

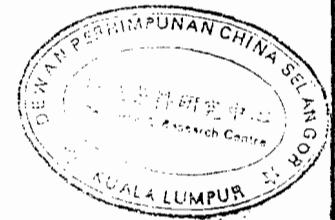
CHINESE SCHOOLS

and the

EDUCATION OF CHINESE MALAYANS

*The Report of a Mission invited by the Federation
Government to study the problem of the Education
of Chinese in Malaya*

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THE REPORT OF A MISSION INVITED BY THE FEDERATION GOVERNMENT TO STUDY THE PROBLEM OF THE EDUCATION OF CHINESE IN MALAYA.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. Early in January, 1951, Dr. William P. Fenn, Associate Executive Secretary of the Board of Trustees of a dozen institutions of higher learning in China, and Dr. Wu Teh-yao, an official of the United Nations, were invited to go to Malaya to make a study of Chinese schools in the Federation. Three conferences were held in Washington, at the second of which Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office, was present.

2. In these Dr. Fenn and Dr. Wu were briefed in regard to conditions and problems, and a beginning was made on a clarification of the exact objectives of the mission. These, as understood by the members, were recommendations that would lead to a greater contribution by Chinese schools in Malaya to the goal of an independent Malayan nation composed of people of many races but having a common loyalty. It was agreed that there were no prior commitments to which the mission would be expected to conform. The survey was intended to consider facts and devise ways and means, not to follow any preconceived pattern.

Itinerary and Activities:

3. Dr. Fenn reached Singapore on February 18 and Kuala Lumpur on February 22. Dr. Wu followed ten days later. Their base of operations was Kuala Lumpur, where they were provided with an office in the Department of Education, to which they had both been seconded. Visits of from one day to four were made to Ipoh, Taiping, Penang, and Malacca. Shorter visits involved Klang, Tanjong Malin, Alor Star, Seremban, Kuala Pilah, Bahau, Kuala Kangsar, and Johore Bahru. Many still shorter visits were made in the vicinity of Kuala Lumpur. A final week was spent in Singapore at the request of the Singapore authorities, during which time were held two very useful conferences with representatives from Sarawak.* Dr. Fenn and Dr. Wu returned to the United States in late April.

4. The mission followed three main lines in its activities: (1) study of pertinent documents and other sources of data, (2) visits to schools for first-hand evidence of conditions, and (3) group conferences and individual interviews. Visits to schools, though naturally concentrating on Chinese schools, were

* We regret our inability to include other sections of Southeast Asia in our survey, for we are convinced that we should have learned much which might have made this report not only more helpful for Malaya but more applicable to other areas. Though it is not our responsibility to make recommendations in regard to other areas than the Federation, we feel we should express our belief that (1) some of our recommendations are applicable to Singapore, Sarawak, and probably North Borneo and Brunei; (2) wherever there are common problems, outside aid should be concerned with all sections; and (3) developments (textbooks, methods, training programs) in one section should be made available to others.

not limited to them; Malay and English schools—in the latter case, both government and mission—were included. Though the majority of contacts were with Chinese, special effort was made to see representatives of other races. These included Malay political leaders and Indian educators as well as British officials and American missionaries.

5. The mission was greatly benefited by the views freely imparted by individuals and leaders of all racial groups in Malaya, which helped it to maintain balance in its approach to the problem. In particular it was benefited by the opinions repeatedly expressed by Chinese and Malay leaders directly and indirectly concerned with education. Of great value also were the objective views of Indian leaders. To all of them they wish to express their deep gratitude for time given and thoughts shared. To the authorities wherever they went, they owe a very real debt for abundant hospitality and assistance at every turn. The Department of Education met their every request, and the Inspectors of Chinese Schools could not have been more helpful. They are particularly indebted to His Excellency the High Commissioner for having encouraged the freedom of approach without which an objective report would not have been possible.

Terms of Reference:

6. Before arrival of the mission in Malaya, an official announcement of its nature and objectives was made by the Federation Secretariat. In part this stated that the mission would be concerned with making a "preliminary survey of the whole field of Chinese education . . . with particular reference to

(i) bridging the gap between the present communal system of school and the time when education will be on a non-communal basis with English or Malay as medium of instruction and other language as optional subject, and advising on (ii) preparation of text books for present use with a Malayan as distinct from a Chinese background and content."

7. The response to this statement reflected both the urgency and the delicacy of the mission. This pronouncement, apparently so harmless, brought forth in the Chinese press a surprising number of articles and editorials expressing in no uncertain terms Chinese concern regarding its implications, which seemed to them to be anti-Chinese. Though some of their fears were probably unfounded and there was a tendency to read more into the statement than was intended, there were sufficient grounds to make this concern understandable.

