

# The Prewar Legacy and Postwar Epiphany of International Christian University

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When International Christian University (ICU) opened its doors as a liberal arts college in April 1953, it became the newest of Japan's 226 universities, the only one at that time formed from the beginning as a four-year university. From its inception ICU was "different" from either prewar Christian universities or other Christian colleges that became universities as a result of the 1947 educational reforms. It was different for a number of reasons. Unlike the others, ICU did not exist as an institution in any form before 1949, though it was a fifty year-old dream. Also, it was formed under ecumenical rather than denominational sponsorship; a year before the university was established in 1949, an interdenominational American foundation was organized to aid in its founding and development. Moreover, the university's distinctive Christian character was evidenced by its 100 percent Christian full-time faculty and the fact that the name, *kirisutokyō* (Christian) became an official part of its title, which was not the case of any other university at the time.

Today ICU is recognized as one of the leading private universities in Japan. In a 1991 survey of senior students in 212 national and private universities, ICU ranked first in terms of student satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted, however, that in many respects ICU has not yet achieved the status envisioned by its founding visionaries. In student and faculty size, the number and scope of academic courses offered at both the undergraduate and graduate levels and the

fields of graduate study, ICU is dwarfed by other Christian universities. There are now other Christian universities that have the word *kirisutokyō* as a part of their official titles, and many other universities have added the word, *kokusai* (international) to their official nomenclature.

The aim of this article is to show the continuity of the Japanese-American connection both in the legacy and in the epiphany of ICU. Following a profile of the university, the story will turn back to the prewar legacy of the "union Christian university concept," cite the factors that brought about the special postwar moment in which ICU was born, and outline ICU's development. The author will conclude with some personal thoughts on the future of ICU.

## ICU: A PROFILE

ICU is an ecumenically sponsored university located on a 156-acre wooded campus in Mitaka, Tokyo. It also owns and operates a study facility adjacent to the Cambridge University campus. The thirty-member board of trustees is advised by a somewhat larger board of councilors composed of educational, cultural and business leaders from within and outside Christian circles.

The university consists of a liberal arts college and a graduate school with a combined student body of 2,850: 2,600 in the college and 250 in the graduate school; it has a full-time faculty and academic staff of about 170. ICU's College of Liberal Arts opened in

April 1953. Within the college are divisions of education, humanities, languages, natural sciences, social sciences and international studies. The college is chartered by the Ministry of Education to train high school teachers of social studies, science, mathematics, English and religion.

The Graduate School, accredited in 1957, has four divisions: education, public administration, comparative culture and natural sciences. All programs except the last offer doctoral degrees. Closely allied with the graduate school are five research units: the Integrated Learning Center, the Center for the History of Science, the Research Center for Japanese Language Education, and the Sacred Music Center. ICU maintains two lifelong education programs, one in Japanese literature and the other in environmental studies. Its library contains nearly 425,000 books and approximately 5,400 periodicals.

ICU High School, established in 1978, is located within the campus but administered separately from the university under the jurisdiction of the university's board of trustees. The school enrolls about 720 students, most of whom are children of Japanese who are working or have worked abroad. These "returnee" children have come back to Japan to complete their high school education and to prepare for university study either in Japan or abroad.

At the center of the campus is the ICU Church, an international and ecumenical congregation that is independent from the university. The ICU Church and its kindergarten serve students, faculty and staff members and their families, as well as the local community. Approximately 10,500 graduates are located throughout Japan and the world.

The 1992 ICU operating budget, including both the university and the high school, was the equivalent of approximately fifty-six million American dollars. The university's endowment fund is about U.S.\$488 million.

#### THE PREWAR LEGACY

In 1875 Niishima Shimeta, more commonly known abroad as Joseph Hardy Niishima (also transliterated as Niijima), cofounded Doshisha University with American Congregational missionary Jerome D. Davis.<sup>2</sup> Niishima's dream was to establish a "true liberal arts college" that would produce men "who shall be regarded as the conscience of the nation." Later he proposed the establishment of a three-faculty comprehensive university. Nearly sixty years later, Yuasa Hachiro, twice the successor of Niishima as president of Doshisha, brought Niishima's dreams with him, when in 1949 he became ICU's founding president.<sup>3</sup>

The interest by Christian leaders abroad, especially in the United States, provided strong psychological and spiritual support for proponents of a Christian university in Japan. For example, the proposal by Reformed missionary Albertus Pieters at the 1900 General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Tokyo that the "mission boards should cooperate in establishing an 'undenominational' but 'thoroughly Christian' college..."<sup>4</sup> was reflected in the deliberations of the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.

