ABSTRACT

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF TSUNESABURO MAKIGUCHI:
HIS CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

By

Dayle Morgan Bethel

The writer's purpose in this study is to evaluate the life, educational philosophy, and pedagogy of the Japanese educator and founder of the Soka Gakkai movement, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi. The study centers primarily around Japanese educational history. Reference is made to American educational pragmatism and the life and thought of John Dewey as a means of relating Makiguchi's work and aspects of Japanese education to educational thought and practice outside Japan during the early decades of the twentieth century. A theory of social and cultural change formulated by Anthony F. C. Wallace is employed in the study and serves as a framework within which to present an interpretation of Makiguchi and Soka Gakkai.

Following presentation of biographical material covering Makiguchi's personal and professional life, the study focuses on two major phases of his life and thought. The first phase consisted of nearly forty years, from 1893 to 1929, which Makiguchi spent as a professional educator.

He wrote his major work, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy), during the years 1929 to 1933 from notes and jottings accumulated over these four decades. Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei itself is a unique Japanese formulation of an educational pragmatism which drew inspiration from the works of both John Dewey and Lester Ward.

The second phase of Makiguchi's life considered in the study covered the years from 1933 to 1944. During these years Makiguchi, recognizing his failure to reform Japanese education and society through educational means, turned to the teachings of Nichiren Shoshu, a militant sect of Japanese Buddhism, for the means to accomplish his objectives. This shift in orientation introduced an element of absolutism into his thinking which contrasts sharply with his previous relativistic and pragmatic position.

Background data for the study were collected over a six-year period during which time the writer resided in Japan. In addition, the summer of 1969 was spent in Tokyo in intensive investigation of the historical aspects of Makiguchi's life and educational career. Primary sources utilized in the study include all of Makiguchi's major works, pamphlets and periodicals which he shared in publishing, and an unpublished manuscript written by one of his students.

The major conclusion of the study is that Makiguchi is one of the giants of educational thought in the twentieth

century and merits the attention of comparative and international educators. The study also points out that the educational philosophy and pedagogy of this little-known Japanese school teacher hold significant implications for contemporary education and culture by virtue of their part in the founding and present practice of the Soka Gakkai movement.

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By

Dayle Morgan Bethel

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold. It is, in the first place, an attempt to assess the importance of the life and work of a remarkable Japanese educator, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, for international education and contemporary society. In the second place, the purpose of the study is to make available to scholars in the English-speaking world information about Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy.

Makiguchi is virtually unknown outside Japan. In fact, within Japan itself if one asks the average citizen or even the average educator a question about Makiguchi, he is likely to be greeted by a blank stare. In official Japanese educational history, Makiguchi is known as an elementary school teacher and principal who invariably caused trouble in one way or another wherever assigned. He was unceremoniously released from active school work, after twenty years of service in the Tokyo School System, by being transferred to a school scheduled to be closed the following year. Yet, despite the anonymity and official stigma associated with him, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi is

emerging today as one of the great educators of the twentieth century.

Background of the Study in Educational Pragmatism

The acceleration of Japan's economic development following the Meiji Restoration in 1868 led to a situation in which Japan and the United States entered the twentieth century in a roughly comparable state in terms of the accumulation of technological knowledge and industrial development.[1] Thus, although the cultures of the two countries were vastly different, they began the century facing common problems, needs, and concerns. In the United States, during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, John Dewey was a pivotal figure in the response of American culture in general and American education in particular to the needs of people as human beings in a technological society. In Japan, if allowance is made for a time lag in the acceptance of Makiguchi's views by Japanese society, it may be said that Makiguchi played a similar role. As will be noted later in the study

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[1]For a discussion of Japan's "forced march to industrialization" which resulted, within a generation of the revolution of 1868, in the transition of Japan from an almost purely agrarian to a predominantly industrial economy, see Thomas C. Smith, Political Change and Industrial Development in Japan: Government Enterprise, 1868-1880 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955).

in more detail, the quality and merits of Makiguchi's educational thought and proposals were largely overlooked and rejected by the Japanese during his lifetime and are just now coming to be recognized by some members of Japanese society.

Makiguchi and Dewey were contemporaries, Dewey having been born in 1859 and Makiguchi in 1871. Not only did they face common problems in their respective countries, they shared a common intellectual heritage. Both were inspired and challenged by the great educational reformers of Europe: Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, and others; both were deeply influenced by early pioneers in the field of sociology; finally, both Makiguchi and Dewey had to come to grips, as did their contemporaries, with the great intellectual issues of the nineteenth century having to do with the nature and import for human life of science and evolution.

This common intellectual heritage was a vital factor in the development and growth of both men. At the same time, both recognized early in their educational careers that new needs and new demands of people in a technological age made necessary the plowing of new ground, the creating of new structures, and the reforming of old structures. Beyond this, they saw--as others have seen more recently--that as "our technological, scientific, and urbanized civilization moves forward with ever-increasing

tempo, there must, of necessity, be some underlying principle of order, some scheme of values, some sense of purpose that extends beyond the material order of things."[2] Makiguchi and Dewey must be understood in terms of this search for an underlying order, for common human values, for meaning and purpose. In their respective cultures this search led them to formulate pragmatic conceptions of man and the world which embodied the revolutionary implications of science and evolution.

That in the United States pragmatism represents an indigenous philosophical development is widely recognized. It will be assumed for purposes of this study that the reader is familiar with this important aspect of American intellectual history.[3] Such familiarity would include the understanding that while pragmatism was an indigenous development in America, it was not new in the sense that it had no connections with the wider movement of human thought. On the contrary, as Charles Peirce, William James, and other early scholars of the pragmatic school in America freely

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[2]William E. Drake, Intellectual Foundations of Modern Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, 1967), p. 275.

[3]For two excellent works dealing with the development of pragmatism in America with particular reference to education, see: John L. Childs, Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism (New York: The Century Company, 1931) and C. Wright Mills, Sociology and Pragmatism: The Higher Learning in America (New York: Paine-Whitman Publishers, 1964).

admitted, there were important continuities between their thought and that of earlier European philosophers, particularly Kant, John Stuart Mill, and Darwin. It will be assumed, also, that the reader is familiar with the social, economic, and political dimensions of American life during the century covering a period roughly from 1850 to 1950 in which American pragmatism was given birth and grew to maturity. All of these matters, while beyond the scope of this study, are essential background for it.

If, then, this background can be assumed, it will be almost an afterthought to point out that John Dewey stands today as American pragmatism's chief spokesman. Without Dewey, as Childs points out, it is doubtful if the ideas of Peirce and James would have developed into an indigenous American philosophic movement.[4] It was Dewey, also, who initially grasped the significance of the new philosophy for education. In the same way, Makiguchi represents and speaks for an indigenous philosophic movement in Japan. That the Japanese, for the most part, failed to recognize the significance of Makiguchi's work and thought in no way diminishes his stature as an educator and philosopher. On the contrary, the neglect and rejection of Makiguchi accentuates today the significance of his work

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[4]Childs, Ibid., p. 4.

and indicates the extent to which he was a man ahead of his time in the society in which he lived.

Interest of the Study in Soka Gakkai

The educational philosophy and pedagogy which grew out of Makiguchi's struggle to integrate the diverse philosophies in his cultural heritage and to relate them to practical educational needs represents an important contribution to the history and philosophy of education in Japan. In addition to this, as the initial founder of the Soka Gakkai movement, Makiguchi contributed to the growth and development of one of the unique social phenomena of the contemporary international scene. The growth of this movement from approximately 3,000 followers before World War II to well over ten million in the late 1960's is now well documented. Included is a significant overseas membership which, according to the branch office of Soka Gakkai in Santa Monica, California, numbers 200,000 members in North America alone. As a lay organization of the Nichiren Sho sect of Buddhism, Soka Gakkai's professed aim is the realization of a society which combines the happiness of the individual with the prosperity of all society. Its political party, the Komeito, has become the third most powerful party in Japanese politics. The religious, financial, human, and political resources which Soka Gakkai

commands in contemporary Japan makes it of key importance both in that country and in the international community.

Not only are Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy integral aspects of the educational and ideological foundations of Soka Gakkai, which makes study of these matters of value to Western scholars. But worthy of note also is the possibility that Soka Gakkai, in its present efforts to implement Makiguchi's proposals, may be pointing some new directions in the ordering of educational priorities. This matter will be examined in the concluding chapter of the study.

Methods and Theoretical Framework of the Study

The writer's qualifications for undertaking the study include a six-year residency in Japan from 1960 to 1966. As a cultural affairs analyst for an American religious organization he had opportunity during this period to conduct research dealing with Japanese religious groups. This research focused on what have come to be known as the "New Religions" of Japan, particularly the Soka Gakkai and the Rissho Koseikai. In the course of this research an opportunity arose for the writer to assist William P. Woodard, then Director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions, with proofreading and editing of Institute publications and to participate with him in studies of indigenous religious movements in Japan. In

addition to this earlier study of the Soka Gakkai movement, the writer spent the summer of 1969 in Japan engaged in further research.

Due to the paucity of information about Makiguchi in English and in view of his relationship to Soka Gakkai, the writer felt it imperative that the myths and the facts concerning him be distinguished and interpreted. This was one of the primary purposes of the research conducted in the summer of 1969. At times alone and at other times with a trusted assistant, the writer tramped the streets and alleys of Tokyo where Makiguchi spent the major part of his productive years, searching for clues and leads which would help to fill in the dim outlines of his life and career. These clues and leads spread in many directions, at times to remote villages in the Kanto Plain far from Tokyo. They led to schools where Makiguchi taught or served as principal and where in some cases school records verified tenure and other aspects of his relationship to the school. They led to former students whose memories helped to sharpen the features of Makiguchi's personality as a man and as a teacher. They led to former teachers who had taught under his supervision and colleagues who had taught with him. They led to associates who assisted Makiguchi in the organizing of the reform oriented discussion groups in the 1930's from which Soka Gakkai traces its beginnings. They led finally to members of Makiguchi's family, who, although

reluctant at first were most cooperative and gracious upon learning of the nature of the research and the proposed uses of the information obtained.

In many respects this phase of the study was for the writer the most enjoyable. For a brief period it was possible to be completely immersed in the life and personality of this remarkable man. At times it seemed almost as if the personality whose form was taking shape through successive interviews and scanned records was a present reality. Then, too, many of the persons interviewed were elderly and in poor health. These would soon be passing on, taking their memories of Makiguchi with them. This realization added to the sense of need for the study and was a spur to leave no lead unchecked.

A central concern throughout the study is the role of education and the educator in social and cultural change. As a result of this general interest and concern for the relationship between education and change the writer brought the following kinds of questions to the study. To what extent can a reform-minded member of a social system bring about change in that system? Under what conditions and by what means can such change be effected? How important is education in effecting intentional and directed change? What kinds of priorities in the matters of learning contribute to meaningful and positive change? Is there a relationship between the value

structure of a social and cultural system and change within the system? How can the dignity and worth of individuals be respected in societies in which change is occurring? Such questions pointed to the need for a general theoretical framework within which the data of the study could be analyzed and interpreted. After consideration of several possible theoretical models the writer chose for this purpose a theory of social and cultural change which has grown out of the work of an educational anthropologist, Anthony F. C. Wallace.

Wallace's model is considered in Chapter VI. It may be well at this point, however, to note the general elements of the model. The primary concept is the "revitalization movement." A revitalization movement, as defined by Wallace, is "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by the members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[5] Any given society may be studied or analyzed in terms of the relationship of a revitalization movement or movements to it.[6] Thus, a society in which a revitalization movement is developing Wallace terms a revolutionary society. A society in which a revitalization movement has

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[5]Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, LVIII, No. 2 (April, 1956), 265.

[6]Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," in Anthropology and Education, ed. by Frederick C. Gruber (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 38-39.

succeeded in achieving its objectives and establishing its values as the predominant values of the society is defined as a conservative society. On the other hand, a society which mobilizes its resources to stamp out an emerging revitalization movement and maintain the values of the existing order is defined by Wallace as a reactionary society.

Wallace admits that in reality no society could be wholly one or the other of these three types. He suggests, however, that it seems reasonable to consider one value orientation or another predominant in a given group, such as the political, economic, or religious leadership of a society, during a stated period. Likewise, this tripartite classification may be used to characterize different time periods in the same society. Wallace believes that we may expect these orientations to change in a definite order. Thus, "a society which is now revolutionary will, if it changes, become conservative, next reactionary, and again most probably revolutionary."[7] Over centuries and millenia any given society "is apt to follow a roughly cyclical path through revolution, conservatism, and reaction, over and over again."[8] At this point the provisions for formal education in a society become of strategic importance. The

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[7] Ibid., p. 40.

[8] Ibid.

reason for this, according to Wallace, is that associated with each of the predominant value orientations is a philosophy of schooling which characteristically assigns priorities in regard to the things taught in schools.

In summary, then, the historical data obtained through interviews and through study of primary and secondary sources is handled in the study in two ways. Emphasis is placed, first of all, on the recording, analyzing, and evaluating of the data on Makiguchi toward the end of formulating an objective and realistic assessment of the man, his educational thought, and the movement to which he gave birth. Secondly, the theory of social and cultural change outlined above is employed as a means to interpret and evaluate the implications of Makiguchi's educational thought and practice within the larger context of societal reform and reform movements in general.

Mention should be made concerning certain technical aspects of the study. Japanese words and names are rendered according to English style and usage. Thus, names of individuals are written with surname last, as in English, rather than first, as in Japanese. Instead of "Sokagakkai," the form of the name used by the organization itself, the more usual journalistic form "Soka Gakkai" is used. A word should be said about problems of translation also. Anyone who is familiar with Makiguchi's written work can bear testimony that communication through literary

expression was not one of his gifts. His writing is extremely difficult to read, even for a Japanese person, because of its disjointed and repetitive style. Makiguchi himself apologized for the limitations of his written work in one instance, indicating that it consisted largely of notes jotted down from time to time as thoughts and ideas came to him. Reading Makiguchi, therefore, becomes essentially a matter of searching for the treasures embedded in the volumes which came from his pen and attempting to relate these insights to each other in order to construct a framework or general outlook as close to that held by Makiguchi as can now be ascertained. In translating material from Makiguchi's writings, therefore, the concern of the writer has been to communicate as clearly as possible Makiguchi's salient thoughts and intent, rather than to slavishly imitate the original wording.

Organization of the Study

The study consists of six chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter II is a discussion of Makiguchi's family life and the environmental influences of his childhood. Chapter III focuses on his educational experience and his professional career as a public school teacher and principal and as an author of educational literature. Chapter IV consists of a summary of Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy. This is followed in Chapter V by a discussion of Makiguchi as an educational

reformer and founder of the Soka Gakkai movement. Chapter VI, the concluding chapter, sets forth the theoretical framework of the study and considers some possible implications of Makiguchi's educational thought for Japanese education and society.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY LIFE AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

Early Life and Education

Tsunesaburo Makiguchi was born on June 6, 1871, the fourth year of the Meiji era, in Arahama-mura, Niigata Prefecture, a small village in Northwestern Japan. A few isolated facts are known about his early life. He was the first son of Chomatsu Watanabe. His mother's name was Ine. His parents named him Chohichi. When Makiguchi was still very young, his father abandoned him and his mother. At the age of three the boy was left with the family of Zentaiu Makiguchi, a relative. It is known that the mother met her son secretly from time to time until she attempted suicide by jumping into the Japan Sea with Makiguchi in her arms. They were rescued but the boy never saw his mother after that.[1]

Rough and mountainous land with sandy, unproductive soil surrounds Arahama. Eking out a living in this area, whether from the sea or from the soil, is hard. The word Arahama itself, which in Japanese means "desolate beach,"

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[1]Satoshi Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, Nihon Sonoshobo, Tokyo, 1969, p. 23.

suggests something of the bleak and poverty-stricken character of the community. At the time of Makiguchi's birth the life of commoners in this area was particularly difficult.

Something of the tenor of life of this period can be seen in an incident which occurred in the year of Makiguchi's birth. The leaders of the new revolutionary government of Japan were particularly anxious to increase agricultural production in order to undergird their plans for national development. They exerted severe pressure upon farmers to increase yields. The response of farmers in the Arahama area was a rebellion protesting the excessive work demanded by the authorities, which resulted in the execution of seven farmers.[2] The people of the area also received as threats two other policies of the new government. One was universal military conscription; the other, six years of compulsory elementary education. Both policies interfered with farm labor practices and needs.

Such was the situation surrounding Makiguchi's birth and early years. When he was in the fourth grade, his studies, along with a general emigration of local people to Hokkaido, gave birth in his mind to an ambition to see this frontier area. The ambition grew until, sometime in his fourteenth or fifteenth year, he set out by

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[2] Ibid.

himself for Hokkaido where he lived for a time with an uncle, Shiroji Watanabe, in the city of Otaru. The Watanabe family was too poor to send Makiguchi to high school. He soon obtained a job with the Otaru police department as an errand boy and, in addition to carrying out the duties of his work, studied to pass a government examination which would qualify him to take college entrance examinations. This studiousness and the dependability exhibited on his job so impressed the chief of police that when he moved to Sapporo he invited Makiguchi to go along with him and enroll in Sapporo Normal School. Makiguchi accepted the invitation.

In 1891, two years after moving to Sapporo, he entered the Normal School as a third year student. He graduated in 1893 at the age of 22.[3] Something of Makiguchi's interest in and affinity for the field of education must have been apparent in his work at the Normal School, for upon graduation he was offered a position as a supervising teacher in the primary school attached to the Normal School, a position which he accepted and held for eight years.

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[3]Up to this time Makiguchi had been using the name given to him by his parents at birth. Just before graduation he changed his name to Tsunesaburo Makiguchi.

Personal Life

In 1894, a year after joining the Normal School staff, Makiguchi married Kuma, the second daughter of Kumataro Makiguchi. To this union eight children were born, four boys and four girls. Tragedy in the form of the sickness and death of his children struck repeatedly during the last twenty years of Makiguchi's life. Three of his sons and one daughter died during the eight year period from 1924 to 1932. His second son died in 1924 at the age of 23; the fourth son died in 1928 at the age of 19; the first son died in 1929 at the age of 31; and the fourth daughter died in 1932 at the age of 14. Twelve years later, while Makiguchi was consigned to solitary confinement in Sugamo Prison, he received word that his remaining son had been killed in battle in World War II. Shortly after receiving this news and while still in prison Makiguchi died on November 18, 1944. He was seventy-three.

Political and Intellectual Environment

Makiguchi was born during the first uncertain years of the Meiji era. His childhood and youth spanned the initial intense debate among Japanese leaders and intellectuals as to the direction the new Japan should take and the resolution of that debate in favor of the traditionalists and the Confucianists. By the time Makiguchi began his teaching career in 1893 the die was cast. The direction

of Japanese educational thought had been determined during the 1880s, the legal expression of which was contained in the Constitution of 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890.[4]

Robert Epp effectively described the implications of this debate and its outcome for Japanese education and society when he observed that basically at issue was the question of whether the aim of education in the new Japan should be that of building subjects or of building citizens.[5] Some Japanese insisted that a strong Japan could be built, finally, only by citizens, only by persons educated to be independent and self-assured.

Those who favored this course, of whom Yukichi Fukuzawa was a foremost representative, hoped that persons thus educated would be so little the servile subject that they would not hesitate to defend their freedom, even if the entire government should be against them. Others, however, believed that only obedient and loyal men could construct the new Japan. Education, therefore, should have as

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[4]Shimosa Idditti, The Life of Marquis Shigenobu Okuma: A Maker of New Japan (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1940), pp. 209-219. See also Nobutaka Ike, The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1950), p. 188 and Edwin O. Reischauer, East Asia: The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), pp. 286-288.

[5]Robert Epp, "Japan's Century of Change: Intellectual Aspects," Japan Christian Quarterly, XXXV, No. 2 (Spring, 1969), 72-74.

its aim the building of loyal subjects. The latter group won the debate. Consequently, the new Japan "was to be built by subjects, not citizens. It would be built under careful direction from above . . . The best builder was a man trained to be loyal and obedient, not free and equal."[6] This general direction of Japanese educational thought was maintained with periodic reinforcement through the end of the Pacific War.

Against the background of this debate and its outcome Makiguchi's life and educational career must be seen and evaluated. Nowhere in his writings is there direct reference to the debate or to the contrasting educational philosophies encompassed by it. He did not question directly the policies of the government nor the ends toward which education was used by the government. Rather, his criticisms were leveled at Japanese teachers and educators for their tendency to be bound by traditional ideas and practices or to accept without analysis and understanding whatever educational ideas happened to be popular in a given period.

At the same time Makiguchi's entire educational career was a protest against the production of subjects. While he managed to keep from bringing the wrath of the national government down upon him, the educational

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[6] Ibid., p. 74.

philosophy which he preached and the educational practices which he advocated during the decades prior to World War II clearly conflicted with the overall educational policies of the government. It was not his revolutionary educational ideas, however, but religious convictions acquired late in life that led to his imprisonment during World War II. Makiguchi's efforts to bring about reform in Japanese education, his failure, and his turn to religion for the power to accomplish the desires and objectives which haunted and drove him for half a century is a story which is both fascinating and inspiring and one which affords significant insights for contemporary educators.

CHAPTER III

PROFESSIONAL LIFE

Sapporo Normal School

While information about the years of teaching in Sapporo is limited, the scattered bits and pieces which have come to light are important for glimpses which they give of Makiguchi as a person and also for background against which later developments can be seen and understood. One source indicates, for example, that Makiguchi was extremely popular with the student teachers whom he supervised because he was always easy to approach with questions and problems.[1] It is clear also that he early became highly critical of the educational practices of his day as these affected the lives of children. His criticisms of Japanese education will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here suffice it to note that in Makiguchi's view Japanese education was stifling and destroying the creative potential of children rather than releasing and developing that potential. One can detect in his writings of this period a sense of mission and personal responsibility in calling into question the educational practices of his day.

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[1]Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, pp. 38-39.

Ikeda, in his biography of Makiguchi, suggests that the idea of the individual as a creator of value began to emerge here also.[2]

Early in his teaching experience Makiguchi began to conceive the idea of attacking the problems of education through the study of geography.[3] Geography, to Makiguchi, was much more than a study of land areas, climate, natural resources, etc. Although what he meant by geography included the study of these things, his primary focus was on the people who live within geographic areas, the relation of people to land and land to people. Furthermore, although Makiguchi was interested in geography as a subject of study in itself, his efforts were directed primarily to the use of geographic studies in the education of children. He believed, at this period of his life, that geography could be used as a central, unifying point around which the entire elementary school curriculum could be organized. In this

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[2] Ibid., p. 43. This is a reference to Makiguchi's concept of value creation which is discussed in Chapter IV.

