	72.2	72.6	73.6	73.1	72.6	73.6	86.7	
	special education	65.3	65.0	51.3	67.3	55.2	67.0	59.6	70.0	59.0	72.0	47.0	72.0	67.2	73.8	61.8	63.2	59.1	66.2	61.8	66.4	68.4	69.2	
ratio with gymnasiums	elementary schools	14.5	76.0	20.6	77.0	26.3	79.0	42.3	50.0	57.0	81.0	66.5	83.0	75.3	84.4	79.2	86.6	85.8	88.3	86.9	89.9	89.5	90.8	
	junior high schools	26.5	81.0	33.1	85.8	66.6	87.0	55.4	87.0	65.1	88.0	75.3	89.0	81.8	89.4	85.0	91.0	85.5	91.6	85.1	92.8	88.5	93.2	
	senior high schools	30.0	-	42.5	-	55.0	83.0	68.4	84.0	85.3	87.0	88.6	88.0	95.6	89.0	95.7	92.4	100.0	92.0	96.0	94.7	98.0	96.0	
	special education	33.3	-	33.3	-	33.3	-	44.4	-	40.0	64.0	36.3	64.0	42.9	65.0	52.9	58.7	71.4	66.0	58.8	68.8	58.8	73.0	
ratio with swimming pool	elementary schools	7.9	41.3	8.6	48.2	8.8	52.4	9.1	54.7	8.8	57.5	11.3	59.8	12.1	61.9	15.6	68.7	18.7	66.9	23.4	69.3	28.3	70.8	
	junior high schools	6.6	38.9	6.6	42.7	7.4	46.5	7.4	48.4	8.1	50.0	9.2	52.3	9.6	54.3	10.9	56.9	11.7	58.4	13.5	61.0	16.2	61.4	
	senior high schools	25.0	39.7	5.6	41.4	7.5	45.2	9.7	46.9	11.6	47.8	13.6	48.1	17.8	49.1	19.1	51.1	25.5	51.8	38.0	53.6	47.1	55.4	
	special education	11.1	-	11.1	-	11.1	-	22.2	-	27.3	-	35.7	-	35.7	-	35.3	-	56.0	-	47.1	-	52.9	-	

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1984)

(2) Policies to improve school achievement

By 2003, the last year of the Third Economic Development Plan for Okinawa, the level of school facilities had very nearly reached the national standard, achieving the plan's goal. Currently, the most pressing issues of education in Okinawa are such "soft" problems as the need to improve school achievement and a high school dropout rate above the national average. In 1988 a three-stage plan of three-year intervals each was put in place to raise school achievement to the national average on achievement tests. With completion of this three-stage plan, a "school achievement improvement period" of five years was implemented from 1997 to 2001. At present, efforts continue during a five-year period of new policies to improve school achievement.

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CHAPTER 2
Peace Education in Okinawa

CHAPTER 2 Peace Education in Okinawa

Each year 400,000 people visit the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum at Itoman City in the southern portion of Okinawa Main Island. More than half are students on school excursions from the mainland. Also in Itoman is the Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum where visitors learn about the experiences of schoolgirls conscripted as nurses in what are known as the Himeyuri (star lily) Brigades. In addition to local students, many on school trips from the mainland also visit here.

The main points of these school excursions are that Okinawa is a place with a distinctive history and natural surroundings, and a place for learning the importance of peace. The students visiting Okinawa on school trips visit such facilities for peace studies as the Peace Memorial Museum, and view exhibits on the particulars of Battle of Okinawa and the losses suffered by local residents. They also learn by seeing U.S. military bases from the outside that Okinawa has been made into an “island of bases.”

For many years Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been well known as place for peace studies in Japan. Like Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Okinawa has become a focus for the study of peace because residents have told of their own experiences in the Battle of Okinawa, and because Okinawans continue to appeal to the rest of the nation for relief from the heavy burden imposed by so many U.S. military bases.

In the tragic Battle of Okinawa, more than 200,000 people lost their lives. Far more civilians died than soldiers. Okinawans have described and recorded their experiences during the battle. When the villages and towns where they lived became battlefields, they lost beloved family members, and their home communities were turned into fields of burnt ruins. They tell in their own words of the horrors of war, the preciousness of life, and the deep sorrow of losing family members. And their words have been recorded for transmission to future generations.

People who experienced the battle are invited to schools and local communities in Okinawa for lectures, and for visits to former battle sites where they can help others to experience what life was like in the middle of a war. In homes, too, it is very common for grandparents and parents to tell of their wartime experiences. The Battle of Okinawa, children hear about from their parents, relatives, and close friends become deeply etched in their hearts.

But as the years pass, with the aging of those who lived through the battle, war experiences are spoken of less often in everyday life. In an effort to continue their undiluted transmission, the people of Okinawa are endeavoring to convey them by teaching about peace in schools and local communities.

Following the battle, Okinawa was placed under U.S. military rule for 27 years, from 1945 to 1972. With people forced to live under conditions in which Japanese law did not apply, confronting

problems that arose because American military rule gave first priority to the functioning of the bases was also a major theme of peace education in pre-reversion Okinawa.

Also in Okinawa, the enormous American military presence forces people to think all the more about “war,” the polar opposite of “peace.” It is often said “in Okinawa, you can see the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.”⁵⁵ 75% of all American military facilities in Japan are concentrated in Okinawa which has less than 1 % of the nation’s total land area. Okinawa residents have continued throughout the post-conflict period to appeal for consolidation and reduction of U.S. military bases, but their hopes remain unrealized, and the problems caused by the bases continue to plague their lives to this day.

Pivoting on these major themes, the efforts of Okinawans to send the message of peace have continued as an examination of the many difficulties they have faced in the post-conflict period.

Recently, Okinawans’ appeals for peace have attracted attention, not only in Japan, but also in other countries. The oppressive burden of American military bases in Okinawa has been widely covered in the international media. And the spirit conveyed by the “Cornerstone of Peace,” which affirms the preciousness of human life and encompasses soldiers, civilians, and many nationalities, has evoked sympathetic responses inside and outside Japan. With establishment of the “Okinawa Peace Prize” in 1999, the message of peace from Okinawa is being disseminated even more widely. It used to be a message from the perspective of victimization by “war” and “military bases,” but can now be said to have significance as a more positive appeal for peace from Okinawans to be spread through the world.

This chapter will explore why Okinawans endeavor to transmit a message of peace, what this message means, and how it is conveyed. In addition, it will discuss how this message has changed recently, its significance and history, and its resonance as an issue now and in the future.

2-1 The People’s Accounts of the Battle of Okinawa for Future Generations

A major theme of peace education in Okinawa is the Battle of Okinawa. Why has it continued to be a theme throughout the post-conflict period?

(1) The Battle of Okinawa as described by close relatives

Education that teaches the preciousness of peace and life in this place that experienced the devastating Battle of Okinawa began spontaneously after the war. The place for the “actual practice”

⁵⁵ The U.S. Japan Security Treaty.(officially the “United States-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security). Signed in 1960. It revised and succeeded the former Security Treaty that had been concluded in 1951 together with the San Francisco Peace Treaty. After reversion to Japan, U.S. military bases in Okinawa became facilities provided under this treaty.

of “peace education” just after the battle was not in schools, but in homes and local communities. And since the practitioners were ordinary people, this wasn’t thought of as “education” in the formal sense. Rather, “teaching peace” in Okinawa started with the gradual revelation from deep in their hearts of their own actual experiences for transmission to the next generation.

It became common for parents and grandparents to tell of their war experiences at home. These speakers were probably not talking about their experiences with the lofty sense that they were teaching “peace education” or the “preciousness of life.” And their listeners probably did not have the strained feeling that they were being “educated.” Yet the horrors of war, such as the lingering terror of the battlefield where shells fly, were deeply etched in the listeners’ memories.

(2) Recording and publishing begin of experiences from the Battle of Okinawa.

Okinawans’ spontaneous telling of their own experiences played an important role in “peace education,” but people with a talent for writing also began putting them in print. Written accounts of the battle just after it ended were ordinarily those of generals, soldiers, and leaders of the victorious nation, with almost nothing collected from or about civilians.

In “Accounts of the Battle of Okinawa”⁵⁶ on war reminiscences and literature, author Nakahodo Masanori divides writings on the battle broadly into four post-conflict periods. First Period: Pioneering works recording it were published between 1945 and 1949. Second Period: First-person accounts written by Okinawans who actually experienced it were published between 1950 and 1960. Third Period: Writers living on the mainland who had not experienced the battle wrote about it from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. Fourth Period: Accounts of the battle as experienced by people who were noncombatants have been collected and written since the late 1970s until the present.⁵⁷ The works examined below became pioneering accounts of the battle experience.

Writings from the first period focused on Japanese soldiers’ criticism of the military with almost no discussion of noncombatants or civilians.

It wasn’t until the second period began in 1950 that the first account appeared of the battle written by an Okinawan. Although Okinawans gave spoken accounts just after the war in their homes and villages, it took several years before they thought about putting them in print. This was a time when people were finally able to start making a living amidst the ruins, and were beginning to recover at last from the collapse and confusion in the wake of the lost war. It could be said that, after reclaiming their livelihoods, people who experienced the war gained the desire to express themselves about it in writing.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Nakahodo.(1982).

⁵⁷ Ibid.p. 45.

⁵⁸ Ibid.p. 46.

The first book written by Okinawans about the Battle of Okinawa emphasizing the civilians' point of view was *Typhoon of Steel*⁵⁹ “published in 1950. The preface clearly stated its publisher’s motivation. Although somewhat lengthy, these excerpts from the preface are worthy of quotation.

This is an overall description of the Battle of Okinawa from the viewpoint of civilians, starting with the U.S. military’s landing and ending with the annihilation of Japan’s Okinawa Defense Army. Collecting materials as accurately as possible from the experiences of survivors, we have put them in writing to present this newly recorded account of the war for our readers. The purpose of this account is not to examine the movements of military strategy. We seek throughout to focus as closely as possible on the circumstances of civilians, how they suffered in this war and what it wreaked on them.

Such experiences have not occurred on the battlefields, and thus have not been written about in standard accounts of war . . . With no place to escape, tens of thousands of civilians fled this way and that in aimless desperation only to become victims of shelling or to die of starvation in this extreme human tragedy. They rushed from cave to cave and from tomb to tomb with only the belongings they could carry in a wandering journey toward death. Or, they crowded into caves where hundreds of men, women, children, and elderly were trying to survive in the gloomy darkness. . . . Those who barely managed to escape death hardly looked human after the horrors of extreme stress, malnutrition, and life day after day within the eerie confines of family tombs. They had subsisted through exhaustion that drained all their bodily strength, and amidst filth and pitch darkness. Although told they should die, they had shuddered in terror of death and persisted in the final human struggle to stay alive. Driven to the point of death, they each had differing experiences. Here are their true accounts. Of course, we became the victims of Japanese imperialism’s war of aggression, but we wish to speak of something deeper here. In seeking “human understanding and friendship that transcends nation and race,” we appeal for lasting peace.⁶⁰

This rather long quotation on civilians in the Battle of Okinawa is presented here because it includes several important themes of peace education, as taught later in the schools, which drew on materials about the battle.