8. As a result, at every meeting with Chinese leaders and teachers, fear and suspicion prevailed. The mission was regarded as being a mere tool designed to further an established government policy. The fact that one of the members was Chinese and that the other had spent more than half his life in China was not completely reassuring. Nor were the statements which the mission found it advisable to make, insisting on its objectivity and expressing its belief that the complete extinction of Chinese culture, even if possible, would be a tragic loss for Malaya. The air of suspicion remained throughout its stay, and from Singapore to Penang.

9. However, the vigorous reaction which greeted the pronouncement and the depth of concern expressed by Chinese for the preservation of Chinese culture served to emphasize the nature of the problems involved and the implications of "Malayanization." Furthermore, doubts which had started before the mission left the United States soon crystallized into conviction that the terms of reference suggested by the official announcement were too restrictive to permit of constructive results even within those limits themselves. Improved textbooks are largely useless without improved teachers; but improved teachers require improved conditions of service; and these in turn depend on factors over which the schools themselves do not have entire control. Furthermore, Chinese schools cannot be thought of as a problem completely unrelated to other schools in the Federation.

10. These problems were brought to the attention of Sir Henry Gurney, High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya, during the early days of our mission. His Excellency showed himself thoroughly understanding and sympathetic. As a result, the mission was given to understand that it was not limited in any way and was encouraged to make a survey of the whole field of Chinese education in Malaya with a view to making whatever evaluations and recommendations it deemed necessary. The members of the mission are extremely grateful for Sir Henry for this interpretation of their terms of reference, for without it they doubt if the mission could have functioned either with satisfaction to them or with fairness to the problems involved.

11. The following seems to them an accurate statement of the purpose of the mission as interpreted by them in their survey and in this report:

The purpose of the mission was to survey sympathetically but objectively the entire field of the education of Chinese in Malaya, and to recommend such constructive changes and improvements as would lead to the Chinese schools making the greatest contribution to the future welfare and happiness of the people of Malaya and in particular of the Chinese who have chosen that prosperous land as their home.

II.—MALAYA AND A MALAYAN CULTURE.

“Malayanization”:

1. Malaya is a land of several races and several cultures, in which a Malayan nation and a Malayan culture are future hopes rather than present realities. The population consists largely of three great racial groups: Malay (2,602,777), Chinese (2,034,986), and Indian (587,292). Together, the Chinese and Malays in 1951 constitute almost 88 per cent. of the total population of 4,908,086 in the Federation. Each of these groups is culturally distinct and independent; each has its own language, customs, and social habits; each has its own history and tradition. Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Christianity, while cutting across some racial and cultural boundaries, emphasize others. In spite of the fact that Malaya has long been in contact with the West and has been governed by one Western nation for over a century, and despite the superficial aspects of Western culture everywhere evident, that culture has not yet succeeded in providing the common ground for complete cultural fusion.

2. As these distinct cultural strains have for many years defined the pattern of life in Malaya, they seem destined to do so for many years to come. It is not possible artificially to create one culture out of several, certainly not quickly. Because of the psychological and emotional attachments of the racial groups, any attempt at the moment to force unwilling fusion will almost certainly lead to further cleavage, which neither Malaya nor the world can afford.

3. What can be hoped for is a peaceful and co-operative relationship among diverse elements, in which community of interest rather than differences are naturally stressed. There can be no justification for turning Malaya into a cockpit for aggressive cultures. By virtue of its composite population it should be a land where the developing culture draws its validity from acceptance of the high values of other cultures. The people of Malaya will have to learn to understand and appreciate their cultural differences. They should be proud of their spirit of mutual tolerance.

4. To such a mingling, no narrow conception of possession can make a constructive contribution. No group whose concern is completely the preservation of its own culture, or whose basic loyalty lies elsewhere, can render patriotic service to Malaya. At the same time, no deculturized group will have anything to offer. The resulting culture will be the weaker for the poverty of its contributing units.

5. We have dealt at length with this question of culture because of what seems to us the too casual and unconsidered use of the term “Malayanization.” For one thing, to most Chinese in Malaya, “Malayanization” is anathema. In view of the absence of a culture, or even a society, which can as yet be called Malayan, it is interpreted as meaning to make Malay rather than Malayan. The first point in the Secretariat’s announcement appeared to envisage the elimination of Chinese schools and the relegating of the Chinese language to an inferior status, with the ultimate result, if not the present purpose, of the

extinction of Chinese culture in Malaya. Suspicion was further strengthened by the second point, which referred to the preparation “for present use” of new Chinese textbooks from which Chinese background and content would, in the fears of the Chinese, be completely removed. We soon came to the conclusion that the marked increase in conscious interest in and concern for Chinese culture among Chinese in Malaya, called to our attention by people of other races, resulted from a feeling, very real whether justified or unjustified, that that culture was being threatened. They were on the defensive culturally.