[3] Makiguchi's fascination with this field of study can be traced to at least two sources. First of all, after the centuries of seclusion of the Tokugawa period (1605-1868) there was a general interest among Japanese about foreign lands. In a very real sense the study of geography opened up new worlds to Japanese students. Makiguchi undoubtedly shared this general enthusiasm for geography. Beyond this he was deeply influenced by two books, one of which was Kanzo Uchimura's Chiginron (Theory of Land and People) published in 1894, the other, Nihon Fukeiron (Theory of Japanese Landscape), by Juko Shiga.

way, he felt, the many weaknesses of education as it then existed could be overcome.

These convictions led him to the idea of writing a geography book for use by elementary school teachers. Accordingly, every spare moment during a period of nearly ten years was spent in collecting material and working on this project. Makiguchi sensei,[4] according to students who were taught by him, always had a piece of paper or used envelope tucked in his kimono on which he jotted down ideas whenever they happened to come to him.[5] Summers, between terms of teaching, frequently found him making the arduous trip to Tokyo to search for books and to come in contact with scholars and educators from whom he could get new ideas and with whom he could test his own.

There were likely many times during these years in Hokkaido when Makiguchi longed to be located permanently in Tokyo. There he would be at the cultural heart of the country. He would be able to keep in touch with other scholars, have access to libraries and book stores, and be in a position to find a publisher for the book he dreamed of

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[4]The Japanese word for "teacher."

[5]Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, pp. 41-42. This trait was also mentioned by Hirotaro Ito, a former Shirogane Primary School student who attended the school during the time Makiguchi was principal (1922-1928). Mr. Ito is now retired and lives in Seiya village near Yokohama where the writer interviewed him late one Sunday evening in the summer of 1969.

writing. The opportunity to make the move came in 1901. But it came about as a result of an unfortunate situation for which Makiguchi was held responsible.

In order to understand the turn of events at this time one must know something of the life of students at the Normal School. The general nature and atmosphere of student life as it then existed can be described with two words, rigid discipline. The government's objective was to produce teachers who would obey at command. Thus the school was operated like an army camp. Students were not allowed to leave the school grounds and dormitory area except on Saturday afternoon and Sunday. If they did leave, they were required to be back by 5:00 P.M. Newspapers were forbidden. Each day after the evening meal there was a two-hour study period in which complete silence was observed. As some students remember the experience, one could not open a desk drawer or even sneeze during this period.[6]

In this setting Makiguchi, the year previous to the period in question, had been made head of a boy's dormitory. In the spring of 1901 discipline in the dormitory came close to breaking down. The extent to which Makiguchi was responsible for this is not clear. A key incident occurred during an annual military training field trip which involved all boys in the school with the exception of the fourth

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[6] Ibid., pp. 31-33.

year class. At one point in the course of the training maneuvers the students of a Lt. Nakamura, an instructor in military science, were given liberty with instructions to be back at the camp by 9:00 P.M. These students, however, apparently in a concerted act of defiance, did not report back to the camp until the next day. As a result the entire training exercise was thrown into a state of confusion and disorder. Although Makiguchi had not accompanied the students on the trip, he was considered officially responsible for this and other evidences of a breakdown of discipline among the students and was asked to resign.[7]

Makiguchi regretted the situation which led to his leaving the Normal School. At the same time, he had longed to have the opportunity to finish the geography manuscript. Furthermore, as indicated above, the situation afforded the chance he needed to make the move to Tokyo. Thus it was that the summer of 1901 found Makiguchi, with his wife, two children, and a wicker basket stuffed with pages of his precious manuscript, making his way to Tokyo. Ikeda describes this episode in these words:

> The same restless energy which drove Makiguchi to Hokkaido when he was 14 or 15, now drives him to further pioneering. He was approaching middle age. He had no plan for the future, but he did have a wife, two children, and a manuscript.[8]

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[7] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[8] Ibid., p. 45.

Makiguchi and the Academics

In order to appreciate Makiguchi's position at this time one must understand that in Japanese academic circles his Normal School education was not considered as being college or university level work. Among the scholars of his time Makiguchi was simply a lowly grammar school teacher. As such, without a university diploma, recognition as a competent scholar was forever closed to him. The one possible exception to this general rule was that of publishing. If he could publish a valuable piece of scholarly work, there would be some chance of gaining a reputation as a scholar.

While Makiguchi's motivation was probably due to some extent simply to a desire to be recognized, he also felt deeply that he had something important to say and he wanted to be heard. He was overjoyed, therefore, when he found some reputable scholars in Tokyo who were willing to listen to him. One of these was Kumezo Tsuboi, a young and energetic professor of history at Tokyo University. Although Makiguchi had no references and many questions, Professor Tsuboi went to considerable lengths to be helpful and to encourage Makiguchi in his writing. Shortly after moving to Tokyo Makiguchi also made contact with Juko Shiga, a widely recognized geographer whose book, Nihon Fukeiron (Studies in Japanese Landscape), had first suggested to Makiguchi the idea of writing a book himself. Early in the

year 1903 he took a six-inch thick manuscript to Shiga and asked for criticism and guidance. Shiga, too, was impressed. He said he would be glad to help. The encouragement of such men as Tsuboi and Shiga gave wings to Makiguchi's hopes. He plunged into his work with renewed vigor. By late summer the manuscript was ready for the publisher and in October it came off the press under the title Jinsei Chirigaku (The Geography of Human Life).[9]

The book was well received and considered by some scholars as a milestone in the development of the study of geography in Japan.[10] It was even recognized by the government and became the standard reference in geography for students preparing to take the government examination for teachers. Furthermore, the publication of the book brought Makiguchi into contact with scholars whom he otherwise might not have had the opportunity to meet. Included among these

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[9]Makiguchi intended originally to entitle his book Shakai Chirigaku (Social Geography). However, the political climate in Japan was such at this time that even mention of the word "shakai" (society) carried the implication of "Shakaishugi" (socialism), a word which meant treason to government authorities. Accordingly, Makiguchi was persuaded, reluctantly, by friends who "feared misunderstanding by ignorant and stubborn authorities" to change the title to Jinsei Chirigaku. See the preface written by Suketoshi Tanabe for Makiguchi's Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy), (posthumously edited portions of Makiguchi's writings) reprinted in English in The Philosophy of Value (Tokyo: The Seikyo Press, 1964), p. 183.

[10]Ibid., preface by Suketoshi Tanabe. See also Yoshihei Kodaira, Soka Gakkai, Otori Shoin, Tokyo, 1962, p. 65.

were Kunio Yanagida and Inazo Nitobe. For a time Makiguchi was a part of a small group of intellectuals who gathered at Nitobe's home for discussion and debate. These two men, particularly Yanagida, were instrumental in launching Makiguchi into his next major interest and area of study, kyodoka, the study of local folk communities.

Although Jinsei Chirigaku (The Geography of Human Life) was a significant contribution to Japanese education and scholarship and the acclaim Makiguchi received as a result of its publication notwithstanding, it did not serve to increase materially either his social standing or his financial resources.[11] The birth of a fifth child in 1907 brought the family to desperate financial straits. During these years following the publication of his book Makiguchi tried various types of employment. He worked in a publishing office producing materials for high school teachers, edited a girls' magazine, and with an acquaintance, attempted to develop a correspondence school for girls. This latter venture failed after two years. At one point he earned some money through a part-time job with the Ministry of Education editing geography texts.

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[11]Kiyoaki Murata indicates that as a result of the success of his book Makiguchi wanted to make a career as a geographer, but he was apparently dissuaded from this course by the coolness of academic circles toward his aspirations. See Murata's book, Japan's New Buddhism (New York: Walker-Weatherhill, 1969), p. 73.

The experiences of hardship and deprivation of these years left their mark on Makiguchi's personality.[12] His intense feeling for the poor and his conclusion that only among the common people could he find meaning and authenticity were very likely due to his experiences of this period. The struggles he endured the years following the publication of Jinsei Chirigaku (The Geography of Human Life) also forced Makiguchi to face up to the reality of his relationship to the university-educated elite of Japanese society. Thus, in his later writings one finds references to the naivete of the theoreticians who sit in their ivory towers with no conception of the problems faced by practical educators, i.e., classroom teachers. He called teachers to throw off the yoke which the theoreticians had forged for them and develop their own sound pedagogy based on their experience as teachers.

Public School Teacher and Principal

The year 1909 brought Makiguchi more permanent work as a teacher of the Fujimi Primary School in Tokyo. After

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[12] Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, pp. 27-28, 34, discusses at some length the probable effects on the development of Makiguchi's personality of early experiences. He believes there is no doubt but that the formative years spent in the rugged, desolate country surrounding Arahama had something to do with Makiguchi's thinking about geography and its relationship to human life. Likewise, Ikeda believes that the poverty Makiguchi shared with his fellow students at the Sapporo Normal School contributed to his deep feeling and concern for the poor and underprivileged.

one year of teaching, however, he resigned due to ill health. Four months later, in August 1910, he had sufficiently regained his health to accept employment with the Ministry of Education to engage in a study and survey of local community cultures in selected parts of Japan. In 1913 he returned to active school work as principal of Toseika Primary School and for nearly two decades continued to serve as an elementary school teacher and principal, sometimes both, in a series of schools in the Tokyo area. It was from random notes accumulated during this period of elementary school work that Makiguchi's most significant work, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (The System of Value Creating Pedagogy) evolved.

Reference to official school records provides a general chronology of the schools where Makiguchi served. Ikeda, based on his own research, gives a chronological history of Makiguchi's activities during this period. In addition the writer personally reviewed and was permitted to photograph portions of the records of Shirogane Primary School where Makiguchi served as principal from 1922 to 1928. More intimate and personal information about Makiguchi as a teacher and principal is difficult to obtain. It is possible to gain a coherent picture only by piecing together scattered impressions and views of former students of Makiguchi and others who were associated with

him during this period.[13] The picture that emerges is, first of all, that of a very studious person. Jiro Takuda, a young teacher who taught at Shirogane Primary School during the years Makiguchi was principal, remembers that Makiguchi often worked in the teacher's room late into the night. In winter, he recalls, Makiguchi would put newspapers on his back under his kimono as he sat working in order to keep warm. All who knew him remember him as a very stern and dignified person. Yet many remember him also as a person who was extremely kind and deeply interested in individual students and their problems.

Makiguchi had deep convictions about the need to practice economy and thrift. Evidence that he practiced these traits in his own personal life is given by Nakabayashi when he writes that while younger teachers usually had several sets of kimono, including white ones for summer, Makiguchi owned only one kimono which he wore

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[13]The writer found it difficult to locate persons whose knowledge of Makiguchi extended to this early period. However, an advertisement in the Japanese language Asahi Evening News brought responses from two former students, Hirobuni Ito of Yokohama and Kozaburo Nakabayashi of Tokyo. Mr. Ito shared with the writer some priceless photographs of Makiguchi and his students at Shirogane Primary School. Mr. Nakabayashi had attended Taisho Primary School where Makiguchi was principal from 1916 to 1919. Mr. Nakabayashi had been so influenced by Makiguchi's personality that he had started to write an autobiographical account of his experience as a student at Makiguchi's school. Mr. Nakabayashi graciously made this manuscript available for the writer's research.

the year round.[14] This was noticed even by the children at Taisho Primary School who nicknamed Makiguchi, among themselves, "Fukuichi chan" (one-suit man).

Both during his teaching and while engaged in the community studies for the Ministry of Education from 1910 to 1913 the philosophical and pedagogical problems with which he had sought to deal in Jinsei Chirigaku (The Geography of Human Life) remained uppermost in Makiguchi's mind. In the course of his study he had come in contact with the works of American and European sociologists and anthropologists. This may have come about as a result of his association with Yanagida and Nitobe, both of whom were pioneers in initiating sociological and anthropological studies in Japan. At any rate, Makiguchi's research in the area of community studies led to the publication in 1912 of a second book, Kyodoka Kenkyu (Research Studies in Folk Culture). In this volume the concepts of Jinsei Chirigaku were further developed and expanded in terms of the life and structures of local communities. Again, as in the earlier work, Makiguchi's chief concern was with the implications of studies in folk culture of local communities for the education of children.

Makiguchi's persistent protest against the favoritism and special privilege enjoyed by the upper layers of

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[14]Nakabayashi's unpublished manuscript, p. 9.

Japan's stratified society was characteristic of his personality. In 1919, for example, he was dismissed from the position of principal of Taisho Primary School as a result of a petition initiated by the assistant principal and signed by many teachers and parents. The reason given for dismissal had to do with alleged misuse of funds for which Makiguchi as principal had been responsible.[15] Nakabayashi, though admittedly viewing the situation through the eyes of a student who idolized Makiguchi, questions whether there had been any misuse of funds on Makiguchi's part. Rather, he believes, it was Makiguchi's attitude toward wealthy families and his refusal to show the least degree of favoritism to the children of wealthy families which was at the root of the dismissal. Makiguchi vigorously discouraged the common practice of teachers visiting the homes of only those children whose families were well to do.

Nakabayashi remembers vividly an incident in which wealthy parents requested special treatment of some kind for their daughter, who was a student in Taisho Primary School. Instead of complying, however, Makiguchi returned the gift which the girl's parents had sent to him. On such matters of principle he was adamant. Thus, while Makiguchi was generally considered an effective teacher and educator

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[15]According to Nakabayashi this money had been given by the mayor of Tokyo on the occasion of the opening of the school.

by the administrative authorities, such disregard for nearly sacred aspects of Japanese culture resulted in his being in constant difficulty with the authorities, with fellow teachers, with parents, or with all three. Evidently it was just such incidents which built up over the years and led to his forced retirement from active school work in 1929. The incident which led to Makiguchi's retirement from active school work is interesting because of its subtlety. In 1928 he was transferred from Shirogane Primary School to the position of principal of Niibori Primary School in Azabu, a school which was scheduled to be closed the following year. This was equivalent to dismissal with a year's notice, a quiet means of getting rid of Makiguchi and the troublesome issues which inevitably arose wherever he happened to be.[16]

After this transfer to the Niibori school Makiguchi set himself the task of preparing for publication the educational ideas and methods which he had developed during his years of teaching. In the work of editing his notes Makiguchi found an invaluable assistant and ally in Jogai (later changed to Josei) Toda, a young school teacher from Hokkaido whom Makiguchi had assisted in obtaining a teaching

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[16]There is lack of agreement as to the date of the closing of the Niibori school. Murata gives the 1929 date whereas Ikeda cites the date as 1932. The writer was not able to obtain records covering this period.

position in 1920 when the latter was principal of Nishimachi Primary School in Tokyo. Concerning Toda, Makiguchi wrote in 1930:

> Since the writing was done at random, editing was a big job. Without the help of certain other people, particularly Jogai Toda who used my methods in his school and found them helpful, the work could never have been done. In fact, Mr. Toda became so enthusiastic that it seems as if he were the initiator and I the follower.[17]

Toda continued to work closely with his revered teacher until both were arrested in 1943.

Makiguchi envisioned a twelve-volume work which was to be entitled, as indicated above, Soka Kyokiugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy). The first volume was published in 1930, the second in 1931, the third volume in 1932, and the fourth in 1934. The subsequent volumes were never published. It is interesting to note that ten years elapsed between the publication of the fourth volume and Makiguchi's death in 1944. Why, one may wonder, did he not produce additional volumes of his proposed work during this ten year period? A possible explanation may be that Makiguchi's own views were undergoing change during this period as a result of his conversion in 1928 to Nichiren Shoshu,[18] a sect of Japanese Buddhism. This religious

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[17]Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, Zenshu (Collected Works), Tozai Tetsugaku Shoin, Tokyo, 1965, Vol. I, p. 5.

[18]The Japanese word for "sect" is "shu." Thus Nichiren Shoshu designates the Nichiren Sho sect of Japanese

interest, it would appear, led to the rearrangement of some of his objectives and priorities and involved him in activities which consumed his time and energy, thus turning him from attention to later volumes of his proposed work.

Sources of Makiguchi's Educational Ideas

Soka Gakkai claims that the origin and basis of Makiguchi's thought lay in the doctrine of Nichiren Shoshu. In a general sense this is true, but the claim leaves a number of important things unsaid. First of all, Makiguchi was not converted to Nichiren Shoshu until 1928. This was just one year before his forced retirement from active school work. He had already spent nearly four decades in some type of educational work, either as teacher or administrator, or in research and writing of educational materials. By this time Makiguchi's basic concepts and ideas had been formulated. It is the writer's conclusion, based on examination of historical materials and interviews with persons who were closely associated with Makiguchi, that not until several years after his conversion, during the mid 1930's, did Nichiren Shoshu doctrine come to be an important element in his thought. If this is an accurate assessment of the data, it would mean that Nichiren Shoshu doctrine had not

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Buddhism. A distinction should be made between Nichiren Shoshu and Nichiren Shu, i.e., the Nichiren Sect, a rival sect within the Nichiren tradition of Japanese Buddhism.

significantly influenced Makiguchi's thought at the time he compiled and edited his major work, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei, a period extending roughly from 1929 to 1933. In fact the basic concepts of Makiguchi's system, the philosophy of value and value creation, are present in embryonic form in Jinsei Chirigaku, which he published in 1903--many years before his relationship with Nichiren Shoshu.

Makiguchi's educational thought and practice, then, may legitimately be considered in two parts: first of all, that which developed from his nearly forty years as a professional educator of which the four completed volumes of Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei is a summary, and secondly, that which grew out of his efforts to integrate that thought and practice with Nichiren Shoshu doctrine of which the Soka Gakkai is a manifestation. The first of these, Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy, is the subject of Chapter IV. The second, the influence of Nichiren Shoshu doctrine on Makiguchi's thinking and the religious movement which came forth from that ideological union, is dealt with in Chapter V.

Before going on to these matters several additional considerations will be in order concerning the intellectual sources of the educational ideas contained in Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei.

> From perusing various published works, from reading newspapers and magazines, from listening to the conversation of business men, from nature, from the

> observation of people, in other words, in response to necessity and according to feeling and experience, I made notes which accumulated to make a small volume.[19]

Thus did Makiguchi describe the sources of his educational ideas. Interestingly enough he did not in his writings acknowledge a debt to any specific individuals or philosophical schools. On the contrary, he emphasized strongly that his ideas and practices in education grew out of his own experience. He was particularly quick to deny dependence on Western scholars and educators. Makiguchi must be understood at this point. As a matter of fact, it is possible to identify with some degree of certainty the major ideological sources of influence in the development of Makiguchi's thought, many of which were Western sources. What he meant was that he did not slavishly or unthinkingly depend upon or accept the views of particular Western scholars. Rather, he insisted, every educational idea or method must be put to the acid test of actual educational practice. Those ideas which proved valid and useful in practice were to be accepted and incorporated into one's own educational practice. Those ideas which did not so prove themselves were to be discarded.

A cursory examination of Makiguchi's writings suggests that he must have been an avid reader of the works of both Japanese and Western scholars. The list of persons

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[19]Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, p. 42.

cited in his writings is impressive. With reference to Western scholars there is scarcely a single major figure in the fields of education and social science from Plato to the early decades of the twentieth century about whose work he did not make some reference. However, despite this wide acquaintance with scholarly works, there were actually three main sources of the ideas which influenced the development of Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy. One of these, the study of geography, was considered above. The second was the educational school of pragmatism, including its European predecessors, of which John Dewey was the chief spokesman.[20] The third source of influence

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[20]That Dewey's early writings were a major resource for Makiguchi is evident from an examination of Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei. The nature of the Japanese language ruled out, however, at that time, the possibility of effective two-way communication between Makiguchi and Dewey. Dewey died probably without ever hearing of Makiguchi. One can only imagine what a dialogue between these two giants of educational thought would have been like if it had not been for the barrier of language. It is well known, of course, that Dewey lectured in Japan in 1919, spending more than two and one-half months there, from February 9 to April 28. However, there is no evidence that Makiguchi met Dewey at that time or that he could have conversed with him if they had met. On the contrary, there is evidence which suggests that communication with Dewey was difficult and limited. Research conducted by Victor Kobayashi reveals that Dewey's lectures were delivered in English without the aid of an interpreter. It was primarily this lack of ability to effectively communicate with Japanese educators, Kobayashi believes, which caused the dwindling of attendance from about 700 persons at Dewey's first lecture to less than 100 at his eighth and final lecture. See Kobayashi's research report, John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), pp. 37-38. That Makiguchi did not speak

on Makiguchi's educational thought stemmed from the concepts of modern sociology and anthropology with which he became enamored during the years following the publication of Jinsei Chirigaku. Here the works of Lester Ward seemed especially to challenge him.[21] If one considers the mixture of these three lines of thought, the importance for the educational process of the geographic environment in which the learner is based, the emphasis on experience and the scientific method stemming from the pragmatic orientation, and the recognition of education's sociological dimensions, all within the particular context in which Makiguchi worked, it is possible to discern the broad

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English is implied in statements in his Zenshu (Collected Works), Vol. I, p. 5.

[21]The importance of Ward's writings in the development of Makiguchi's thought was an unanticipated finding in the writer's research. In addition to evidence of Ward's influence in Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei, including references both to Ward's books and his major concepts, persons who were close to Makiguchi have attested to the importance of Ward's writings for Makiguchi. One such person is Shukaku Yajima, now in his eighties and formerly a member of the central leadership of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai from 1935 to his arrest with Makiguchi in 1943. During an interview granted the writer on August 20, 1969, Yajima stated that Ward's writings had served as a major philosophical grounding for Makiguchi's thought. He stressed the importance of the influence of Dewey's writings on Makiguchi also, but insisted that Makiguchi's philosophy of value went beyond the educational pragmatism of Dewey because Dewey failed to make the distinction between truth and value. These views were reiterated in a letter from Yajima to the writer dated October 8, 1969.

outlines of the educational philosophy and pedagogy which issued from his thought and work. To this we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

VALUE CREATING PEDAGOGY

Japanese Mis-education

"Japanese education," Makiguchi wrote in 1930, "is haphazard, unplanned, fragmented, and purposeless."[1] This kind of education he designated as "natural education." Natural education, according to Makiguchi, had grown up as a result of teachers' unthinkingly collecting every manner of educational theory and practice from here, there, and everywhere, particularly from the West. Despite the fact that there were numerous contradictions among these theories and practices and although teachers for the most part did not understand any of them, they attempted to add them altogether to make up what was supposed to be children's education.

Makiguchi did not devote time to systematic description of the Japanese educational system about which he was so critical. Accordingly, one has to rely on other sources for this information.[2] The educational picture

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[1]Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. I, p. 4.