Following this book, expanded efforts continued to record civilian experiences of the battle. The prefectural history *Accounts of the Battle of Okinawa*, published in 1971, presents war experiences gleaned from contacts with more than 1,000 people who had lived through the battle. Accounts were collected from forty group meetings in Chatan, Kita-Nakagusuku, Naha, and all districts of Shimajiri, and from personal interviews.

Naka Shohachiro, who worked on this prefectural history compilation project, explained in his book *Testimony from Okinawa*⁶¹ why the experiences of civilians are so important. “Civilians are ordinarily concerned only with their everyday lives. Yet, until now these innocent people have not

⁵⁹ Okinawa Times.(1950).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Naka and Tanikawa.(1971).

told how much the war affected them. Okinawans gave up their homes and livelihoods for the war, yet there are no records of civilian war experiences. I thought this was a major void.”⁶²

Naha City’s publication the same year of A record of city residents experiences during and after the war, Volume 1 was followed by the publication of civilian accounts of wartime experiences in dozens of cities, towns, and villages in the prefecture as part of their local histories.

2-2 Putting Peace Education into Practice in the Schools

The Battle of Okinawa was an immense tragedy experienced by the Okinawan people. Transmitting accounts of it for future generations began spontaneously, has proceeded in the schools, and continues today. Yet the battle is not the only topic of peace education intimately familiar to Okinawans. They have lived under alien rule following the war and amidst the oppression of military bases that continues even after reversion. It could be said, in a sense, that Okinawan society and history themselves supply material for thinking about peace. Furthermore, the Battle of Okinawa, alien rule, and military bases are not separate and independent issues, but are mutually interrelated. In the previous section, we saw how the Battle of Okinawa, as described hesitantly by those who experienced it, conveyed the importance of peace. In this section, we introduce the specific practices of peace education and give examples of how it is taught in the schools.

2-2-1 How Can the Battle of Okinawa be Taught?

June 23, designated as the day the Battle of Okinawa ended, is commemorated as “Memorial Day,” an official holiday in the prefecture. For Okinawa, June is a memorial month. Memorial services for victims of the battle and related events are held throughout the prefecture. They are conducted before June 23 in almost all schools in the form of peace assemblies, special homeroom presentations, and special classes. The primary aim is to nurture continuing advocacy for peace by helping children to understand the Battle of Okinawa as a whole, highlighting its special characteristics, and teaching the priceless value of peace. The varied methods for teaching about Memorial Day include lectures by those who experienced the battle, films about it, exhibitions of photographs, and reading aloud from books about war.

Particularly since the late 1960s, more efforts are devoted to “special classes” which are instructed by groups of teachers. The Okinawa Teachers Union gives the following explanation for conducting special classes.

“A few years after the end of the war Japan lost, people began talking about their tragic war experiences, and their hatred of war. But nowadays post-conflict generations comprise more than half the population, and it is rare for the subject of war to be

⁶² Naka and Tanikawa.(1971).

discussed even among family members As teachers in Okinawa who experienced the tragic war, lived under alien rule for more than 27 years, and endured countless hardships and deprivations, we must resolve to remember the past war, and to maintain opposition to war, advocacy for peace, support for democracy, and respect for human rights.⁶³

To hear those who lived through the Battle of Okinawa speak about it in everyday life and convey their experiences for posterity has become increasingly difficult with the passing of the wartime generation. Recently, as experiences of the battle fade, teachers in the schools, sensing a crisis, have sought ways to convey the appeal for peace.

(1) Special Class

June 23 “Memorial Day”

1. Objectives: To inculcate an understanding of Memorial Day as a day for comforting people’s spirits dispersed in the oceans, the mountains, the fields, and the sky; and, at the same time, to instill a hatred of war and a love of peace. Below is one example summarized from a 1978 teacher’s guide⁶⁴ for a special class about “Memorial Day.

2. Instructional content

- (1) When is Memorial Day? (2) What happens on this day?
- (3) Why is it observed only in Okinawa?
- (4) What kind of damage did the battle cause, especially in the numbers of war dead?
- (5) What threatens peace in Okinawa?

U.S. military exercises, U.S.military’s live fire artillery drills over Prefectural Highway 104, expanded deployment of Self Defense Forces, pollution caused by bases

- (6) What must we do to protect our lives, our freedom, our property, and peace?

<Teachers guide for upper-level elementary grades (example)>

- (1) Topic: “Memorial Day”
- (2) Objectives for this time: Basic knowledge of the Battle of Okinawa; an intimate understanding of it as a brutal war in our homeland Okinawa; thinking about the significance of “Memorial Day”
- (3) For study at this time: Experiencing it through television and other media, children tend to think of war as “cool” and “awesome.”
There is a problem with current movies that glorify war and portray characters heroically. Using the materials in this guide is important to instill understanding of war’s tragedy and of the preciousness of life.

⁶³ Okinawa Prefecture Teachers Union. (1982).

⁶⁴ Okinawa Prefecture Teachers Association. (1978) p. 60.

learning process	study materials and activities	instructions for teachers
for getting a grasp	Have them tell what they've heard and read before about the Battle of Okinawa. Himeyuri Memorial(*1) Young Men's Memorial(*2) Mabuni Hill(*3) grandparents killed in the war	Ask how they felt before when they heard accounts of war. Have them think about how they feel now.
For a deeper understanding	(2)A deeper understanding of (1) based on teachers' explanations and materials about the Battle of Okinawa mobilization of the elderly and women sinking of the ship Tsushima-maru(*4) the October tenth air raid dying as a group(*5) the battles of assault and defense from Shuri to the southern area Young Men's Memorial Himeyuri Memorial 60% of those killed in the battle were Okinawans (one third of the prefecture's population) 20,000 bodies remain unexcavated (3)Listen to an explanation of problems caused by the Self Defense Forces, and discuss them as a group	Explaining everything is impossible, so choose two or three points and explore them Help them understand the tragic war experiences of Okinawans, the cruelty and ugliness of war, and the preciousness of human life. Explain unconstitutionality of Self Defense Forces, and discuss their pros and cons.
For consolidating	(4)Have students write their impressions or other compositions to consolidate their thoughts.	Encourage them to express hatred of war and a desire for world peace.
For reaching out beyond the classroom	(5)Reading Talking with family members about the significance of Memorial Day	Refer them to writings about peace they can read and advise them how to make opportunities for discussions with family members.

- *1 Memorial tower enshrining the students and teachers of Okinawa Normal School, Girls' Division, and First Prefectural Girls High School who died in the Battle of Okinawa.
- *2 Memorial tower enshrining teachers and students of Okinawa Normal School, Boys' Division, and Middle School who died in the Battle of Okinawa.
- *3 The battle ended after heavy fighting in this area where several memorials have been built.
- *4 This children's evacuation ship on its way from Okinawa to Kyushu was sunk by an American submarine, killing 1500 on board, mostly schoolchildren.
- *5 Deaths in areas of heavy fighting of whole families and groups of refugees in caves who had nowhere to escape and took their own lives. In recent years, the term "dying as a group" has been used instead of "group suicides."

The aim of the above teachers guide is to describe the Battle of Okinawa as a whole, while emphasizing that the civilian perspective gives it special significance. For example, such war monuments as "Himeyuri Memorial" and "Young Men's Memorial" exist because school children

were sent to the battlefield where even infants, the elderly, and women died. By explaining that unexploded shells still remain, teachers can also illustrate how the “post-conflict” continues even to this day.

Starting in the late 1960s, the Okinawa Teachers Union designated five days each year for special classes: (1) May 3 which is Constitution Day, (2) May 15 which was the day of reversion, (3) June 23 which is Memorial Day, (4) October 21 which is International Antiwar Day, and February 11 which is National Founding Day. In practice, a survey by the Nakagami branch of the Okinawa Teachers Union found that the highest ratio of schools conducted special classes on Memorial Day at 92.5%, and the lowest ratio on International Antiwar Day at 49.7%. The figures from this 1982 survey are likely to be rather different today.

(2) Peace education through experience

Many schools now conduct special classes in a more generalized format, encouraging students to think about Memorial Day by bringing them exhibitions of photographs with explanations, lectures by experts on the U.S. military in Okinawa, and accounts of people who experienced war. Recently, with the passing of the wartime generation, designing peace education with persuasive power for today’s children has become a serious problem, with criticism that it has become “stereotyped.”

In recent years, the trend has been away from studying peace passively by hearing lectures and seeing movies or photographs toward more studies of peace through experience. Students visit the Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum and other facilities for peace education, do field work at former battle sites, and use the “*gama*” cave shelters to learn through experience.

In particular, *gama* have been utilized recently as sites for peace education where the tragedy of the Battle of Okinawa can be explained from the viewpoint of civilians. *Gama* are naturally occurring caves. During the battle, local civilians used them as evacuation shelters. They are especially numerous in the southern area where, because of their large size, not only civilians, but also military forces hid inside to live for long periods. American forces concentrated their attacks on Japanese forces in *gama*, shooting flamethrowers and phosphorous shells in indiscriminate assaults that killed many civilians inside.

Evacuees in one of the two *gama* in Yomitan Village obeyed calls by U.S. forces to surrender, but evacuees in the other *gama* refused to surrender and their lives ended “dying as a group.” This tragedy was the result of war propaganda depicting “American and British devil beasts,” and warning that people must “never become their prisoners.” Life inside caves without light or wood floor was extremely hard. Going outside exposed evacuees to the indiscriminate American assault, but inside they lived in fear of the Japanese soldiers there. Everyone had to keep silent to hide from U.S. forces. No one knew when the battle would end. Terror and uncertainty filled the inside of *gama*. When children learning today through experience inside the *gama* climb outside it again, they

all appreciate the value of peace, as their thoughts focus on the tragic circumstances of people who lived during the battle.

The practice of peace education also takes many other forms, such as media presentations, plays, musical concerts, and fieldwork. Below are the main activities listed in *Okinawa: action for peace* (1988), published by the High School Teachers Union Resource Center and the Research Committee for Peace Education.

- (1) Students mostly from the media and drama clubs of Oroku High School wrote a scenario based on enlarged images from photographs taken on an earlier visit to *gama* at former battle sites. (1986).
- (2) Motobu High School: an exhibition of war documents and artifacts, lectures, panel discussion, antiwar concert, and more (1983, 1984)
- (3) Koza High School: a “peace concert,” featuring poetry reading and choral singing
- (4) Misato Industrial High School: a rock concert by the June 23 Peace Recitation Club
- (5) Yaeyama High School: Students made an antiwar video, “Forty Years after the War: A Special Documentary” (1985), and visited former battle sites on Ishigaki Island.

Other presentations listed were, in English class, “Learning about Okinawa from Collected Testimony in English;” in physics class, “Peace Education on how Nuclear Power leads to Nuclear Weapons;” and, in art class, antiwar posters on the Battle of Okinawa made from the perspectives of high school students.