6. It is also an unfortunate term because it seems to imply what cannot be achieved. No element of the population can be “Malayanized” for the simple reason that there is no “Malayan” pattern to which to mould it and because such moulding is not produced by fiat. A new culture can come only from the natural mingling of diverse cultural elements for generations. In this process, elements which do not command appreciation disappear, while those which do need no political or external support.

7. Yet the term must be used, for it expresses a desirable goal. It is important, therefore, to keep it free from connotations involving specific methods of procedure which themselves are based on preconceptions as to what the “Malayan” culture of the future is to be. For example, development of a Malaya-centered point of view does not necessarily involve the learning of one language or the abandonment of another, the adoption of one mode of dress and the discarding of another. “Malayanization” can only be the result of a give and take which is based on increasing awareness of community of interest and the need for mutual tolerance and co-operation. The people of Malaya should cherish what is fine and non-divisive in every cultural strain, for out of present diversity may come future glory.

The Problem of Language:

8. No one can visit Malaya without becoming aware of the multiplicity of languages in everyday use: Chinese (in half a dozen dialects), English, Malay, and Tamil are the first or second tongues of great numbers of Malaysians. It has been argued that national unity can and has been achieved despite the existence of many tongues. Canada has English and French; Switzerland has French, German, and Italian. Such examples can be multiplied. On the other hand, it has been argued that where social, economic, and political contacts are necessary, there must be a common medium of communication. Such a medium would promote the unity of the Malayan nation.

9. It is not our purpose to recapitulate or add to the arguments for and against one or another tongue as the national language of the country. We would point out, however, that the historical path which one nation takes in its development is often different from that of another. What can come to pass in Switzerland or Canada may or may not come to pass in Malaya. Moreover, men speaking the same English language have established separate and great independent English-speaking nations overseas. Therefore, we doubt the wisdom of Malaya’s seeking to build itself on the examples of other historical or political entities.

10. Because of the unique character of its racial diversity, Malaya will have to seek its own solution, which will be based upon the collective wisdom and consent of its own peoples. Practical experience and developing needs will be, and should be, the final determinants. We suggest that efforts to forecast and predetermine the future, efforts by which we suspect the Muse of History is amused, be abandoned; and that all concerned concentrate on present realities. The following seem to us to be the most significant of these.

11. In the first place, it must be recognized that Malay has been made an official language and is a required subject of instruction in all schools in Malaya. As the indigenous language of the country, spoken extensively throughout the Malayan archipelago, it deserves study by all the peoples of Malaya. Such common knowledge can contribute to communal understanding and co-operation. The practical wisdom of the Chinese has enabled them to foresee the advantages, and they have on the whole accepted Malay as a required subject in the last two years of Chinese primary schools.

12. In the second place, it is obvious that English is to a great extent a common business language for all races in Malaya. As such, it is also a world language. The social, academic, scientific, cultural, economic, and political advantages it can give a child need no amplification. Again, the practical wisdom of the Chinese has prompted them to pay more attention to the teaching of English in Chinese schools.

13. In the third place, we must remember that Chinese is one of the great languages of the world, key to one of the world's great cultures. Its beauty and richness are unquestioned. Nothing is to be gained by trying to deprive any section of the population of what a knowledge of Chinese has to give. Just as many Europeans study Latin, other races in Malaya might well profit from a study of Chinese. However, because of its difficulty and the time involved in mastering it, the study of Chinese is likely to be undertaken largely by Chinese. They should be helped and encouraged in their concern for the Chinese background of the Malayan culture of the future.

14. This means trilingualism for most Chinese Malaysians, and bilingualism for all. We believe that they not only are prepared to accept this heavy load but actually welcome the advantages which command of several languages will give them. They are more likely to resent any effort to restrict them to one or two languages than the necessity which requires them to study three.

15. We would reiterate our belief in the importance of a broad view. Such a view demands mutual respect for each other's cultures. It also demands recognition of the fact that any restrictive imposition of one language or two languages upon the peoples of Malaya will not provide a healthful atmosphere for community understanding and national unity. The unity of a nation depends not upon the singleness of tongue or simplicity of culture; it lies in the hearts of its citizens.

III.—MALAYAN EDUCATION AND CHINESE SCHOOLS.

