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The Japanese Schools for the Natives of Truk, Caroline Islands*

INTRODUCTION

There is an abundance of official and semi-official reports of schools for dependent people in various parts of the world which emphasize the administrator's picture of the school system: the value and nature of the physical plant, aims, curriculum, enrollment and attendance, etc.[1] However all actual educational systems include two major parties: the teachers and the taught. The latter are all too often ignored. Our purpose in this paper therefore will be to discuss the operation of the former Japanese school system for the natives of Truk, Caroline Islands, viewed as the product of an interaction between two major forces: the official government policy and the native culture.

Some description of the educational system of the former Japanese Pacific mandate, which included Truk, has appeared in English as a part of general studies of the mandate government (Clyde, 1935; Yanaihara, 1940). While these descriptions do not concentrate specifically on the schools in Truk, the data came

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1 There would be little point in citing examples of such studies, as they are mostly of regional significance. Included would be many publications of colonial and national departments of education, as well as UNESCO, and secondary publications based mainly on data from these and other official sources.

mainly from official sources, directly or indirectly, so the authors were forced to be concerned largely with the official educational policy and programs. These were similar throughout most of the mandate and Truk is not atypical.

Another quite different source of published information about the Japanese schools on Truk is found in the life histories of some natives of Romonum I., Truk, published by Gladwin. Here the opposite emphasis—on the native side (Gladwin and Sarason: 1953) —is present. Since Gladwin was interested in the psychology of the natives, he does not discuss the schools as such but simply records certain incidents in the scholastic history of his informants which they happened to remember in the course of giving a general life history.[2]

In this paper we shall try to put the Japanese and native sides together, using information from the authors cited above as well as other information gathered personally in the Caroline Islands, during the years 1949–53, while I held the position of District Anthropologist and later Internal Affairs Officer, for the present U.S. government of what is now the Trust Territory of Micronesia.[3] During this period, data about the schools were acquired from native informants, from limited Japanese official reports and regulations, and from inspection of the old school sites and buildings themselves.

Needless to say, it would have been highly desirable to have questioned some of the former Japanese teachers and officials. This was not possible, since our Navy, for security reasons, repatriated all persons of Japanese nationality at the end of the war. However, there may be an advantage to the weighting of the

2 Thomas Gladwin, Unpublished field notes, 1947. Gladwin's life histories as published are somewhat abridged to eliminate material which is redundant or superfluous for the study of the personality of his informants. Some of the omitted material deals with native experiences in the Japanese schools. Gladwin has kindly provided me with access to his full life histories for the purposes of this study.

3 I was actually on Truk for about fifteen months in 1949–50, after which I transferred to Ponape, about 380 miles to the east. On Ponape I was able, however, to learn more in general about the Japanese schools for natives, and also continued to work on Trukese culture with informants drawn from the sizable immigrant colony there.

data on the native side for once, since the balance is the other way around in most reports of schools for dependent peoples.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To most Americans the name of Truk,[4] if it means anything at all, suggests an impregnable Japanese naval base which was left to "wither on the vine" in World War II. However, before the Japanese military development, Truk had a native population of about 10,000 people. These people or their descendants are still there today, now under a United Nations trusteeship administered by the United States. To the islanders, the fortification of Truk toward the end of the Japanese rule was a violent but transitory stage of history which has now passed, leaving little to show. The era of Japanese peacetime administration between the two World Wars, however, is still recalled by those who experienced it as a time of relative prosperity and progress. We shall be concerned below mainly with the operation of the schools during this settled peacetime era, roughly 1924 to 1939.

Geographically and culturally Truk and the rest of the Carolines are classified as part of Micronesia, "the small islands." Truk is not the name of any one island but applies actually to a cluster of about a dozen high islands of habitable size. No island is more than a few miles long and the total land area amounts to about 37 square miles, but the islands are located in the middle of a large, reef-encircled lagoon about 40 miles in diameter.

European traders and whalers in the Carolines in the ninteenth century considered the natives of Truk to be especially hostile and treacherous, so they largely avoided it in favor of allegedly more hospitable places, such as Yap, Ponape, and Kusaie. Consequently Truk was the last high island group in Micronesia to be brought under the control of a large modern nation. Until the beginning of this century, the people of Truk were divided into a number of independent, frequently warring communities, of

[4] For more detailed information and bibliography on the history and culture of Truk, consult J. L. Fischer, and A. M. Fischer (1957).

which there were several to an island two or three miles in length. This disorderly state of affairs, which was considerably aggravated by the introduction of foreign firearms and liquor, was suddenly and efficiently terminated in 1904 when the German government, which had bought the Carolines from Spain shortly before, sent in a warship which collected several hundred rifles and carried off a few disruptive chiefs to exile on another island. Beyond establishing law and order and guaranteeing the personal safety of foreign missionaries and traders, the German government did little during its brief stay on Truk.