2-2-2 “Reversion to the Homeland” and “Education for Japanese Citizens”

Besides the Battle of Okinawa, the main themes of peace education before reversion were the problems caused by alien rule and “reversion to the homeland,” which was seen as their ultimate solution. Peace education was practiced at this time through the efforts of such pre-reversion teachers organizations as teacher study groups.

Teachers were responsible for peace education in the schools. There was little of it, however, at a time of acute shortages just after the war when it was all people could do to survive from day to day, and especially when schools lacked buildings and teaching materials. Nevertheless, with opposition to U.S. military rule and hopes for reversion on the rise, teachers groups intensified their efforts to find ways for teaching the spirit expressed in Japan’s Constitution and Basic Education Law. In these circumstances, the content of pre-reversion peace education focused less on the Battle of Okinawa and more on “reversion,” “education for Japanese citizens,” “U.S. military rule,” “harm caused by the bases,” and other issues that reflected political and social conditions at the time.

In 1954 the Teachers Association began holding a Research Conference on Education to collect and report the results of educational practice. Subsequent meetings of the Research Conference, in conjunction with regular curricular guidance, played a major role in identifying problems resulting from the arbitrary exercise of U.S. military rule and implementing research for peace education.

As one of the committees organized for the 1962 Research Conference, the “Committee on Education for Japanese Citizens” discussed ways to implement education that “Aims for the proper cultivation of Japanese citizens according to Japan’s Constitution and Basic Education Law.” This committee became the main venue for discussing the promotion of peace education. Its first session dealt with educating students as “Japanese” who live under U.S. military rule, discussing curricular guidance on such issues as (1) education in Okinawa and the spirit of Japan’s Basic Education Law; (2) U.S. military bases and Okinawa; and (3) improving student performance and education for Japanese citizens.

2-2-3 Moving from “Education for Japanese Citizens” to Education for Peace

For 1972, the year of reversion, the Committee on Education for Japanese Citizens scheduled a single, unified theme, “How to continue the post-reversion struggle against war in education,” which was the first time its unified theme had not included the term “education for Japanese citizens.”

Reversion to Japan brought changes in many organizations, including teachers associations. In 1971, the year before reversion, the Okinawa Teachers Association consolidated its organization. This change was necessary so that teachers could negotiate on an equal basis as workers, whether employed by the G.R.I. or local district boards of education. Then, in 1974, the Association affiliated with the Japan Teachers Union.

Later, in 1978, the Research Conference’s “Committee on Education for Japanese Citizens” changed its name to the “Committee on Peace Education.” It subsequently adopted such unified themes as “How to create peace education and further the antiwar struggle for peace” and “nationalistic attacks and the emperor system” (1978, 1979), discussing numerous political issues, such as the movements opposing the Japan Self Defense Forces and the Emergency Defense Measures Law.

2-2-4 Guidelines for the Administration of Peace Education

(1) “Guide for Conducting Peace Education”

In 1993 the Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education published the “Guide for Conducting Peace Education.”⁶⁵ This 140-page guidebook explained the significance of peace education for

⁶⁵ Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education. (1973).

Okinawa with its distinct history as an independent country that had long prospered and developed through relations with other countries, but had experienced the tragic battle of Okinawa followed by alien rule. Thus, “education is urgently required that will cultivate an international outlook in children and students of the 21st century, and will foster a deeply held reverence for peace.”

It listed four basic concepts of peace education.

- (1) Teaching reverence for life and respect for the dignity of the individual according to the spirit of Japan’s Peace Constitution and Basic Education Law.
- (2) Cultivating an identity as one member of international society living in the world community, and nurturing qualities that will contribute to world peace.
- (3) Inculcating empathy for others.
- (4) Fostering a reverence for peace based on the distinctive character of Okinawa’s history.

The guidebook then outlined a plan for implementing peace education according to the basic concepts above.

- (1) Implementation to be organized and planned appropriately for each grade level.
- (2) Schedule courses, ethics education, and special activities for a yearlong plan of instruction based on a summary of the main points to be taught.
- (3) Promote respect and understanding for the culture of each student’s own country and for international cooperation and understanding.
- (4) Teach peace comprehensively through education in human welfare and the environment.
- (5) Teach reverence for peace based on materials from local history.

The special feature of this plan is that it indicates how peace, and the reasons we should cherish it, are taught at each level of elementary, middle, and high school, as shown in the table “Peace Education Matrix” in Figure 2-1, below.

Figure 2-1 "Peace Education Matrix"

courses/ethics/special activities	Japanese Language		social studies		science		daily living	music	art	home economics	physical education	ethics	special activities
	lower/middle grade level	upper grade level	middle grade level	upper grade level	middle grade level	upper grade level							
(1)Teaching the preciousness of life													
reverence for one's own and others' lives													
(2)teaching the preciousness of peace													
individual well-being a calm and stable social environment a beautiful natural environment													
(3)teaching the horror of war													
World War I World War II and the atomic bombings Memorial Day(The Battle of Okinawa and museums)													
(4)thinking about the causes of the war													
Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars and their contexts Fifteen-Years War and its context military bases													
(5)teaching the significance of activities associatedwith international peace													
The League of Nations/United Nations disarmament conference and treaties olympic meets													
(6)nurturing mutual understanding of oneself and others													
trust and friendship tolerance understanding and respect for other cultures an understanding of the UNESCO Charter													
(7)Fostering a willingness to obey rules													
development of a public spirit and a respect for law courtesy honesty, truth open-mindedness law and justice												3	
(8)cultivating a spirit of mutual cooperation and empathy													
kindness work courage volunteering welfare activities													
(9)cultivating a sense of appreciation													
love of family love of school love of local community love of country love of humankind													
(10)nurturing sensitivety and enlightenment													
inspiration respect love of humanity love of the arts love of nature													
(11)cultivating an international outlook through a knowledge of Okinawa Prefecture's history and local character													
wide-ranging trade and peaceful relations during the period of the Ryukyu Kingdom Okinawa as a southern gateway Shuri Castle's restoration													

Source: Okinawa Prefecture Board of Education (1993) p. 64

As shown in the “Matrix,” special features of the “Guide” are that it teaches peace from a broad perspective within each course, showing how peace relates mutually to each of them, and indicates specific objectives for each grade level. Another special feature is its promotion of international coalition and cooperation while following an overall lesson plan that emphasizes Japan’s Peace Constitution and the philosophy of Japan’s Basic Education Law.

(2) The “Exhibit of Peace Messages from Children and Students” at the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum

The “Exhibit of Peace Messages from Children and Students” is presented each year at the Peace Memorial Museum with the important purpose of transmitting the experiences of those who experienced the Battle of Okinawa for posterity residents. Its aim is for children and students to think about war and peace through painting, essays, poetry, and other creative activities. The most outstanding works are selected from those submitted and exhibited to the public. The number of annual submissions has increased every year since the exhibit opened in 1992, and is now close to 1500.

Many of these works express, with children’s acute sensibility and in their straightforward words and colors, what they learned from their families about the tragedy of war, the sorrow of losing family members, the fervent desire for peace, the solemnity of birth, and the preciousness of life.

2-2-5 U.S. Military Bases and Peace Education

(1) Before reversion

The military bases built in Okinawa after the war have affected education in various ways. There have been crimes and accidents caused by the presence of the military bases, and not a few incidents in which children are the victims. Education seeks to transmit an unfaded record of the past through the testimony of those who experienced the Battle of Okinawa, films, and visits to former battle sites. In contrast, the military bases are a present and ongoing form of peace education that forces both adults and children to think about “peace,” “war,” “the nation-state,” and “the world.”

Before reversion, local events and social movements served in themselves as materials for peace education on the theme of “U.S. military bases.” When Okinawans mounted protest demonstrations in response to crimes and accidents resulting from the presence of bases, it was only natural that children’s eyes were opened to the social problems the bases caused, the “injustice of U.S. military rule,” and issues of “peace” and “human rights.”

(2) After reversion

Problems of noise, environmental pollution, and frequent crimes and accidents that result from the presence of the bases have been major political and social issues in Okinawa both before and after reversion. When peace education takes up problems associated with the military bases in Okinawa, its major themes are the present state of the military bases, the reasons why, in all of Japan, 75% of them are concentrated in Okinawa, the damage they cause, and the burdens they impose.

Living next to the bases and getting used to seeing them even as “normal,” children now learn the facts about them, about why they are here in their home community, about their community’s distinctive character and history, and about how it has changed from the way it was in the past. Through this process, they come to understand that noise and the many other troubles the bases cause are not “normal” occurrences, but manifestations of serious problems and injustices. This provides an opportunity for thinking about how to deal with them.

2-3 How government and citizen groups make Okinawa a transmission center for peace

2-3-1 The Prefectural Government’s Peace Projects

The strange-sounding policy listed as “peace administration” first appeared among the official duties of the Okinawa Prefectural Government in 1993 when the government established a department to carry it out. Its purpose was to “convey Okinawans’ appeal for peace widely inside and outside the nation, and contribute to the establishment of permanent peace”⁶⁶ With a total annual budget in recent years of between 300 and 330 million yen, its main functions are to operate facilities related to peace and to resolve issues left over from the war.

Its comparative importance has changed somewhat under the current prefectural government, but peace administration remains a unique policy of the Okinawa Prefectural Government.

Peace administration in the Okinawa Prefectural Government has three important policy responsibilities. (1) “The Cornerstone of Peace,” a monument on which the names are engraved of each individual who died in the Battle of Okinawa. (2) “The Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum,” built to pass on accurately the historical lessons of the Battle of Okinawa and to contribute, from the viewpoint of Okinawans, to the establishment of permanent peace; and (3) “The Okinawa Peace Prize,” awarded to individuals and organizations who have contributed to the building and maintenance of peace in the Asia-Pacific area which has profoundly affected Okinawa geographically and historically.

(1) The Cornerstone of Peace

⁶⁶ Okinawa Prefecture, Department of General Affairs Peace Promotion Division. (2003) Summary.

The Cornerstone of Peace is located in Itoman City at Mabuni where heavy fighting took place during the Battle of Okinawa. It stands at the southwestern edge of Okinawa Battlefield Park near the Peace Memorial Museum, Peace Memorial Hall, and the Memorial to the Dead in the Battle of Okinawa. Engraved with the names of more than 238,000 people who died in the Battle of Okinawa, the plates of this stone monument encircle a flame of peace. On a site of 17,000 sq.m. stand 116 engraved monuments with a total length of 2,200 m.

The Cornerstone of Peace was completed in 1995, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and of the Battle of Okinawa. It was constructed to convey widely, inside and outside Japan, the “spirit of peace” cultivated through Okinawa’s history and environment, and to appeal for permanent world peace. Its plan is to engrave the names of every individual who died in the Battle of Okinawa, whether soldier or noncombatant and without regard to nationality.