Malayan Education:

1. The aim of the people of Malaya is rightly an ultimate Malayan nation. This is a relatively new concept, however, one which has not yet grown into a political reality. It is only natural that Malaya's educational policy should be directed consciously and consistently toward such a goal. Though care must be taken not to prostitute education to political purposes, education remains the most effective, perhaps the only possible, bridge between cultures.

2. In view of the changing society in Malaya and this ultimate goal, an educational system which is older than the concept must take new forms and directions. None of the schools in Malaya have been designed specifically for the situation in which they are attempting to function. Neither English school nor vernacular is the expression of Malayan needs. Both are essentially foreign institutions brought in from outside. The absence of an indigenous system and the lack, years ago, of understanding of the need for tailoring education to fit local needs made the importation of foreign educational systems inevitable. But past practice does not justify the indefinite continuation of make-shift institutions, and the people of Malaya must devise a new education at the same time that they are building a new nation.

3. Earlier schools reflected the practice and interests of such far-off areas as China, India, or the United Kingdom, depending on the origins and loyalties of their founders. The new schools must be centered on Malaya, in the setting first of Asia and then of the World. This does not mean that the British Commonwealth of Nations or China or India should be excluded. Because of the social, cultural, and economic ties of Malaya with these areas, such a policy would be unwise. All of the elements in the life of the country must be given adequate place in the curricula of all schools, even though the primary emphasis must be on Malaya.

4. We repeat that this emphasis must be made in all schools. The Chinese schools have been criticized for not providing a Malayan outlook, and steps are being taken by the Government and by some Chinese educators to increase that outlook. On the other hand, English schools in Malaya are still heavily oriented in outlook toward England and Europe, Indian schools toward India, and Malay schools toward a Malay nation. If a Malayan nation is the political goal of all peoples in Malaya, it appears logical that all schools should evaluate critically their contributions to that goal.

5. It is also essential that the new schools provide adequate and suitable preparation for all phases of life as it will be lived in Malaya. We have been impressed by the failure of almost all schools in Malaya in this regard. The narrowness of the secondary course and the fewness of the avenues for further training leave too many students with a sense of frustration and too many vital services inadequately manned.

6. For one thing, secondary education is too largely academic in its emphases and objectives. The mistaken notion that a senior certificate is the only respectable goal and the sad fact that it is the only key to so many desirable posts combine to create an artificial barrier against talent. A greatly needed alternative is vocational emphases which will constitute an integral part of the same schools. What we have in mind is not additional "trade schools," for invidious distinctions prevent many children from choosing such separate institutions and burden those who do with a sense of inferiority, but rather the possibility of having academic and technical curricula as equally respectable alternatives in many now single-tracked schools.

7. For another, there are too few opportunities for further study open even to the successful aspirant for a certificate, and practically none for one who has either not striven for or failed to achieve that goal. We do question whether the Cambridge examinations are a satisfactory measure of ability to profit from post-secondary education—especially if that education is concerned with many of the practical needs of Malaya. Success in post-secondary training for a useful life does not demand the same preparation as success in examinations designed to choose students for professional careers. What is called for is not lower standards, but different ones. We would also suggest that a great deal of creditable higher education can be secured in English without insistence on grammatical correctness and a pleasing style. There is need for many more avenues than are now available, especially such as will open at the end of English Standard IX or Chinese Senior Middle.

8. It is especially important that Chinese students find opportunities for post-secondary education, for they have been accustomed to doing so in the past. Before the war, Chinese middle school graduates returned to China for higher education, while many from English schools went to British and American universities. Whether or not this was always a desirable thing, it meant that a boy or girl with moderate means could, if desired, secure a college education. Now, however, aspirations are being strangled by political change in China and by financial controls in Malaya. Yet, if these aspirations are not met and if no remedies are provided, disillusionment and discontent are likely to result.

9. Again, it is important that the new schools should make use of new methods and techniques. For example, audio-visual aids have great potentialities for the situation in Malaya, especially in the teaching of language. However, it is our impression that little use is being made of such facilities as exist and that, in Chinese schools at least, that use is often inept. A more positive approach (in all schools) to the problem of audio-visual aids is clearly needed.

10. Such an approach would include a careful study of the needs and possibilities with a view to offering a practical program. In this, consideration should be given to the following:

- (1) the relative advantages of radio broadcasts and recorded programs,
- (2) the relative advantages of moving pictures and film-strips,

- (3) the need for integration with other classroom activities,
- (4) the possibility of securing or producing suitable materials,
- (5) the need for adequate guidance of teachers, and
- (6) the proper use and maintenance of equipment.