Nearly three years later the Edinburgh Continuation Committee convened the April 9-11, 1913, "Japan National Conference" in Tokyo. Forty-one Japanese Christian leaders and fifty-four American, Canadian and British missionaries recognized

the establishment of a central Christian university....distinctively Christian in character...of first rank...standing on a par with the imperial universities...as the supreme need of Christian education in Japan."<sup>5</sup>

Conference chairman John R. Mott met again in 1929 with Japanese Christian educators, leading to the formation of a "Commission on Christian Education in

Japan” that met in Japan in 1931.<sup>6</sup> More than half of the members were ultimately involved in the founding of ICU or of its supporting foundation in the United States.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE SPECIAL MOMENT OF ICU’S BIRTH<sup>8</sup>

The Great Depression and escalating militaristic nationalism in Japan from the early 1930s put a hold on plans for the new union Christian university until the end of World War II in 1945. This special “moment” of several years’ duration after World War II was brought about by a confluence of the fifty year-old dreams of Japanese and missionary educators and a set of four interrelated factors.

##### *Japanese Christian Leadership*

The first factor was the vision, faith and perseverance of key Japanese Christian leaders. Less than a month after the Pacific War ended in mid-August 1945, a group of five Japanese Christian educators and a leading layman met in Tokyo to discuss the future of the Christian movement, and particularly of Christian education, in their devastated nation.

High on the group’s agenda was the raising of the Tokyo Women’s Christian College (TWCC) to university grade. Their agenda was expanded, however, when in October 1945 two of the members met with a four-person deputation from the then Federal Council of Churches of Christ and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America (now amalgamated to form the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.).<sup>9</sup> When the deputation returned to the United States, the hope for the establishment of a Christian university received special emphasis in their report. As a result of subsequent discussions on both sides of the Pacific, in June 1946 the existing committee was reorganized as the “Organizing

Committee for an International Christian University.

##### *Support of American Christians*

The second factor in the special moment was the commitment of many Americans, particularly Christians, to help heal the wounds of war and to assist in the rebuilding of Japan.

The unprecedented interdenominational support for what soon became known in the United States as the “Japan Christian University Project,” was sparked by a sermon delivered in January 1946 by the Rev. John A. MacLean, a Presbyterian minister in Richmond, Virginia. In his sermon, which was entitled, “Love Thy Neighbor,” Rev. MacLean expressed sorrow over the suffering that had been caused by the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and called upon American Christians to help rebuild Japan.

The combination of the public response to the press reports concerning the MacLean sermon, and the priority that Christian leadership in Japan were reported to place on the establishment of the long hoped-for Christian university, prompted North American church and mission leaders to adopt the “Christian University Project” as the postwar reconciliation project of American and Canadian churches. This led to the formation in November 1948 of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, Incorporated (hereafter to be referred to as the Foundation) by twelve mission boards and the Federal Council of Churches, which represented more than thirty denominations. The Foundation’s organization and work represented the largest interdenominational undertaking in the annals of North American Protestantism for the establishment and support of a single educational institution anywhere in the world.

A key link between the Japanese and American planners was A. K. Reischauer, the father of the prominent Harvard Japanologist and former ambassador to Japan, the late Edwin O. Reischauer. As a young Presbyterian missionary teacher at Meiji Gakuin, the elder Reischauer had taken an active part in the dual movement for the promotion of a Christian university and of the TWCC.

Many leading American Christians assumed major leadership roles in the Foundation. Preeminent among them was its founding president Ralph E. Diffendorfer, secretary of the Methodist Board of Missions, who had been the first chairman of the Associated Boards for Christian. Kenneth Scott Latourette, the eminent Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale University, succeeded Diffendorfer as president when Diffendorfer assumed full-time administrative responsibilities as ICU's executive vice-president.

Besides creating and nurturing close spiritual ties between the Japanese and American Christian leaders instrumental to ICU's birth and development of, the Foundation provided leadership in educational planning and financial support. Particularly prominent in the design and establishment of the structure and curricula of both the college and graduate school, as well as in the recruitment and support of faculty members from abroad, was Maurice E. Troyer. The Syracuse University professor of education had become ICU's first vice-president for curriculum and instruction at its founding in June 1949.

Meeting the Foundation's \$10 million financial commitment to the university was a daunting task. The Women's Planning Committee of the Foundation raised more than a million dollars through its emphasis on "special projects," which included faculty residences, student dormitories, the graduate school, library support, health and physical education facilities and the ICU

Church and organ. The Men's Committee was particularly interested in supporting the health and physical education building and enlisted well-known sports in fundraising efforts for the project.