President Bill Clinton visiting the Cornerstone of Peace during the 2000 G-8 Summit (Source: Okinawa Times)

Its three basic philosophical purposes are (1) to mourn those who died in the battle and pray for peace; (2) to pass on the lessons of those who experienced war; and (3) to provide a place for rest and study. There are war memorials throughout the world, but very rarely do they include all the names of a war’s victims engraved with equal prominence whether soldiers or noncombatants and without regard to nationality. It is this concept that evokes a sympathetic response inside and outside Japan.

The Cornerstone of Peace is based on this concept, pledging to oppose war by mourning without distinction between allies and enemies, since hating enemies makes no sense when the victors also suffer profound losses as victims of war.

(2) The Peace Memorial Museum

Built in 1975, the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum relocated to its present building which opened in 2000. Standing on a site of 12,000 sq.m., the structure occupies 10,179 sq.m., and has a basement floor, a ground floor, and a second floor. It was remodeled at a total construction cost of 4,900,000,000 yen as a facility to create peace, contributing to the establishment of permanent world peace.

Five purposes of the Peace Memorial Museum are (1) mourning all who have died in war and praying for permanent peace; (2) creating and transmitting the message of peace; (3) peace education, peace exchanges, and training of personnel for peace-related work; (4) building a peace network; and (5) providing a peace data base and research facilities.

The museum has a five-room permanent exhibit and, in addition, rooms for scheduled exhibitions, special exhibition, exhibition rooms for children, an information library, and a Peace Memorial Hall. The permanent exhibit covers two areas on the first and second floors. The “Area for Experiencing History” on the second floor is an observation type of exhibition where visitors learn about the tragedy of war and the preciousness of peace through historical experience. Its purpose is to pass on these lessons to future generations. Below are the five exhibition rooms that make up the permanent exhibit.

In addition, the museum holds about 12,000 volumes of books for general readers and children, and provides videos and other institutional support for peace studies. About 170,000 visitors came to the former museum in 1969, its last year of operation, but an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 have visited since the new museum opened. Besides presenting special exhibitions periodically, it permits the borrowing of such materials as exhibition panels and videotaped testimony to support peace studies.

(3) The Okinawa Peace Prize

The Battle of Okinawa and military bases continue to be major issues of peace for Okinawa. The “Okinawa Peace Prize” was created in 1999, with basic guidelines established in 2001, to broaden a commitment to the concept of peace. It is awarded to individuals or organizations, in Japan or elsewhere, working in the Asia-Pacific region to resolve such problems that threaten the peace and survival of humankind as wars, regional conflicts, poverty, displaced persons, and environmental destruction. A recipient is selected every two years with the initial prize going to the Peshawar Association, supported by Nakamura Tetsu,” which contributes to the peace and security of humankind by providing medical care in Afghanistan. The next prize went to “AMDA” that continues to offer emergency medical assistance in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere.

In receiving the first award, Nakamura Tetsu of the Peshawar Association spoke of “contributing to peace through nonviolence,” acknowledging that this recognition by the people of Okinawa had special significance. We were deeply moved by the overwhelming contrast between Peshawar’s work in faraway Afghanistan and the deployment there of invasion forces from

American bases here in Okinawa. In his acceptance speech, he noted “living in a situation in which even speaking of peace is violently punished, I feel honored as a Japanese that this stolen voice of peace is spoken by the people of Okinawa, an “island of bases.”

According to AMDA Director Sukanuma Shigeru, “In Japan Okinawa is the only society related by blood. Thus, distant relatives, rather than others nearby, are treated with special care. Many of the powerless people of the world needing aid are from societies related by blood. How should we interact with these societies? People in Okinawa have learned the principles of humanity and how not to act from experience in their daily lives. What I hope most for Okinawans is that they will look again at the world, not as something geographical, but as a society related by blood.”⁶⁷ He evoked everyone’s sympathy by speaking of a historical spirit of mutual support among Okinawans, which continues in practice today, as a much-needed contribution to international relations.

2-3-2 Peace Projects in Cities, Towns, and Villages

(1) Nuclear-free declarations by local governments

In the 1980s, a nuclear-free declaration was issued in the city of Manchester, England. During the Cold War between East and West when the cities of Europe were in danger of nuclear attack, a movement spread among local communities to issue nuclear-free declarations based on the belief that nuclear deployment only increased the risk of retaliation. Beginning in the 1980s, the ratio of local communities with nuclear-free declarations has also increased in Japan, reaching 80% at present.

In response to this movement, nuclear-free declarations were issued in Okinawa during the 1980s, with the number of declarations⁶⁸ gradually increasing until now the prefecture itself, as well as its cities, towns, and villages, have all issued nuclear-free declarations⁶⁸. So many communities joined this movement because the prefecture was once the site of the devastating Battle of Okinawa and remains the location for military bases, making people especially eager to abolish nuclear weapons.

Below is an example of one declaration, from Ogimi Village. It speaks of the continuing buildup of arms despite worldwide appeals for the abolishment of nuclear weapons. “As citizens of the first nation victimized by nuclear weapons and as people who experienced the tragedy of war, we in Okinawa appeal to nations with nuclear weapons for an end to all wars and the abolishment of nuclear weapons that threaten human existence.” Opening by warning of the nuclear threat, it

⁶⁷ Okinawa Prefecture Information Section.(2004) p. 8.

⁶⁸ The nuclear-free declarations of Okinawa Prefecture and all its cities, towns, and villages are published on the home page of the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum. <http://www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/htmls/heiwa/hemenu.htm>

continues by expressing the importance of abolishing nuclear weapons that threaten peace for the community of Ogimi Village. “We residents of Ogimi village seek, first and foremost, peace for the area where we live. This hope for peace is a natural desire for us villagers, but we also regard it as our mission in helping to guarantee the survival of humankind. Thus, the Village Council hereby pledges, for the sake of everyone’s right to live, to appeal for lasting peace, to oppose nuclear weapons, and to work for their abolishment.”

(1) Unique peace projects of cities, towns, and villages

1. Haebaru Town

Haebaru Town, located just south of Naha City, has a population of 33,000. With an area of 10 sq. km., it is a farming community where mainly squash and other vegetables are grown, but is best known for the production in former times of Ryukyu splash-pattern cloth, the textile for which Okinawa is famous. An army hospital was set up here for Japan’s 32nd Army (Jewel Corps), known as the Okinawa Defense Army, in preparation for the Battle of Okinawa, using what was then the Haebaru elementary school as one of its wards. It was a place of tragedy where, after Defense Army Headquarters withdrew from Shuri and retreated south, the seriously wounded were either abandoned in the underground hospital cave or forced to kill themselves by drinking cyanide if they were too injured or sick to evacuate.

Haebaru Town established a section for peace administration in 1989 with activities centering on the Municipal Culture Center. The basic mission of peace administration has been to organize the townspeople to conduct their own research thorough reclamation of the town’s history and traditions. The two-story Culture Center building was reconstructed from a former kitchen for school lunches, using steel-reinforced concrete at a cost of seventy million yen. It functions as a municipal museum with exhibits on four topics: “The Battle of Okinawa,” “Emigration,” “Folkways,” and “The Arts”. “The Battle of Okinawa” section is located in the center of the permanent exhibit, and includes a recreated Haebaru Army Hospital cave based on the testimony of surviving army nurses.

The Culture Center also compiles local historical materials relating to the Battle of Okinawa, and organizes exhibitions and lectures on folk culture, traditional industries, and post-conflict life. In addition, it manages peace exchange visits of local elementary school children and former wartime evacuees who travel together to Kumamoto and Miyazaki, places where Okinawans evacuated during the war.

2. Yomitan Village

With a population of just over 38,000, Yomitan Village is located along National Highway 58 on the west coast of Okinawa Main Island’s central district. 28 km. from Naha, it has many cultural artifacts, scenic spots, and historic sites and relics. During a period of great suffering, it was the

location of the initial U.S. landing during the Battle of Okinawa when heavy bombing from sea and air reduced it to scorched earth; and, for a time after the war, almost the entire town was seized by the U.S. military for use as a military base. Bases still occupy 1,649 hectares, or 45% of the town's 3,517-hectare area, despite villagers' vigorous demands for return of land used by bases that have "blocked the development of our village."

The villagers' dedicated efforts in peace administration include the "nuclear-free declaration" in 1982, the First Creative Exhibition for Peace in 1988, the enactment of guidelines for peace administration in 1991, and passage by the village council in 1995 of a resolution renouncing war. In particular, the resolution renouncing war is almost unprecedented among cities, towns, and villages in the prefecture. Proclaimed on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, it begins by advocating "A bright future for humankind. We dedicate our energies so that tomorrow will bring coexistence for humanity to live together cooperatively, liberated from the nuclear threat, and in harmony with nature." It urges renunciation of war as the "spirit of Okinawa" so that "a society without weapons can become a reality," and renews "our pledge to appeal for permanent peace and to renounce war."

2-3-3 Efforts of Citizens' Organizations

(1) The Himeyuri Memorial Peace Museum

This museum, built in 1989, tells about the unit of female students known as the "Himeyuri (star lily) Nurses Corp." At the time of the Battle of Okinawa, 222 female students between the ages of fifteen and nineteen from Okinawa Normal Girls School and the First Prefectural Girls High School were mobilized as battlefield nurses, along with 18 of their head teachers. 123 students and 13 teachers lost their lives. Surviving students from the Himeyuri Nurse Corps built the museum for repose of the spirits of their schoolmates who died, and as an appeal for peace. The "Himeyuri Memorial," enshrining these war victims together, is located on the same grounds.

The museum is a one-story building constructed on an 11,667 sq.m. lot around a central flower garden. Exhibition Room No. 1 is "The Himeyuri in their Youth." Before being remodeled in 2004, its theme was "On the Eve of the Battle of Okinawa," and it depicted how the shadow of war fell suddenly over a peaceful school when mobilization began for the battle.