[2]For further information in this area see Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan (New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1965).

which emerges from such study is that of a fixed curriculum of orderly subject matter, based partially on the past and partially on the newly introduced scientific subjects of the West, which children were expected to master through drill and repetition. On top of this there had been added a superficial overlay of various progressive educational reforms which were limited primarily to the area of teaching methods.[3]

The result of this kind of education was disastrous, Makiguchi believed. He claimed that the educational experiences of children under these conditions consisted of little more than mental gymnastics and memorization of material unrelated to their lives. This kind of education did more harm than good to the rising generation. Furthermore, the loss both to the children and to the nation lay not only in what was happening to children taught in this way; equally important was what failed to happen. The great potential of each child was not being developed or nurtured. To the lack of development of this potential in children Makiguchi credited "the pitiful and tragic

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[3]The interest of Japanese educators in Dewey prior to World War II, for example, was limited to methods of teaching, according to Victor N. Kobayashi. There were few if any educators in Japan prior to this time who grasped the deeper aspects of Dewey's educational philosophy, Kobayashi asserts. See his monograph, John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), p. 154.

conditions in which many people live."[4] This desire "to save the children of Japan from being victimized by the deplorable inadequacies of traditional Japanese education and to assure that oncoming generations of Japanese children will not have to suffer its devastations," became the consuming passion and central motivation of Makiguchi's life.[5]

As an alternative to natural education Makiguchi suggested and drew up the outline for what he called "cultural education." By this he meant an educational system intentionally developed according to rational, logical, and scientific criteria to achieve clearly defined purposes. It will be the central purpose of this chapter to consider the implications of cultural education or value creating pedagogy as Makiguchi preferred to describe his proposed system of education. First, however, it will be necessary to consider the educational philosophy out of which value creating pedagogy emerged.

A Philosophy of Education

Philosophy and educational philosophy were one and the same to Makiguchi. Philosophy for him centered in a theory of value creation. In his major work, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy), So,

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[4]Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, p. 91.

[5]Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. I, p. 6.

which means creation, and Ka, which means value, form a key word and a key concept. Creation of value is part and parcel of what it means to be a human being. Human beings do not have the ability to create material; but they can create value, and it is in the creation of value that the unique meaning of human life lies. Makiguchi further elaborated his philosophy in terms of human happiness. "The highest and ultimate object of life," he held, "is happiness, and the goal of life is none other than the attainment and creation of value which is in itself happiness . . . a happy life signifies nothing other than a state of existence in which one can gain and create value in full."[6]

Makiguchi insisted that his theory of value creation could not be comprehended even in the slightest without a correct knowledge of value. He sought to make explicit what he meant by value through contrasting it with truth. Noah Brannen, one of the few Western scholars who has studied Makiguchi's writings, has very ably summarized this aspect of Makiguchi's thought:

> Makiguchi's theory claims to be a correction of the alleged aberrations of the traditional platonic [sic] values--truth, goodness, and beauty--by the substitution of "benefit" for that of "truth." The reason for this is said to be that truth and value are entirely different concepts. Truth reveals that which is; value

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[6]Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value (Tokyo: Seikyo Press, 1964), p. 4.

> connotes a subject-object relationship. Truth makes epistemological statements about an object. Value relates the object to man. Truth says, "Here is a horse;" value says "The horse is beautiful."[7]

Truth, according to Makiguchi's philosophy, cannot be created; it remains always as that which is, that which is discovered. He held that value, on the other hand, can be created. Creation involves changing the ordinary order of nature into a special one through human activity, increasing its usefulness for human life.[8] Moreover, truth never changes, whereas values do.[9] In this respect Makiguchi was a relativist. During his career as an educator he consistently rejected the idea of absolute values.

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[7]Noah S. Brannen, "Soka Gakkai's Theory of Value," Contemporary Religions in Japan, International Institute for the Study of Religions, V, No. 2 (June, 1964), 143. Note that Brannen translates the Japanese word ri as "benefit." This Japanese word can also be translated into English as "gain." The latter translation is employed throughout this study with the exception of quoted passages.

[8]Clarification of this aspect of Makiguchi's thought may be gained by reference to Ward's writings. In 1888, for example, Ward wrote the following in a paper presented to the Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C.: "Man can make very little use of anything in its natural state. Value, i.e., utility, is imparted to raw materials only by labor and skill. The products of labor and skill are artificial, and scarcely anything has actual value, i.e., capability of actual, immediate use, until it has been transformed from the natural into the artificial state. Therefore, if that which can be used is superior to that which cannot, the artificial is superior to the natural." See Ward's Glimpses of the Cosmos, Vol. IV (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), p. 155.

[9]Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value, pp. 9-10, 22.

An important aspect of value creation for Makiguchi was the development of a harmonious balance between individual and social values. He stressed, for example, that an action by an individual which brings gain to himself could be an evil to the society of which he is a member. On the other hand, Makiguchi held that working for gain is not only an entirely proper and honorable pursuit, it is a responsibility of each individual, as a creator of value, to work for gain in such a way as to contribute to the welfare both of himself and of his society. This is a central element in Makiguchi's thought which comes clearly into focus as one examines the distinctions which he perceived among the three elements of value. Thus beauty is perceived to be an emotional and temporary value, derived through one or more of the five senses, which concerns only a part of man's life. Gain is an individual value which is related to the whole of man's life. It has to do with the relationship between an individual and an object that contributes to the maintenance and development of his life. Goodness, on the other hand, is a social value related to the life of the group. It refers to the personal conduct of an individual which intentionally contributes to the formation and development of a unified society. Goodness is public gain.[10] The person who understands the difference between

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[10] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

truth and value and the distinctions among the various elements of value will seek a harmonious balance between the pursuit of the values of gain and good. The development of persons possessing this capability is a central task of education according to Makiguchi's view.

The antitheses of beauty, gain, and good are ugliness, loss, and evil:

> Value means the total amount of force with which an object (be it material or spiritual) causes a subject to attain its purpose as the means to an end. It is called good, gain, or beauty according to each kind and degree of value which is considered to be favorable to the maintenance of human existence, which is the aim of life. Furthermore, these kinds of value are summarized by such words as "valuable," or "of much value," or "of little value." On the other hand, value is called evil, loss, or ugliness according to the kind and degree to which it is recognized as being harmful to the maintenance of life.[11]

When we consider the phenomena of the external world, Makiguchi continued, we can divide them into two kinds: those which bear positive usefulness to human existence and those which are harmful. Thus, evil vs. good, loss vs. gain, and ugliness vs. beauty, represent the negative side of human life. These negative values, Makiguchi insisted, should be thought of as "anti-value" rather than "non-existent value." This is because while anti-value cannot be called good, gain, or beauty, it likewise cannot be

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[11] Ibid., p. 83.

called non-value because its presence sometimes exerts a great influence on the evaluating subject.[12]

Makiguchi also stressed the importance of distinguishing between cognition and evaluation:

> Considering the aspect of the present world, I believe nothing is so evil as the confusion of cognition and evaluation, since the mixing of the two makes it hard for a person to understand and causes him to assume an uncertain attitude toward his choice and decision. Even among fairly high intellectuals, this confusion of cognition and evaluation is observed in their everyday conversation. They are unaware of it, discuss matters without knowing their causes but arbitrarily pass judgement according to their likes and dislikes. . . . these people are misled in their ways of thinking and actions.[13]

As an example of this kind of confusion Makiguchi writes:

> Suppose a pupil asks his teacher, "What is this?" If the teacher scolds him and says, "Do you mean to say you still don't know what it is?" he is definitely confusing the processes of cognition and evaluation. The pupil who asked the question was not asking for a judgement on his own competence. He was seeking information. The teacher who does not answer the pupil's real question but diverts his attention to something else is intimidating the child. If he thinks he is helping the child's comprehension he is mistaken . . . With a teacher of this kind, a poor student cannot help but become an even poorer student.[14]

This kind of confusion can be observed, Makiguchi wrote, "in every class of society--in governmental offices, trading companies, and the factories of minor enterprises . . . In

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[12] Ibid., p. 84.

[13] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[14] Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. I, p. 60.

actuality, the confusion of cognition and evaluation has been forcing the world into various chaotic conditions."[15]

But what specifically must one comprehend in order to avoid this confusion? What is the distinction between cognition and evaluation which one must understand? Brannen's analysis of Makiguchi's answer to this question can scarcely be improved upon:

> Evaluation is the consciousness of the influence of an object upon the subject. Cognition is the grasping of the meaning of an impression. Evaluation, therefore, is subjective; cognition is objective. For example, cognition asserts "A is B," or "A is not C." Thus cognition receives an object as it is without relating it to the subject. Evaluation, on the other hand, says "A is beautiful," etc., and relates it to the evaluating subject.
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> Cognition, therefore, is concerned with truth while evaluation is concerned with values. Truth is a qualitative concept grasped by intellectual response to the stimuli of phenomena; that is by cognition. Value is a quantitative concept relating the influence of phenomena to man through emotional and intellectual responses; that is, by evaluation. Cognition is mental reception or intellectual activity; evaluation is sense reception or feeling activity.
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> Cognition comes by the relation of a new perception to a past experience. Kant says that man perceives by a priori standards; but the truth is that man first decides whether something is the "same or different" on the basis of his experience. It isn't necessary to adopt the method of some philosopher (such as Kant) when we have the time tested method of "same or different."
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> The relation of cognition to external phenomena we call "experience." This term experience is defined to mean the sensual, intellectual connection of subject and object. The relation of evaluation to external phenomena we call "intercourse." Intercourse is defined as the emotional, sentimental connection of subject and object. In the case of the former, the external world has its independent existence and is not

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[15]Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value, p. 17.

> directly connected with our personal world. In the case of the latter, the external world has a vital, intimate connection with our world.[16]

Thus, in order to know the external world both cognition and evaluation are essential according to Makiguchi. Understanding is incomplete if either is neglected. Man faces a serious problem in the modern world because science has pursued the objective method of cognition and has analyzed and classified phenomena until we are left with only the pieces. However, Makiguchi maintained that cognition and evaluation do not need to be in conflict. They may appear to conflict in describing phenomena, but this is a conflict arising out of the opposition of the whole to the parts, and is not a basic conflict.[17]

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[16]Brannen, "Soka Gakkai's Theory of Value," pp. 146-47.

[17]The accuracy of Makiguchi's insights in this regard and his grasp of the learning process is being verified today by competent educators. George I. Brown, for example, cites the traditional tendency in American education for teachers to focus on the cognitive elements in learning and to neglect the affective elements as the most critical problem facing educators today. See his book, Human Teaching for Human Learning: An Introduction to Confluent Education (New York: Viking Press, 1971). Similarly, Michael Novak writes that American schools "are not characteristically interested in the depth of their student's fantasy life, the complexity of their emotions, the delicacy of their sensitivity, the variety and range of their instincts--only in their capacity to store information and to analyze information" (The Experience of Nothingness (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 105). Two other educators have recently commented on the problems created by the general tendency to confuse expressions of fact and expressions of value. David J. Bond writes that the "new

The confusion of truth and value and of cognition and evaluation has implications for experimentation and the experimental method. Thus, Makiguchi wrote, truth

> can be proven by confronting it with a fact, i.e., by making an abstract concept concrete and experimenting as to whether or not the expression agrees with that which has been realized. However, value cannot be proven merely through such intellectual reasoning. Between object and subject there is relative force and in proving value there is no method other than by proving through experiment the influence an object exerts on the subject which evaluates it.[18]

Makiguchi was critical of Western pragmatism precisely at this point. In confusing truth with value and treating them as being alike and equal, Western pragmatism, he contended, makes the false assumption that if a thing is true it is beneficial to man. Experience does not support such an assumption. On the contrary, experience tells us that

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education" of recent years is no less ineffective than the traditional accumulation of knowledge type of education that it replaced because "we make either the wrong or no distinctions between statements of fact, expressions of feeling, moral judgments, aesthetic preferences, value claims and nonsense noises" ("The Fact-Value Myth," Social Education, XXXIV, No. 2 (February, 1970), 190). Theodore Brameld, in The Climactic Decades (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 125, writes that the "trouble arises from the fact that neither kind of value judgment (i.e., characterizing and appraising) is clearly perceived or differentiated in every day educational experience. Rather, both characterizing and appraising value judgments are usually made haphazardly, half-consciously if not unconsciously, and even contradictorily by teachers, administrators, parents, students, and citizens in general."

[18]Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value, p. 20.

some things are true which have no usefulness to human life.[19]

As indicated earlier the highest and ultimate object of human life for Makiguchi was happiness. This aspect of his philosophy can be easily misunderstood and may perhaps need some further discussion. Happiness, as Makiguchi used the word, does not refer to some nebulous emotional state such as may be implied from both the English word and the Japanese word (kofuku) of which it is a translation. Happiness, as used by Makiguchi, refers to a state of man's life when he is engaged in the process of attaining and creating value. "In my opinion," he wrote, "a happy life signifies none other than the state of existence in which one can gain and create value in full."[20]

If one thinks a little bit, Makiguchi suggested, he knows that happiness cannot be gained by oneself, nor can it be inherited like property. People with money and property think they can inherit happiness as well. They become eager to gain more and more money and wealth. But happiness, as Alfred Bernhard Nobel wrote, cannot be inherited like property. If everyone recognized this there would be no reason for conflict between capitalists and labor, for war, etc.[21]

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[19] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[20] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[21] Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. I, p. 131.

Education is the means whereby the members of a society acquire competence as creators of value and thus find happiness. This is what Makiguchi meant when he wrote that happiness is the aim of education.[22] But happiness has two elements, personal and social. When some scholars, such as Kant, object that happiness is not adequate as the aim of education, Makiguchi held it is because they see only the personal aspect of happiness. If Kant had known of the sociology of Comte, he might have accepted happiness as the aim of education. It is quite natural to reject happiness as the aim of education if the social element is omitted. However, now that we know of sociology, Makiguchi believed, the objection to happiness as the aim of education ought to disappear.[23]

When Makiguchi stated, then, that education is the means whereby individuals can acquire competence as creators of value, and thereby find happiness in the process, he was taking it for granted that this dual personal-social nature of man is understood. The educated person in these terms, as noted earlier, is one who recognizes the tension between the values of gain and good in his life and seeks a

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[22] Ibid., p. 125. Not the happiness of the parents, Makiguchi insisted, but the happiness of the educated. Parents should not, as he observed they were doing, use the educated to fulfill their own happiness.

[23] Ibid., p. 129.

harmonious balance between them in the decisions which he makes. This means, further, that the educated person senses and accepts responsibility both for his own life and for the society of which he is a part. A major theme running through Makiguchi's educational philosophy is that the educational systems which he knew were not capable of educating individuals in this way, i.e., individuals prepared to be creators of both personal gain and social good. To provide education of this kind would require a pedagogy specifically designed to accomplish the desired objectives. Such a pedagogy would have to be based on the philosophy of value and the concept of value creation and would have to meet tests of scientific or logical practicability.

Value Creating Pedagogy

Makiguchi's major criticism of the educational practice of his day was that it was built in the clouds with no basis in experience:

> There are two main streams of thought in the educational world. One consists of the empiricists who emphasize experience, the other consists of the theorists who emphasize philosophical thinking. Those who are engaged in actual teaching belong to the empiricist stream, and since there are two hundred thousand teachers, they could have made excellent manuscripts of teaching methods, if they had tried. In actuality, however, the theorists, who import many kinds of educational theories and pedagogies from Europe, hold overwhelming power and control over the empiricists or actual educators.[24]

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[24] Ibid., p. 15. In other writings Makiguchi discussed the same problem in terms of two ways of studying

The theorists, Makiguchi went on to say, in introducing new ideas from Europe employ the deductive method which begins with theory or abstract philosophy. The ideas and conclusions of the theorists, deductively arrived at, are worthless in actual teaching. Teachers should no longer let the theorists with their abstract philosophical thinking have the control and initiative in the educational world Makiguchi insisted. Rather, they should reflect upon their own teaching experiences, inducing principles from them, and cease to worry about the conflicting things which the theoretical scholars who are far away from actual teaching have to say.

The advancement of education, therefore, and indeed the establishment of a scientific pedagogy depended in Makiguchi's view on the use of the inductive method by actual teachers. What such teachers have to do

> is to affirm cases of success and failure by analyzing their daily teaching experiences, and then they will find valuable truths.[25]

This inductive method, which, Makiguchi asserted, is actually the method of scientific inquiry, was introduced by Bacon and is the only way to advance the educational

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education. One is philosophical pedagogy, the other scientific pedagogy. By the latter he meant a "pedagogy which faces necessity and develops pedagogy to meet needs." See Ibid., Vol. II, p. 313. Makiguchi, of course, considered his own value creating pedagogy as a scientific pedagogy.

[25] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 18.

world. Later Comenius explored the implications of the scientific method for teaching and educators have been talking about a scientific pedagogy ever since, but talking is all they have done. Thus, Makiguchi contended that although we live in the twentieth century, a true scientific pedagogy does not exist.

To emphasize his assertion that educators had failed to avail themselves of the benefits and possibilities of scientific inquiry, Makiguchi contrasted the state of education with that of medicine. Educators, he suggested, can only be described as groping in the dark, whereas in the medical world practicing physicians assemble to report their experiences, as well as to hear reports of great scholars and read the translations of foreign works. The physicians are making great progress, Makiguchi asserted. Although medicine and pedagogy belong to the same field of applied science, that which deals with the lives of human beings, there is a great difference in the development of the two. The reason for this is that medicine has been firmly established as an applied science.[26]

The new pedagogy thus could come from only one source as Makiguchi saw it: "Actual educators should look back over fifty years of experience and search for effective methods of teaching."[27] That he was pessimistic about the

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[26] Ibid., pp. 33-35.

[27] Ibid., p. 33.

possibility of a pedagogy thus derived being generally accepted is suggested by this statement: "If I, only a principal of a school, try to make up a new pedagogy, they might laugh at me and say that it is a task for those scholars who understand foreign languages."[28] Such apprehensions did not deter him from working at the task, however, as his Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy) is evidence.

The pedagogy which evolved in the early 1930's as Makiguchi looked back over his own experience of nearly forty years in education was characterized by two main features which set it in contrast to current educational practice of the time. First of all, in Makiguchi's pedagogy, heavy emphasis was given to educational purpose and the integration, not only of curriculum, but of all learning experiences in terms of purpose. This purpose, as noted above, centered in the concept of value creation. The valuable personality, the happy person, is the person who has great ability to create value. The purpose of education, therefore, is to increase the value creativity of the educated.[29] This cultural objective would be at the heart of

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[28] Ibid., pp. 33-34. Upon one occasion, Makiguchi wrote, he was told by a government official responsible for supervising education: "Why don't you experiment with new kinds of pedagogy after you retire?"

[29] Ibid., p. 11. What Soka (value creating) pedagogy seeks to do, Makiguchi wrote in 1930, "is to find and make clear the methods to accomplish this aim."

an adequate educational system and would bring unity and integration to the educational experience provided for the young. Secondly, and closely related to the first, Makiguchi envisioned an educational system which would be socially responsible. These two predominant characteristics of Makiguchi's pedagogy are caught up in two terms which appear frequently in his writings, bunka kyoiku (cultural education) and kyodoka (community study).[30]

If cultural education may be said to express the overall aim of education for Makiguchi, community study expresses its central method. Community study was an extension and refinement of his earlier work in geography, an extension and refinement based on his discovery of sociology and sociological concepts. Through study of the community, the hometown or neighborhood, Makiguchi believed that children can observe directly the complex relationships between land and life, between nature and society. By this means the educator can help students understand the meaning and

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[30]The Japanese word "kyodoka" has meanings which are not adequately reflected in the translation "community study." The Japanese word carries a connotation signifying that the local community is one in which a person has a definite stake. It signifies that a person is intimately related to the community by virtue of residence in it. When related to pedagogical concerns the community becomes that interconnected network of personal and structural relationships which occur in the geographic area in which one's life is sustained. Makiguchi saw more clearly and exploited more fully than perhaps any other educator the pedagogical possibilities in that network of relationships.

significance of home, school, and city or village. Moreover, this lays the foundation for establishing ties with the nation and the world.

Community study was for Makiguchi the basic starting point of all study and courses; and not only the starting point but the destination as well. This means that students, rather than studying the traditional subjects such as history, geography, mathematics, etc., study life by means of the insights and concepts offered by the various academic subjects and disciplines. The traditional pattern of teaching fragmented, unrelated subject matter is uneconomical and ineffective. Such isolated subject matter is dead knowledge because of its unrelatedness to children's lives. When community study is made the central unifying and integrating focus of children's educational experience, it becomes possible to relate things taught to the actual living of a community of people and to the social, economic, and political structures of the community. Such knowledge is living knowledge; and only living knowledge is useful knowledge, Makiguchi insisted.

One of Makiguchi's central concerns was that children should begin, from their earliest educational experience, to acquire depth understanding and awareness of the structures, first of all, of their local community and then of the larger national and world communities. The development of such understanding and awareness of the structures

of the social body was, for Makiguchi, the very essence of the educational task.[31] Only persons with such grasp of the meaning and significance of social life would be able to live effectively and competently in a scientifically oriented world. Only such persons, furthermore, can be "creators of value" in the fullest sense. The great tragedy of education as Makiguchi saw it was that traditionally education, fragmented and unrelated to life as it had been, gave children only a superficial veneer of understanding of life in society which was almost worse than no education at all.

It is clear in Makiguchi's writings that he was completely egalitarian in his view of human potential. He was vehemently opposed to the view that only highly gifted natures, after an elitist form of educational experience, can acquire the comprehensive grasp of life and society which he advocated. Every normal person, he insisted, is a potential creator of value, is potentially a skilled participant in the life of his community and his world. Whether or not such potential is developed depends largely on the kind of educational experience provided by society.

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[31] "To study many other subjects without studying the total society," Makiguchi wrote, "is like building a house on sand." Studying the nature and cultural cohesiveness of a total society, Makiguchi believed, helps to give direction to the study of other subjects. Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. V, p. 52.

Makiguchi recognized that the kind of educational experience which he advocated for children would be possible and feasible only to the extent that competent teachers were available to teach. Teachers who cannot comprehend the nature of the teaching task, i.e., the task of developing value creating persons, teachers who themselves do not understand the structures of the society in which they live, are unfit to be teachers. Yet, the reality which Makiguchi faced was that Japanese teachers of his day were, almost without exception, unfit by his standards. The improvement of teachers and teaching, therefore, became the primary means whereby he hoped to change Japanese education and society. "We have to start," he wrote in Volume Two of Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei (System of Value Creating Pedagogy), "by helping teachers comprehend the fundamental concepts of life, education, and society. Otherwise, we can never escape from the long established customs and patterns of traditional education."[32] For teachers to try to learn mere techniques before acquiring this deeper comprehension is a waste of time. Nearly as important is that teachers cease to see their role as one of filling children full of knowledge, and see it instead as one of nurturing and developing the abilities and powers of children to think and study and

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[32]Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. II, p. 293.

acquire knowledge and understanding by their own initiative. The time would come, Makiguchi predicted, when teachers who cling to a style of teaching which seeks simply an accumulation of factual knowledge by the student would be in danger of losing their jobs.[33]

It is necessary, therefore, that teachers begin to define their role in other terms. A major aspect of this redefinition as Makiguchi saw it was a view of the teacher as leading children through the processes of discovery and invention, rather than filling them with accumulations of knowledge. This basic principle of learning, Makiguchi asserted, has been known to educators from the time of Comenius and Pestalozzi but has not affected the educational practice of teachers. The reason for this, he charged, was a failure upon the part of teachers to engage in study and research on their own initiative.[34]

This charge that teachers themselves were largely to blame for the sad state of children's education reveals the main thrust of Makiguchi's thinking in regard to teacher training. While he referred occasionally in his writings to possibilities of official action and official programs which

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[33] Ibid., p. 253.