#### *The American Occupation*

The third factor in the moment that led to the birth of ICU was that the purposes and design of ICU were compatible with the Occupation's education reforms and with General MacArthur's public endorsements of Christianity. Together with the demilitarization of Japan, MacArthur's two major objectives were the democratization and the rehabilitation of the country. The cornerstone for fostering a democratic and peaceful Japan was to help Japan "develop a new education appropriate to a liberal democratic society."<sup>10</sup>

In personal interviews, speeches, press releases and in correspondence, General MacArthur was a promoter of Christianity. He believed that without it, "democracy can never succeed" and that "Japan would be filled with Communism."<sup>11</sup> When he accepted the position as honorary chairman of the Foundation's nationwide ICU fundraising campaign, MacArthur remarked, "it is one of the most important things the United States and Canada can do to create Christian leadership...to have influence not only in Japan but on the whole Orient as time goes on."<sup>12</sup>

The comprehensive plan for development of the new Japanese educational system was based primarily on the report of the United States Educational Mission (USEM), which visited Japan in March 1946 to help plan for educational reform. Joining the USEM members in Tokyo was a group of outstanding Japanese educators, including two University of Tokyo presidents as well as professors of education, leaders in women's education and officials of the Ministry of Education.

The new Constitution, promulgated on November 3, 1946, was adopted by the Japanese government “in the form of an imperial amendment to the 1889 Meiji Constitution”<sup>13</sup> and took effect on May 3, 1947, the anniversary of the Emperor Meiji’s birthday. In addition to such basic ideological changes as transferring the sovereignty of the emperor to the people (Chapter I, Article 1), and forever renouncing war and the threat of force as a means of settling international disputes (Chapter II, Article 9), the new constitution laid the legal foundations for the educational reforms, i.e., guaranteeing the equality of the sexes and nondiscrimination (Chapter III, Article 14), the freedom of thought and religion (Chapter III, Articles 19 and 20) and the right of an equal education for all people (Chapter III, Article 26).

The postwar Japanese educational system is based on the “Fundamental Law of Education” and “School Education Law,” that became effective on April 1, 1947. The former clarified the aims of education and the latter codified the educational reforms. The starting points for these two laws were the recommendations of the USEM and the principles of the new constitution.

In accordance with these laws the prewar 6–5–3–3 educational sequence was replaced by the American style 6–3–3–4 system. Compulsory education was extended from the sixth through the ninth grade and made co-educational. All four-year institutions above the three years of high school were placed in the category of *daigaku* (university). An important aspect of the new educational system was the emphasis placed on general education.

The new educational laws providing for graduate schools (*daigakuin*), were also on the American pattern. The first four graduate schools were established in March 1950 at private universities. By April 1953 graduate schools had been set up at national and local public universities.<sup>14</sup> Enacted in 1949

to promote the development of private schools, the “Private School Law” guaranteed their autonomy and academic freedom and eliminated the preferential treatment of government-sponsored institutions.

The 1946 USEM Report and the two new major educational laws provided fertile new soil for the rooting of the philosophy, purposes and plans of ICU, particularly concerning the functions of education in the democratization of Japan. Vice-president Troyer wrote in 1950, “The inclusive purpose of the New [sic] International Christian University will be to educate Japanese students who may serve their countrymen as leaders in the transition from authoritarianism to democratic procedures.”<sup>15</sup>

Many key members of the Occupation saw ICU as epitomizing the educational reforms that were so important for the “new Japan.” The fact that the former Mitaka farmland that had been taken over by the Nakajima Aeronautical Research Center for wartime use was made available for purchase as the ICU campus site, was due in large part to the recommendations by the Occupation heads of the Religions, Cultural Affairs, Education, and Natural Resources sections to the appropriate officials of the government.

#### *Support From Non-Christian Japanese*

The fourth component of the special moment was the support of ICU and its future mission by Japanese leaders who were not Christian. From as early as 1946, Japanese leaders from outside the Christian community, beginning with the emperor and members of the imperial family, indicated their support for the new university. Upon receiving the Foundation representative, T. T. Brumbaugh, in the fall of 1946, the emperor expressed his appreciation for the new university project and later joined with the imperial family in contributing 100

thousand yen (then equivalent to about U.S. \$2,000).<sup>16</sup>

The person primarily responsible for raising the funds necessary to purchase the Nakajima Aeronautical Research Company's land in Mitaka for the projected ICU was Ichimada Hisato, governor of the Central Bank of Japan and one of the major foundation-builders of Japan's miraculous economic recovery.<sup>17</sup> Like MacArthur, Ichimada believed that the new leaders of Japan could not properly understand democracy without some knowledge of Christianity. He said, "I am not a Christian. However I have come to the conclusion that nothing but a Christian philosophy underlying Japan's democracy will ever pull us through."<sup>18</sup> Ichimada saw the university as a "center of spiritual light and energy for the new Japan...that would be largely influential in helping to reestablish Japan in the family of nations."<sup>19</sup>