The size and importance of the problem would appear to justify not only support of the present committee but appointment of an audio-visual expert with time to devote to the task.

11. In this connection we would urge on the Department of Education the encouragement of original and unconventional thinking and a hospitality to new ideas from whatever source.

Chinese Schools:

12. Chinese schools had an enrolment of 202,969 out of the total of 564,972 students attending all schools in the Federation in December, 1950. Yet Chinese schools are at present making a not entirely satisfactory contribution to the life of Malaya. Several major criticisms are being levelled at them.

13. First, they lack suitable physical equipment. In many cases insufficient and unsuitable classrooms are crowded into quarters originally designed for other uses. Laboratories and apparatus are largely non-existent; libraries are usually a mockery. Playing fields rarely consist of more than a volleyball court or two. There are some notable exceptions, but the criticism is generally well grounded.

14. Second, they are in many cases academically weak and pedagogically backward. With the exceptions of a few outstanding institutions, they are by and large not offering the sort of education Chinese parents wish for their children and which, under more favorable circumstances, they would be so capable of providing.

15. Third, they are China-conscious to a degree that is not required by the present situation and that limits their consciousness of being a part of Malaya. Whatever the cause, the fact is that fostering of old loyalties instead of encouraging new tends to turn the child's gaze backward rather than forward. Commendable desire to preserve cultural values often blinds to the need of association with the community in which the child is to live and to the importance of participation in its development.

16. Of much of this criticism, thoughtful Chinese are as fully aware as are their critics. They are as desirous of improvement in equipment and teaching. Nor are they opposed to change. The schools have accepted the need for revision of textbooks, the necessity of teaching Malay; they are voluntarily increasing the teaching of English. Judging from the Chinese press and our interviews with Chinese leaders, we are convinced that Chinese educators are willing to co-operate with the Government and to accept changes to the extent that those seem constructive, reasonable, and within their resources of money and personnel. It is therefore important that there be full and sympathetic understanding of the nature and problems of the Chinese schools.

17. In the first place, they are not entirely to blame—if blame is to be assessed—for their own existence. They are largely the result of the absence of sufficient Government schools. Because of Government neglect, the Chinese were forced to establish schools for their own children. Indeed, they were encouraged to do so whenever any attention at all was paid to them.

18. In the second place, Chinese schools are an expression of two admirable qualities: Chinese love of learning and Chinese initiative. That there should to-day be so many schools, good and bad, resulting almost entirely from the enterprise of private individuals and groups and very largely without official aid, speaks well not only for that initiative but for Chinese recognition of the importance of education. These are qualities worthy of praise, qualities of great worth to Malaya.

19. In the third place, it was only natural for Chinese in Malaya to copy the school system of the land from which they had come, just as English schools are replicas of schools in the United Kingdom. Had they not used the same textbooks and availed themselves of the services of Chinese teachers from China, to what other source could they have gone?

20. In the fourth place, Chinese schools are justified in their feeling of neglect. Without implying that Chinese schools should have been treated like English schools, which we do not believe, or even that they should receive the same treatment as Indian and Malay schools, since their greater ability to do for themselves imposes on them greater responsibility, we cannot ignore the fact that the by no means inconsiderable achievements of Chinese schools are the result of their own efforts.

21. In the fifth place, had they not been neglected in the past, it is doubtful if they would ever have become so pro-Chinese or so suspicious of the Government. The fact that they have not developed a Malayan outlook is hardly to be wondered at, especially in light of the British cast of English schools, and the predominantly Malay (as contrasted with Malayan) outlook of Malay schools, not to mention the Indian-ness of the Indian schools.

The Need for Understanding and Aid:

22. The answer to the two criticisms levelled at Chinese schools is not, as some believe, the earliest possible elimination of these schools. For Chinese schools will persist in Malaya for a long time to come. Any attempt to crush them will result, as it has already done, in greater determination to preserve them. And Chinese schools in the open are greatly to be preferred to Chinese schools underground. They cannot be eliminated until the Chinese themselves decide that they are not needed, which will happen only if and when there is an adequate and satisfactory alternative.

23. That day may never come, for it is quite possible that Chinese schools should form an integral part of any educational program of the future Malaya. It is at least as accurate so to prophesy as to assert now that there will be no place for them. Academically and politically there will be little difference between them and other schools, and they will be open to all races. They

will be different from what they now are but good, Malaya-centered, Chinese private schools will offer a valuable outlet for Chinese initiative and public-spirit.