[34] Ibid., pp. 290-291. "The only time teachers study," he observed on one occasion, "is when the Ministry of Education directs them to do so, or in order to pass a teacher's examination."

might be undertaken to upgrade the quality and effectiveness of Japanese teachers, he seemed never to have been overly optimistic as to their realization. Within the actualities of the Japanese culture and government of his time, Makiguchi concluded that personal study and growth upon the part of individual teachers offered the best hope of educational improvement and reform. Accordingly, his efforts after his release from active school work in 1929 focused on the development of helps and resources to assist teachers in their own study and teaching.

An elaborate and detailed series of syllabi to assist teachers to utilize the methods and principles of community study in actual teaching grew out of Makiguchi's work of this period.[35] Some of the suggestions and illustrations contained in these syllabi are dated and would be inappropriate for present day use. The material, furthermore, was prepared to be used in conjunction with prescribed text materials of the Ministry of Education. But such limitations notwithstanding, the material provides insight into the concepts and principles of community study as envisioned by Makiguchi. The following ideas and suggestions are illustrative of the material contained in the syllabi:

1. In every school system there are problems of order, regulations which must be made and obeyed if the life of the school is to go on. What if some students do

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[35] Ibid., pp. 153-201.

not want to abide by the rules? This is politics. The wise teacher can take this living experience and help students learn basic concepts and principles of political life which will have application in national and world politics as well as in their local community.

2. Similarly, such questions as these may be asked. Who pays the expenses of the school? What is the cost of constructing a school building? How much is the yearly budget? What is the major expense? What is tuition used for? From this direct recognition of the school's economic situation, students not only can learn principles of mathematics and economics, they can also begin to see the close relationships between the various sectors of society.

3. The family is studied in terms of its own internal relationships and in terms of its relationships to the community. For example, the various needs of a family are considered, psychological, economic, etc. Considered also are the effect on the family and its members when certain needs are not met, the responsibilities of family members to each other, the responsibility of the community to the family, the problem of poverty as a breakdown in responsibility.

4. The resources of the community, food resources, industrial resources, human resources, service resources, and others are studied in terms of the population which the area can sustain. Climate and geographical features are considered in relation to resources.

5. The customs and general culture of the people of the community are studied, permitting the introduction of the meaning of culture to people, understanding of how cultures differ, and respect for cultures other than that of the local community.

Such examples could be multiplied, but these will indicate the essence of Makiguchi's thinking in regard to community study. All aspects of the curriculum come back to the local community as the center of the student's learning experiences. Concepts from geography, biology, botany, sociology, economics, literature, history, and other subjects become the tools for understanding and responsibly

participating in the local, national, and world communities in which the student's life centers. The community itself, particularly in its local manifestation but increasingly in the older grades in its larger manifestations, becomes the course of study.

In this type of education there are times, Makiguchi cautioned, when the student knows more than the teacher. At such times the teacher should not try to explain but should let the new knowledge come from the students themselves. Above all the teacher should not exhibit a know-it-all attitude but should share the learning experience with the students. Sometimes, Makiguchi advised, the teacher should lead, but most of the time he should play the role of a spectator. Sometimes he should clearly point out purpose or direction, while at others he should just be there to help. Again, the teacher should not be a boss but should leave students free to meet and solve problems. He should not be an obstacle to students who really want to learn. He should not stifle their curiosity but should help them experience the good feeling and pleasure of discovery. By these means the teacher can help students develop internal discipline and perseverance, self-respect and self-esteem. Such goals as these can best be achieved as the teacher engages in discussion with students just as an elder brother

would. This is the key to good teaching in Makiguchi's view.[36]

Makiguchi felt strongly that Japan's educational system was extremely wasteful and uneconomical. Learning, he insisted, could not be measured in terms of the number of hours a child sits in the classroom nor by the number of teachers employed. The only valid measure of learning and teaching effectiveness must be in terms of useful and usable insights, concepts, and skills which the learners retain and which become a permanent part of their personalities. If natural education were replaced by cultural education, he predicted, children would not only learn more and retain more of what they learn, but they would be able to learn it in a fraction of the time.

On the basis of this conviction Makiguchi advocated a half day school plan. He was convinced that a half day

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[36]Against this style of teaching Makiguchi contrasted the style of traditional education which, he charged, did little more than fill students full of dead, useless knowledge. Such knowledge has little meaning for students; thus they lack understanding and cannot make application of what they have learned to real life situations. Makiguchi was especially critical of the Japanese examination system for entrance to schools and universities. This cramming of useless, soon-to-be-forgotten information in order to pass tests was to him the height of folly and represented in acute form the deeper sickness of the whole educational system. Once this poured-in education is gone, he asked, what is left? He answered that there is nothing left. The learner is empty and is like "a person walking in the dark with a cane." See Ibid., Vol. V, p. 460.

in school, if that half day were effectively and efficiently used to lead children in cultural educational experiences grounded in community study, was all the time needed. Furthermore, the child needs time to engage in other kinds of activity. Time spent in study needs to be balanced by time spent in physical exercise and in creative, productive work experience.

There were several implications of the half day school proposal to which Makiguchi addressed himself. First of all, he wished to make it clear that children were not to have more time out of the classroom to be idle. Guidance would be required from both teachers and parents in assisting children in planning fruitful, self-learning activities in which they were personally interested. As examples of the kinds of activities which children might choose to engage in, Makiguchi suggested that a child might study in the area of industrial or technological education, he might study and acquire skill in the occupation of his parents, he might engage in other kinds of work experience or on-the-job training for which he is suited, he might pursue some specialty which will be useful to him in the future, he might develop skill in one or more athletic activities in which he is interested and has capability.

A second aspect of Makiguchi's proposal for a half day school program was its implications for the community. In effect, Makiguchi sought to end the isolation of the

school and make it an integral part of community life. This would mean, from the standpoint of the school, that the entire community would become the student's classroom. It would mean, also, that the members of the community would become participants in the teaching task. Makiguchi felt strongly about this. He was, for example, highly critical of the industrial education program as it then existed in Japanese schools. Industrial education courses were being taught by what he called "non-industrial educators," teachers who had no practical experience in the job skill being taught. Consequently, students received only superficial training in the skill. In Makiguchi's plan the student would spend some time working in an on-the-job training type of situation and would thus receive some instruction from members of the community who were actually working in the skill the student was studying. This would, Makiguchi recognized, require a high degree of cooperation and teamwork from business and industrial people and from the entire community. He not only thought this would be possible, he believed it would enable the school and the community to develop a healthy and positive relationship toward each other which would be beneficial to both.

A third aspect of Makiguchi's half day proposal was its saving in the cost of education. School plants and facilities could be used for one group in the morning and for a second group in the afternoon; and, where necessary,

they could also be used in the evening for a third group of students. This emphasis on economy, it will be noted, follows quite naturally from Makiguchi's basic views and recommendations for the development of a healthy educational system. Economy in education means that there is no wastage in utilizing the abilities of teachers and developing the abilities of students. The economizing of experience and time in education was, in fact, according to Makiguchi, one of the principles of his theory of value. Thus, his advice to teachers who wanted to assist in establishing the new pedagogy included three slogans: start with experience, make value the aim, make economizing the principle.

This, in brief, was Makiguchi's alternative to the educational system of his day. Satoshi Ikeda[37] holds that it is one of the tragedies of Japanese education that Makiguchi's educational proposals were ignored by the Japanese people and their government during his lifetime. He believes that Makiguchi's educational ideas may contain the solutions to many of modern Japan's educational problems. In fact, if the Japanese had listened to Makiguchi,

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[37]Author of a recent (July 1969) biography of Makiguchi. The writer spent the greater part of the afternoon of July 29, 1969, just a few days after Ikeda's book came on the market in Japan, with Mr. Ikeda and his wife at their modest apartment in Hibarigaoka near Tokyo. While Mrs. Ikeda kept us supplied with quantities of tea and yokan (Japanese bean cake), Mr. Ikeda unfolded to us the results of much of his own research into Makiguchi's life and thought.

Ikeda contends, they would not now be experiencing a serious crisis in their educational system which has seen a major part of the nation's colleges and universities on strike and in rebellion in recent years.

How valid is this assessment of Makiguchi and his work? Are we dealing with one of the great educators of history, or, as many of his contemporaries who knew him perceived him to be, with an insignificant school teacher who had some wild ideas? Do Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy contain insights of value for modern educators? These questions became increasingly persistent as the research proceeded. It is the writer's conclusion that Makiguchi does, indeed, merit recognition as one of the world's great educational thinkers and that his work does contain meaningful and valuable insights for the present day. It will be appropriate now to consider some factors which led to these conclusions.

Value Creating Pedagogy as an Indigenous Japanese Pragmatism

It is the writer's view that Makiguchi stands today as the chief spokesman for Japanese pragmatism and for the new education which, he believed, must be developed in accordance with the principles of pragmatism and as its handmaiden in the pursuit of a better life for the masses of mankind. It would be correct to say, in fact, that Makiguchi's pragmatic educational philosophy is the only

indigenous expression of pragmatism in Japanese culture which has endured and which has contemporary significance. This assertion will require some validation and clarification for, as students of Japanese intellectual history are aware, there were attempts at the formulation of pragmatic philosophies in Japan early in the present century, and the influence of Dewey has been pronounced in Japan during certain periods. As early as 1888 Yujiro Motora introduced the ideas of James and Dewey into Japan.[38] During the following thirty years enthusiasm developed upon the part of some philosophers for pragmatic ideas. Among those who showed some originality were Odo Tanaka and Jiro Abe. In addition, Dewey's educational ideas were enthusiastically received by some Japanese during this period and several of his books were translated into Japanese, his Outline of a Critical Theory of Ethics appearing in 1900 and School and Society the following year. Democracy and Education was published in Japanese translation in 1918. Some educators proceeded to apply Dewey's ideas and progressive educational ideas from other sources in actual teaching situations during this period.

Active promotion of pragmatism was shortlived, however. By 1930 both pragmatism and progressive educational

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[38]For a discussion of pragmatism in Japan during this early period see Gino K. Piovesana, Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought, 1862-1962 (Tokyo: Enderle Bookstore, 1963), pp. 62-73.

practice had ceased to be significant aspects of Japanese education. Various explanations have been offered for the decline of pragmatism in Japan, including that of the nationalists to the effect that pragmatism did not suit the Japanese mentality. A more realistic assessment is that of Kobayashi:

> The interests in philosophy of Americans and Japanese had similar histories until about the turn of the century. Both groups had studied J. S. Mill and Spencer and the Kantians with great intensity. However, when American philosophy began to come of age with the appearance of William James and Dewey, the dominance of German philosophy continued in Japan, partly because of the stimulation of close cultural ties with Germany which were encouraged by the government. The interest was further perpetuated by the predominance of philosophy professors who specialized in German philosophy; it was reinforced by the deterioration of relations with England and America, as Japan joined Germany in its tide of fascism.
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> These factors were also in operation in the area of pedagogy and educational philosophy.[39]

Dewey's educational ideas not only declined in popularity during the years prior to World War II, even during the heyday of his influence in Japan immediately following World War I, his views were not grasped by the Japanese as a complete philosophy of education.[40] As

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[39]Kobayashi, John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought, p. 24.

[40]Not only in Japan was this the case. Americans, too, largely failed to understand the deeper implications of what Dewey was saying. Judith Groch, for example, writes that the "spirit behind Dewey's words was ignored, and his words, notably ambiguous, were misunderstood. Watson, who had been Dewey's pupil and who had been

Kobayashi points out, his ideas on teaching methods were most emphasized and moved most educational reformers. It is valid to say, then, in the opinion of the writer, that Makiguchi is Japan's foremost pragmatic philosopher and educator. His theory of value and his value creating pedagogy, although developed on foundations provided for the most part by the pragmatic ideas and views of John Dewey and Lester Ward, represent a unique and creative formulation of the pragmatic position within Japan.

Value Creating Pedagogy in Retrospect

It will be well to recognize that when one looks closely at Makiguchi's proposals for the transformation of Japanese education and society, there are some areas in which he is vulnerable to criticism. For example, he was vehement in his denunciation of "abstract philosophers" or "theorists" as he called them and called for a completely

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influenced by Dewey's pragmatic philosophy, remarked years later that he had never really understood what Dewey was talking about. Apparently Watson was not alone. Mediocre teachers milked the doctrine for its more attractive concepts. 'Learning by doing' and 'freedom of expression' became ends in themselves, and the 'object lesson' was vested with magical properties and sprinkled throughout the curriculum even when glowingly inappropriate. Dewey, with good reason, distrusted teachers and textbooks, preferring experiment and the laboratory as a means of discovery. But Dewey never intended the laboratory experiment to be a cheap, mechanical imitation of science in which the student knew ahead of time what he was supposed to find." The Right to Create (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 182.

inductive approach to the development of a practical pedagogy for teachers. Yet, he proceeded to develop an equally philosophical or theoretical position and insisted that his proposed pedagogy could not be understood even in the slightest degree without first understanding the philosophical position which he had outlined. At this point Makiguchi's biases and resentments at his exclusion from academic and intellectual circles of his society seem to have influenced his thinking.

Another limiting factor which may be pointed to in regard to Makiguchi's proposals for educational reform is that they were for the most part speculative and untested despite his emphasis on scientific method and experimentation. The only experimenting ever done using the teaching methods and approaches which he advocated was that which he did within the Tokyo Public School System. This was necessarily limited because of the realities of that system and the indifference of officials to the kinds of reforms which Makiguchi advocated.

Josei Toda utilized some of Makiguchi's methods in a private tutoring school which he established in 1923 to prepare primary school students for the entrance examination to the Japanese middle school. Toda's experimentation seems to have made a believer out of him. In fact, he became quite wealthy as a result of the sale of books which he

published to assist students in preparing for examinations.[41] Toda's work, however, could hardly be considered an adequate test of Makiguchi's methods. Furthermore, the use of value creating pedagogical methods in assisting students in preparing for entrance examinations would appear to hit against Makiguchi's major criticisms of Japanese education and have the effect of supporting and strengthening the system rather than reforming it.

Furthermore, there is no mistaking the philosophical naivete in Makiguchi's writings. The fact that he was a self-taught philosopher will be detected very quickly by the competent scholar.[42] While he read widely and brought the

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[41]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 87.

[42]It should be understood that the writer's comparison of Makiguchi with Dewey in terms of the type of role each played in the intellectual history of their respective countries does not imply that Makiguchi's grasp of the field of philosophy was as extensive as Dewey's nor that his stature as a philosopher compares with that of Dewey. Dewey had access to the entire range of Western philosophical thought. He had opportunity to study and teach at the leading institutions of higher learning which his culture possessed. During the course of his teaching career he had opportunity to confront and be challenged by scores of razor sharp minds in the fields of philosophy, education, psychology, and sociology. Furthermore, Dewey rode the crest of one of the central tendencies and moods of his time in the society in which he lived. Makiguchi, in contrast, had but limited access to the literature of the Western philosophical tradition. His reading was necessarily limited to translations which were often of questionable quality. (See Kobayashi, John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought, p. 27.) Makiguchi had no college or university training and, with the exception of a few close acquaintances, he was denied access to the resources of the university community.

ideas of many brilliant minds into his work, he was frequently beyond his depth and unable to grasp or at least to express the larger implications of the ideas about which he wrote.[43] On the other hand, in view of Makiguchi's limitations and handicaps, the quality of his insights and the extent to which he anticipated the problems and needs of the individual in a mass society are nothing short of remarkable. Thus, while such criticisms as those noted above are valid and should be taken into account, they do not diminish the importance of Makiguchi's work as a significant contribution to educational thought.

Recent developments in the field of education tend to confirm many of the reforms which Makiguchi advocated. Van Cleve Morris, in a review of Charles Silberman's recent book, Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education, comments as follows:

> As the professional educator reads Silberman, there is a haunting, back-of-the-cerebrum sense of having heard it all before. But where? Silberman himself provides a clue to the answer. Informal schooling and experience centered education, he implies, are John Dewey reissued. Silberman's Crisis is the kind of book which needs writing every few years to remind us that, half a century later, we still have not carried into practice

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[43] It was at this point that the works of Dewey and Ward were extremely important to Makiguchi. The writings of Dewey as educator and Ward as sociologist provided the initial core of Makiguchi's own thinking, enabling him to evaluate and interpret the widely differing ideas and philosophical positions to which his reading exposed him.

> the sound and sensible theories of this 20th century pedagogical architect.[44]

Much the same thing could be said with reference to Makiguchi's work that Morris says of Dewey's. There are some areas in which Makiguchi may legitimately be said to have added worthwhile insights to Dewey's work. Makiguchi's concepts of value and value creation and his emphasis on community study and the social responsibility of individuals as creators of value would seem to be of this nature. In most respects, however, one finds little in Makiguchi that cannot be found also in Dewey. The value of Makiguchi's work, then, does not lie in its being greatly different from that of Dewey. Rather, its strength lies in the fact that it provides support and confirmation from yet another culture for the efficacy of education based on an open, experiential model in contrast to the transmission of knowledge model which we have inherited from the Medieval Western European period of our history.

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[44] Educational Studies, II, Nos. 1 and 2 (Spring-Summer, 1971), 46-47.

CHAPTER V

MAKIGUCHI'S INFLUENCE ON THE SOKA GAKKAI MOVEMENT

Educational Reformer in Pre-World War II Japan

Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, as previous chapters have shown, was a reformer. Like Johann Pestalozzi a century earlier, his life centered in one consuming purpose, the elevating and enhancing of the life of his fellows. Like Pestalozzi, too, Makiguchi was often misunderstood and rejected by the people he sought to help and mistrusted by the government to which he professed allegiance. During the greater part of his life he sought to achieve his objectives by working as a teacher and administrator in the educational structures of Japanese society. A reconstruction of the events and relationships of the last fifteen years of his life suggest, however, that a major shift occurred in his thinking with respect to the means by which persons dedicated to reform could best pursue their objectives. Essentially this was a shift from educational to religious means of effecting reform. The broad outline of the conditions and incidents involved in this shift in Makiguchi's position has been traced in Chapter III. It

will be appropriate here to look more closely at the shift itself and some of the factors involved in it.

It may be observed, first of all, that up to the present time no specific statement has come to light in which Makiguchi recognized and acknowledged this shift in his thought and outlook. Thus it can only be deduced from an examination of his writings, the record of his activities during this period, and from reports of persons who were acquainted with him at this time. A second observation which may be made is that this shift occurred gradually over a period of nearly a decade.

In tracing the developments of this period three factors emerge which may explain this shift in Makiguchi's outlook and approach to reform. One is the series of personal tragedies and hardships which he experienced during the twenties and early thirties, including the death of four of his children described in Chapter II. Even more important may have been the cultural and political environment in which he pursued his educational career. To put it bluntly, Makiguchi, after devoting nearly forty years of his life trying to bring about change in Japan's personality-stifling, tradition-bound system of education, had to face the hard reality that he had failed. His efforts to humanize the educational system and increase its effectiveness had been thwarted at every turn by the rigidity of the

culture and the increasing dominance of the military in national life.

A reasonable assessment of the data may be that it was primarily a sense of frustration and futility, which accompanied this recognition of his powerlessness to bring about change in Japanese society through educational means, that led him eventually to see religion rather than education as the most strategic means for effecting societal change. This analysis was born out in interviews with the remaining members of the small cadre of young men who gathered around Makiguchi during the 1930's as well as less intimate participants in the movement which he initiated. It is the general assessment of these persons that what Makiguchi and they were about initially was an educational revolution and that this emphasis turned increasingly to a religious one during and immediately prior to World War II.[1]

A third factor in the shift from an educational to a religious orientation was Makiguchi's conversion to Nichiren Shoshu in 1928.[2] As far as can be determined this

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[1]Representative of persons whose observations during interviews supported this general conclusion were a Nichiren Shoshu priest, who was still active in the sect, and a school teacher who had severed ties with Makiguchi's movement in the late 1930's because its orientation had become too religious in his view.

[2]Murata writes that if it had not been for a seemingly minor incident in Makiguchi's life in 1928 when he was principal of Shirogane Primary School in Tokyo, Soka Gakkai

was the first serious interest in religion for Makiguchi. Murata's research reveals that Makiguchi's family background in Niigata was that of Nichiren Shu, a related but different sect from Nichiren Shoshu. He had also been mildly interested at times in Christianity. In fact, he had been quite deeply influenced in the development of his educational philosophy and practice by such Christian educators as Inazo Nitobe and Kanzo Uchimura.[3] In neither case, however, is there evidence of serious concern with or attention to religious matters as such.[4] Furthermore, even after his conversion to Nichiren Shoshu, it appears that Makiguchi's religious convictions matured slowly, probably growing in intensity as his faith in educational reform diminished.

At this point the researcher must acknowledge a paradox in Makiguchi's philosophical orientation. His educational work and the writings which grew out of that work reveal him as a thorough-going pragmatist. In Volume I of

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would not exist today. That incident was a visit to Makiguchi's school by a trade paper reporter who was a Nichiren Shoshu adherent. This visit led to Makiguchi's being introduced to another Nichiren Shoshu believer, Sokei Mitani, principal of a Tokyo business high school. It was through association with Mitani that Makiguchi was converted to faith in Nichiren Shoshu. See Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 76.

[3]Makiguchi cites Uchimura's work, Chijinron (Theory of Land and People), as making a significant contribution to his own work, Jinsei Chirigaku. See Makiguchi, Zenshu, Vol. III, p. 160 and Vol. IV, p. 577.

[4]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 76.

Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei, for example, he wrote that any argument which is not scientific or which cannot be proved experimentally will only end up in endless dispute. Even though that which science has been able to explain thus far is limited, human beings have to solve actual problems which they face in daily living. It is unfruitful, therefore, to waste time in metaphysical consideration.[5] In contrast with this position are statements in Kachiron (The Philosophy of Value), edited by Josei Toda after Makiguchi's death, which seem to constitute a direct refutation of Makiguchi's relativistic, pragmatic philosophy, advocating instead an unquestioning faith in a Worship Object.[6]

Brannen was one of the first scholars to note this apparent discrepancy in Makiguchi's work and thought. It was his conclusion that in the editing of Kachiron Toda, the second president of Soka Gakkai, "took the liberty of bringing what may have been originally a purely utilitarian philosophical treatise into conformity with the teachings of the Nichiren Sho Sect."[7] An example cited as evidence of such editing liberties on Toda's part is a reference to

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[5]Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei, Fuzanbo, Tokyo, 1930, pp. 87-89.

[6]Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value, p. 159.