The total amount contributed by the people of war-devastated Japan during the 1948–1951 campaign to help establish ICU was 160 million yen, which was then equivalent to approximately \$600 thousand—an amazing feat for a defeated nation with a shattered economy.

#### THE ACTUAL EPIPHANY: FROM DREAMS TO REALITY

The Japanese planning groups originally expected that the new university would be a graduate-level "comprehensive university." Yamamoto, chairman of the ICU organizing committee, envisioned "an international center with buildings of the various world organizations and agencies clustered about the new university as its nucleus."<sup>20</sup> The academic mission of the institution would be undergirded by its twin characteristics: "international" and "Christian." To become academically superior, ICU would seek its faculty members internationally, making the practice of "internationalism" the chief means of achieving standards equivalent to the former imperial universities.<sup>21</sup> The

Christian character of the university was deemed to be important as a basis for democracy and the guarding of religious liberty and academic freedom, values that had been lost during the nationalistic prewar years.

The Japanese planners established the ICU Research Institute in January 1948 as the forerunner of the new graduate-level university. Yamamoto, appointed as the Institute's director, gathered around him a number of Christian scholars, some of whom were to become founding members of the ICU faculty.<sup>22</sup>

Three primary and interrelated factors combined to form ICU's basic identity as a medium-sized liberal arts college with a relatively small graduate school component, completely independent and separate from the existing Christian colleges and universities in Japan. First, the existing Christian colleges and universities saw new futures for themselves in light of the postwar educational reforms and the expanding demands for higher education. The May 1949 visits by Diffendorfer and Troyer to ten different Christian colleges and universities in three major areas of Japan confirmed that "all would have been glad for assistance from the new undertaking, but none desired it enough to modify its own plans radically, much less to imperil its freedom and autonomy."<sup>23</sup>

The second factor was the Ministry of Education's requirement that an institution applying for graduate school accreditation must first successfully prove itself as a four-year undergraduate institution. As a last attempt to salvage the long hoped for graduate status of the new university, the founders proposed to the Ministry of Education that the historic Christian colleges be considered as its undergraduate components. The Ministry, however, determined that such a plan was not feasible because the Christian colleges did not offer such preparatory courses as natural science at the quality level required for the proposed graduate school.<sup>24</sup>

Third, the Foundation faced serious problems in meeting its \$10 million commitment to ICU. Already complicated by the American people's short memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the fear about the Communist takeover in China, fundraising efforts were further exacerbated by obligations of mission boards and churches to meet the large-scale postwar relief and reconstruction needs of their historically related churches and institutions in Japan and elsewhere.

ICU was officially founded on June 13–16, 1949. Yuasa Hachiro was unanimously selected to be ICU's founding president. His primary task was "to reconcile ideals and realities."<sup>25</sup> Most disappointing to many of ICU's Japanese founders was the insistence, mainly on the American side, that the ICU Research Institute be dismantled. Although related to legal complexities, the action was primarily based on the fact that the Research Institute had been stressing postgraduate studies that had to be put on hold.

#### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ICU: THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS

There were two major phases during this early period of ICU's history. The first was from ICU's birth in 1949 and development through 1960 under the "first generation" of founders. The second phase was from 1961 through 1969 when the "second generation" of leaders assumed responsibility.

##### *1949–1960*<sup>26</sup>

The first generation of ICU founders and leaders on both sides of the Pacific faced tasks that seemed insurmountable at the time: for the Foundation to meet its financial commitments and for ICU to prepare the campus for the opening of the university at the earliest possible date. Soon after Diffendorfer and Troyer returned to the United States following the founding of

ICU, the management of the ICU fundraising drive was turned over to a professional agency. But the campaign continued to sputter. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and President Truman's removal of General MacArthur (the financial campaign's honorary chairman) in 1951 were additional negative factors in the fund drive.