24. The answer is rather to recognize the need for the existence of Chinese schools, and to strengthen them and find for them their proper place in the educational system. The problems these schools face are aggravated by suspicion and the feeling of insecurity. As long as these feelings exist, no program, however well intentioned, can hope to succeed. It is imperative that suspicion be removed and that the Government and Chinese educators work in a genuine spirit of co-operation to correct the faults of the Chinese schools. They must be helped to conform more nearly to the ideal (not necessarily present practice) for schools in Malaya, and be given a sense of being equal partners with other schools in the task of providing for future citizens of Malaya the best possible preparation for life there.

25. We believe that the Government's share of this partnership should consist of (1) development and provision of more adequate and efficient teaching materials, (2) assistance in finding and developing more thoroughly qualified teachers, and (3) limited but effective financial aid. The first two of these measures will receive detailed consideration in later chapters; the pattern for the third, though it will be mentioned again in connection with the second, can be laid down here.

26. The following figures indicate the extent to which Chinese Malaysians are carrying the burden of educating their children:

Government-Aided Schools.*	Enrolment (1949).	Total Government Assistance (1949).	Assistance per Student (1949).
English Schools	67,266	M\$12,627,939	M\$187.83
Malay Schools	225,661	15,319,800	67.88
Indian Schools	38,743	2,143,879	55.34
Chinese Schools	161,006	1,403,259	8.72

Not only does some 90 per cent. of the total cost of Chinese schools come from their pockets; they contribute, through taxation, a major share of the cost of other schools, in which Chinese children constitute only some 15 per cent. of the enrolment. Moreover, they receive almost none of the assistance given grant-in-aid schools in the securing of land and the erection of buildings.

27. In view of these figures, it appears that increased government aid would not be out of place. Clearly such grants cannot be on a par with those to English schools or even to Malay and Indian schools. If aid to the former were matched, M\$23,000,000 a year would be required; if aid to the latter, nearly M\$13,000,000. With total Government assistance to education amounting only to M\$32,494,877 in 1949, no such increase would be possible.

28. Nor would it be desirable. We do not believe that complete dependence on Government support is something that either the Chinese should seek or the Government should encourage. The existence of private academic institutions is an

* In addition 72,296 students are enrolled in schools which receive no government aid: English schools, 23,461; Malay schools, 5,985; Chinese schools, 41,763; Indian schools, 1,087.

important requisite for the development of a free society. A free and independent Malaya must allow and encourage the existence of free schools, of which the Chinese schools appear destined to be an important part. To be free, such schools must be financially independent, responsible to the Government only for the maintenance of high, but not rigid, academic and administrative standards. We believe the goal for Chinese Malaysians should be the maintenance, as completely private institutions, of only such schools as are actually needed and as they can keep at a level of which they can be proud.

29. Yet some further Government financial aid is desirable, even essential. We propose that this take two forms: an increase in present subsidies which go to all schools, and concentrated assistance in spots where it will do the most good.

30. As has been pointed out, present Government subsidies amount to less than M\$9.00 a year per pupil and constitute only some 10 per cent. of the budgets of Chinese schools. Though the grant per pupil remains approximately the same as it was in 1937, its actual value has shrunk with a three-fold increase in the cost of living. Maintenance of the pre-war level of assistance therefore requires a 200 per cent. increase in present subsidies. We recommend that such an increase be made in Government aid to Chinese primary schools, with 100 per cent. being added in 1952, and a similar increase in 1953. These increased subsidies would make allowance for different standards and needs through a scale similar to that now in use. On the basis of 1949 figures, an additional M\$3,000,000 would be required in 1953.

31. In addition, we recommend that the Government contribute to improved instruction in Chinese schools at points where such contribution would be most effective. We are thinking not only of the training of teachers, which is discussed in detail later, but of Government support of a number of qualified primary school teachers who will be assigned to work in Chinese schools. Such aid would constitute both an expression of Government interest and very welcome and effective assistance. While it would be limited,* probably never involving the support of more than two or three hundred teachers, we believe that it would bring disproportionate returns in standards and in mutual understanding.

32. So far the Chinese have regarded all Government actions with suspicion. This attitude is in no small measure due to the fact that, so far, practically all Government approaches to Chinese schools have been negative and fault-finding. Present policy toward Chinese education may be likened to a torchlight searching into the dark corners of Chinese schools instead of to a sun bringing them light. There has been little constructive guidance and little aid. When help has been given, it has almost always been conditional, thus intensifying the atmosphere of suspicion. Future grants must be contingent only on educational, and not on political, standards. We believe that the following would be reasonable conditions:

- (1) appointment only of qualified teachers, as such become available;

* This point will be discussed again later in connection with teacher-training.