In 1914 when World War I began, only ten years after effective German occupation of Truk, the Japanese promptly declared war on Germany and easily occupied the lightly garrisoned German island possessions in Micronesia: the Carolines, Marshalls, and northern Marianas. The islands were governed initially by a military administration, but at the Versailles peace conference arrangements were made to put them under a League of Nations mandate. Therefore the Japanese, along with other mandatory powers, were under international pressure to establish a civilian administration with certain obligations to protect the interests of the native inhabitants. The transfer to civilian authority was completed in 1922, and economic, medical, and educational programs for the natives gained momentum after this date.

The Japanese, like the Germans, divided the Carolines into administrative districts governed from centers located on some of the more populous high islands. Under the Japanese, Truk—more specifically Dublon or Tolowas Island—was established as an administrative center. (Previously, under the Spanish and Germans Truk had been governed, rather nominally, from Ponape, 380 miles to the east.)

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE JAPANESE MANDATE

The Japanese administration followed a policy of starting their educational and other socio-economic programs for the

natives at the district centers and spreading outwards. The government school system for natives was initiated by establishing a three-year elementary school near the district administrative center on Dublon Island. This school was staffed by Japanese male teachers with Trukese assistants. The latter at first served as interpreters and helped with the discipline. Students were selected on a quota basis from the various islands of the lagoon. Apparently only boys were selected at first, although girls were soon added.

Eventually other three-year elementary schools were established on the other large islands of the lagoon and on one of the Mortlock Islands, a group of atolls to the south of Truk, while a higher elementary school of two additional grades was established at the district center on Dublon Island for selected graduates of the lower schools. Lower school attendance was then made compulsory within Truk Lagoon.

A further step on the educational ladder was eventually provided with the establishment of a trade school for carpenters at Koror, Palau, a thousand miles to the west. Promising graduates of the higher elementary schools were selected from all over the mandated territory to attend this school. Later a small agricultural school was established on Dublon Island, Truk, and, after the Japanese started to alienate "undeveloped" native land for colonization, a surveyor's school was established in Palau.

The purpose of the schools for natives, judging from both reported policies and the Japanese school regulations (South Seas Government Office, 1939) was to civilize the natives and make them into loyal and economically useful citizens of the Japanese empire. While there was theoretically no limit to the higher education which the native child with sufficient ability and financial support might obtain, in actual fact only a minority of Trukese children attended the fourth and fifth grades, and only a minority of those completing fifth grade obtained further education at the vocational schools. Apparently no Trukese native obtained any academic education beyond fifth grade, except incidentally along with vocational training. The system was geared in effect to produce a supply of general laborers and domestic servants who understood the Japanese language, plus a small elite of skilled laborers and petty officials.

The chief subject in the prescribed elementary school curriculum was the Japanese language, spoken and written. Officially language work was supposed to occupy half of the teaching time; arithmetic about a quarter; and miscellaneous subjects, such as gymnastic exercises, singing, handicraft, ethics, and geography, the remainder. According to reports of students the actual emphasis on the Japanese language was if anything even greater than this. While the official curriculum prescribed the teaching of the more common Chinese ideographs as well as the Japanese *Kana* syllabary, few, if any, native students could be said to be literate in Japanese to the extent of being able to read a newspaper by the end of fifth grade. Certainly none could read the regulations promulgated by the South Seas Government Office; and these regulations were not translated, except sometimes orally and in summary by rather confused native interpreters.

The pronunciation of spoken Japanese by Trukese elementary school graduates left much to be desired. Apparently no native students learned to pronounce the letter *h*, nor to distinguish between the voiced and unvoiced consonants, so that, for instance, the Japanese words *aji*—"taste" and *hachi*—"bee" would be pronounced identically.

The Japanese schools did not try to teach reading or writing in the native language, although some Trukese learned these skills from the Western Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Starting even before German rule, the missionaries had translated parts of the Bible and prepared hymns and other religious materials in Trukese, and continued to teach reading and writing in the native tongue to such children as would come to them.