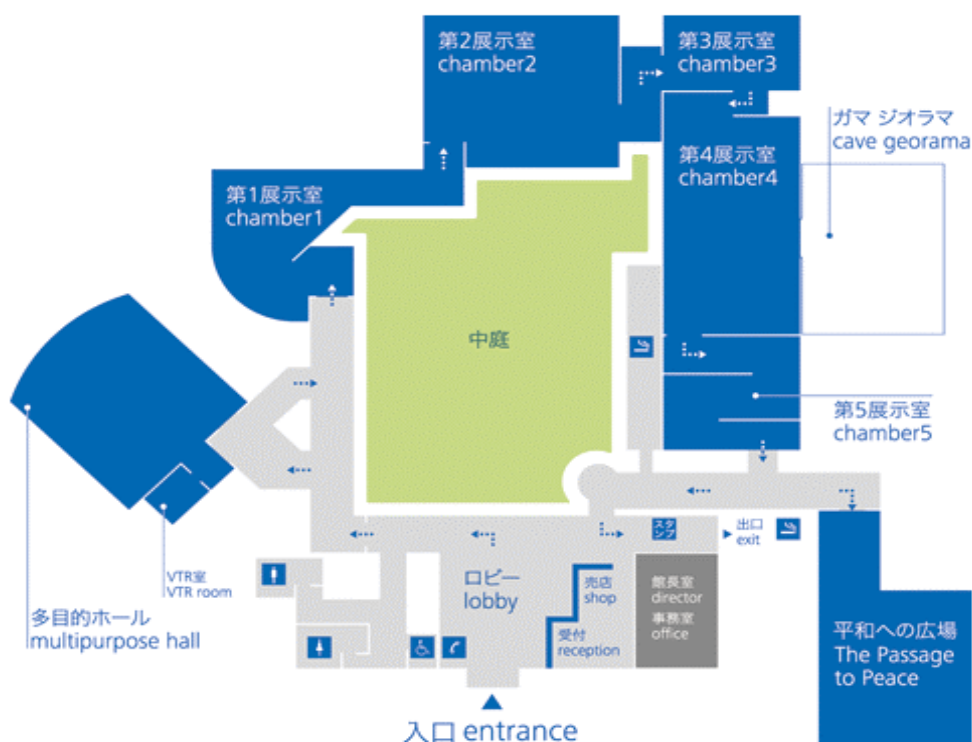
Exhibition Room No. 2 portrays, through a georama and survivors' testimony, the hospital cave of the Okinawa Army Hospital in Haebaru where the mobilized students were posted. The trench was an underground cavern winding around like an ant hole. Inside, where two-tier bunk beds were set up, the students frantically nursed the sick and wounded.

Exhibition Room No. 3, "The Order to Disband and Wandering toward Death," shows how the Japanese military's "order to disband" the corps with the approach of U.S. troops forced the students out of the cave onto the battlefield where they were surrounded by American soldiers.

Within a few days after the “order to disband,” more than 100 students died. The tragedy that unfolded then is conveyed through U.S. military film and survivors’ testimony.

Exhibition Room No. 4, titled “Their Spirits in Repose,” presents pictures on the walls of the more than 200 students who later died in the battle, and books containing survivors’ testimony. In addition, Ihara Surgery Trench No. 3 (presently Himeyuri Memorial), where many died during attacks of gas grenades, is recreated in full size.

Figure 2-2 Inside Layout of the Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum



Source: Himeyuri Peace Museum (2005)

The name “Himeyuri” became known throughout Japan after Ishino Keiichiro published his novel *Himeyuri Memorial* in 1951. The same year Nakasone Seizen, who had been one of the head teachers with the Himeyuri student nurses, published *An Okinawan Tragedy: Memoirs of the People of Himeyuri*. In 1953 the film “Himeyuri Memorial” came out, and became a huge, record-breaking hit. At a time when post-conflict confusion was beginning to settle down throughout Japan, a growing number of people from the mainland visited the battle sites in Okinawa’s southern district and the Himeyuri Memorial.

Many were already making pilgrimages to the Himeyuri Memorial before the museum was built and, with its growing renown from films and writings, between 800,000 and 900,000 people have come on pilgrimages every year since the museum opened. It has become known nationwide as a place for peace studies, and the total number of visitors has exceeded ten million during those

fifteen years. The United Nations included the Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum in its “Peace Museums of the World,” published in 1996.

(2) The S.S. Tsushima Memorial Museum

The “S.S. Tsushima Memorial Museum” opened in Asahigaoka Park, in the Wakasa section of Naha City, on August 22, 2004, the sixtieth year since the children’s evacuation ship S.S. Tsushima was sunk by an American submarine. This museum, built with two stories and a rooftop floor, is located on a lot of 930 sq.m. and has a floor space of 769 sq.m. The S.S. Tsushima Memorial Stone and Kozakura Memorial also stand in Asahigaoka Park.

On August 21, 1944, the S.S. Tsushima left Naha Port with school children, their head teachers, and other evacuees aboard. Around 10:00 on the evening of the 22nd off the Tokara Island Chain in Kagoshima Prefecture, the ship was sunk by a torpedo attack from an American submarine. Many passengers remaining in the ship’s hold and others who jumped into the ocean were swallowed up by the high waves and died. Among the 1418 victims were 775 schoolchildren.

Considered a military secret, this incident was not made public during the war, but in 1950 an association of bereaved families was formed and in 1954 the Kozakura Tower was built enshrining the victims where every year on August 22 memorial services are held. In the museum’s permanent exhibit on the second floor, a series of panels show what happened to the S.S. Tsushima from the time it left port until it was sunk, leaving passengers drifting in the water awaiting rescue.

In the first floor exhibition rooms are beds from the ship’s hold, belongings left by the child evacuees who died, and photographs from their school days. It also includes a school classroom recreated from the period, recorded testimony of survivors and bereaved families accessible on video screens, and wooden panels engraved with the victims’ names. There are 101 photographs of the victims (showing a total of 116 people) and 23 belongings left behind by 14 of them.

People working at the museum explain that “It is not only a memorial facility to provide repose for the victims’ spirits and convey the love of the bereaved families, but a space for “children of the S.S. Tsushima” to meet “children living today,” to speak with each other, and to continue communicating this event to future generations.”⁶⁹

(3) The One-Foot Campaign Association

Officially named the “Association for Teaching Children about the Battle of Okinawa through Film,” this organization is commonly called “Association of the One-Foot Campaign for a Documentary Film on the Battle of Okinawa.” It was formed mainly by scholars and intellectuals in 1983. Its purpose was to raise money from people in Okinawa for the purchase of unreleased films of the Battle of Okinawa taken by the U.S. military, and to use them for teaching children about it. Besides the approximately one-hundred reels of U.S. Air Force film on the battle stored at

⁶⁹ Okinawa Times.(2004) p. 5.

America's National Archives, the Marine Corps and Navy held thousands of reels. The cost of acquiring these films was 100 yen per foot (about 35.5 cm.). It was 70,000yen per one reel. Response to the fund-raising campaign was enormous, with a total of 10,000 people registering as members, so that by April of the following year, 1984, more than seven million yen had been collected. After arrival in May of the twelve reels ordered, totaling 9600 feet, screenings were held. They were given at the first convention in Okinawa of the Japan Teachers Union, at meetings of the Lower House Committee on Foreign Relations, the Upper House Special Committee on Okinawa and Northern Japan, and before the Okinawa Prefectural Assembly with widespread public response.

In a little over a year, more than 30 million yen had been contributed, enabling the association to purchase a total; of 44 reels, about 30,000 feet, of film for screenings to more than 50,000 people. The 50-minute movie "Okinawa: Testimony for the Future," independently produced from film purchased in the United States, also includes material on post-conflict Okinawa. It was shown in Peru and Vietnam, also with considerable public impact. "Testimony for the Future" drew praise in many fields as an outstanding and highly recommended film. In 1995 a second film, "Okinawa Battle Documentary" (55 minutes, in color), was produced.

By 2003 these documentary films had been shown more than 120 times to more than 12,000 viewers. In addition, videos were produced for sale and copies have been sent out more than 20,000 times to teachers of classes in peace studies as acclaim for this project has continued from many fields.

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CHAPTER 3

**Possibilities for Applying Okinawa's
Experience on Post-Conflict
Reconstruction of Education
in Developing Countries**

CHAPTER 3 Possibilities for Applying Okinawa's Experience on Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Education in Developing Countries

3-1 A summary of Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Education in Okinawa

How can the rough stones of practical measures and wisdom Okinawans have extracted be polished into gems useful for other nation's varied circumstances? In considering this question, Chapter 3 will start by examining the special features of Okinawa's post-conflict reconstruction in education. It will focus on thirteen themes gleaned from aspects of the Okinawan experience with particular relevance to nations presently making reconstruction efforts; and, based on this analysis, will propose ways to implement international aid to education from Okinawa.

For both the experience of educational reconstruction in Okinawa covered in Chapter 1 and the development of peace education there covered in Chapter 2, the special circumstances of Okinawan society, culture, and politics had profound effects. Therefore, for the reasons listed below, nations embarking on reconstruction today must avoid the mistake of blindly applying lessons from the Okinawan experience.

- 1. In building cooperation and peace, Okinawa did not experience the difficult problems of developing countries torn by civil wars and regional conflicts today, where there are multiethnic populations with differing religions, languages, and national loyalties, and a need to overcome past resentments.**
- 2. Even limiting the focus to educational reconstruction, only one nation, the U.S., ruled and aided Okinawa, while countries reconstructing today receive assistance from the international community as a whole.**
- 3. As in other areas of Japan, high levels of school attendance and public concern for education before the war prepared the ground for achieving rapid reconstruction in education.**

Nevertheless, in all cases, common points emerge from the dynamic process of post-conflict reconstruction. The process through which Okinawans rose from the ruins of war does not only give courage to those facing reconstruction today, but also contains valuable hints for people in developing countries. Lessons can be learned from Okinawa's reconstruction in education, including negative examples. It is important to convey these lessons while taking into consideration the varied circumstances of countries receiving aid.

3-1-1 Summary

The possibilities for applying Okinawa's experience of educational reconstruction in developing countries can be summarized as follows: "As part of the rebirth of the community, educational reconstruction proceeded along with the buildup of the U.S. military command, its governmental structures, and related organizations, taking from them the resources needed for this reconstruction. Realistic policies were designed to deal with many issues common to post-conflict societies, including assistance to former child-soldiers, child war victims, and orphans."

The special characteristics evident in Okinawa's post-conflict educational reconstruction, appropriately highlighted in this report, are "strength," "determination," and "flexibility." These three key words can be further explained as follows.

(1) Strength: Educational reconstruction as a high priority was indivisible from a rebirth of the entire community.

Efforts for educational reconstruction were responses in the process of rebirth for the entire community, and were part of an overall policy for building peace. Although Okinawa is not a country, having been severed from Japan, its reconstruction was in effect "state-building." Still, this reconstruction proceeded under U.S. military rule in which the governing system was controlled by a higher authority, so that educational reconstruction within this system was one part of a total rebuilding of the community. Thus, the people themselves specified what was needed for reconstruction, and achieved it. This process of "reconstruction from above" and "reconstruction from below" produced multiple successes as well as many disputes.

(2) Determination: A utilitarian educational reconstruction was achieved through a strategy to secure rights and resources.

With severe shortages of school buildings, teachers, and educational supplies, the higher ruling authorities (such as USCAR) implemented various utilitarian policies. For example, although the purpose of these policies was to maintain the functioning of military bases and to support occupation policies, Okinawans made full use of opportunities for higher education at the University of the Ryukyus, founded by the U.S., and for study abroad in the United States funded by GARIOA scholarships.

Furthermore, a grassroots campaign on the Japanese mainland produced aid in the form of "school supplies of love," and effective use was made of other kinds of assistance sent from the mainland at a time when Japan had recently achieved its own reconstruction. Developing organizations and movements in this way to gain rights and resources demonstrated considerable skill, and showed that objectives could be realized through peaceful means.

(3) Flexibility: Efforts for educational reconstruction emphasized realistic measures with immediate effects.