- (2) minimum standards for the treatment of teachers, including
 - (a) payment at prescribed rates,
 - (b) security of tenure, and
 - (c) some form of provident fund;
- (3) following of an approved syllabus.

What the Chinese Can Do:

33. To our Chinese friends we would suggest that there are many ways in which, even under present circumstances, they can set their own house in order. In view of the initiative and independence they have shown and of their natural pride in achievement, we are confident that they will wish to do so. No feeling of inadequate recognition and unfair treatment should be permitted to prevent the schools for which they are responsible from being anything but the finest they can make them. We here suggest three large areas for improvement which are not dependent on outside aid.

34. We would first of all caution against the danger of over-emphasizing the Chineseness of Chinese schools. There is no real advantage for Chinese culture in maintaining the forms, or indeed most of the methods and contents, of schools in China. The existence of Chinese schools is a praiseworthy response of Chinese communities to the needs of their children; the overwhelming consideration in maintaining them is that they should provide as good an education as possible. Such an education involves adequate attention both to Chinese language and culture and to other elements likely to make up the culture of Malaya. Otherwise, however, the best education for Malaysians of Chinese descent need not involve any of the characteristics of education in China.

35. One area for improvement is the elimination of foreign politics in any form from Chinese schools. There is no place in Chinese schools, or indeed in the life of the Chinese in Malaya, for China-centered political loyalties or controls. The mixing of foreign politics with education has not contributed to academic quality and has created misunderstanding for which the Chinese are themselves largely to blame.

36. Another area for improvement is the relationship between Chinese schools and the Committees which control them. Most Committees either interfere too much or too little. In neither case do most members have adequate understanding of educational principles. Since the average Committee has a very short term of service, usually one year, it is difficult to formulate and carry out sound and far-sighted policies, and headmasters and teachers lack security of tenure. Often much of a headmaster's time and energy must be spent in the undignified task of apple-polishing. This is a situation which reflects no credit on those associated with it and which requires careful consideration on the part of leaders in the Chinese community.

37. Another area for improvement is that of the handling of textbooks. As the result of inadequate salaries and lack of supervision by Committees, there has grown up the unethical and inexcusable practice, on the part of individuals responsible

for administration, of making personal profits from the sale of textbooks to students. Profits as high as 60 per cent. are being reported, and a headmastership can become a road to relative wealth. Competition among book dealers tends to encourage the practice; ignorance on the part of parents permits it to continue. In the interest of all concerned, bearing in mind the reputation of Chinese schools, the purses of parents, and the welfare of students, the question should be given immediate and serious attention.

38. One further area for improvement is that of competition among Chinese schools themselves. The tendency to perpetuate abroad the provincialism which has been so marked in China, while it is understandable, often leads to wasteful duplication of effort and contributes to the relative weakness of many schools. All too frequently two or more weak and academically shabby institutions are preserved where one strong and respectable school is all that resources justify. Committee members and other leaders would do well to consider the implications for Chinese schools of the saying that "United we stand, divided we fall."

39. We therefore recommend that a Committee for the Improvement of Chinese Schools in Malaya be formed by the Chinese themselves. It is possible that the Malayan Chinese Association might take the initiative. In any case, the Committee should be composed of qualified individuals of the highest integrity from among the Chinese communities in Malaya. It need not be a permanent organization, but might better be an *ad hoc* committee to deal with certain specific problems. Among these we would suggest the following problems:

- (1) that of foreign politics in Chinese schools,
- (2) that of the management of Chinese schools,
- (3) that of competition among Chinese schools,
- (4) that of practices which reflect adversely on Chinese schools, and
- (5) that of constructive co-operation with the Government.

40. It is our hope that leaders of Chinese Malaysians, instead of digging their heels in and resisting efforts to change the pattern of Chinese schools, will take the initiative in discovering the shape of the Malayan education to come. Whether that means partial conformity to other patterns, preservation of Chinese elements, development of new content and techniques, or as is most likely, a combination of all three, is immaterial. What is essential is that Chinese schools should seek not so much to preserve their separateness as to prove their oneness with all other elements in Malaya's education. If they do so, we are convinced that they will serve not only Malaya but their own best interests.

IV.—THE PROBLEM OF TEXTBOOKS.

In General:

1. We regret the fact that the problem of textbooks for Chinese schools is being approached as if it were separate from the problems of textbooks for English, Indian, and Malay schools. Despite conditions peculiar to each group, we believe that these various problems are so largely one that it would be logical and efficient to treat them as such. Our excuse for making recommendations in regard to Chinese textbooks in spite of this conviction is that the matter is so urgent that we dare not wait for the necessarily slower process involving the coming together of so many more minds. But we believe it would not be out of place for us to discuss briefly the common problem. We do so by suggesting certain principles.