[7]Brannen, "Soka Gakkai's Theory of Value," pp. 151-152.

atom bombs.[8] The writer's research verifies this conclusion. He has been able to find nothing in Makiguchi's original writings summarizing the results of forty years in education which is contradictory to a pragmatic position. If further research bears this out, it will suggest that although Makiguchi was converted to Nichiren Shoshu in 1928, there appears to be no evidence that Nichiren Shoshu doctrine influenced the editing during the years 1929 to 1933 of his major educational work, Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei.

One could argue that since Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei was compiled from notes and jottings accumulated during the course of several decades, the utilitarian philosophy expressed therein represents an earlier period in Makiguchi's intellectual development and does not necessarily reflect his views during the early 1930's. However, other of Makiguchi's writings of this period refute any such conclusion. Kankyo (Environment), a magazine for teachers published with the help of Toda and several other supporters who had organized themselves as a study society, is a case

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[8]Makiguchi, The Philosophy of Value, p. 125. This evidence led the writer to conjecture that Makiguchi maintained his pragmatic position to the end and that it was later leaders who turned the movement to its postwar emphasis on the mystical and metaphysical. This turned out not to be the case. Thus, while there is no doubt that Toda did make changes in Kachiron as Brannen points out, it is very likely that he did so fully believing that Makiguchi would have made the same changes and additions if he had lived.

in point.[9] Organized for the purpose of furthering Makiguchi's brand of educational reform, this group called itself Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Value Creation Education Society).[10] Kankyo was its means of communicating with other teachers and educators.

Included in the ninth issue of the magazine, dated November 20, 1930, is an editorial statement outlining the purpose of the publication:

> The study of teaching materials and methods is something which practical educators must not neglect or take lightly; rather these matters should be the central concern of their daily living. Such study is the practical educator's source of power. Lacking such study he is just like a steam engine without fuel . . .
>
> However, the average educator is too busy with his daily round of teaching activities to discover and collect life related teaching material. It is hoped that this magazine can become a companion or partner to the classroom teacher by carrying a share of the burden of his school work. Thus, teachers who wish to be on

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[9]Copies of this publication and others published by Makiguchi and his associates prior to World War II are rare since most were confiscated by the Japanese Government during the war years. When members of Makiguchi's family heard of the nature of the writer's research, however, they very graciously offered to loan for zeroxing copies which had been saved from the flames. In one instance, an original copy owned by Tsutomu Watanabe, Makiguchi's son-in-law and close assistant from the early 1930's until Makiguchi's imprisonment in 1943, was presented to the writer as a contribution to his research.

[10]The Soka Gakkai, the organization which Makiguchi's followers reconstructed after World War II, now regards the formation of this study group in 1930 as its beginning. The formal organization of the group with Makiguchi as its elected president did not occur until 1937. See The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakkai (Tokyo: The Seikyo Press, 1966), pp. 46-47.

> the frontline of educational practice will not have to worry about these matters, but will be able to devote their full attention to the teaching task itself.
>
> Scientific pedagogy or systematic research in teaching methods and collecting of living teaching material are vital aspects of the teaching task. The relationship of these two aspects of education to education as a whole is just like the relationship between a cart and its wheels or a bird and its wings.
>
> In this issue of Kankyo we are giving special attention to Mr. Makiguchi's book Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei because we believe it can be a great help to the busy teacher. At the present time when education is stalemated and deadlocked, Mr. Makiguchi's pedagogy is truly like a beacon lighting the way to a rebirth in education.

The articles in this issue bear out the sentiment and intent of this purpose. In a major article entitled "The Essential Elements of Value Creating Pedagogy" Makiguchi, after critically examining Japanese education and society, wrote that education is the key element in any move toward the revolutionary reconstruction of society. And not just any kind of education, but value creating pedagogy is the first step toward bringing about urgently needed changes in human attitudes, in educational institutions, and in the social structures of Japanese society.

Among the factors working against the development of an effective educational system based on value creating pedagogy in Makiguchi's view was the government's stranglehold on education as a result of its operation and control of teacher training institutions. The government had done nothing, he charged, to encourage creative teaching or to improve the status of teachers and attract and hold competent

people in the teaching ranks. What Japan desperately needed, he wrote, was an educational research center where educational problems could be scientifically studied and educational experimentation carried on. The school, Makiguchi insisted, must become society's laboratory. As such it would function as a bridge between the individual and his family and the society at large. In order for the nation to make orderly development and progress, then, value creating pedagogy must be studied and understood not only by educators but by politicians as well.

Particularly interesting in this connection are two articles by leading progressive educators and statesmen supporting Makiguchi and his efforts to promote educational and social reform. One article was written by Inazo Nitobe. The other was a brief statement signed by twenty-eight prominent persons including Tsuyoshi Inukai, later to become prime minister from April 1931 to May 1932. That Makiguchi had support from people of this stature suggests the possibility that if the political climate in Japan had moved toward openness and democratic participation during the 1930's it is very likely that recognition of Makiguchi as an educator would have increased in marked degree. This, as history records, did not occur, however. In May, 1932, Prime Minister Inukai was assassinated. From that point on the position of progressively oriented educators and statesmen deteriorated rapidly. With that development

Makiguchi's last hope for achieving reform through purely educational means began to diminish.

The study group continued and increased in number, primarily by the addition of teachers who had become frustrated in their teaching efforts or who had been "black balled" by the government for leftist leanings or activities. But as the 1930's wore on and as the military regime tightened its hold over the various sectors of the society, the channels through which Makiguchi could influence teachers and educators became closed to him. It is the writer's view that as this occurred there began to dawn in Makiguchi's mind the possibilities afforded by Nichiren Shoshu for achievement of reform objectives. Thus, a small publication written by Makiguchi and printed in 1937 contrasts sharply with his writings of the 1930 period.[11] At this time, too, Makiguchi apparently began to give more attention to the possibilities in organized or corporate action and power. Early in 1937 sixty people who had become interested in and responsive to Makiguchi's ideas met at the Kikusuitei, a Tokyo restaurant, and formally organized Soka Kyoiku Gakkai. This was considered the first general meeting or conference of the organization. A second such meeting was not held until three years later in 1940 when

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[11]Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, Practical Experimentation of Value Creation Educational Methods through Science and Supreme Religion, Soka Kyoiku Gakkai, Tokyo, 1937.

membership is said to have increased to three- or four-hundred persons. From this time until the breaking of the organization by the government in 1943, the members met semiannually to report on the results of their educational research programs and their personal experiences.

Following the 1937 meeting the membership of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai began to change. Whereas prior to this time the persons associated with Makiguchi were primarily teachers interested in some aspect of education, reform, research, or Makiguchi's educational insights, there now began to come into the organization persons from other stations and walks of life who were drawn by the religious elements of Nichiren Shoshu as these were interpreted by Makiguchi. That such a change in the membership composition of the organization occurred is suggested by items in Kachi Sozo (The Creation of Value), a monthly periodical which the organization began to publish in 1941. Interspersed in this periodical with feature articles about value creating pedagogy are testimonials of persons who claimed to have found various kinds of benefits and blessings as a result of obedience to the requirements of Nichiren Shoshu, membership in Soka Kyoiku Gakkai, or of following the guidance of President Makiguchi.[12] For example, in the first issue of

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[12]As the shift from chiefly educational concerns to a combined emphasis on education and the Buddhism of Nichiren Shoshu occurred, the response of the original members tended to be one of two kinds. The response of some

Kachi Sozo is a group testimonial of twenty-seven mothers that as a result of joining the organization they had experienced painless childbirth.[13] The feature articles in Kachi Sozo also suggest Nichiren Shoshu influence. These articles contrast markedly with those of Kankyo and Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei of a decade earlier.

The Japanese Government apparently did not approve of the type of material printed in Kachi Sozo, for publication was suspended after the ninth issue by government order. However, a printed report, Taizen Seikatsu Jishoroku (Witness to Abundant Life), of the fifth conference of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai in 1942 contains the same kinds of articles and testimonials.[14] The following year, on July 6, 1943,

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of these original members was simply to drop out of the organization. The number who responded in this way is difficult to estimate. The writer interviewed one person, an elementary school teacher nearing retirement age, who indicated that he had left Makiguchi's movement because of the shift to religious concerns. It was his opinion that others had left for the same reason, but he was unable to give specific information as to such cases. Others, probably the majority of Makiguchi's original disciples, continued in the organization and shared in the attempt to integrate Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy with Nichiren Shoshu Buddhism.

[13]Another feature of Kachi Sozo was an admonition to members to participate in shakubuku activities, a militant and forceful method of conversion.

[14]The copy of the report obtained for this research had been seized by the Japanese Police at the time of the arrest of the leaders of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai and had the official seal of the Police Headquarter's office affixed to it.

Makiguchi and Toda and nineteen other persons, the entire upper echelon leadership of the organization, were arrested and jailed.[15] On November 18, 1944, at the age of seventy-three, Makiguchi died of malnutrition in his cell at Sugamo Prison. The only record available, to the writer's knowledge, concerning Makiguchi's intellectual and emotional life during his seventeen-month imprisonment is a series of post card messages which he wrote to his daughter-in-law, Sadako. Study of these messages suggests that Makiguchi remained firm in his convictions about Nichiren Shoshu to the end.[16]

Reconstruction in the Postwar Period

Although Makiguchi's death in prison in 1944 brought to an end his leadership of the movement which he had initiated, his influence was an important element in the reconstruction of the movement after the war through the lives of those who had been closely associated with him. Chief of these was Josei Toda, who as a young school teacher had met Makiguchi in 1920. Toda joined Nichiren Shoshu in 1928 along with Makiguchi. Until his arrest in 1943,

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[15]The reason for and circumstances surrounding the arrest of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai leaders in 1943 is fully discussed in other writings and need not be considered in detail here. For further information concerning the arrests see Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, pp. 83-84.

[16]The writer is indebted to Mrs. Makiguchi and personnel of the Soka Gakkai headquarters for permission to examine these post cards and have photostatic copies made of them.

however, he appears to have been more interested in business than in religion. During the early and mid-1920's he had experienced dire poverty, which was undoubtedly a contributing factor to a series of tragedies in his life including the death of an infant daughter, the loss of his wife from tuberculosis, and the contraction of the same disease himself. His fortunes began to improve, however, with the publishing of some books to help students preparing for middle school examinations. One of these, a book on arithmetic, was highly successful, selling more than a million copies. This was the beginning of Toda's business activities. By the time of his arrest in the summer of 1943 he controlled seventeen companies, with two more about to be added to his business holdings. His fortune is said to have amounted at that time to more than ¥6,000,000 or, at the prewar exchange rate, $1,500,000.[17]

The ordeal in prison brought to Toda a more intense religious experience. Interested as he was in the study of science and mathematics, Toda found it difficult to believe in anything which was not logically convincing. But as he read the Hoke-kyo[18] and the sacred writings of

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[17]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, pp. 88-90.

[18]The Buddhist scripture which Nichiren Shoshu includes in its teachings, also referred to as the Lotus Sutra.

Nichiren, and particularly as he chanted the daimoku,[19] a profound change came over him and he became convinced that at last he had found the true meaning of life. This experience, together with shock and grief at the news of Makiguchi's death, led Toda to vow that he would devote the rest of his life to spreading the teachings of Nichiren.[20]

After his release from prison on July 3, 1945, Toda set about the twofold task of rebuilding his business empire, which had been completely destroyed, and gathering together the fragments of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai. Successive business ventures ended in failure, due probably not so much to lack of ability on Toda's part as to the unstable economic conditions of the postwar period. His final venture, a credit cooperative, collapsed in 1950. While the rebuilding of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai eventually proved more successful, its chances appeared bleak at the end of the war. All of the leaders of the organization with the exception of Makiguchi, Toda, and Shuhei Yajima had broken under pressure of the Government and had renounced their faith and allegiance to the organization.[21] Rank and file members were

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[19]The sacred phrase: nammyohorengekyo.

[20]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 89.

[21]Murata (Ibid., p. 90) indicates that only Toda stood with Makiguchi in refusing to be broken by the Government. Ikeda (Satoshi Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, p. 185) writes that Yajima stood firm also.

scattered and there was no way of regaining contact with them.

Against this background Toda launched into the task of reconstructing Soka Kyoiku Gakkai.[22] He was convinced that the organization had disintegrated because it had been weak in the doctrinal discipline of its members. He determined, therefore, that in the new organization greater emphasis would be placed on the inculcation of members with the teachings of the Hoke-kyo and the teachings of Nichiren. Toward this end he opened a seminar on the sutra at Taisekiji on January 1, 1946, with three followers. Following this he lectured three times a week at his office in downtown Tokyo, the second floor of which developed into the headquarters of the organization as membership increased.

On May 1, 1946, a meeting of leaders was held in which Toda was named chairman of the board of directors, the position he had held in the prewar organization. However, he resisted moves to make him president. Not until the collapse of his business ventures in 1950 did he consent to assume the position of president, which had been left open since Makiguchi's death.[23] Up to this time the

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[22]The word "Kyoiku" was dropped from the name of the reconstructed organization.

[23]Toda, at this time, reasoned that his business failures were divine punishment for his failure to devote his full energy to the rebuilding of Soka Gakkai. See Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, pp. 93-94.

growth of the organization had been modest at best. Furthermore, with the collapse of Toda's business ventures many of his followers, including some Soka Gakkai leaders, left the organization. Toda himself was apparently discouraged at times. In March, 1951, he is reported to have remarked sarcastically: "At this rate (ninety-five families per month) we can reach an enormous number in ten thousand years."[24] Yet at the general meeting of Soka Gakkai in Tokyo on May 3, 1951, at which he was inaugurated president, Toda vowed to "convert 750,000 families before I die. If this is not achieved by the time of my death, don't hold a funeral service for me but throw my ashes into the sea off Shinagawa."[25] While at the time this goal was dismissed by some observers as the prediction of an idle dreamer, Soka Gakkai announced on March 1, 1958, one month before Toda's death, that the 750,000 family goal had been achieved.

While a detailed discussion of Nichiren Shoshu and its belief system is beyond the scope of this study, an understanding of certain basic aspects of Nichiren Shoshu is essential in order to place the developments of the decade following Toda's assumption of the presidency of Soka Gakkai in proper perspective.[26] The goal which

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[24] Ibid., p. 94.

[25] Ibid.

[26] The unique relationship which presently exists between Soka Gakkai and Nichiren Shoshu had its beginnings during this early postwar period. While some of the

believers in Nichiren Shoshu seek to attain is kosen rufu. Literally this means "the spreading of Buddhism through the whole world." Buddhism in this context means Nichiren Shoshu Buddhism, which for believers is the only true Buddhism. This uncompromising belief in Nichiren Shoshu Buddhism as the only true faith is based on a unique interpretation of the Lotus Sutra and the life of Nichiren, a thirteenth-century Buddhist priest. Briefly, according to Nichiren Shoshu, Nichiren is the fulfillment of Buddhist teachings in the present day. He is hailed as the original, eternal Buddha, meriting from contemporary Buddhists even greater reverence and respect than Sakayamuni, the chief Buddha of the Lotus Sutra.

Nichiren, particularly during the latter part of his life, was militant in his insistence that his interpretation of Buddhism and the Lotus Sutra was the only true belief. All other religions, he insisted, were false, corrupt, and evil and consequently must be destroyed. When

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frictions which had marred relationships between the Nichiren Shoshu leadership and the leadership of the lay movement prior to Makiguchi's death continued into the postwar period, these frictions had been satisfactorily resolved by the time of Toda's death, April 2, 1958. See Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, pp. 95-98. For further information on Nichiren Shoshu doctrine see also The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakkai (Tokyo: Seikyo Press, 1966). For an account of the life and teachings of Nichiren see Masaharu Anesaki, Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

the government officials of his day disregarded his preachings, Nichiren predicted that dire consequences would befall the country. Some of these predictions materialized, thus strengthening Nichiren's credibility.

Historically there are within Buddhist teachings two principle methods of propagating the faith. These are shoju and shakubuku. Murata writes that Soka Gakkai's

> intensive conversion method, shakubuku, has become identified in the public mind with Soka Gakkai itself. Shakubuku, however, is neither an invention nor a monopoly of Soka Gakkai or even Nichiren Shoshu. It is one of the two traditional Buddhist methods of conversion, the other being shoju. Buddhist sutras refer to them both, as did Nichiren in his writings. Shakubuku, literally meaning "break and subdue," is the forceful method of conversion, while shoju is the moderate conciliatory approach.[27]

Soka Gakkai recognizes and employs both shoju and shakubuku in its proselytizing activities. It was shakubuku, however, which Toda made the keystone of his efforts to develop Soka Gakkai after he became president in 1951, on the grounds that Japan at that time, just as the Japan of Nichiren's time, was full of evil religions and their adherents. In his inaugural address Toda told his followers that the goal

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[27]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 102. Understanding of this aspect of Nichiren Shoshu belief throws some light on Makiguchi's behavior during the last two or three years of his life, prior to his arrest in 1943. It is not hard to imagine that Makiguchi, observing his own failure to further educational reform, might find it easy to identify with Nichiren and accept the principle of shakubuku as a means of achieving his goals. This, at any rate, seems a possible explanation of activities in which he engaged in the years immediately prior to his arrest.

of kosen rufu (the spreading of Buddhism through the whole world) could be attained only when "all of you take on evil religions and convert everyone in the country . . ."[28] Toda's followers took his counsel seriously. Shakubuku came to be a central aspect of the meaning of membership in Soka Gakkai. The result of this development is a matter of record. In 1951 few Japanese had ever heard of Soka Gakkai. It was just one among many new religious movements which had mushroomed after World War II.[29] By the end of the decade the reverse was true. It was difficult to find a Japanese person in 1960 who had not formed some opinion with respect to Soka Gakkai. From a membership of some 500 families in 1951, the organization reached Toda's predicted 750,000 families one month before his death in 1958.

The tactical method which made this possible was shakubuku. But what was behind the method? What was the driving force in the development of Soka Gakkai? An analysis

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[28]Quoted in Murata, Ibid., p. 104.

[29]H. Neill McFarland aptly describes this period as the "rush hour of the Gods." In his book bearing this title he writes: "Prior to 1945, the Japanese people suffered through a long period of totalitarianism, during which religious bodies were either suppressed or regimented as thought-control agencies. Hence, at the end of the war, when complete freedom of religion was guaranteed as one of the cardinal principles in Japan's new day, the way was open for innumerable captive and incipient religious movements to become independent sects and for new 'prophets' to let their voices be heard" (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, p. 4).

of Soka Gakkai literature reveals two major and intimately interrelated appeals which attract and hold members to the movement. These two appeals are expressed in the literature as a twofold objective: "to save the whole world through the attainment of each individual's happiness in life."[30] As we shall see later, both the individual and the collective appeal are important factors in the growth and staying power of Soka Gakkai. During the development of the 1950's, however, the individual appeal was particularly emphasized. Murata notes that Toda frequently reminded his followers of earthly benefits they would receive from conducting shakubuku. On August 3, 1951, he told an audience: "You carry on shakubuku with conviction. If you don't do it now, let me tell you, you will never become happy."[31] On September 1, 1954, he gave the following reason why members should engage in shakubuku:

> Let me tell you why you must conduct shakubuku. This is not to make Soka Gakkai larger but for you to become happier . . . There are many people in the world who are suffering from poverty and disease. The only way to make them really happy is to shakubuku them. You might say it is sufficient for you to pray at home, but unless you carry out shakubuku you will not receive any

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[30]Soka Gakkai promised the postwar Japanese that any person could, without fail, attain happiness (or overcome unhappiness) providing he accepted and carried out Soka Gakkai's twofold discipline, i.e., prayer and persuasion. In action terms this meant chanting the Nichiren sacred prayer and conducting shakubuku.

[31]Quoted in Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 104.

> divine benefit. A believer who has forgotten to shakubuku will receive no such benefit . . ."[32]

Kasahara gives further evidence of the strength of Soka Gakkai's appeal to the desire for individual benefit. The Japanese people during the immediate postwar period, he points out, particularly those with limited usable skills and little education, felt overpowered by the

> hardships arising from poverty, illness, and dissension . . . They continued to exert themselves to the utmost to improve their lot, but there was a limit to what they could do . . . some of them began to turn for help to new religions rather than the established ones. They felt that they had already come to the end of their tether and could no longer stand their misery . . . Many people in postwar Japan jumped at religion in expectation of tangible rewards as the immediate result of their belief and prayers. They wished to be freed from poverty, illness, and trouble the moment they embraced the faith.[33]

Kasahara goes on to point out that many new religious groups sprang up at this time to take advantage of the situation of the masses. It was not long, however, until people began to realize that they had been cheated by the new religions and their promises of impossible gains. While Soka Gakkai was one of these new religions, it also differed in significant ways. It too promised instantaneous rewards in this world but at the same time made these promises conditional on a person's taking responsibility for making his own way in

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Kazuo Kasahara, "Soka Gakkai and Komeito: The Advance of a New Religion into Politics," Japan Quarterly, XIV, No. 3 (July-September, 1967), 313.

life. Perhaps the most significant thing about Soka Gakkai was that it built up and strengthened within its members confidence in their own ability to live on in the world, and to live on within a general frame of reference which gave meaning to each person's life.[34]

The determining factor in the realization of these promises of economic success, health, and family harmony was, as indicated above, the member's faithfulness in performing shakubuku.[35] He became convinced, furthermore, that in thus propagating his faith, he was assisting to bring salvation, not only to himself and to the immediate object of his shakubuku efforts, but to the world as

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[34] Ibid., p. 314.

[35] There are other incentives within the system also. For successes in shakubuku activity one is rewarded with titles and position as head of troops, districts, etc. In this connection Dator notes that while "the Soka Gakkai stresses equality of all members in that all are equal when they enter Soka Gakkai, and social position is said to make no difference within the Soka Gakkai (thus, we are told, the janitor of a bank may be a teacher and the bank president his pupil), the Soka Gakkai provides for intraorganizational ranking on the basis of individual effort. For example, it provides persons with such culturally honored titles as 'Assistant Professor' or 'Professor' or the like on the basis of objective tests covering the doctrine and practices of Nichiren Shoshu. Thus persons who did not have an opportunity to receive higher education (and such is the case for most Soka Gakkai members) are able to be 'professors' within the Soka Gakkai." By permission, from Soka Gakkai: Builders of the Third Civilization, by James A. Dator copyright © 1969 by the University of Washington Press (p. 139). Brannen stresses the new sense of identity which Soka Gakkai makes possible for persons without identity: ". . . there is a sense in which the millions of converts to Soka

well.[36] Under such circumstances a Soka Gakkai member could approach other persons in the act of shakubuku with complete sincerity and conviction. With members thus impelled and motivated it was probably inevitable that some would go to extremes. In some cases overzealous members went so far as to use force and violence in their attempts to pressure potential converts into acquiescence. It has been these extreme forms of shakubuku, in addition to a general suspicion of Soka Gakkai's phenomenal success itself, which have led to negative reactions from the press and the public.[37]

Gakkai are a new race, sought out, and . . . reclaimed." Noah Brannen, Soka Gakkai: Japan's Militant Buddhists (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1968), pp. 15-16.