The emergency measures implemented to secure materials for educational reconstruction in Okinawa offer a wealth of suggestions for policies in developing countries. In particular, with the urgent need for teachers, policies producing immediate effects were emphasized during the early reconstruction period with the introduction of teacher-training programs and the implementation of a provisional system for hiring assistant teachers as a temporary expedient. Furthermore, severe budgetary shortages delayed construction of permanent school buildings, but minimal facilities for education were created from tents and other military surplus materials with help from local communities which provided much of the labor.

In contrast, while some measures in Okinawa to assist former child-soldiers, child war victims, and orphans provide useful models, others must serve as negative examples. As indicated clearly in this report, during the emergency phase just after a conflict, meeting basic educational needs for the general benefit of most children is all that can be done, so specialized education for particular needs in special cases or particular circumstances becomes possible only ten years into the reconstruction period after the end of a conflict.

In judging the applicability of Okinawa's experience to countries actually faced with the task of reconstruction, it is essential to avoid an over eagerness in applying the Okinawa reconstruction experience to developing countries and to overlook the particular circumstances of each nation or region. Each conflict has its own causes and historical context. And the end of each conflict results from interrelationships among many kinds of people and social groups that have developed through the phases and circumstances of war and peace, leading finally to the present situation. Strictly speaking, post-conflict reconstruction in each case begins from a completely different starting line.

To summarize, in applying this research on educational reconstruction to developing countries, we must not generalize the lessons of Okinawa's experience and prescribe it or force it on developing countries as a model. Instead, a process is necessary that emphasizes consulting closely with people from these countries and working cooperatively with them and with organizations to determine educational content and methods that are best suited to the circumstances of each nation.

3-1-2 A framework for Analyzing Okinawa's Experience of Educational Reconstruction

This section first presents an analysis of benefits that come from consulting with developing countries, then uses this analysis in reexamining the process of Okinawa's educational reconstruction to identify points of commonality and applicability.

Table 3-1 An analysis of Okinawa's experience of educational reconstruction

process of implementing educational recovery	Quantity	Management	Quality
Phase I emergency period 1945-51	restarting education (emergency measures) 1 school construction 2 preschool education 3 teacher training 5	education budgets/initiating laws 7,8,9	compiling textbooks 4
Phase II reconstruction period 1952-57	school construction 2	formulating education law 8 formulating education budgets 9	
Phase III development period 1958-72	special education 11		development of teacher training 5 peace education 12

* Number to the right of an item corresponds to the number for this topic discussed in the section that follows

* Dark spaces indicate items emphasized during each period, boldface type indicates special items.

Based on categories from the Introduction and Chapter 1, Table 3 - 3 divides the process of educational reconstruction in Okinawa into an emergency period from 1945 to 1951, a reconstruction period from 1952 to 1957, and a development period from 1958 to 1972.

The special character of the emergency period was the high priority placed on expanding educational opportunity (that is, opening schools, facilitating access to education, and raising attendance rates). The special character of the reconstruction period was advancement of educational governance and formulation of laws relating to education, along with continuing concern for securing and maintaining educational opportunities as emphasized in the emergency period. On the other hand, the special character of the development period was a change in emphasis from expanding and maintaining educational opportunities to improving quality in the content of education.

Following the method of classification in the Introduction, Table 3 - 1 divides the elements of educational reconstruction into three categories: (1) quantity, (2) management, and (3) quality. In this way, the central concerns are clearly indicated for each stage of Okinawa's educational reconstruction.

Table 3-1 suggests that the process of educational reconstruction in Okinawa went largely according to educational development theory, and that reconstruction policies were implemented strategically. The implementation of educational reconstruction for Okinawa according to this

strategy is something applicable for education in developing countries as well. The special characteristics of educational reconstruction in Okinawa are analyzed below, based on Table 3 - 1.

3-1-3 Special Characteristics of Educational Reconstruction in Okinawa

(1) Phase I: emergency period, 1945-51

Education resumed in the refugee camps of central Okinawa even before organized combat ended in the Battle of Okinawa. However, with many civilians still caught up in the heavy fighting, most components of an infrastructure, including school buildings, textbooks, and teachers, had been destroyed.

Therefore, the first priority for restarting education went initially to efforts at restoring the educational infrastructure, including human resources (through teacher training). Such emergency measures to fill the teacher shortage as teacher training programs and the conditional appointment of “assistant teachers” have been praised as immediately effective responses, and offer ample possibilities for application during emergency periods in developing countries.

Furthermore, with most school buildings destroyed by the war, filling this need was also recognized as an urgent task. Although unable to obtain sufficient understanding and assistance from the U.S. government, local residents and area communities joined actively in determined efforts to restore school structures. Much can also be learned from the example of Okinawa as a place where, in the field of education, it was “reconstruction from below” with community ownership of the reconstruction process.

(2) Phase II: reconstruction period, 1952-57

Concern for education had always been widely shared in Okinawa since before the war, and residents keenly felt the need for educational reconstruction as soon the fighting ended. People also understood from experience that schools are institutions which take in children who have no place to go. Thus, with efforts to expand educational opportunities during the emergency period, school attendance rose to 99% in less than a decade after the war. When regular access to education was secured, the emphasis shifted to maintaining and enhancing expanded educational opportunities by designing various educational systems.

Entering the reconstruction period, civilian administration expanded in Okinawa centering on the G.R.I. which began formulating laws for education and designing other institutional mechanisms. Laws regulating education were indispensable for maintaining the various systems which provided stability and continuity for educational reconstruction. The process of designing an educational system for Okinawa can serve as model for developing countries.

Efforts at securing a stable budget for education remained trial and error, but the introduction of an education tax, even amidst chronic budget shortages, demonstrated the high priority placed on

resources for educational reconstruction. Circumstances in which much of the budget for education relied on outside aid and more than half of it went for teachers salaries are the same in developing countries today.

(3) Phase III: development period, 1958-72

When the expansion of educational opportunities was secured through the formulation of laws and systems for education, the emphasis shifted gradually in educational reconstruction from building and maintaining institutions to improving the quality of educational content.

In particular, entering the period of development, numerous efforts are evident seeking to improve the institutional support system and teaching methods relating to the content of peace education. Many issues of peace education arise in an atmosphere filled with sorrow and hatred prevailing immediately after armed conflict. Peace education must aim to create an environment in which speaking for posterity about victimization in war does not exacerbate feelings of enmity toward the other side, but, instead, encourages reconciliation and contributes to the building of peace. Peace education in Okinawa has been implemented and developed amidst much discussion, but there is not the slightest disagreement about nurturing a desire for peace. This experience in Okinawa provides valuable material both for people in developing countries and for discussions of peace education.

Having examined the special characteristics of educational development in Okinawa, we will next explore actual examples of educational reconstruction in developing countries to consider what points of commonality exist between Okinawa's experience of educational reconstruction and issues of educational reconstruction and peace education in developing countries.

3-2 Educational Reconstruction in Developing Countries as Viewed from Okinawa's Experience

This section presents 12 issues from Okinawa's experience of educational reconstruction and peace education that are relevant to present experiences in developing countries and areas of conflict, and will compare examples from developing countries and Okinawa.

As evident from the examples, it is necessary to explore in depth the specific policies implemented in Okinawa as well as the conditions prevailing in countries and regions receiving aid. The aims of this section are to inform personnel from Okinawa who will work in international aid programs how experiences of educational reconstruction and peace education in Okinawa relate to issues confronting developing countries; and, to stimulate further research.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See 3-3-3 of this chapter.

1. Restarting education

Although organized combat operations in the Battle of Okinawa did not end until late June of 1945, an elementary school had already opened one month earlier on May 7. Heavy fighting was still continuing at this time in other areas of Okinawa. Initial encouragement to open a school came from the U.S. military, but the immediate response of local civilians is an important point to focus on for this discussion.

In most places in the Balkans following regional conflicts in Yugoslavia, local residents did not wait for international aid, but moved into the schools, cleaned them up, and began catch-up classes.⁷¹ Local residents' avid devotion to education can be explained by the importance placed on education in the schools for providing future resources and transmitting ethnic culture, and by the importance given to it as a principle of socialism in the former Yugoslavia. It can also be surmised that, because many school principals held positions of leadership in their communities, it was natural for all local children to go to school.

In societies immediately after conflicts ended, public safety systems were inadequate and children were the easy targets of crime. Orphans without relatives were especially vulnerable. Thus, "education's protective role" was considered important. Once school started again in local areas, it was possible for the staff to ascertain the problems faced by each child, and to make arrangements for children's safety through contacts in the community. Furthermore, parents of school age children are said to feel more secure just knowing their children are at school.⁷² In countries experiencing reconstruction, free lunch programs encourage children to attend school. It has been reported that, when free lunches are provided, not only does school attendance increase, but students' academic performance improves as well.⁷³

2. School construction

One year after the war ended in Okinawa, 80% of the schools that had opened in villages and refugee camps were held in tents or Quonset huts. There were also many "blue sky classrooms." Six years after the war about 25% of the schools were still in need of permanent buildings. The number of available classrooms was insufficient not only because many schools had been destroyed, but also because many children had returned from evacuation elsewhere and the period of compulsory education had been lengthened. Chapter 1 explains how everyone joined with

⁷¹ Because school was canceled during conflicts, "catch-up classes" were held in which the material to be learned was condensed in order to accelerate students' advancement into the regular curriculum.

⁷² Nicolai. (2005) p. 11.

⁷³ Meir. (2005) p. 35 It has also been reported that, when organization in the schools was inadequate to prepare and distribute food for free lunch programs, the responsibility fell on teachers, which had a negative effect on efforts to improve the quality of education.

coalitions of school support groups and child protective associations to build the schools, working with the government to improve the environments for children's education.

In Afghanistan, where the disruption of war continued for more than twenty years, 80% of the schools were destroyed. With a projected increase in the number of school-age children, about 14,000 schools just for the elementary grades will be required over the next ten years.⁷⁴ In Cambodia, the Vietnamese invasion and civil war destroyed 90% of the schoolhouses.

In regional conflicts, schools are often the intentional targets of attack. Because schools play a central role in the community, attacks on them have symbolic significance. As the basis of community organization for local ethnic groups, they are inviting targets for other hostile ethnic groups.

In Kosovo of the former Yugoslavia, reconstruction has proceeded at a rapid rate under the United Nations Provisional Authority⁷⁵ with help from international aid, and many schools have been newly built or repaired in a short time. When schools are not built in time, classes begin in tents donated by U.N. organizations or in private homes borrowed for this purpose. Many international citizens aid organizations also participated in the planning. However, because local governmental structures were inadequate, many organizations could not carry out infrastructure improvements for the schools as administrative supervision was insufficient. Compared with Okinawa, local administrative capacity and coordination are seriously lacking in countries receiving aid today.

The recurrent budget for the reconstruction and development of education in Kosovo still relies mostly on international aid. But, with the concern of the international community turning to Afghanistan, Iraq, and the countries of Asia suffering major natural disasters, aid to Kosovo has tapered off. With conditions still lacking for independent and sustained economic growth, measures implemented by local citizens and government along with efforts at self-help are urgently needed.