It is only proper to point out that the official emphasis on teaching the Japanese language was no doubt conceived to be for the benefit of the natives as well as for their rulers and potential employers. For any nonreligious subject there were no suitable instructional materials in the native language. Trukese is only one of a number of mutually unintelligible languages in the mandate, each with a small number of speakers, so translation and publication of textbooks would have been difficult even if contemplated. Moreover, the natives themselves wanted to learn Japanese, and in view of the small number of grades open to the average student

even the considerable time devoted to studying Japanese could be argued to be less than optimum.

In the higher grades the official curriculum emphasized agriculture somewhat more—four hours a week in fourth and fifth grades (South Seas Government office, 1939). According to native students this meant mostly working in a vegetable garden for the teachers and was not regarded by the students as education. The average Trukese, in fact, does not regard green vegetables as fit for human consumption.

Instruction in mathematics was limited to simple addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Graduates of fifth grade were officially supposed to know how to work with fractions but I received the strong impression that few of them did. Some Protestant mission-school graduates, on the other hand, could work out the most elaborate problems in fractions on paper but had no idea of what they meant; they could not use fractions, for instance, to figure out how much the trader owed them for their bag of dried coconut meat.

The physical plant of the government schools consisted of the school building itself (classrooms and storerooms), and quarters nearby for the teacher or teachers. The school buildings were designed and built by the Japanese government, although native contributions of building sites and labor were evidently sometimes encouraged. The school buildings were of substantial contruction; more substantial, one might argue, than was needed in the mild climate of Truk.

No provision was made to feed or house the students at the elementary schools (except for some meals provided for a time at the Dublon school). Students from other islands in the lagoon were expected to find distant clan relatives or friends of the family with whom to board and lodge. Students who had trouble finding a place to stay would sometimes end up with the local chief, who was no doubt under considerable informal pressure from the government to assist in this respect. Students could obtain some food to take back with them on weekend visits home. However, since breadfruit, taro, and fish, the native staples, spoil rapidly, these supplies would not last the whole week and off-island students

would be dependent on their local hosts for the balance of the school week.

The school site was generally large enough to have an athletic ground of some sort. Some of these grounds were large enough for baseball fields. Baseball became quite popular in Truk in Japanese times and English baseball terms are still prononunced in a Trukese modification of a Japanese accent by the men who attended Japanese schools.

Japanese methods of instruction of native children relied heavily on drill and rote memory. The first item in an official curriculum description of arithmetic for first grade, for instance, is "recitation and writing of the numbers up to 100"; for second grade the corresponding item is the same for numbers up to 1000. For the subjects most emphasized, i.e., language and arithmetic, constant drill is probably especially efficient in the early stages of mass classroom instruction.

Many of the children feared the instructors, who tended to be rather harsh disciplinarians. In life histories collected by Gladwin (1947) and myself, references are made to children being frequently beaten, slapped, or "hit on the head with a small stick" for being lazy in their school work or giving incorrect answers. More severe beatings and other punishments are reported for more serious offenses such as unauthorized absences or fighting with other children. One of Gladwin's informants reports (Gladwin, 1947; Gladwin and Sarason, 1953) twice being made to stand out in the sun for several hours. This same informant reports being slapped until his face was "covered with blood" by one of the Trukese assistant teachers for making an unauthorized trip to his home island. On this particular occasion the Japanese teacher intervened and stopped the beating, but only to substitute standing in the sun.

Very likely the corporal punishment experienced by the native students was more severe than would be administered to pupils in the Japanese homeland. We no doubt think of these punishments as something that would not be administered by American teachers but parallel examples could be cited from accounts of American Indians (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946) describing their white teachers. The severity of the punishment in both cases can be at-

tributed to the relatively small danger of effective protest by the children or their parents for any injury short of serious maiming, and also especially to the numerous frustrations in the teacher's job. In the case of Truk, frustrations occurred partly because of the inherent difficulties of teaching small children in a language not their own about a culture not their own, but also because of the lack of motivation of most of the Trukese students.

EFFECTS OF TRUKESE CULTURE ON PUPIL BEHAVIOR

The native social structure and school experiences both contributed to low pupil interest in school work. For one thing, Truk is a rather cooperative culture where much emphasis is laid on modesty, submissiveness, and helping one's kinsmen. A child who shows off his superior knowledge in school exposes himself to the ridicule of his comrades for his "haughtiness" (Trukese *namanam tekia*, more literally "thinking high").