The 1948–51 campaign in the United States resulted in the redirection of the fundraising efforts back to the North American mission boards and churches. This brought about a deepening of the partnership between the Foundation and ICU as ICU officers and Governor Ichimada traveled across North America to speak about the university and its needs. According to Foundation records, "In the 1950s the Foundation provided sixty percent of the university's operating expenses and ninety percent of all the resources for special projects. Forty-four percent of the faculty were from abroad and their salaries were completely paid by and through the Foundation."<sup>27</sup> Among them was Emil Brunner, the eminent Swiss theologian, who was appointed as the first Professor of Christianity and Ethics. Though he served for only two years (1952–54), his influence on ICU and on the whole Christian movement in Japan was profound.

On April 29, 1952, which was Emperor Shōwa's birthday and the first day of Japan's independence, the ICU campus was formally dedicated with Diffendorfer's widow and Rev. MacLean present. The university's academic program was launched with the start of the ICU Language Institute on May 1 of that year, followed by the opening of the college on April 29, 1953. ICU's first class of 198 students went out into the world from an unknown university without any of the usual networks to employment opportunities for its graduates; their performance helped establish ICU's reputation.

The key person in the 1957 establishment of ICU's first graduate school, the Graduate School of Education, was Hidaka Daishiro. A former vice-minister of education, the GSE dean was primarily responsible for the later establishment of the ICU High School.

During these years, perhaps the most sensitive campus issue was the gap between the salaries and living standards of the Japanese and faculty members from abroad. The resolution of this problem came with Japan's economic boom beginning in the mid-1960s.

*1961–1969<sup>28</sup>*

Developments under the second generation of leaders included the projection of long-range academic and financial plans, dealing with student unrest, and the 1963 chartering of the Graduate School of Public Administration (GSPA), the first of its kind in Japan.

In the fall of 1961, President Yuasa retired. Ukai Nobushige, a University of Tokyo constitutional law professor, husband of Yuasa's sister, was selected as ICU's second president. Everett Kleinjans, a former China missionary and Meiji Gakuin professor of linguistics, replaced Troyer as vice-president for academic affairs. In 1963 Hallam Shorrock, one of the early postwar Japan missionaries, became vice-president for financial affairs.

*Long-range planning*

One of the first agenda items for the new administration concerned the use of campus land. In 1960 ICU had agreed to sell some sixty-six acres of land at the western corner of the lower campus to the American School in Japan. In late 1963 the Board of Trustees made a crucial decision to develop the remaining portion of the lower campus as a private eighteen-hole golf course for "ICU Supporters" that would operate for a

limited period of ten years, that is, until 1974. The purpose of the plan was to hold and protect the land until a decision could be made as to its future use; to gain the interest and future financial support of prominent golf-playing persons in business, the professions and politics; and to generate immediate income to help meet the university's operational expenses. The ICU Golf Course opened in 1964. The income it generated was important because of the gradual reduction of income from the Foundation, and as in the case of the other private universities, educational costs were increasingly outpacing the income from students.

In November 1963 the administration outlined academic priorities for ICU's "Second Decade" in terms of its Christian and international commitments. In addition to the development of the GSPA, these focused on the study of the impact of Christianity on culture, including the place of Christian theological studies within other academic disciplines.<sup>29</sup> ICU's international reciprocal-exchange program of both students and faculty was strengthened in 1964 by the decision of the University of California Education Abroad Program in 1964 to locate its first Asian study center for all eight of its general campuses at ICU.

Another major agenda item for the new administration was the future relationships between ICU and the three major theological schools in the Tokyo area—the Tokyo Union Theological Seminary (TUTS), the Lutheran Theological School and the Central Theological College (Anglican). Yuasa, who in 1964 became chairman of the ICU Board of Trustees, had been a member of the World Council of Churches' Theological Educational Fund Committee during the last years of his presidency and was keenly interested in this question.

Talks during 1964 and 1965 between members of the ICU administration and representatives of the theological seminaries involved proposals whereby ICU would



make land available to the seminaries at no cost, if in return, the seminaries would reciprocate by using resources from the sale of their land and buildings to expand those ICU facilities which could be used jointly, such as the library, gymnasium, and dining hall. The Anglicans decided not to move. However, TUTS and the Lutheran seminary indicated their interest in moving adjacent to the ICU campus, but on an independent basis in respect to each other and to ICU.

*Student discontent*

As was the case on hundreds of other university campuses in Japan (as well as in the United States, Europe and elsewhere) student discontent and unrest was felt keenly on the ICU campus from 1963 to 1970. The issues were varied, ranging from objections to tuition increases and the raising of dining hall food prices to more fundamental concerns such as the emperor system and Vietnam. Behind these issues was general student dissatisfaction with the serious inequities and disparities that had developed in the postwar transition from “elite” to “mass” education. Also, students reflected opposition to government attempts to shift the liberal and democratic aims of education to the production of manpower required to increase the nation’s economic might.