[36]This dimension of Soka Gakkai may be a significant factor in accounting for the staying power and continued growth of the movement into the present. Soka Gakkai offers the convert not only the opportunity to benefit himself, but to feel a part of a great and magnificent destiny which he, through individually creating value, can help to work out.

[37]On November 26, 1955, for instance, Goichiro Fujii, Director of the Public Security Investigation Agency of the Minister of Justice, was quoted in a major national daily as saying that Soka Gakkai "was conducting a membership drive in a semi-gangster manner, using a military organization . . ." Mr. Fujii later denied making such a statement and the daily retracted the report. The report does reflect, however, the general attitude of fear and distrust of Soka Gakkai which had developed among the Japanese by the late 1950's. For further details see Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 104. In order to properly assess Soka Gakkai's record on this point it should be clear that the leadership of the organization at no time condoned or encouraged these extreme forms of shakubuku.

In any objective analysis of Soka Gakkai the inescapable conclusion is that a great deal of the credit for the success of the postwar movement must go to Toda's skillful blending of organizational and doctrinal elements and to his ability as a strategist. But while Toda's contribution was of key importance, the general sociological context of the postwar period was also a factor. During the period from 1950 to 1960 a massive population migration from rural to urban areas occurred in Japanese society. It is no coincidence that this period coincided with the first major increase in Soka Gakkai's membership. As Ikado points out in the following observation, the rural to urban migration severs the migrant from traditional roots and ties:

> People who came from rural areas and therefore were formerly in one way or another part of the traditional system of established religions, are more or less cut off from such an institution when they are in the

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Toda, on a number of occasions, cautioned against the use of force and violence in carrying out shakubuku activities. In an essay written by him in 1954 entitled "The Middle Path" Toda appealed to his followers to be sensible in their religious fervor. For further information in this regard see Brannen, Soka Gakkai: Japan's Militant Buddhists, p. 102. According to Brannen, Daisaku Ikeda, the present president of Soka Gakkai, has also appealed to members to "speak and act with common sense." Ikeda has "reprimanded them for making obscene gestures when passing before Shinto shrines and temples of other denominations . . . And he has forbidden shakubuku activity on the job and frowned upon the practice of staying at a neighbor's house until the early morning hours trying to win a convert" (Brannen, Soka Gakkai: Japan's Militant Buddhists, p. 103).

> cities. The postwar development of mass communication media has prompted the expression of individual interests and, in the course of time, the so-called 'non-religious' people appeared openly in cities, having been released from the control of the established religion of the ie[38] which forced belief and membership on them.[39]

It was this sociological phenomenon which made the unprecedented growth of Soka Gakkai possible.

New Leadership for a New Era: Value Creating Pedagogy Resurrected

The central theme of the postwar movement under Toda's leadership may be symbolized by the phenomenon of shakubuku. Emphasis during this period was on the mystical and the metaphysical elements of Nichiren Shoshu, on the winning of converts to strengthen the movement, on communicating an absolutistic message and promise of salvation which the uprooted masses of Japanese society yearned to hear. Although in setting the movement in this direction Toda was only continuing trends and emphases which had begun under Makiguchi, the intensity and depth commitment to this direction which came to characterize Soka Gakkai during its first decade-and-a-half following the

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[38]The extended family of traditional Japanese society, literally the word means "house."

[39]Fujio Ikado, "Trend and Problems of New Religions: Religion in Urban Society," in Kiyomi Morioka and William H. Newell, The Sociology of Japanese Religion (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 104.

war clearly reveals the imprint of Toda's personality. The implications of the convergence at a given point in time of Toda's leadership skill in the use of ideology and organization with a specific psychological and sociological crisis in Japanese society has been referred to in the preceding section.[40]

With the assumption of the leadership of the organization in 1960 by Daisaku Ikeda, Toda's chief disciple, a decided shift in emphasis occurred and a new dimension was added to the organization. There were numerous aspects of this shift in emphasis but in essence it may be described as a return to or a resurrection of the central elements of Makiguchi's philosophy of value and his value creating pedagogy. It should be clear that Ikeda in no way retreated from or de-emphasized any of the elements which had characterized the organization under Toda's leadership. He

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[40]Lane suggests that the rise of social movements can be explained in terms of the interrelatedness of four major variables. These are leadership, ideology, organization, and what he calls structural antecedents. By structural antecedents he means some additive or cumulative process whereby multiple factors and multiple increments build up to a point at which the potential for the emergence of a social movement becomes high. At this point some precipitating factor may add the increment which makes the appearance of a social movement highly probable, whereas such a development would not have been probable or even possible at some earlier date. See Skelton T. Lane, Social Movements and Social Change: The Soka Gakkai of Japan (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 87. Lane believes his analysis applies particularly to the Soka Gakkai during the immediate postwar period.

continued to emphasize shakubuku both as a conversion method and as a way of life, although with some modifications; he reaffirmed the importance of repetition of the sacred prayer of Nichiren Shoshu and the worship of the sect's sacred object, the mandala.[41] But along side these mystical and doctrinal elements which had become integral aspects of the organization during Toda's administration, Ikeda added, or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say strengthened, a secular dimension of the organization.[42]

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[41]The importance of this worship object in Nichiren Shoshu doctrine and in the everyday worship life of Soka Gakkai members is very ably discussed by Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, pp. 51-52.

[42]For purposes of expediency, or perhaps even on the basis of faith and belief, Ikeda attributes the particular tie between the sacred and the secular within Nichiren Shoshu Soka Gakkai to Buddhism. This relationship is described in the religious terminology of the organization as Obutsu Myogo, which means the ideal combination of politics and religion. At a staff conference of the Youth Division in 1965 Ikeda sought to clarify the concept as follows:

> The Sokagakkai is a religious organization and the Komeito, a political party. These are the different names of the same organization whose members believe in the teachings of Nichiren Daishonin and aim at the achievement of Obutsu Myogo. As far as a man is concerned, he is a member of the Komeito in the political field, in religious field a member of the Sokagakkai, and in society he could be a company employee, a student or a doctor. Thus, man's life and his activity are always one . . .
>
> In the light of the life-philosophy and actual proofs of well over 10 million members, it is obvious that individual happiness cannot be established without the True Buddhism. Without individual happiness, there can be no prosperity of society. Millions of people cannot

The importance which Ikeda attached to this secular dimension became evident one year after he assumed the presidency when, on May 3, 1961, he announced the reorganization of the Culture Department to become the Culture Bureau, incorporating newly created Departments of Economics, Politics, Education, and Speech, and, later, a Department of Art.[43] All of these Departments have played significant roles in the life of the organization during the ten-year period since the establishment of the Culture Bureau. Taken together the Departments of the Culture Bureau represent a major new dimension within the new religious movements of Japanese society, a dimension which places Soka Gakkai in a separate class from the other new religions.

> build a happy society, if they themselves are unhappy. On the contrary, without social prosperity, there can be no individual happiness. It is politics that brings prosperity to society. Accordingly, Sokagakkai's practices which leads [sic] each individual to happiness should never be separated from the Komeito's political movements which bring prosperity to society. This axiomatic principle is the idea of Obutsu Myogo (Daisaku Ikeda, Complete Works, English trans., Vol. I (Tokyo: Seikyo Press, 1968), p. 195).

But while Ikeda and Soka Gakkai leaders discuss the goals of the organization in the doctrinal terminology of Buddhism, the means whereby these goals are being sought are those of Makiguchi's educational pragmatism. Satoshi Ikeda observed during the writer's interview with him in July, 1959, that Makiguchi's educational ideas have led to a revolutionary transformation in Japanese Buddhism. This transformation has been brought about by the fusion of generalized concepts of traditional Buddhism with the pragmatic educational theory and practice of Makiguchi's value creating pedagogy.

[43]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 125.

As McFarland notes, with the exception of Soka Gakkai, none of the new religions has sought to set up organizational machinery for a sustained and purposeful involvement in the secular life of Japanese society.[44]

It is the writer's conclusion that much of the philosophical rationale for this secular emphasis as well as the pedagogical means for implementing it has grown out of Ikeda's study of Makiguchi's work. Study and analysis of Makiguchi's and Ikeda's writings reveal in both a central concern for the welfare of the individual in a mass society. Out of this concern for the individual person there emerges in both Makiguchi and Ikeda a common model for social reform which sees education as the key factor in the reform process. Since Makiguchi's philosophical and pedagogical ideas have been discussed at length in Chapter IV, this model is discussed in the paragraphs which follow on the basis of Ikeda's writings.

The individual as a separate, isolated unit in the midst of the mass is utterly powerless, Ikeda holds. In this powerless condition he is constantly the victim of unscrupulous individuals and pressure groups who exploit him in their own interests.[45] Ikeda believes that three things are essential if the individual is to be freed and nourished

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[44]McFarland, Rush Hour of the Gods, p. 232.

[45]Ikeda, Complete Works, pp. 98, 108-110.

rather than destroyed by modern mass society. First of all, it is essential that each individual attain a high degree of political consciousness undergirded by depth understanding of social structures and processes. Each such "politically conscious" and "awakened" person must then accept responsibility for keeping constant surveillance on the political process and the use of power in the society. "If true democratic politics is to be developed," Ikeda writes, "it is necessary first to clarify the actual conditions of our present-day politics to the public and then to raise the political consciousness of each citizen. Then, an eye to watch politics will be cultivated and the bud of true democracy will emerge."[46]

Ikeda's belief that the possibility of true democracy exists only if citizens are enlightened and alert is stated even more strongly in the following paragraphs from a discussion concerning problems of modern politics:

> One cannot call it an age of democracy unless the people, outside of election periods, keep a constant surveillance on politics, and the people's will is always reflected in politics . . .
>
> If people elect representatives who aim at protecting only certain groups who have common interests with their own, or if the former expect such of the latter, confused politics will ensue and harm the entire society, hindering its constructive advance. Accordingly, the masses should not only demand their rights but be awakened to their duty and responsibility in

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[46] Ibid., p. 6.

> society. Only then can an ideal form of democracy be established . . .
>
> These facts show that the premise of a democratic government is above anything else the self-awakening of the people. They are required to have their own assertions, at the same time listen with reason and modesty to opposing opinions, and yet put into practice the merits of the both . . .
>
> If people lack reasonable persuasion and criticism, utilizing the violence of the majority, they are destroying democracy with their own hands. The conflict between the majority, who in disregard of reason trust in numbers, and the minority, who oppose with violence, will result in nothing but the debasement of the democratic spirit. In this case democracy turns into mobocracy.
>
> Thus the position of the masses in support of democracy is very important. They are required to have a spirit of independence, public sense, patriotic mind and leniency, but what is most desired of them, however, is to acquire a high education and sound knowledge, plus social morality. Whether politics improves or degrades naturally depends on whether politicians are superior or inferior. However, it is not too much to say that politics at the same time depends on the masses' intellect, culture and moral sense. They are requested to fight resolutely against false ideas or government. Namely, the masses should be self-established politicians.
>
> From ignorance, blindness and irresponsibility, only confusion, corruption and disorder will be born. To blindly follow others' opinions without any consciousness or critical faculty or use public rights owing to personal courtesy, to follow senselessly in response to others' movements, to be agitated by irresponsible leaders--all these lead to destruction of democracy.[47]

One of the key elements in Ikeda's model for reform, then, as in Makiguchi's, is the alert, informed, and responsible citizen or, in Ikeda's words, the "self-established politician." The development of such politically conscious and

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[47] Ibid., pp. 113-114.

socially responsible individuals is one of the primary tasks of education in the Soka Gakkai system under Ikeda's guidance.

The need for the development of such persons in Japan is urgent, Ikeda believes, because of the degradation and corruption of Japanese political life. When one observes the condition of Japanese political life, he contends, it is easy to see how vain and empty the politicians are. Japan has, Ikeda insists, simply replaced the prewar military clique with inconsistent, corrupt, power-hungry politicians whose concerns center more in their own rather than the people's interests:

> A political party in Japan is nothing but a group of political factions . . . Cabinet posts are distributed among factions of the ruling party. The principle of putting the right man in the right place has never existed.
>
> Cabinet posts are coveted by Dietmen to satisfy their desire for personal fame and power. Factional leaders struggle with one another for personal posts to be divided among their men. They cannot afford to concentrate their attention on solving the people's sufferings.[48]

The Japanese politician is just like a feudal lord, Ikeda concludes, and democracy exists in modern Japan in name only.

Thus, in addition to enlightened and alert citizens, Japanese politics also needs a new breed of politician. We are awaiting, Ikeda writes, "the appearance of fresh reliable politicians who have undergone the human revolution

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[48] Ibid., p. 5.

and can fully satisfy the desires of the masses."[49] These new politicians will be concerned with the "rich human possibilities" of individual citizens and will base all social reforms on the premise that human society can so order itself that these human possibilities may be realized for every individual. What Japan needs, Ikeda continues, is a political party dedicated to the needs and welfare of the masses. Since none of the present parties in Japan, whether conservative or reformist, fill this need, Soka Gakkai has given birth to Komeito or the Clean Government Party, which is designed to be a party for the masses:

> These reformist parties, even though they promise to represent the working class, are in actuality nothing other than the agents of "working nobles." They are parties for the assembly sent from labor unions, or in other words, organizations for "working nobles" or labor agitators who aim merely at their own advancement in life. Accordingly, even reformist parties exist for but a part of the people. They are degraded into parties which agitate a small number of people under the name of class struggle. These parties are supported by as few people as the conservative party is. They are mere representatives of working nobles who are only a small percentage of the entire population.
>
> Judging from these facts, both the conservative and reformist parties are mouthpieces of minority pressure groups, or rather are the means for assisting certain pressure groups. In Japan, there are many unorganized workers in small and medium enterprises who are left untouched by politics. Still more people below those levels are utterly ignored by all of the existing parties.
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> A political system which is truly desired for a mass society is one which will fill all the demands of the

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[49] Ibid., p. 7.

> mass. In this connection, the existing parties who contribute merely to certain pressure groups are all disqualified. In order to respond to public demand, they should be the parties comprising all the mass, and be firmly rooted in the complicated mass. Unless a party does truly stand on the mass, the deadlock of modern society cannot be resolved, and we can say that a party which is based in the masses is the new party which can powerfully promote the policies of public welfare.[50]

Ikeda invites the people to scrutinize Komeito and he pledges that he will do the same:

> Please watch Komeito activities for ten to twenty years to come. I will watch over them as their supporter. At the same time, I am determined to watch all members of the Diet including Komeito members, for any corruption and to take them to task, if they are involved in corruption.[51]

The second element in Ikeda's model for social reform is that of providing the means whereby the power of the individual can be multiplied through organized cooperation with other individuals. Power must not be shunned, therefore, but actively sought so that it may be used to increase the prosperity and well-being of the entire society. This aspect of Ikeda's thought is expressed in such observations as the following:

> . . . we believe that democracy should be clearly distinguished from mobocracy. The ideal of democracy cannot be attained unless each individual attains a high political consciousness and makes himself a humanist. In other words, democracy should not be mobocracy. Instead, it should be the government of the wise or the union of wise people.[52]

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[50] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

[51] Ibid., p. 12.

[52] Ibid., p. 83.

> The mass, separated into individuals, is utterly powerless . . . When each is organized into an organization comprising a part of its structure, a great power is displayed. The larger the organization, the greater the role each person plays in it.[53]

Thus the central issue is power and the use of power:

> . . . it is a mistake to consider power as merely evil; therefore, dislike it with no reason. Rather, we must first discuss how power should be used to realize public welfare and then watch over and engage in the exercising of power.[54]

The major element in the Culture Bureau which Ikeda created in 1961 was the Political Department. "In retrospect," Murata points out, "it is evident that the creation of the Culture Bureau, with its Political Department, was the first step toward Soka Gakkai's full-fledged participation in the nation's politics."[55] One of the central implications of Soka Gakkai, both for its individual members and for the society of which it is a part, lies in its determination to meet the powerlessness of the individual in modern life and to influence the exercising of power in Japanese society. This element of Soka Gakkai was present, in embryonic form, in Makiguchi's work and thought;[56] it was

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[53] Ibid., p. 98.

[54] Ibid., p. 83.

[55] Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 125.

[56] Admittedly, this element came late in Makiguchi's thinking; one does not find it in his writings as such. Rather, it may be inferred from his participation in the initial organization of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai in 1930, and especially in the group oriented nature of his activities from the mid 1930's until his arrest in 1943.

present during Toda's presidency, as a goal, a reality which must be dealt with, but without systematic and organizational expression;[57] it has become a major focus of Soka Gakkai concern and activity during the ten years of Ikeda's leadership. If one fails to take this element of Soka Gakkai into account, i.e., the intentional mobilization of personal and organizational resources in order to influence and effect change in the exercising of power in Japanese society, it is impossible to understand the organization. This is precisely the mistake which some observers of Soka Gakkai have made.[58] It is not a question of whether a person approves or disapproves of this kind of exercise of power upon the part of a religious organization. The reality is that this is what Soka Gakkai seeks to do.[59]

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[57]Satoshi Ikeda credits Toda with having made the following statement upon one occasion: "Someday we have to fight with elections. So far we have prayed and engaged in shakubuku and felt that our faith was complete. This, without doubt, is basic. But the time will come when this will not be enough. To say 'I like politics' or 'I don't like politics' is irrelevant . . . In view of the state of our country we have no choice but to step out in political life. . . ." (Ikeda, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, p. 206).

[58]A reporter for Newsweek, for example, wrote the following: "But what is Soka Gakkai? In its brief 33-year history, the sect has shifted doctrines so often that the only sure thing about it, aside from the lotus chant, is the sheer fact of its existence . . . But if the past is any guide, there is no telling what position the followers of the lotus sutra will take next" (Newsweek, January 19, 1970, p. 46).

[59]Soka Gakkai leaders are quick to insist that this does not mean religious control of the state, however. They

Soka Gakkai, under Ikeda's leadership, by building on the spirit and further developing the implications of Makiguchi's educational philosophy and pedagogy, is creating new social structures which give promise of radically altering interrelationships between education, religion, politics, and society in Japan.

The third element in Ikeda's model for social reform is the most basic and the one on which the other two elements depend for their meaning. It is the proposition that society must be so ordered as to provide for the maximum growth and development of every individual in the society. Phrased in Soka Gakkai's terminology it means that the development of persons capable of creating value and the providing of opportunity for such persons to give expression

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are not, they contend, advocating saisei-itchi or the unity of church and state. "Obutsu Myogo is not the "Unity of Church and State." In the past there were abominable relations between religion and politics. In medieval Christianity, religious authorities ruled politics, or political power utilized religion . . . This should not be confused with Obutsu Myogo. If a religion is forced on the masses by the Government or by law, of what use will it be? It means the impotence of the religion, its isolation from the masses, and the loss of its eternity." See Daisaku Ikeda, Complete Works, p. 11.

Elsewhere Ikeda argues that saisei-itchi "is an ancient form of government in which one and the same person is in charge of both religious rites and politics. If this primitive form of theocracy were to be realized by the Soka Gakkai, we would have to entreat the High Priest of Nichiren Shoshu to become prime minister." Ibid., p. 131. But such assurances notwithstanding, some observers both in Japan and in other countries continue to be skeptical of Soka Gakkai on this point.

to their creativity are central objectives of the organization. For Soka Gakkai this is more than window dressing. Soka Gakkai, Ikeda claims, is committed and dedicated to the improvement and change of society in the interests of all of society's members, rather than in the interests of a specific class or group. One all-important criterion must guide every aspect of social planning and political action, Ikeda insists. That is the question of how any plan or action will affect the individual members of society. All social plans and every political action must be subjected to the test of the extent to which they contribute toward the end of enabling every member of society to become fulfilled, value creating persons.

This brings one back to a central theme in Makiguchi's thought, that of the dual personal-social nature of man, and the need for a harmonious balance within every person's life between the pursuit of values of personal gain and the pursuit of values of social good. One cannot, in other words, be a complete, happy, value creating person by himself. Only as he senses his interconnection with other persons in a social matrix and seeks to create values which will bring about the fulfillment and happiness of these other lives as well as his own, is happiness or fulfillment possible for him. This basic view of Makiguchi's is expressed by Ikeda and Soka Gakkai today as the goal to seek social salvation and prosperity through the attainment of each individual's happiness.

> Priority should be given to Man's right to live, and the respect for humanity should be placed above all. The ideal public welfare which aims at "social prosperity in accordance with individual happiness," should be the goal of politics.[60]

However, Ikeda continues:

> The actual situation is far from ideal. Rather, it is common that social prosperity is separated from individual happiness. To bring about a change in this situation presents the greatest problem of our present-day politics.[61]

Like Makiguchi prior to his preoccupation with religious concerns, Ikeda sees education as the single most important factor in changing the present reality. Value creating persons dedicated to the task of ordering society in such a way as to attain both "social prosperity and individual happiness" do not just spring up automatically. They have to be given birth by educational systems which have as their central goal individual and social value creativity. Toward this end Makiguchi developed his value creating pedagogy. Toward this end, too, Ikeda has moved consistently since assuming the presidency of Soka Gakkai to implement the principles of value creating pedagogy. His latest effort in this regard has been in the establishment of formal educational institutions. Soka High School was opened with the enrollment of seventh and tenth grade

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[60] Ibid., p. 84.

[61] Ibid., p. 89.

classes on April 8, 1968.[62] Soka University enrolled its first classes in April, 1971. The Japan Times described the new university in the following way in its issue for May 28, 1971:

> The Sokagakkai, one of the most influential religious organizations in Japan for the past several decades, has now launched a new venture in the field of education. Soka University, an institution that may well be setting a new trend for the educational system of Japan, started classes last April near Hachioji City some 30 miles west of Tokyo . . .
>
> At present about 700 students, of which over 100 are coeds, are attending the new university . . . student enrollment will be increased to 8,000 in the near future.
>
> The student-faculty ratio at the university is presently 5 to 1 but the ratio will be stabilized to around 15 to 1 for maximum results. This is almost unheard of in present Japanese universities.
>
> The university includes a complete dormitory system for faculties and the university staff members as well as all students. This is to foster a closer relationship between students and faculty as well as to help students develop self-reliance and autonomy and to encourage them to experience cooperative group life . . .
>
> The idea of Soka University was proposed by Daisaku Ikeda, president of Sokagakkai, at the 7th general meeting of the organization's student division. Ikeda was dissatisfied with the present educational system of mass education and decided to set up a school which puts more emphasis on personal relations between faculty and students, combined with the best modern facilities available.
>
> The late Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, first president of Sokagakkai, established the unique Soka Educational Theory upon whose basic tenets lies the educational

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[62] For an excellent description and discussion of the Soka High School see Carl H. Gross, Sokagakkai and Education (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University, Institute for International Studies, 1970), pp. 56-63.