3. Preschool education

In Okinawa, according to U.S. policy, education often started early with one year of preschool education (kindergarten). "The Ishikawa School," the first elementary school described in Chapter 1, opened just after local fighting ended, but the U.S. military had initially ordered the operation of a kindergarten. In the capital city of Naha, the Tsuboya Kindergarten started its first semester in 1946.

While American policy in Okinawa promoted preschool education, it is not generally a priority for the governments of developing countries during reconstruction. This can be attributed

⁷⁴ Asian Development Bank.(2002) p. 4.

⁷⁵ The United Nations Mission In Kosovo.(UNMIK) was established in accordance with a U.N. Security Council resolution.

mainly to the International Human Rights Covenant which specifies compulsory elementary education as a basic human right, and to budgetary limitations. On the other hand, international aid organizations and research institutions have vigorously advocated the importance of preschool education for educational reconstruction.

Discussions of reconstruction aid for Afghanistan at the Tokyo NGO Conference on Afghan Reconstruction, held in December of 2001, recommended setting up nursery schools and kindergartens. Preschool education does not only accustom children to school life, but also benefits the local community.

In Kosovo many schools have established one-year preschool programs held in the elementary schools. Some elementary school teachers indicate that “Children suffer psychological wounds in conflicts, and there is a tendency toward violence in the schools. Children who did not receive preschool education tend to cause problems at school.” Also, for the sake of reconciliation among ethnic groups, it is generally better for children to start in preschool.

4. Contents and textbooks of education during reconstruction

The content of education in Okinawa when schools reopened had more the character of guidance for daily life than course-study. Guidance for daily life started with teaching bodily hygiene such as washing hands and removing lice. Also, considering that health was often poor due to food shortages, course-study was limited to basic language skills and math. Furthermore, it seems likely that such activities as telling children's stories and singing songs were conducted not only because course-study was impossible under the circumstances, but also because they gave children a feeling of security. The teaching of ethics, citizenship, and health education began at the next level. The curriculum for educational reconstruction specified by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) puts a high priority on peace, daily life skills, citizenships, health education, and safety education.⁷⁶ Safety education teaches children to protect themselves from the many dangers lurking daily in post-conflict societies. It plays a vital role, making them aware of land mines, unexploded ordnance, and depleted uranium shells left over from the war, and of the dangers of kidnapping and of traffic accidents resulting from unmaintained roads to school.

As for textbooks, two points to emphasize are that efforts in Okinawa to provide them began early and that they were compiled from the local perspective. On the second point, the U.S. military believed that initially textbooks should “relate closely to daily life” and concentrate on “an understanding of the Okinawa region.” The third point to emphasize is that, despite the shock of losing the war, one month later Okinawa’s leaders in education held an “education conference” at which they agreed that the future direction of Okinawan education must be “education that teaches values for a shared humanity.”

⁷⁶ UNESCO.(2002) p. 30.

5. Training teachers

In Okinawa one-third of the teachers had died in the war and approximately another one-third could not teach because of wounds they had suffered or acute economic circumstances. War also took the lives of 4,500 from among the next generation of teachers who had been attending normal schools. Schools reopened even though the supply of teachers had ended for three or four years. The policies implemented to cope with these realities were short-term hirings of middle school and high school graduates, and training periods starting at two-months duration, but increasing gradually.

People completing this training were granted teachers licenses for elementary school, and obligated to work in the schools for a minimum of one year. For many of the countries experiencing reconstruction in education, an overwhelming teacher shortage is the most important issue.

Many teachers are killed or wounded when conflicts occur. During Pol Pot's reign in Cambodia (1975-79), between one million and two million people (25% of the population) were massacred. Intellectuals were especially targeted, and 75% of the teachers were killed. Then, since most of the surviving teachers were hired by the government as public employees after the Pol Pot's reign, the actual number of teachers has further diminished. In Afghanistan, too, the schools were closed for more than twenty years, and at present there is a teacher shortage of 44,000.⁷⁷ Furthermore, 80% of the people teaching in the schools there do not hold teaching credentials. This is especially true in farming areas.

One reason for the low number of teachers has been that the way people are treated in the field of education does not make teaching an attractive job. Even in Okinawa, the income from "working for the military" in jobs on or around the American bases was about three times what teachers earned. With the shortage of jobs in post-conflict societies, it is only natural that people seek jobs with higher salaries to support themselves and their families. When outstanding individuals do not take teaching jobs, it has an impact on educating the next generation, causing a major problem for the society as a whole.

6. The psychological care of children and the reopening of schools

For children, who are especially vulnerable to the abnormal and inhuman events of war, psychological wounds are deep. When schools opened early in Okinawa, children encountered many difficulties in studying and in daily life. At this time the concept of trauma (post-traumatic stress disorder) did not exist. Schools, local communities, and families each seem to have given different kinds of treatment for the psychological wounds of war.

⁷⁷ Government of Afghanistan.(2004) p. 7.

Children in areas of conflict all over the world presently suffer from trauma. Fighting in Sierra Leon between government and antigovernment forces dragged on from 1991 to 2000. Starting in 1999, UNESCO and the local government implemented a one-month program called “Rapid Ed” to treat children in the capital of Freetown for trauma. This program ran in conjunction with education in the schools. Children took basic literacy classes in the morning, and in the afternoon they used their bodies to express themselves through such activities as music, plays, and games.⁷⁸ Since few teachers in regular schools have expertise in treating trauma, there is a need for training school personnel how to recognize children suffering from trauma and how to help them.

7. The administration of education

The United States also made efforts to democratize the administration of education in Okinawa from the early reconstruction period. At that time on the mainland a program for decentralizing control of the schools was progressing as the United States introduced a system of education administration resembling the one used in America where school boards were elected locally and budgets were independent of other public finances. In Okinawa, too, school administration was separated from regular government administration, school districts were established as independent agencies, and four of five school board members were elected directly by district residents. And, in the spirit of gender equality, it was required that at least one member be a woman (see Section 1-2-3, “Formulating education laws”).

At present, reconstructing countries and regions are following the international trend in educational development by promoting local control of school administrations. For democratization, improved efficiency, and the ability to consider the special character of each area, localized control of education seems highly suitable, but in multiethnic countries and regions where national unity is an important issue, one must also consider the harm caused by having completely different education in each administrative district, separated from the others according to the ethnic groups living there. Bosnia and Kosovo in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, Cambodia, and countries in Africa all face this problem. Furthermore, the efficiency of organizations administering education in each district must also be considered. Where administrative efficiency suffers from a shortage of personnel, even district office facilities are severely lacking.

8. Formulating education law

The first education law in post-conflict Okinawa was the “Elementary School Ordinance,” promulgated in 1946, one year after the war ended. In the brief period before establishment of the G.R.I., the provisional Okinawa Island Group Government enacted a “Basic Education Law.” After that, the formulation of education progressed step by step reflecting the limiting restrictions in each period with enactment of the Ryukyu Education Law (1952), by order of the U.S. government, and

⁷⁸ Sinclair.(2001) p. 67-68.

proclamation of the “Four Education Laws” (1957), which was civil law written by Okinawa residents (see Section 1-2-3, “Formulating education laws”).

The “Nimitz Proclamation,” declared the continuation of the current laws just after the U.S. forces landing. The total absence of any law would have created serious problems for administrators, so the Nimitz Proclamation can be praised in this regard.

In Afghanistan, a mixture of education laws remain which were written under various past governments, and some districts use education laws from different periods. Drafting of a basic education law has finally begun, but in the absence of a consistent legal basis, an unavoidable state of confusion will probably continue.

9. Education budgets

The education budget’s share of the Okinawa Civil Administration’s total budget was 13% in 1947, but nearly tripled to 38% in 1949. These government budgets did not even include expenses for school construction, which relied on U.S. monetary aid. Half of their annual expenditures were teachers’ salaries, 50% of which were also subsidized by U.S. aid funds (see Section 2 -2-2). In the case of developing countries receiving reconstruction aid, most of the development budgets within their education budgets rely on aid, and projected operating budgets seem to disappear into school employees’ salaries.

The governments of countries experiencing reconstruction have generally assigned “education” a high priority in their reconstruction budgets. This is because it is easy to rally public support for a policy of investing capital in the next generation responsible for the society’s future.

Furthermore, during a reconstruction period when civilian jobs are not created, the education sector can be said to contribute to social stabilization as the largest source of public employment. Nevertheless, looking behind government statements, it is difficult to say that education necessarily receives a high priority.

A special feature of the budget in Cambodia is that most is spent for elementary education in comparison with other levels. Expenditures for elementary education are 85% of the total education budget, far exceeding the international standard of 50%.⁷⁹ Perhaps because of this, the raw percentages for school attendance are nearly 80%, but inequality between genders and among local areas, along with a high dropout rate, are unresolved problems often seen in developing countries.

In the future, the focus should not only be on the total number of children entering elementary school, but on the efficiency and the equality of opportunity for educational services that raise the education level of all the citizens in a nation.

10. Educating war orphans

⁷⁹ Japan Bank for International Cooperation.(2001) p. 242.

In Okinawa, where civilians were caught up in the fighting, many children lost both parents in the war and became orphans. It wasn't until eight years after the war that a law for orphan welfare was enacted and building began of children's welfare facilities (See section 1-1-1, "The Battle of Okinawa and education"). However, Okinawans did not wait for governments or organizations to act, and people at local schools worked actively to improve the welfare of those most vulnerable.

In developing countries experiencing reconstruction, too, many war orphans cannot receive an education. The nation might provide welfare facilities where orphans are housed, but either no education is offered there, or only the most minimal opportunities are available for learning. One cause of this problem is an administrative gap that exists because welfare facilities come under the jurisdiction of welfare ministries while education ministries have jurisdiction over the schools, and there is no coordination of orphans' education between the two agencies.

Furthermore, some children who have lost their parents find themselves responsible for supporting other family members, and it is all they can do to work so they and their siblings can survive, a reality that makes it extremely difficult for them to avail themselves of educational opportunities.

11. Special education

The international goal of "education for all" is widely proclaimed, but what about children with special needs? Special education started in Okinawa in 1951, six years after the end of the war. A law for compulsory education of the handicapped was not enacted until thirty years after the war. One reason for this delay in implementing special education is a low level of public awareness.

When the schools reopened throughout Kosovo just after the conflict there ended, an estimated 40,000 children attended. The number among them of school-age children with special needs, though estimated to be at least 4,000 (1% of all children), was actually presumed to be close to 23,000.⁸⁰

Access to learning, limited for children with special needs even before the conflict, was all the more difficult after the conflict. On this point, suggestions are offered by the "teacher dispatching system," begun in Okinawa in 1952, that sent teachers to homes and hospitals where children with illnesses were being treated.

Records in Okinawa show that teachers found ways at their school sites to provide education for children with special needs. It is noted that teachers conducting special education for mentally impaired children who were also orphans created special curricula and teaching materials that focused on learning by experience and guidance for daily life. For example, they taught language by taking children out for walks in natural surroundings, counting trees, and talking about nature. This demonstrates that education for children with special needs must be supported by the united efforts of teachers, administrators, and local communities.