The focus of the 1966–67 student strike and barricades at ICU was the university’s experimental plan to use a new type of entrance examination, similar to the U.S. College Entrance Board tests, which would provide a more uniform means of measuring university applicants. The test had been developed in the mid-1960s by the quasi-governmental Nōryoku Kaihatsu Kenkyūjo (which roughly translated means “research center for the development of human resources”). The examination was known as *nōken* (aptitude test).

Student activists saw the development and use of the *nōken* test as a “scheme of the

Japanese government and big business in Japan to skim off the cream of the student population and manipulate them into middle management positions, thus enhancing the capitalistic economy of Japan and linking Japan ever more closely with the economic, political and military policies of the United States.”<sup>30</sup> The students had a point. ICU Professor Tachikawa Akira, recently called attention to the fact that the 1946 United States Educational Mission had observed that, prior to the war, politicians and bureaucrats had used entrance examinations as a means to “manipulate the masses...a practice that had far-reaching social implications and consequences.”<sup>31</sup>

The strike and building barricades forced the cancellation of the *nōken* test, but also resulted in the resignation of President Ukai in 1966. Ten of the strikers were expelled from the university. Hisatake Masao, an ICU professor of economic theory, replaced Dr. Ukai as president.

The third round of student unrest occurred in 1969–70, stemming mainly from issues that were related to the consequences of the *nōken* strike. The activist students essentially closed down the university by means of their barricades, which caused Chairman of the Board Yuasa to order riot police to clear out and reopen the campus before the government could revoke the school’s charter under the provisions of the University Control Bill that had been enacted a short time before. The 1969 events resulted in the resignation of President Hisatake and the deans of the college and of student affairs. Hisatake was replaced by a temporary five-man “Presidential Organ” until an acting president could be appointed.

The student demonstrations of the 1960s were a watershed in the history of ICU. The international and internal problems that lay behind the surface issues may have been more keenly felt at ICU than at many other universities. This was because ICU seemed

to epitomize the United States–Japan connection and the highly sensitive issues of Vietnam, the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, and the continuing presence of U.S. military bases on Japanese soil. The events of this period called attention to the fact that the “Occupation” was over and that it was vitally important for ICU to be governed by indigenous leadership.

#### THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AND BEYOND

This was a period marked by leadership changes, healing, the strengthening of the university’s financial base, significant building and academic developments, a gradual reduction of financial support from the Foundation and finally the diminution of the Foundation itself in 1990.

Leading the university throughout this period were five successive presidents: Miyake Akira, professor of physics (1969–1971); Sinoto Yosito, professor of biology and genetics; (1971–75 and 1983–84); Nakagawa Hideyasu, theology (1975–83); Watanabe Yasuo, professor of public administration (1984–1991); and Oguchi Kunio, professor of mathematics (from 1992).

Shorrock left ICU in 1969 to make room for more Japanese leadership in the administration. His successor was Tabuchi Minoru, a Christian layman with wide experience in international banking. Since that time, the position of vice-president for financial affairs has been filled by Japanese Christian leaders in business and banking. The decision not to expand academic programs led to the sale of the ICU Golf Course to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, in 1974, for conversion to a large public park and recreational area. Income from the sale greatly augmented the endowment fund.

Another development in the mid-1970s that significantly strengthened ICU’s financial situation was the government’s program to subsidize the operating expenses of private universities through the Japan

Private School Promotional Foundation and the Private School Subsidy Law.

#### *Significant building and academic developments*

Under the strong leadership of vice-president Tabuchi, a large-scale building program took place during the 1970s and early 1980s. From lessons learned during the student strikes in the 1960s, the placement of many of the new structures reflected the principle of separating the functions of administration, faculty and staff.

The modern and the ancient were brought together in the construction of the Integrated Learning Center with “state-of-the-art” laboratories and communication equipment and the building of the Yuasa Memorial Museum. The museum features some 5,300 items from Dr. Yuasa’s collection of folk art materials and exhibits of prehistoric artifacts that have been excavated on the campus since 1957.

Major academic developments during the 1970s included the opening of the Graduate School of Comparative Culture in 1976 and the Graduate School of Natural Sciences in 1987 (M. A. level), the 1978 founding of the ICU High School, the 1983 establishment of Cambridge House in England, the launching of the experimental Study English Abroad (SEA) Program in 1989, and the inauguration of the college’s sixth division—the Division of International Studies—in 1991.