> foundation of the university. His principle--"Education should aim at creating values in one's character."
>
> Kazuo Takamatsu, president of the university, announced the motto which reflects Makiguchi's as well as Ikeda's philosophy: The highest institution of human education, the cradle of a new culture and the fortress of peace for mankind.[63]

Ikeda indicated his views as to the need for and importance of Soka University in an address to the 31st General Meeting of Soka Gakkai in 1968:

> Needless to say, education is the most important undertaking which will determine the future of Japan and the trend of the world. Thus far, however, politicians and leaders of our country have been all too indifferent to this problem. Not only that, there seem to be signs of intensified intervention in various ways with an ulterior motive of exploiting education as a tool of political struggle. If things are left as they are, I am gravely worried that university education will inevitably lose its dignity further and become confused and enervated.
>
> In the circumstances, I cannot help but be convinced that it is our Sokagakkai living in the tradition of deep thought and practice, formed by our founder president T. Makiguchi and former president J. Toda--and our creation Soka University--which has the true qualifications and mission to translate the ideal form of education into reality and correct the stance of the education circles drastically. In particular, the university must be the mother of a nation's culture and the crystallization of a nation's spiritual culture.[64]

It is too early at this point to attempt to assess the long-range outcome of Soka Gakkai's efforts. There should be no misunderstanding, however, as to what those

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[63] The Japan Times, May 28, 1971, p. 10.

[64] Daisaku Ikeda, "Youth Let's Advance Toward a New Day," address given by President Ikeda at the 31st General Meeting of the Soka Gakkai, May 3, 1968, pp. 6-8.

efforts consist of. Soka Gakkai, as suggested earlier, has set out to permanently rearrange the power balance and influence the exercising of power in Japanese society. The restructuring of formal education in accordance with the principles of Makiguchi's value creating pedagogy is seen as a necessary and basic step toward the achievement of the organization's objectives. Murata has insightfully observed that today, forty years after Makiguchi's own attempts to reform Japanese education ended in failure, Soka Gakkai "has an opportunity to put the late founder's educational theory into practice on a grand scale."[65]

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[65]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 76.

CHAPTER VI

AN APPROACH TO AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MAN AND THE MOVEMENT

A Frame of Reference

Any attempt to assess the contribution to society and culture of an individual or movement, if the assessment is to be meaningful beyond the particular case, must necessarily include some theoretical frame of reference with regard to social behavior and interaction within which the life and behavior of the individual or movement can be understood and interpreted. This is not to say that the historian must be an anthropologist or sociologist. As an historian he is concerned with the analysis of the actions of a particular person or set of events or processes. As an historian he must remain close to the "actual happenings and avoid statements which, though linking behavior at one time or place to that elsewhere, lead to a distortion in the description of what occurred in the set of circumstances being analyzed."[1]

The anthropologist and the sociologist, on the other hand, look for concepts which subsume a variety of

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[1]Seymour M. Lipset, Revolution and Counterrevolution (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 6.

particular descriptive categories. The use of such concepts and insights offers the historian sets of categories and frames of reference with which to order historical materials and which may enhance the power of his interpretative or causal explanation.[2] By the same token, if historians can profit from contributions of anthropologists and sociologists, these latter have come to recognize the value of historical evidence in their own research. This recognition has within the past decade led to the re-emergence of historical and comparative studies within the fields of anthropology and sociology as valid and valued areas of inquiry. The prospects appear good, therefore, for the development of fruitful cooperation between historians on the one hand and anthropologists and sociologists on the other. The historian can contribute to such interdisciplinary endeavor by utilizing anthropological and sociological concepts in the ordering and conducting of his research and by reporting his findings in such a way that they will be usable and available for comparative study by social scientists.

A theory of social and cultural change formulated by an anthropologist, Anthony F. C. Wallace, was selected by the writer as a theoretical frame of reference for the present study of Makiguchi and the Soka Gakkai movement.

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[2] Ibid.

Wallace's theory is particularly relevant for this purpose because both education and revolutionary movements such as Soka Gakkai are treated as major conceptual variables. Wallace holds that study and analysis of the learning process in any human society may be approached with a two-dimensional model. The first dimension concerns the circumstances in which the learning process occurs. He arranges the circumstances of human learning in the form of a scale of generality, each category of which is contained in and implied by its succeeding category. Schooling, his initial category, is followed by education, enculturation, and finally learning itself. Schooling is learning done in a school. A school is defined as

> an institution which deliberately and systematically, by the presentation of symbols in reading matter, lectures, or ritual, attempts to transform from a condition of ignorance to one of enlightenment, the intellect, the morality, and the technical knowledge and skills of an attentive group of persons assembled in a definite place at a definite time.[3]

Education is "all learning (including but not confined to schooling) obtained from reading or from listening to formally prepared symbolic presentations."[4] Enculturation is

> all learning enjoined on the person with a particular status as a member of a particular culture-bearing society, and thus includes, in addition to schooling

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[3]Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 29.

[4]Ibid.

> and education, such homely but essential skills as knowing a language or two; observing the proper times, places, and techniques for the execution of such malleable body processes as urination, defecation, breathing, walking, eating, sleeping, and sexual intercourse . . .[5]

Learning is the cover term and embraces "all of the foregoing, and also those idiosyncratic learnings which every person accumulates throughout his lifetime and which may or may not be transmitted to others."[6]

The second dimension of Wallace's model classifies learning by matter rather than by position on a scale of circumstances. Thus, according to Wallace, in any situation of learning, three matters may be learned. These are matters of technic, of morality, and of intellect. Technic is "how to" learning by reinforcement:

> It includes such things as learning how to talk, how to extract the square root of a number, how to dance, how to harpoon a walrus . . . How to identify a witch, how to get to heaven. From this standpoint, even the rote learning of information--dates, names, events, formulas, art work, institutional structures, store, prices, fashions, and the like--is "how to" learning, for the motive lies not in the acquisition of the information but in the use to which it may be put . . . And even values--such as standards of beauty, tastes in music, concepts of the good life--may be learned, both by rote, as when one learns first the symbols for the rewarded values, and later, by performing the act that earns the reward.[7]

Morality, on the other hand, deals not so much with "how to" as with "what." Furthermore, in Wallace's usage, morality concerns

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[7] Ibid., p. 31.

> not just positive and negative goals, not just values, not even all socially approved values, but one particular kind of socially approved value. This kind of value is the conception that one's own behavior, as well as the behavior of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance, or at least not retard, its welfare. Morality is thus to be sharply distinguished from mere propriety, conformity, and respectability, although it is not necessarily non-conformist. Morality, in this sense, is most conspicuously exemplified by such heroic actions as the soldier's who throws himself on a hand grenade in order to smother the blast and save his buddies . . .
>
> . . . it is, to my way of thinking, questionable whether this kind of morality can be adequately explained by any simple learning-by-reinforcement model. Although morality is not necessarily accompanied by sacrifice, in any particular case its criterion is its potentiality for sacrifice. And sacrifice seems to fly in the face of the law of effect. Indeed, the American academic psychologist is apt to deny that moral behavior in this sense can exist in a sane person . . . Yet anyone who has observed men in combat, who has seen the religious or the political devotee in action, who has watched a family holding together in adversity, must realize that morally altruistic behavior is possible. And it is hard to escape the inference that such persons, on such occasions, have not learned to sacrifice their own interests in favor of their conception of the interests of other persons merely by passing through some adroitly arranged sequence of Skinner boxes.[8]

Intellect is not the same as intelligence, nor is it intellectualism. Rather, intellect, in Wallace's usage, refers to a social tradition, an aspect of culture, the core of which involves the proposition that if a subject is worthy of consideration at all, it should be considered in a particular cognitive form. Wallace seems to be referring here to principles of critical thinking or what in John

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[8] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Dewey's terminology would be the scientific method or problem solving approach to learning. The utility of intellect, Wallace writes,

> springs from the fact that it is the only truly universal tool, capable of maintaining and restoring human arrangements against the erosions of time, capable of recognizing and solving new problems as well as learning the answers to old ones. And it does this intensely human task by requiring its users to practice what is sometimes, and paradoxically, described as an inhuman detachment from the technics and morality of the moment.[9]

Wallace suggests the following diagram to represent the divisions of learning discussed thus far, i.e., the three matters of learning and the scale of the circumstances of learning:

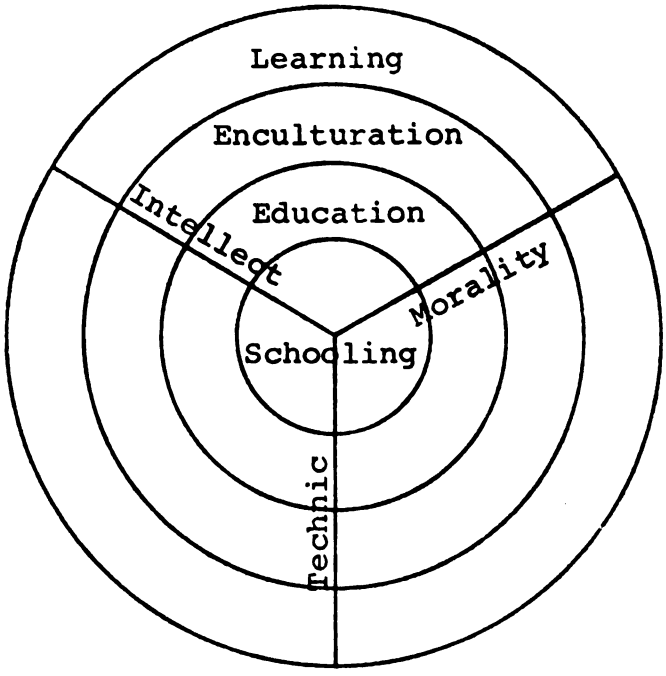

Figure 1. The Divisions of Learning[10]

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[9] Ibid., p. 37.

[10] Ibid.

The key educational issue which faces the people of every society is concerned with the question: What should a man learn? Societies differ in their answer to this question; and these differences, Wallace theorizes, can be related to the particular value orientation of a society. While the values which guide a society in its choices of what learnings to impress on the individual are legion, and while these may be described on many levels of complexity, Wallace suggests that any society can be explained and understood with reference to one or a combination of three contrasting value orientations. These are the revolutionary, or utopian, orientation; the conservative, or ideological, orientation; and the reactionary orientation. What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on

> whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. And what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn. Furthermore, not merely what a man should learn, but whether he should learn it in a school, or from his parents, or from his peers, or by casual reading, conversation, and attendance at entertainments, will be in part determined by whether he lives in a revolutionary or a conservative or a reactionary society.[11]

While in reality no society could be wholly one or another of these three types, it seems reasonable to consider one value orientation or another predominant in a given group, such as the political, economic, or religious leadership of a society, during a stated period. This

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[11] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

tripartite classification may be used also for the different time periods in the same society. Wallace believes that we may expect these orientations will change in a definite order. Thus, "a society which is now revolutionary will, if it changes, become conservative, next reactionary, and again most probably revolutionary."[12] What Wallace is suggesting here, then, is that over centuries and millenia any given society "is apt to follow a roughly cyclical path through revolution, conservatism, and reaction, over and over again."[13] The specific conceptual tool used by Wallace to study this phenomena is what he defines as a "revitalization movement."

Wallace's general theory may be summarized by noting that with regard to any one society, we may expect to find that both the content and the circumstances of learning will vary with the varying predominance of its value orientation. More specifically, it would appear "that with each of the major value orientations there is associated a philosophy of schooling which characteristically assigns priorities to the matters of learning in schools."[14]

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[12] Ibid., p. 40.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

Revitalization Movements, Educational Priorities, and Value Orientations

Analysis of the association between these priorities and the value orientations represents the major thrust of Wallace's theoretical formulation. A revolutionary society, thus, is a society which is dominated by a revitalization movement. A revitalization movement is defined as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[15] A revitalization movement may in the extreme be either religious or political but is usually a combination of both. The code of a revitalization movement "defines the previous state of society as inadequate, perverse, even evil, and depicts a more or less utopian image of the better society as the goal culture toward which the ad hoc and temporary social arrangements of the present transfer culture is carrying the society."[16]

A revitalization movement generally has six tasks to perform or six stages which it must pass through in order to create a truly revolutionary society. These are as follows:

> Formulation of the code. Mere dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs does not launch a revitalization movement. A prophet, political party, or clique

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 41.

must formulate explicitly the nature of the existing culture's deficiencies, the nature of a desirable goal culture, and the nature and mode of operation of the transfer culture. This formulation must be more than an exercise of intellect; it must be passionately moral.

Communication. The formulator must preach his code to other people. This communication must emphasize the moral obligation of the bearer to subscribe to this new code and render service to the movement.

Organization. The converts made by the formulator organize into a hierarchical system, with a prophet or other titular head, an elite group of disciples who constitute an executive praesidium, and a rank and file who carry out but do not make policy.

Adaptation. As the movement's challenge to the existing leadership of the society is met, by counter-propaganda or by force, the movement will be required to enlarge, modify, specify, and otherwise adapt the code to the circumstances of survival. The process of reformulation is continuous from this point on, for new situations constantly arise not anticipated in the code; and it lasts long after political victory is complete. This process of doctrinal elaboration is a work of disciplined intellect, and high value is accordingly placed on intellect, which can perform such work (whereas technic cannot).

Cultural transformation. When social power falls into the hands of the movement (the revolution is 'won'), the movement is able to carry out directly the cultural transformation of the society. In this process, morality and intellect are more valuable than technic, for technic tends to be conservative, and intellect will discern that a new technic will have to be invented to meet new tasks.

Routinization. As the movement's immediate aims are realized by the acquisition of power and the establishment, if not of the goal culture, at least of the transfer culture, the organization of the movement *per se* tends to contract into the form of a church, or a behind-the-scenes party, which attempts to maintain the ongoing transfer culture. At this point the society has become conservative, with a division of role between the executive and the morality-maintaining functions.[17]

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

The main point to be noted with respect to schools and schooling is that in a revolutionary society the primary concern of the schools must be the moral transformation of the population. Next in importance is intellect and last is technic. "The reason for this priority list--morality, intellect, and technic--is that the moral rebirth of the population and the development of a cadre of morally reliable and intellectually resourceful individuals to take over executive positions throughout the society is the immediately necessary task."[18]

A conservative society is a society which has won its battle with reaction and has established a successful new culture. The new culture, although it may be in some cases only a transfer culture rather than the goal culture itself, has become secure; thus the old movement does not need to preoccupy itself with combat against reaction or against new revitalization movements. "The problem is to keep the machine going as efficiently as possible, with occasional improvements, and possibly with smoothly programmed shifts from one stage to another on the path toward the goal culture."[19] In contrast to the revolutionary society, the conservative society is not primarily concerned with morality. This is because the transformation of the society is sufficiently complete for severe moral

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[18] Ibid., p. 43.

[19] Ibid., p. 44.

non-conformists to be treated as delinquents, criminals, or victims of mental illness. "The reform, rehabilitation, or control of these people can be safely left to the police, the courts, or the medical profession, and (most importantly) to the informal sanctions of the family and the community itself."[20] It is even possible, Wallace observes, for a conservative society to permit a degree of open nonconformity. A conservative society is, he says, "paradoxically, also a liberal society, precisely because the elite is secure enough that it can afford to learn from its critics and even absorb them into the ranks of conservatism as a 'loyal opposition.'"[21]

Intellect is valued least in a conservative society. The work of code formulation and its application have been accomplished; thus the skilled practitioner of intellect is not necessary to the regime:

> Intellect becomes a rather special tradition, relatively free from constraint, but without access to power because, in a political sense, it has little power to offer. Thus the schools see relatively little need to force intellect even upon the intelligent. Intellect becomes a career in itself, self-sought and guild-protected, with the members of the guild practicing partly for the fun of it and partly as professional men selling their services to the highest bidder . . .[22]

Technic, then, becomes the first concern of the conservative society, and the primary concern of the school.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 45.

[22] Ibid.

The school, as C. Wright Mills has observed with reference to the United States, first of all trains people to do jobs.[23] Morality comes next in importance for it is considered, in a negative sort of way, to be necessary to keep society from falling apart. Intellect is placed last. While it may be respected, it tends also to be viewed with suspicion and distrust.

The reactionary society is a post-conservative society. The conservative order,

> having been challenged by a budding revitalization movement (i.e., by what it regards as a treasonable, heretical conspiracy from abroad), adjusts its posture to minimize the effectiveness of its competitors' propaganda and to mobilize counter-attacks. In the interest of preserving the same values that an earlier revitalization movement established in pain and sweat, and which the conservative society cherished and elaborated, the reactionary society subverts its own way of life in order to deliver telling blows against the enemy within. In so doing it may destroy the very social structure which it is defending; and it becomes, because of the growing discrepancy between ideal and practice, and because popular confidence in its values begins to erode, rapidly moribund, an eminent subject for revitalization.[24]

In the area of learning, two concerns predominate in the reactionary society. One is "to combat the alien heresies by revealing the inadequacy of their values and the poverty of their practice," and the other is "to recapture the moral

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[23]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 317.

[24]Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 47.

enthusiasm of its earlier, revitalization phase."[25] In other words, the reactionary society shares with the revolutionary society a deep concern for morality, but for different reasons. In the logic of revolution, Wallace writes

> morality and intellect are believed to be linked in a pact with the future. Hence . . . the revolutionary society will place intellect before technic in its scale of priority: the cultivation of intellect becomes a kind of capital investment in people. In the reactionary society, by contrast, intellect is feared as a potential enemy because, in the preceding conservative phase, it has acted as endowed critic of the conventional wisdom . . . Thus the reactionary society will favor technic over intellect . . . The ultimate consequence to a reactionary society of neglecting the cultivation of intellect is collapse before the onslaught of a revitalization movement which is guided by intellect.[26]

A comparison of value orientations and associated priorities of the matters of learning according to Wallace's theory is shown in Figure 2.

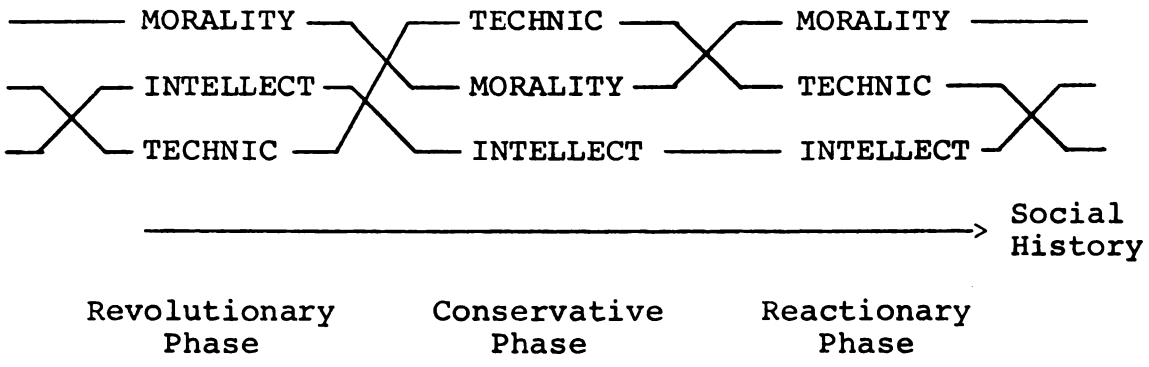

Figure 2. The Matters of Learning[27]

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[25] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[26] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[27] Ibid., p. 49.

Tsunesaburo Makiguchi: Prophet of a Revitalization Movement

Analysis of Makiguchi's life and thought within the theoretical context provided by Wallace suggests that Makiguchi was, in fact, a dynamic prophet of a significant revitalization movement in Japanese society. Japanese society during this period, roughly from 1890 to the beginning of World War II, was, as pointed out in Chapter II, experiencing a continuous battle for control between revolutionary and reactionary forces. But while this battle continued to be waged, it was fought on very unequal terms, for the reactionary elements had won the battle for all intents and purposes in 1889 and 1890. The constitution of 1889 was the official declaration of the reactionary success. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 spelled out the implications of that success for the Japanese school system. In the scheme outlined in the Rescript morality was of paramount importance, technic was second, and intellect was last.

In the midst of this situation Makiguchi initiated a new revitalization movement based, not on Western technical knowledge as had been the case with the earlier revitalization movement which had carried off the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but on educational principles, concepts, and practices gleaned primarily from Western European and American educational progmatism as expressed in the works of John Dewey and Lester Ward. Makiguchi's movement

built slowly. For nearly half a century Makiguchi was a voice in the wilderness, participating as an educator in Japanese society but at the same time highly critical of its values and particularly of its educational practices. During this period Makiguchi worked at the formulation of a new cultural code, pin-pointing the inadequacies of Japanese education and society as he saw them, hammering out the dimensions of a goal culture, as well as the nature and mode of operation of a transfer culture.

Each of these three aspects of code formulation can be clearly seen in the discussion of Makiguchi's educational philosophy and practice in Chapters IV and V. It will be worth noting in more detail, however, certain aspects of his approach to the development and operation of a transfer culture. Wallace indicates that there are two variables involved here: the amount of secular action which takes place in a movement, and the amount of religious action:

> Secular action is here defined as the manipulation of human relationships; religious action as the manipulation of relationships between human and supernatural beings. No revitalization movement can, by definition, be truly nonsecular, but some can be relatively less religious than others, and movements can change in emphasis depending on changing circumstances. There is a tendency . . . for movements to become more political in emphasis, and to act through secular rather than religious institutions, as problems of organization, adaptation, and routinization become more pressing.[28]

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[28]Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," p. 277. Reproduced by permission of the American Anthropological Association from the American Anthropologist, LVIII, No. 2, 1956.

Makiguchi initially envisioned a purely secular movement. His emphasis was on the manipulation of human relationships through restructuring and substituting alternative methods and values in the educational system. When his initial efforts to develop a transfer culture based on this model were throttled by the military-reactionary coalition which got the upper hand in Japanese society in the 1930's, Makiguchi, aided by religious ideas recently acquired through his conversion to Nichiren Shoshu, shifted his strategy to include a transfer culture based predominantly on religious action. Viewed within this framework Makiguchi's seeming turn-about from a strictly pragmatic orientation to an absolutistic one and the religious fanaticism which characterized the final years of his life appear more understandable.

The effect of Makiguchi's shift from secular to religious means of attaining the goals of his movement was to bring about a reordering of priorities of the matters of learning in the movement itself. Initially, Makiguchi's value creating pedagogy sought to reorder the priorities of the matters of learning in Japan's reactionary society, placing intellect first in importance, morality second, and technic third.[29] At the later stage in the life of the

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[29]See for example, Makiguchi's objectives in community study as outlined in Chapter IV, and his proposal for a half day school plan.

movement and associated with the shift to religious action, concern for morality and commitment became paramount; intellect reverted to secondary importance, with technic third. Thus, at this stage, Makiguchi's movement corresponded to Wallace's ideal type revitalization movement in a revolutionary society. The movement was just beginning to enjoy success when its back was broken and its members dispersed by action of the government in the early 1940's.