⁸⁰ Hakkari.(2002) p. 2 and Davies.(1999) p. 24.

12. Peace education

In Okinawa, along with Hiroshima and Nagasaki where many died in the atomic bombings, peace education based on learning from the past is actively developed and implemented.

The content of prewar and wartime education in Okinawa has many points in common with the content of education in developing countries where regional conflicts are frequent. At present, in these countries, “citizens education” has begun in order to build democratic societies. In Okinawa, nurturing the skills, attitudes, and values for citizenship in a democratic society seems to have begun after the war in “social studies” classes.

In post-conflict Bosnia, democratization is being promoted with the backing of the international community. In some schools, independent courses in “education for citizenship” have begun, and the subjects of democracy and human rights are taught as part of the content in already existing courses relating to social studies, such as “history” and “community.” These efforts are not limited only to such courses as “education for citizenship,” but are also applied, for example, to school textbooks for geography and history from which expressions hostile or insulting toward “other” ethnic groups are eliminated. Furthermore, in history education, there is discussion, not only of the history of conflicts, but also of times when ethnic groups coexisted.⁸¹

Nevertheless, in Bosnia’s schools, stories centering on ethnic heroes are told and an ethnic identity is promoted. The message is still conveyed that, having been the past victims of war, it is only through ethnic solidarity that survival has been possible. This kind of education is reinforced at home and in the local community. Here it is useful to point out that, in Okinawa, even during periods when opposition to U.S. bases after the war had effects in the schools, students were taught not to hate the American “people.”

In Bosnia, teachers who taught history and geography before and during the conflict now form the nucleus of teachers teaching “education for citizens” based on democratic principles. After the conflict, they received brief training to teach new courses in “education for citizenship,” but it is uncertain how fully they understand the points of difference between the pre-conflict education they remember and the new education.

Like teachers in Okinawa, it would probably be effective in building a new peaceful and democratic society for them to become involved in peace education and, for those who are interested, to form a network of teachers to conduct research together.

In Chapter 3, citizens’ activities are listed as the third special feature of peace education in Okinawa. It is explained that, since all citizens of Okinawa were caught up in the war, efforts in peace education should not be limited to school and government, but must include all citizens. In Bosnia, too, for example, on the day set by the United Nations for commemorating peace, schools and local communities join in the various events, and the province as a unit has established it as

⁸¹ See 4. in this section, “Contents and textbooks of Education during reconstruction”.

“Peace Day.” In the future, when building a museum, Okinawa’s experience might be useful. Efforts to build peace must come from every sector of society. Signs of change are beginning to appear in school education, but unless families in local communities share an awareness of the need for these efforts, the effect of peace education in the schools will be diminished by half. It is necessary for citizens’ groups, such as NGOs, local governments, and other community organizations, to participate in the planning of peace education.

3-3 International assistance for education from Okinawa: resources and possibilities

Taking into consideration the above, we will now explore Okinawa’s resources for international aid to education and what specifically it can be expected to offer. First, we will identify resources in the prefecture that are prerequisites for international aid to education from Okinawa.

3-3-1 International Assistance for Education from Okinawa: Premises

Why is it necessary to link international assistance for education from Okinawa to aid for building peace? And, what form of assistance is needed? Answering these questions demands a recognition of the premises for offering international assistance to education from Okinawa. In looking at the special characteristics of Okinawa’s experience of educational reconstruction, the three main premises below can help to answer these questions.

- (1) Assistance should not necessarily be provided only during the emergency and reconstruction periods. It is appropriate to consider continuing it for quality improvement during the development period. (In this case, too, it is important to maintain the view of aid as building peace.)
- (2) Okinawa has its own experience of educational reconstruction and development, but, since sufficient experience is lacking of providing international aid to education in developing countries,⁸² it is appropriate to carry out projects in stages, beginning with the training of education aid personnel to understand the circumstances in developing countries. (It would be effective, for example, to carry out projects jointly between JICA and education agencies.)

⁸² However, teacher dispatches to the Okinawan migrant community in Bolivia have continued since 1986.

- (3) It is important for the expansion and maintenance of aid programs that, along with benefiting developing countries, they also contribute to economic and social development in Okinawa which will provide the resources for this aid.⁸³

3-3-2 Possibilities of Carrying out International Assistance Projects for Education using Resources and Programs Available in Okinawa

In considering the resources in Okinawa usable for carrying out activities that apply the Okinawa experience of educational reconstruction in developing countries, I have narrowed them down to seven resources below with project possibilities briefly described. Of course, the list below is not comprehensive, and projects which combine several resources are also conceivable.

- (1) School boards in Okinawa Prefecture (the prefectural government, education offices, and local city, town, and village school boards)

According to educational policies set by the Prefectural Board of Education for the system of school boards in Okinawa, the Prefectural Department of Education runs the executive office, maintains six education offices in Okinawa as district branches, and provides support for city, town, and village school boards. In the Second Education Promotion Plan for Okinawa (2005-2007), formulated by the Prefectural Board of Education, it is stated policy to “promote global education for joining hands with the world” and to “promote the training of personnel for work in the international community.” In applying this policy, various kinds of education for international understanding, education on the environment, and foreign language education were implemented.

As the example of Okinawa’s educational reconstruction directly demonstrates, the management component is critical for accelerating educational reconstruction quantitatively and qualitatively. As material for aiding the management of educational administration, lectures are possible for introducing Okinawa’s system of academic administration by school boards and its system of training teachers. This kind of activity plays a pivotal role in planning and implementing aid projects. One subject might be how, as the organ that sets educational policy and supervises its implementation, the Prefectural Department of Education can view international aid as an education policy, and work to create a system in which each project contributes to the expansion of education in the prefecture. It can also be hoped that, as the organization supervising prefectural teaching personnel, the Department will give added consideration to encouraging participation of teacher volunteers, to offering aid, and to the treatment of teachers after they volunteer. With a joint project memorandum to be prepared this year by the Department of Education and JICA Okinawa,

⁸³ The merits (multiple effects) of aid resources the prefecture can receive, when carrying out international educational assistance from Okinawa, include allocating time for comprehensive learning, universalizing peace education, promoting education for international understanding, diversifying education, and the corresponding improvements in the quality of teachers.

expansion can be anticipated of organized efforts in international educational aid by the Prefectural Department of Education.

(2) Okinawa Prefectural Comprehensive Education Center

The Prefectural Schools Education Section of the Okinawa Department of Education manages this Center which provides opportunities for teacher training and research to improve the qualifications of school employees and promote education.

Its services include training for teachers in school management, various courses of study, industrial education, special education, I.T. education, educational methods for practice teaching of children and pupils, and the development of teaching materials. For conducting specialized technical research in education, it collects and provides data, furnishes aid for research, and offers advice. In the field of international assistance, it will likely consider admitting trainees from developing countries for practical training and for systematic observation of various activities, such as I.T. education and teaching methods for courses in science and mathematics. It also has great potential as a place where trainees from developing countries can meet teachers from Okinawa. This will provide ample opportunities for education in Okinawa to benefit from feedback in the form of information trainees provide about education in various countries that will improve education for international understanding. Center personnel who presently conduct educational training can be expected to make visits as onsite advisors when aid projects are implemented.

(3) Elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, and schools for the handicapped in Okinawa

At present, in 2004, public schools in Okinawa Prefecture are comprised of 281 elementary, 163 middle, 68 high, and 16 for the sight impaired, hearing impaired, and mentally retarded. Almost all public elementary schools have kindergarten annexes. Working teachers, sent as volunteers to educational sites in developing countries on programs of international aid for educational, are a highly promising resource. In addition, experienced teachers who have retired would also be a valuable resource as senior volunteers. In particular, knowledge from the generation that directly experienced Okinawa's educational reconstruction would be an abundant resource for the educational environment in developing countries, and would have great value.

(4) Universities

In Okinawa are four universities and three colleges. None of the universities has special classes or research centers in development studies, but many participate in planning the overseas projects of JICA. There are also many cases of current students who join the Youth Overseas Aid Corps, and are sent on assignments after graduation.

It is hoped that universities will provide organizational support as training institutions for student (newly graduated) volunteers. They can also be expected to function as organizations for

systematically and scientifically collecting and analyzing information on education in developing countries provided by volunteers or by trainees invited to the prefecture. Through this process, it is anticipated that personnel specializing in international aid (researchers) can be trained as visiting personnel on a wide range of international aid projects for education.

(5) Community centers and facilities for youth (Boys' Nature Home and The Home for Young Men)

Public lodging houses and facilities for youth are highly valuable places in local communities for career training and healthy activities for youth where people in the field of education from developing countries seeking to expand education on the citizen-participation model can observe and train. This should also provide opportunities for trainees to meet people in local community.

(6) NGO's, citizens groups, and youth organizations

In Okinawa there are many small organizations with small-scale activities, and it is important for Okinawan organizations to participate easily in such citizens' international aid programs as NGO's, with a perspective of world citizenship, and NPO's, with a citizens' perspective.

Furthermore, in Okinawa, where there was much past emigration overseas, the exchange activities of friendship associations with connections to central and South America continue to flourish today, and many members feel no hesitation in contacting trainees from overseas. These associations have great potential for grassroots support of aid programs centered around exchanges with developing countries at the citizens' level. It can also be hoped that international educational aid will expand through contacts with JICA and other resources in Okinawa to activate grassroots technical aid in the form of events for youth and seminars for visiting students run by NGO organizations and NPO groups in Okinawa.

(7) Peace museums (including Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum and Himeyuri Peace Memorial Museum)

As explained in Chapter 2, peace museums play a major role in peace education in Okinawa. When trainees from nations hoping for peace visit facilities and museums dedicated to peace that were built through the efforts and according to the ideas of local governments, community organizations, and local residents, they can get many ideas for recording their own histories of conflict and peace. The value of these museums is not limited to the exhibitions alone.

The organizational know-how required to establish and operate them can be highly informative for people from developing countries who want to build similar facilities.

3-3-3 Toward Expanding “International Assistance for Education from Okinawa”

This report was compiled in the hope that the experience and knowledge gained from Okinawa’s post-conflict educational reconstruction would be informative for international aid to education, especially for projects aiding people and countries seeking to reconstruct from regional conflicts.

This research confirms that Okinawa’s experience of post-conflict reconstruction can contribute much to peace-building and reconstruction aid today; and, that ample local resources are available in Okinawa for implementing international aid. It is hoped that, starting now, those resources will be greatly refined through interaction with developing countries, and that the numbers will increase of organizations and aid personnel who can provide assistance.

International aid for education from Okinawa that is “flexible, strong, and determined” will benefit not only developing countries. Recognized around the world as a center for transmitting the message of peace, Okinawa has also become increasingly interactive with the world. In other words, international aid for education from Okinawa has the potential to build ties with developing countries in a win-win relationship for both.

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