#### *Gradual diminution of Foundation support*

The Foundation succeeded in reaching and even surpassing its original goal of raising ten million dollars for the university during the 1970s and was able to continue sending both general and designated contributions to ICU until the mid-1980s. However, changes in the economic conditions of both the United States and Japan, as well as staff changes in the Foundation and ICU admin-

istration, made it clear that consultations concerning future ICU-Foundation relations and cooperation were necessary.

In April 1987 and in March 1990, two major consultations were held between the board chairmen, board members and officers of ICU and the Foundation. It was mutually agreed that the postwar giving and receiving roles of the United States and Japan had been reversed and that the time had come to share spiritual and academic resources through a partnership that would more realistically reflect the changing world conditions and the global demands facing the mission boards and churches.

In response to the understandings reached at the joint meetings in March 1990, the Foundation's board of directors at its annual meeting in April 1991 recognized that it had fulfilled its purpose. Therefore, the members voted to amend its constitution, reduce the size of the board, to close its New York Office on December 31, 1991, and use its investment counselors for all continuing staff functions.

#### PERSONAL THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF ICU

ICU has become an important segment in the arch of Japanese Christian higher education. The formation of this arch, which now consists of more than 50 four-year Christian universities, represents over a century of cooperative efforts of Christians in Japan and abroad, particularly in the United States, to offer education in the spirit of Christianity to students in Japan. These closing thoughts concern the future of ICU in respect to its two commitments.

##### *The international commitment*

A particular purpose of ICU's international commitment is to be a "bridge leading both in and out of Japan...offering to Japanese a view of the outside world and to others an introduction to the Japanese culture."<sup>32</sup>

ICU can express this commitment in the most effective way, first, by widening and strengthening its historical bridge to North America—particularly to the United States. The *nichi-bei* character of ICU's internationalism should be viewed as a strength rather than as a weakness. In these days of the *kenbei* (disdain of America) attitude in Japan and of "Japan-bashing" in the United States, ICU is in a unique position to be a mediating and positive influence through its academic, educational, research and public service programs. Second, ICU should give priority attention to building a much stronger and wider bridge to Asian nations that are of increasing importance to both Japan and the United States.

With these two bridges solidly in place and well traveled in both directions, ICU can assume an expanding role in training leaders in U.S.-Japan, U.S.-Asia and Japan-Asia relations. It can be expected that as time goes on, both economic and security issues will escalate and be primary factors in these relations. The university's curricula, research centers and institutes, and offices of international and student affairs are well suited to bear the two-way traffic on these bridges.

##### *The Christian commitment*

Perhaps the unique aspect of ICU's epiphany is its Christian commitment. From the beginning this has been based on the policy that all regularly appointed full-time faculty members must be Christian believers—Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox or *mukyōkai*. Originally known as the "all-Christian faculty" policy, it has become known as "the Christian code."

It is important to understand that the Christian faculty qualification was largely initiated by the Japanese founders as a means of guarding religious liberty and academic freedom, values which in the past had been defended primarily by Christian

leaders, particularly those in higher education. The major question facing the university today is the extent to which the Christian code policy undergirds these freedoms and supports its basic academic and international commitments, and whether this policy is still valid as the primary institutional expression of its purpose and identity.

From the beginning, the university's board of trustees has reserved for itself the authority to make exceptions to the policy when qualified Christian scholars could not be found for certain teaching positions. Part-time lecturers and assistants are not subject to the Christian code policy. It is estimated that the number of non-Christians presently teaching at ICU—if one includes teaching assistants and instructors, part-time lecturers and non-Christian professors who have been appointed under the Christian code waiver—is approximately the same as the number of Christians. Thus ICU finds itself in a *tatema* (principle) and *honno* (real intent) situation that demands resolution.

The Christian code is under strong attack on academic, ethical and legal grounds. Critics are asking questions such as these:

1. Given the limited number of top-ranking scholars in certain fields who are Christian, can the university maintain its academic quality if it must settle for the second or third best Christian candidates?
2. Is it academically or ethically tenable for the university to deny promotion and tenure to instructors and not approve the regular full-time appointment of scholars who are not Christian, even though they are strongly supportive of the Christian ideals and purposes of the institution?
3. Does the application of the Christian code in faculty appointments conflict with the basic mission of ICU to "uphold the principles of the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights" to which Japan is a signatory and all entering students are asked to support?

4. Is it ethically right for the Christian code to be used as a means by which individual faculty and board members can block the appointment of a faculty candidate they may oppose for political or other non-academic reasons?