The postwar movement which developed under Toda's leadership continued the revolutionary characteristics of the prewar movement; i.e., morality continued to be of first importance, with intellect second and technic third. A further most interesting phenomenon has become evident since the leadership of the movement passed to Daisaku Ikeda in 1960. While Ikeda has continued to place strong emphasis on morality and moral training, he has proceeded to attach increasing importance to the role of intellect in the movement. In this respect he appears to be much more like Makiguchi than was Toda.

This tendency of Ikeda's to elevate intellect to a higher priority among the matters of learning raises some interesting questions concerning revitalizations movements and their role in cultural change. Wallace suggests, to review briefly the central aspects of our theoretical orientation, that there occur in human societies cyclical processes of cultural change, the major phases of which are

revolution, conservatism, and reaction. A key factor in these cyclical processes is the revitalization movement. Thus, one can expect that the future of any given society will inevitably hold within it this cyclical process, i.e., the coalescing of dissatisfied individuals in a society into a revitalization movement (or movements), the striving for and in some cases capturing of power by a revitalization movement, the development of a conservative society based on the new code and value orientation of the revitalization movement, the eventual development of a reactionary movement which comes into being to counter new revitalization movements and to preserve the values of the conservative society inherited from an earlier revitalization movement, the eventual collapse of the reactionary movement before the onslaught of a revitalization movement which is guided by intellect, and thus the cycle repeats itself. While this general theoretical formulation is extremely helpful in analyzing cultural and social change, there are some questions which may be raised with regard to it. First of all, the obvious may be noted, that the theory is based on study and analysis of past and presently existing societies. Secondly, the theory seems to assume that human societies inherently have a particular type of composition, i.e., a ruling elite which dominates and exploits a poorly educated mass which is susceptible to and receptive of the propaganda disseminated by the elite group to justify its domination

of the society. The theory does not appear to grant the possibility of a society without ruling elites and with competent citizenry. Finally, the theory appears to limit the possible range in the ordering of priorities to the three which have been found to correspond to the revolutionary, the conservative, and the reactionary value orientations. There would seem to be room for questioning some of these assumptions.

What would be the consequences for instance, if a revitalization movement, rather than following the usual tendency of such movements to order priorities of the matters of learning as morality, intellect, and technic, were to hold intellect to be first in importance, morality second, and technic third? Frankly, we do not know. While such ordering has been proposed, we cannot point to any revitalization movements which have succeeded on the basis of this ordering of priorities. This was, in effect, as noted above, the ordering of priorities in Makiguchi's initial movement, based on his value creating pedagogy, prior to the shift to religious action during the 1930's. But more significantly, it appears to describe the present ordering of priorities within the Soka Gakkai. There is no mistaking the fact that under Ikeda's leadership the primary concern for morality which characterized the Soka Gakkai during Toda's regime has yielded to emphasis upon intellect. While morality is still considered to be of critical importance, it is now secondary.

The present ordering of priorities within Soka Gakkai may have far-reaching significance. It should be recognized, first of all, that this ordering of priorities brings into being a new relationship between a revitalization movement and the general population of the society in which it was given birth. Note again what Wallace says with respect to schools and schooling in a revolutionary society:

> . . . one inference is paramount: that in a revolutionary society (i.e., a society in the process of cultural transformation under the leadership of a revitalization movement) the primary concern of schools must be the moral transformation of the population. Next in order of priority will be intellect; and last of all, technic (despite the often critical need for technically trained personnel to carry out the program of the transfer culture). The reason for this priority list--morality, intellect, technic--is that the moral rebirth of the population and the development of a cadre of morally reliable and resourceful individuals to take over executive positions throughout the society is the immediately necessary task.[30]

In the revolutionary society described by Wallace the movement leadership sees the mass primarily as potential support in the movement's effort to seize power and establish itself in the society. In other words, the revolutionary revitalization movement's interest in the individuals making up the mass of the society's population stems from a desire for converts, or to put it more crudely, for bodies. Little concern or thought is given to the nature or characteristics

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[30]Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 43.

of those bodies so long as training in morality can make loyal supporters of them for the movement's cause and so long as training in intellect can enable them to sufficiently comprehend the philosophical rationale of the movement so they can be persuasive recruiters for it and so some of them can become competent executers of its will.

The present writer submits that this relationship between the revolutionary revitalization movement and the mass of people in the society in which the movement is operating inevitably leads to the movement's downfall or, to use Wallace's terminology, to its becoming conservative if it succeeds as a revitalization movement. The important thing to recognize here is the crucial role of formal education and the ordering of its priorities. Thus, it is being suggested that the cycles of revolution, conservatism, and reaction, which Wallace rightly sees occurring, do not occur because such a cyclical process is inherent within human social interaction. It occurs, rather, as a result of the almost universal tendency, up to now, for revitalization movements to give first priority to morality. In doing so, as Wallace notes, it links morality and intellect in a pact with the future. The future, be it noted however, refers not to the future of humanity nor to the welfare of the society as a whole, but to the future of the

revitalization movement itself, i.e., the preservation of the movement for the movement's sake.[31]

In contrast, the Soka Gakkai, in choosing to give intellect top priority, may be pointing toward a more permanent solution to human problems. In effect, Soka Gakkai seems to be saying that as important as training in morality is, training in intellect is even more important. In the revolutionary revitalization movement intellect is pressed into the service of the movement. A marriage is consummated between intellect and morality, as Wallace puts it, toward the end of consolidating and establishing the movement's morality. In Soka Gakkai, however, under Ikeda's leadership, intellect is not pressed into the service of the movement, but rather is aimed at transforming the quality of mind of the entire population, equipping that population to judge the movement and hold it accountable as well as its competitors.[32] Soka Gakkai may well be breaking open new

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[31]Interesting in this connection is John Gardner's observation that revolutionaries very often prove to be more rigid and uncreative than the forces they are opposing. See his book, Self-Renewal (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 40-42. In the same vein Arthur Koestler writes: ". . . if we survey history and compare the lofty aims, in the name of which revolutions were started, and the sorry end to which they came, we see again and again how a polluted civilization pollutes its own revolutionary offspring" (The God That Failed (New York: Bantam Books, 1952), p. 13).

[32]Two references which deal either directly or indirectly with the question of intellect being given priority over morality are worth noting at this point. One is Lester

frontiers in this respect. As indicated earlier, while this ordering of priorities, i.e., intellect, morality, technic, has been advocated before,[33] no revitalization movement to date has taken the idea seriously enough to commit itself to testing its validity.[34] Yet a strong case can be made for the need for such testing. Wallace himself, for instance, raises questions about the inevitability of the cyclical process of which he writes and suggests the possibility of additional alternatives in the ordering of priorities:

Ward's sociological theory and his concept of sociocracy which, as noted earlier, was a significant influence in the development of Makiguchi's thought. Ward insisted that education, which to him meant the "universal diffusion of scientific knowledge," must underlie all social reform. See his Applied Sociology (New York: Ginn and Company, 1906), pp. 280-281, 337-338; also Ward's address, "Education and Progress," delivered at Ruskin College in England in 1909. This address was printed in Volume VI of Ward's magnum opus, Glimpses of the Cosmos, pp. 337-340. It will be more accessible to most readers in Lester Ward and the Welfare State, ed. by Henry S. Commager (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), pp. 409-415. The other reference is Michael Harrington's Accidental Century (New York: Macmillan, 1965). Harrington holds that during the past century mankind has blindly stumbled through an "accidental revolution." He contends that the only hope for man's survival, as an individual with dignity and personal worth, is to make this revolution conscious and democratic rather than unconscious and accidental.

[33]This was the major import of Dewey's thought as well as of Makiguchi's.

[34]The Progressive Education movement in America, for instance, as indicated earlier, did not really deal with the central issues in Dewey's thought.

> Let me suggest what, in a conservative society (the United States) intending to survive in a revolutionary world by refusing to freeze into the reactionary posture, the value hierarchy of the schools should be. The cultivation of intellect should come first, technic second, and morality last.[35]

Wallace does not give reasons for listing technic above morality. The main point, however, is his suggestion that raising training in intellect to first priority may be so important as to be a question of survival. Here Wallace is in general agreement with the direction in which Soka Gakkai seems to be going.

> This to my mind is the kind of thing that intellect is all about. Intellect is a cultural matter; it must be learned; and, for survival, it must be used. Our country's survival as a conservative society--or, indeed, as any kind of society--depends radically upon maintaining a system of schools which teaches the tradition of intellect as its primary obligation.[36]

The carrying out within a society of such an ordering of priorities has been and is being called for by many other writers and educators. Mention can be made here of only a few of these. No one has stated more clearly the case for intellect than Arthur Koestler in his novel

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[35]Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 52.

[36]Ibid., pp. 53-54. It seems almost unnecessary to point out at this point, but perhaps should be in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that Wallace does not mean by intellect the memorization of factual information unrelated to the life of the learner. It does not even refer to the acquiring of skills in the 3R's, although it does not exclude those skills. It refers, rather, to a grasp or comprehension of the meaning of life lived in society. It refers to the acquisition of skills in reasoning, analyzing,

Darkness at Noon. In a reflection on the plight of some of his characters Koestler writes that

> A people's capacity to govern itself democratically is . . . proportionate to the degree of its understanding of the structure and functioning of the whole social body.[37]

More recently Suzanne Keller has pointed out the dangers inherent in an uninformed and socially incompetent and irresponsible mass population:

> A . . . graver danger lies in the informational gap between specialized leaders and the public, a gap that nullifies many of the rights available to the public on paper. Ignorance of the public often encourages leaders to resort to irrational methods of persuasion and communication. In an age of mass communications, the power of leaders to manipulate public opinion is extraordinary. "The spectacle of an efficient elite maintaining its authority and asserting its will over the mass by the rationally calculated use of irrational methods of persuasion is the most disturbing nightmare of mass democracy." The best safeguard against this danger is for the public to become literate, informed, and thus potentially critical of decisions and proposals made by leaders.[38]

C. Wright Mills called attention to the confusion and the sense of being trapped felt by modern men. Ordinary men, he wrote,

> do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of man and society, of biography and

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comparing, questionning. It refers to "problem solving" as Dewey used that concept.

[37]Arthur Koestler, Darkness at Noon (New York: The New American Library, 1961), p. 144.

[38]Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 264.

> history, of self and world. They cannot cope with their personal troubles in such ways as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them . . .
>
> What they need, and what they feel they need, is a quality of mind that will help them to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and what may be happening within themselves.[39]

This capacity of an individual to understand himself in relationship to his society, the capacity to locate oneself within one's period of history, Mills refers to as the "sociological imagination:"

> What we experience in various and specific milieux, I have noted, is often caused by structural changes. Accordingly, to understand the changes of many personal milieux we are required to look beyond them. And the number and variety of such structural changes increases as the institutions within which we live become more embracing and more intricately connected with one another. To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with sensibility is to be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieux. To be able to do that is to possess the sociological imagination.[40]

Several modern writers have insisted, with Makiguchi and Dewey and Ikeda, that if man is to cope successfully with the new world he has inherited he must give attention to urgent needs in the field of education. Eleanor Roosevelt, shortly before her death in November 1962, wrote the following words:

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[39] C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 4-5.

[40] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

> If we are to cope successfully with our revolutions in science, in the economy, in social areas, we must prepare for the revolution in education that will be required to meet, to understand, and to master the new conditions. Without a totally new approach to education our young people are not going to be equipped to cope with the world of the future.[41]

William Drake has expressed a belief that the future of our modern, technological society may well depend on the development of the kind of awareness and understanding envisioned in the sociological imagination and the use of such awareness and understanding in social engineering.[42] However, he contends, individuals with such understanding and the will to use it on behalf of a total society's welfare can only be produced by certain kinds of educational experiences. In Drake's view such educational experiences must be characterized by dialogue. Because his conclusions speak so directly to the issues involved in this study, they are quoted at length:

> In our analysis . . . we have been operating on the assumption that the growth of the thought processes was at the heart of an educational program adequate to a free society. It is our conviction that the history of social thought and modern studies in child growth support this assumption. In this respect the Socratic as contrasted with the catechetical method stands out with striking superiority. In the development of the human mind, man did not start with a catechism, but with a dialogue of speech and gesture between mother and child . . .

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[41]Eleanor Roosevelt, Tomorrow is Now (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 66.

[42]William Drake, Intellectual Foundations of Modern Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1967), p. 235.

> The civilization of the dialogue lies at the heart of the life of a free people, but to what extent do we find the qualities necessary to carry on this democratic process in operation in the social and cultural agencies of the United States today? . . . "Civilization of the Dialogue" seems to have been first used by Kierkegaard to characterize the growth of parliamentary democracy, but the idea is as old as ancient Greece and was used by Homer in the debates between the gods and the Athenians. Christian dogmatism (the catechism) and the loss of a sense of creativity among men led to the demise of the concept until modern times. . . .
>
> Of prime and lasting significance to the upgrading of the educative effort and to the endurance of a free society is a deeper concern for and an implementation of the "Civilization of the Dialogue."[43]

John Gardner has, perhaps better than any other contemporary educator, pulled together the essential relationships between education and society here being discussed in his concept of the renewal of persons and of societies. With language sounding very much like that of Makiguchi Gardner notes that:

> All too often we are giving our young people cut flowers when we should be teaching them to grow their own plants. We are stuffing their heads with the products of earlier innovation rather than teaching them to innovate. We think of the mind as a storehouse to be filled when we should be thinking of it as an instrument to be used.[44]

However, Gardner believes that we "are moving away from teaching things that readily become outmoded, and toward things that will have the greatest long-term effect on the young person's capacity to understand and perform.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 343-345.

[44] Gardner, Self Renewal, pp. 21-22.

Increasing emphasis is being given to instruction in methods of analysis and modes of attack on problems."[45] In the long run, Gardner concludes, the school system is probably the most effective means of bringing about the changes in our society which our time demands. Thus education (formal schooling)

> can lay a broad and firm base for a lifetime of learning and growth. The individual who begins with such a broad base will always have some capacity to function as a generalist, no matter how deeply he chooses to specialize. Education at its best will develop the individual's inner resources to the point where he can learn (and will want to learn) on his own. It will equip him to cope with unforeseen challenges and to survive as a versatile individual in an unpredictable world. Individuals so educated will keep the society itself flexible, adaptive and innovative.[46]

While Gardner does not use the terminology nor the theoretical position discussed in this chapter, an analysis of his writings readily suggests that his ordering of priorities in the matters of learning is intellect, morality, and technic. Making use of Gardner's concept of self-renewal, we may state that a self-renewing society is one which, by consciously assigning intellect first priority in formal learning, is enabled to take charge of its own social and cultural change processes. It is no longer driven by forces and processes which it does not understand; it is no longer blindly subject to those cyclical processes in which

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[45] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[46] Ibid., p. 26.

"any one society is apt to follow a roughly cyclical path through revolution, conservatism, and reaction, over and over again."[47]

What is being suggested by the writers whose works have been referred to above is this: Because mind has entered the evolutionary process, it is possible for human beings to determine the nature and the bounds of their own social and cultural order. The term "self-renewing" has been suggested to describe the value orientation of such a society. Just as there is associated with each of the tripartite value orientations in Wallace's theory, i.e., revolutionary, conservative, and reactionary, a philosophy of schooling which characteristically assigns priorities to the matters of learning in schools, so there is associated with the value orientation of the self-renewing society a particular philosophy of schooling which assigns priorities to the matters of learning. Thus, we may add to Wallace's three societal types a fourth type:

INTELLECT

MORALITY

TECHNIC

Figure 3. Educational Priorities in a Self-Renewing Society

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[47]Wallace, "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," p. 40.

This ordering of priorities represents the conditions upon which a society can take command of its own future through continuous self-renewal. This is precisely what Makiguchi was proposing in his value creating pedagogy. Makiguchi's work is not unique, however, simply because he proposed this approach to formal education and social reform. His proposals, as suggested in Chapter IV, are not greatly different from those of Dewey or from those of a number of contemporary educators who are making similar proposals. Makiguchi's primary claim to uniqueness lies in the fact that Ikeda and Soka Gakkai are now attempting to implement his proposals, as Murata puts it, "on a grand scale."[48] Thus while the ideas of Dewey, for example, have greatly influenced and challenged untold numbers of people throughout the world and led to significant change upon the part of individual teachers and educators and in subsystems within a society, no attempt at implementation of proposals involving this ordering of priorities in the matters of learning has been made, with the exception of Soka Gakkai, by a movement or organization possessing potential to influence and change an entire society.

Certainly it is too early for any claim to be made that Soka Gakkai has been successful in this effort. Some informed observers wonder, for instance, if in the long run

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[48]Murata, Japan's New Buddhism, p. 76.

the rank and file members of the organization will support Ikeda in his elevation of intellect to first priority. It is not clear, either, how or to what extent the organization has been able to reconcile the relativistic and open stance toward which Ikeda is pointing with the absolutistic views and orientation of Nichiren Shoshu Buddhism. Another question which many observers ask is whether Soka Gakkai, if it does gain increased power in Japanese society, will be able to remain true to its professed belief that power can be employed in the interests of the total society rather than in the interests of specific classes or groups.[49] These are questions about Soka Gakkai which cannot be answered at the present time. Yet if Soka Gakkai does succeed, even partially, in achieving its professed objectives, the result may well be one of the significant educational and sociological phenomena of the twentieth century. International educators should be aware of the possibilities

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[49]It should be recognized that some people are convinced that Soka Gakkai cannot be trusted with power. Gross calls attention to arguments of some Japanese critics who contend that Ikeda, as the president of Soka Gakkai, is the highest authority in the organization and that he controls the decision-making in both Soka Gakkai and Komeito. Such power is dangerous according to these critics. Gross, Sokagakkai and Education, pp. 72-73. Even more critical of Soka Gakkai on this point is Hirotatsu Fujiwara, who in a recent book, I Denounce Soka Gakkai (Tokyo: Nisshin Hodo Company, 1970), pp. 78-87, 244-246, declares that Soka Gakkai is a serious threat to democracy in Japan.

as well as the dangers in the kind of social engineering to which Soka Gakkai is committed.

Makiguchi's Influence on International Education

Three general observations concerning Makiguchi's influence on education and educators are suggested by the data of this study. It is clear, first of all, that Makiguchi had very little influence on Japanese education during his lifetime. As was noted in Chapter V, his educational ideas were largely rejected by his contemporaries. Makiguchi was a man ahead of his time. The general climate of Japanese society during the period in which he lived was not right for the kind of educational and societal reforms which he advocated. Neither on a theoretical nor on a practical level can it be claimed that Makiguchi's educational ideas have taken over Japanese education. The fact is that few teachers in Japan, even today, know who Makiguchi was or what he stood for. On the other hand, Makiguchi did influence Japanese education indirectly in that both Toda and Ikeda picked up and rewrote his major ideas and incorporated them into the thought and practice of the Soka Gakkai organization. It can be said that Makiguchi did influence Japanese education also in that Soka Gakkai is today attempting to implement his ideas through the establishment of formal educational institutions based on those ideas. In addition, Makiguchi's

influence can be seen in Komeito's concern with educational issues and problems. Evidence of Komeito's interest in and involvement with educational matters is suggested by its one hundred year grand plan for education. On the basis of interviews with Komeito leaders in 1969 Gross concluded that the one hundred year grand plan involves two major aims. These two aims are

> (1) to have each individual establish a philosophy of life, and (2) to elevate the standard of living, thereby improving society. In order to achieve this, educational goals will have to create values and promote the personality of each individual to the highest level. To implement this, Komeito has suggested the establishment of an Educational Planning Headquarters. This institution would have the responsibility for establishing long-range educational plans and policies. It would also have the responsibility for designing means to achieve these goals. This would be achieved by conferences of people from many fields who are directly or indirectly involved in the formal educational process. This conference would be divided into small committees to study the respective problems of education. Study would not only be theoretical, but would include actual proposals for the improvement of education. The final result would be a set of policies and plans for education with means of putting them into effect. In order to avoid dictatorship, the decisions would be those of the group. A further safeguard is suggested in a National Education Study Center, which would test the plans of the Educational Planning Headquarters.[50]

A second general observation is that what little direct influence Makiguchi has had on education has been limited to Japan. A few non-Japanese have begun to pick up and expose his ideas to the scrutiny of research, but those

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[50]Gross, Sokagakkai and Education, pp. 48-49. See also Draft for Komeito Educational Policy, No. 2, April 1970, Special Committee for University and High School Affairs, Komeito, Tokyo.

ideas have as yet had little influence on the educational thought and practice of other countries. This raises an interesting question. If Makiguchi's educational ideas were as advanced for his day and of the character which this study suggests, why was he not recognized by the educators of other countries? Makiguchi was saying and expressing in his writing many of the same criticisms and ideas about education that John Dewey was expressing at roughly the same period. Yet Makiguchi remained unknown whereas Dewey was recognized as a great educator and honored in many countries of the world. Two factors may be cited for this neglect of Makiguchi by world educators. One is the simple fact that he was an Oriental. Educators have traditionally looked to Western sources for new ideas and insights. Until very recently the assumption of the superiority of Western culture was unquestioned, even in non-Western cultures. Thus in Makiguchi's day the idea that a Japanese could contribute significant educational and philosophical insights to international education would have been quite unacceptable, not only to Westerners but to most Japanese. A second factor in the neglect of Makiguchi by international educators is that of language. Even if non-Japanese educators had been predisposed to listen to Makiguchi, they would have been faced with the practical difficulty of their inability to communicate with him because of the nature of the Japanese language. Since

Makiguchi's writings were not available in translation and since Makiguchi himself never mastered English, non-Japanese educators did not have access to him or to his ideas.

A third observation which may be made about Makiguchi's influence on education is that although many of his ideas were novel for his day, some of those ideas are being recognized today as important aspects of effective educational practice. Educational practice in the average school, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, has changed little since Makiguchi's day.[51] Modern teachers and educators are becoming increasingly aware, however, of the soundness and merit of the kinds of educational ideas which Makiguchi advocated. Reference may be made, for example, to his opposition to memorization, his emphasis on the development of the creative potential of every student, his half-day school proposal with its implications not only for economy but for the involvement of community people in the educational process, and his concept of community study as the basis of curriculum. These ideas, which were central in Makiguchi's educational thought, are now coming to be central in current thinking about and projections of the education of the future. In the study of the works of such

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[51]Evidence that this is the case in Japan is provided by a recent study which indicates that not more than half of elementary and junior high school students understand what teachers are attempting to teach them. Asahi Newspaper, June 4, 1971, p. 1.

prophetic educators as Makiguchi, the contemporary educator can gain valuable insights and understandings which will assist him in his efforts to provide effective educational experience for children and young people who are and will be participants in a post-industrial, global community.

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