Perhaps even more important, nature is fairly kind in Truk and children have traditionally been allowed to spend their time playing, with few demands on them for concentrated effort in subsistence labor or otherwise. Serious applied effort, physical or intellectual, is hardly expected of people until middle age.

Those children who were from other islands found themselves removed from their families and were generally quite homesick. Several of Gladwin's informants tell of inventing stories about sick or dying relatives in order to get excused from school for extra visits home.

The dislike of being away from home was often aggravated by fears about the community in which the school was located. Only a few years before the founding of the school system, it will be recalled, the various communities of Truk Lagoon were independent and often at war with each other. The peace imposed by the Germans and maintained by the Japanese was appreciated by most people, but they had good reason to wonder just how friendly the intentions of their neighbors across the channel or around the

point were. The hostilities of the adults were reflected in small-scale fights between gangs of boys from different communities. When the teacher was not looking, fights between boys of different communities often broke out at school. This is mentioned by all the Trukese men who give accounts of any length. Younger boys from a community off the island on which the school was located were in an especially difficult position, and were subject to regular bullying.

The problems of off-island pupils with respect to food and housing have already been alluded to. While the Trukese are fond of visiting and are quite casual about where they sleep, they typically exhibit a strong concern about getting enough food, more so even than would seem to be justified by the environment. In any case, it is not hard to understand the resentment of the chiefs and others who were asked to feed and lodge strange students from other communities without compensation from the government or the students' families. It does not seem unreasonable that the "hosts" should have hoped to get a certain amount of labor after school hours from these free boarders. At the same time the reluctance of the hosts to feed the students liberally provoked considerable anxiety at times in the latter, and the demands of the hosts on the students to help pay for their food by working after school had a similar effect on children who had little to do at home except to amuse themselves. Parents were often sympathetic with these problems of their children at school and sometimes assisted them in fabricating excuses to present to their teachers.

Another distraction to the older students was the tolerance of early sexual activity characteristic of Trukese culture. Truk is among those Oceanic cultures which have the charming notion that the beginning of menstruation in girls is an effect, sooner or later, of loss of virginity. Since the prescribed minimum age for entering school was eight years and an age of nine or ten was common, many of the students reached puberty in their fourth or fifth year of school and became deeply involved in romantic affairs with their schoolmates of opposite sex or with other age mates in the community.

An excerpt from the life history of one of my male informants illustrates this situation:

> Eventually I got to fourth grade and I started to become stupid. I no longer knew a thing, so to speak. For that was when I started to be concerned with women and started to get women. . . . And I also started to smoke cigarettes. . . . And I was all filled with thoughts of women but my thoughts of school were rather small. I used to return to my own island and I met many women and they liked me very much. I thought I would give up school . . . just because of my interest in women. I would stay away for a week or two at a time.

The informant was nevertheless not expelled from school and was eventually straightened out by his mother's brother, after his grades had dropped markedly.

No doubt increased sexual interest at puberty can interfere with scholastic achievement in large urbanized societies as well. The point to be noted here is that Trukese culture maximized this interference by regarding early sexual activity as normal and healthy, whereas modern European cultures would tend to limit heterosexual contact and stigmatize sexual intercourse immediately upon reaching puberty as precocious and unhealthy.

It would be wrong to give the impression that every Trukese was unalterably opposed to the Japanese school system. Many adults recognized the usefulness of a speaking knowledge of the Japanese language in dealing with government officials, police, and traders, and in getting odd jobs to get cash which would buy cigarettes, rice, and other luxuries for oneself and one's family. The chiefs especially recognized the value of getting promising young relatives through school and into minor local government posts to serve as buffers between the Japanese and the native community.

Some of the more capable and ambitious students eventually came to recognize these advantages of a Japanese education for themselves. In addition, some of the more adventurous boys in the higher elementary school cherished the hope of getting to visit distant places by their school work. They hoped good studying might lead to their acceptance in the Carpentry School at Palau, or to a job as labor foreman in a mine or plantation on some far island.

Although most academic subjects held little intrinsic interest for the Trukese there was some interest in vocational subjects. Most notably, carpentry was traditionally a highly respected craft

in Truk, and Japanese style carpentry was respected by both students and adults, both for its technical superiority and its association with the ruling group. Most parents, however, were reluctant to have their children go out of Truk Lagoon to attend school and it is my impression that most Trukese students who actually got to the carpentry school in Palau, a thousand miles away, were orphans with no intimate close relatives to restrain them.