Regarding the Christian code, recent words of Dr. Troyer demand careful attention. In an open letter dated June 29, 1988, to the Board of Trustees and to the Foundation's Board in New York in which he referred to Governor Ichimada's role in the establishment of ICU, Troyer wrote as follows: "The spirit and substance of an important Buddhist's service to ICU is quietly incongruent with a strict application of the present restrictive employment code. A university committed to educating students to tackle global problems with a wide-angle vision must always be in the process of revising its presuppositions, goals and programs. What is learned within an institution as it grows is in some ways as important as cultural and economic changes in society."

ICU is indeed challenged today to join other Christian universities in giving serious study to the basic question of how Christianity can most meaningfully contribute to the relevance and enrichment of higher education in a pluralistic world. Hopefully, fresh insights will emerge about the future of the Christian code and about what makes a Christian university "Christian."

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Asahi Shinbun Weekly AERA*, December 12, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Donald P. Chandler, "A Christian University in Japan: Another Look at the Past," *The Japan*

*Christian Quarterly* vol. 39, no. 2 (Spring 1973), p.87.

<sup>3</sup> Ebizawa Arimichi, "History of the Age Preceding the Establishment of International Christian University (I)," *ICU Gazette* vol. 33, no. 8, (July 18, 1993), pp. 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> Chandler, pp. 91–92.

<sup>5</sup> "The International Missionary Council," *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott* vol. V (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 158

<sup>6</sup> Report of a Commission on Christian Education in Japan," *Christian Education in Japan* (New York and London: International Missionary Council, 1932), pp. 4–14.

<sup>7</sup> "Report of a Commission," pp. 141, 178.

<sup>8</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the sources for the information contained in the rest of this section are based on Charles W. Iglehart, *International Christian University: An Adventure in Christian Higher Education in Japan* (Tokyo: ICU, 1964), pp. 9–91 and personal records of the author. Iglehart's work is the definitive English language resource concerning the history of ICU up to 1963 and of its supporting group in the United States, the Japan International Christian University Foundation, Inc.

<sup>9</sup> "Report of the Christian Deputation to Japan, October–November, 1945," *Return to Japan* (New York: Friendship Press), pp. 1–8.

<sup>10</sup> William K. Cummings, *Education and Equality in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton Press, 1980), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> MacArthur letter of July 13, 1947 to Father Flanagan, founder of Boys' Town, quoted by William P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972). p. 244.

<sup>12</sup> Iglehart, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1977), p. 106.

<sup>14</sup> *Japan's Modern Educational System* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1980), p. 287.

<sup>15</sup> Maurice E. Troyer, "Planning a New University," *Journal of Higher Education* vol. 21, no. 8, (November 1950), p. 419.

<sup>16</sup> Iglehart, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (Stanford: Stanford Press, 1982), pp. 201–202. It should be noted that Johnson's reading of the ideographs for Ichimada's given name, which he identified as "Naoto," (p. 201) should be read, "Hisato."

<sup>18</sup> Hallam C. Shorrock, Jr., "A Look at ICU from the Financial Point of View," *The Japan Christian Quarterly* vol. 31, no. 3, (July 1965), pp. 145–146.

<sup>19</sup> Iglehart, p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> Iglehart, p. 43, quoting "Yamamoto Den," p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> Tachikawa Akira, "Origins of the Internationalization of Higher Education in Post-War Japan: A Case Study of ICU," *Proceedings of the 1987 Annual Conference of the Pacific Association for Higher Education*. Edited by Hara Kazuo (Tokyo: ICU, 1987), p. 226.

<sup>22</sup> Iglehart, pp. 39–40.

<sup>23</sup> Iglehart, pp. 67–68.

<sup>24</sup> Iglehart, p. 68.

<sup>25</sup> Tachikawa, "Origins," p. 227.

<sup>26</sup> Unless otherwise noted, material in this section is based on Iglehart's book, pp. 91ff. and the author's personal records and notes.

<sup>27</sup> Talk by Foundation President Paul R. Gregory to the Foundation Board in New York, April 24, 1991.

<sup>28</sup> Unless noted otherwise, the contents of this section are from the author's personal notes and papers.

<sup>29</sup> "The Second Decade of ICU," printed pamphlet (Tokyo: ICU, November 15, 1963).

<sup>30</sup> For details, see "The Admissions Program Dispute at International Christian University, Preliminary Report of the Faculty History Committee, Part I" (Tokyo: ICU, July 1967), 42pp.

<sup>31</sup> Tachikawa Akira, "The Intended Goal of the ICU Entrance Examination II," *ICU Gazette*, no. 34, October 8, 1992, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> *International Christian University Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts 1990–91*, p. 2.