LONG RANGE EFFECTS OF THE SCHOOLS

After graduation the fate of the students varied. The most common fate for graduates of the first three grades, and especially the girls, was simply to return home and forget much of what they had learned, if indeed they had ever learned it. However a sizable minority got menial jobs with the government or private firms or individuals, or went on to two more grades of higher elementary school. In any of these events the start in learning the Japanese language was of use to them. Eventually, during the war, all able-bodied Trukese men were conscripted for military labor and any knowledge of the Japanese language they had helped them at this time, although the peacetime curriculum does not appear to have been directed specifically to the requirements of military labor.

Those students who had gone on successfully through fifth grade, especially the boys, were in greater demand as personal servants, government interpreters, assistant teachers, policemen, native village secretaries, labor foremen, and the like. These graduates generally had a working knowledge of spoken Japanese and enough knowledge of the written language to keep simple records or prepare simple reports, mostly in *kana*. They were by no means all reliable workers—the schools seem to have developed ingenuity in making excuses for absences and the Trukese are great visitors—and periods of employment often alternated with periods of living on their own land, but they did constitute a sort of trained labor supply which was available to be drawn on.

A few of the higher elementary graduates went on to vocational training, principally the Carpentry School at Palau. Graduates of this school were capable of constructing sizable Japanese-style wooden buildings without supervision and some of them are still doing this.

In assessing the results of the Japanese school system for natives the intention here is neither to criticize nor praise the Japanese mandate administration but simply to call attention to some of the major effects of the school from the viewpoint of the principal parties—the Japanese government and their Trukese wards—and to suggest some of the chief factors producing these effects.

The evaluation of these effects is, of course, different depending on the viewpoints involved. Three viewpoints seem especially important: that of the Japanese administration, that of the native community, and that of the students as individuals. The Japanese administration had two principal goals, which were regarded as closely related: the politico-economic integration of the natives into the Japanese empire and the advancement of the natives by civilizing them. The native community had the goals of securing more favorable treatment from the Japanese officials and commercial firms, and of acquiring greater articulateness, which might be used either to gain assistance for desired changes or to resist disliked innovations. Further, individual graduates might have special personal goals of their own which their education helped them to obtain.

The Japanese government was achieving fair success in its goal of making the students and the native community a functioning part of the Empire. The large number of students who did not go beyond third grade should not be taken as an indication of the failure of the system from the Japanese point of view. The schools were intended to proceed by progressively selective stages and produce a small native elite, which would then help modify the native society with government support. In this aim the government was reasonably successful, given the time which they had for operation, and the small amount of acculturation at the beginning of the Japanese period. This integration into the culture of the Empire took place not only through native employment under the Japanese, but through certain changes in the ways in which the

Trukese lived among themselves. Election of local officials was introduced, for instance, and, on the material side, it was largely thanks to the Carpentry School graduates that, at the end of World War II, the Trukese were able to utilize abundant scrap military lumber to eliminate the old style grass huts—esthetically pleasing to the anthropologist but damp and drafty—and to replace them by more livable modified Japanese-style houses. In changes such as this the goals of teachers and students tended to coincide.

But the native goals, both community and individual, were at times opposed to the goals of the mandate government. On such occasions the education served the natives equally well to manipulate Japanese into acting against general government policy. For instance, one accomplished graduate told how he used his knowledge of Chinese characters to forge a liquor purchase permit to which he was not properly entitled, and how he flattered a policeman and bribed him with a chicken to avoid arrest for drunkenness. He probably could have done neither of these successfully without having gone to school.

Some individual natives also used their education to obtain favors for themselves which were against the general interests of the native community. In land disputes or political appointments interpreters sometimes managed to bring about decisions favorable to themselves or their families of which the community at large disapproved. The Japanese government disapproved of such behavior, of course, as well as the native community.

Community as well as individual interests were pursued with the aid of education received by the public school graduates. The same informant who forged the liquor permit and bribed the policeman told me of participation in a strike of workers who were helping to build an airfield. Evidently the idea of an organized strike was received via the Japanese language from certain private Japanese citizens, and was thus to an important degree dependent on the education of some of the workers. Such a strike was certainly not in the interests of the government nor even, perhaps, in the interests of the individual Japanese who told the Trukese about the existence of strikes. The strike was, in fact quickly and forcibly suppressed by the officials in charge with the aid of the police, ostensibly with no concession to the strikers, although it may have

had some hidden effect in warning the overseers not to push the Trukese workers too far. I do not wish to imply that the idea of a strike could not have arisen spontaneously without diffusion from Japanese through educated natives, but I would recall that, as already mentioned, the Trukese even today have strong local loyalties to their own particular village and lineage, and do not easily cooperate with Trukese from other parts of the group. I believe, therefore, that the conception and execution of the strike of airfield laborers was materially hastened by the education some of the laborers had received, although certainly there would have been no strike at all without a strong conflict of interest between employers and employed.

The interpreters, jailers, and assistant policemen employed by the Japanese government consisted almost entirely of public school graduates chosen for their ability to speak some Japanese. While there are many accounts of how these individuals used their special positions for personal ends, there are also reports that many of them were secretly responsive to the recognized Trukese leaders in the performance of their duties as well as to their Japanese employers. It is said that they often served as spies on the government for the Trukese community, and communicated information between the community and prisoners whom the community wished to support, thus enabling witnesses and accused to fabricate consistent alibis. Education, as colonial powers have often discovered, can be a two-edged sword.

CONCLUSION

In the above discussion the role of the Trukese culture and values in the actual operation of the Japanese schools for natives in Truk has been especially stressed. This is partly unavoidable because of the fact that the data were mostly collected in Truk after the end of the war when, as mentioned above, the Japanese personnel involved had been repatriated and dispersed, and most official records lost. However, there is also a theoretical justification for the emphasis on the native culture. Too often discussions of directed culture change in underdeveloped areas proceed on the unstated naïve assumption that the only important dynamic factors are the goals and plans of the initiating group; that the behavioral differences between the initiating group and the group to be developed are principally a matter of information and perhaps also technological equipment, which, once supplied by formal education or other means, will automatically result in a harmonious and productive relationship between the two groups. The very term "underdeveloped" implies that something desirable is not there and the principal question is how soon "it" gets there.

Perhaps it is only necessary to state this assumption to see its absurdity, but the application of this insight can only be achieved by constantly bearing it in mind and considering it repeatedly in a variety of concrete situations. All human groups and individuals have, of course, their own particular interests and values. Even if we grant, as I would, that these have an ultimate biological foundation and are basically similar, their persistent concrete manifestation and balance often differ significantly from group to group. And even where two groups have very similar interests, the interests may conflict if attached to different particular objects. Thus, for example, practically all Trukese share a similar strong local and lineage loyalty, but to a variety of particular places and lineages which are in competitive conflicting relationships. And, if the Japanese had succeeded in weakening these narrow loyalties and in substituting a wider national loyalty, this might still have turned out to be a pan-Trukese or pan-Micronesian loyalty, rather than a pan-Empire loyalty.

It is hoped that apart from any local historical contribution this paper may make it will illustrate the importance, in studying trans-cultural education and other directed culture change, of considering not only the goals of the initiating culture and institution but of considering also the goals and values of the recipient group in interaction with the goals of the initiators, sometimes impeding them, sometimes hurrying them along in a continuous process. From a practical point of view this means that to develop an underdeveloped area for the greatest benefit of all concerned, including developers and those being developed, it is not enough simply to supply missing information and technological equipment, under an

assumption of community of basic interest between the parties involved. Nor is the problem of difference of interests and values to be solved simply by labelling certain new interests and values—those of the politically or economically more powerful group—as more "civilized" or "progressive." Rather, the particular interests and values of the group to be developed and the relation of these to those of the assisting group must both be examined, and the new knowledge (and equipment) must be introduced and applied in such a way as best to serve multiple and often partly conflicting interests, interests which may conflict both *within* the local society and *between* the local society and the assisting group.

It would, of course, be unreasonable and impractical to demand that all possible conflicts of interest and values involving the concerned parties be determined in advance and a resolution of them be formulated before establishing schools or providing other assistance to a dependent or depressed group. Conflicts of interest cannot always be foreseen in detail, and in any case require careful, repeated, and detailed attention. But without such attention we can certainly predict that the results of the educational process will be something other than those intended by the initiators, and may "backfire" on the initiators, as the example of Truk shows on a small and at times amusing scale. And if strong conflicts of interest are simply ignored and a rational compromise is not arranged and maintained, the effects of educational and technical assistance may even operate to the net major detriment of the assisting group.

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