2. The first principle has already been implied: that the basic content and methods most desirable for one group of schools will be, with relatively slight adaptations, desirable for the others. In other words, the significant difference between textbooks for English schools and Chinese schools is one of language rather than of content or method. Therefore, it should not be necessary to prepare four distinct series for use in Malaya. The nearer all students come to studying the same content, though in different languages, the nearer they will come to common thinking.

3. In this connection we recommend the early preparation, for use in the first six years of all schools, of a series of simple textbooks dealing with social, ethical, and moral values. In such a series, the Malayan boy or girl would learn that the shaking of hands of the European, the bending of the waist of the Chinese, and the touching of forehead and chest of the Malay are but different ways of expressing the common basic value of good manners and mutual respect. In it, he might also receive some of the moral and ethical teaching now generally conspicuous by its absence. English schools believe the desired results are achieved unconsciously in the classroom and on the playing field; Chinese schools attempt to fill a gap of which they are acutely aware through their so-called "civics" course. A common approach through a common textbook would further communal understanding and co-operation in building a truly Malayan community.

4. The second principle is that textbooks for all schools must be prepared for Orientals living in a particular section of Asia. This means that few textbooks now in use in any schools are entirely suitable. The major emphasis certainly must not be Europe. Neither should it be China or India. Nor should it be exclusively Malaya, for Europe, China, and India are all important for all Malaysians. Specifically, geography should neither devote three-quarters of its time to China nor relegate Asia to a few chapters; it should start with Malaya and move through Asia until it has covered the world. History should pay greater attention to world history than to the history of either China, India, or the British Empire; but it should not neglect

the areas from which the inhabitants of Malaya have come. The riches of Chinese and Indian literature—Confucius, Tang poetry, the Hindu epics, even in translation—are at least as significant for Malayan youth as are most British writers.

5. The third principle is that modern pedagogical methods must find a place in any textbooks prepared for any schools in Malaya. It unfortunately cannot be claimed that this is true of most of the textbooks now in use. English schools are burdened with books which were adequate a quarter of a century ago but to-day are quite behind the times. Nor does it appear that textbooks now being prepared mark as great an improvement as could be desired. The challenge is to do a job that is pedagogically both sound and imaginative.

6. The proposed Government Publication Bureau would seem to offer hope of such a common approach. If such a bureau were to serve simply as a stimulating and co-ordinating organ, well and good. We wonder, however, if it should assume any greater responsibility. It seems to us that ultimate responsibility for promoting and directing any official textbook program should lodge in the Department of Education, to be carried on by it through specialists within the educational system or temporarily associated with it. And we hope that private initiative will play an increasingly significant part in the production of textbooks which, while they may conform to a common syllabus, will not be Government inspired or produced.

Chinese Textbooks:

7. From their beginning, Chinese schools have of necessity depended on textbooks imported from China. For many years the major publishing houses of China have had branch offices in Singapore serving as distributors for books printed in China. Only comparatively recently have tentative steps been taken toward the production in Malaya and Singapore of textbooks for use in the Chinese schools of that area. Even to-day, the vast majority of textbooks in use continue to come from abroad, the major change being a shift from the presses of Shanghai to those of Hongkong.

8. These textbooks have naturally been those used in schools in China. From Primary I to Senior Middle III, boys and girls in Chinese schools in Malaya and Singapore have studied the same books as boys and girls in Canton and Nanking. Similarly, the curriculum of Chinese schools has followed the pattern set in China. With some exceptions, this was still true in 1949.

9. This situation has naturally caused much concern. Whatever can be said about the usefulness of such textbooks in China, it can hardly be claimed that they are ideally suited to the needs of Malaya. While textbooks are not the ultimate factors determining the political views of an individual, it is obvious that they may lead to divided loyalties on the part of people who are making a new home in a new land. At best, foreign textbooks do not contribute to the child's adjustment to that land; at worst, they may be the vehicles of ideas inimical to the interests of a loyal citizenry in a united Malaya.

10. Efforts have been made by the Department of Education to improve the situation by corrections, deletions, and additions incorporated in new editions. These have been directed toward reducing emphasis on the land from which the child, or his forefathers, has come and placing what he learns in the setting of the land in which he lives. In this procedure the Chinese publishers have generally co-operated, and the revised editions have been widely welcomed. With the exception of textbooks in history and geography, the present editions do not constitute a serious active menace. In the hands of good teachers, most of them can be considered at least harmless.

11. The results, however, have not been completely satisfactory. On the one hand, the Department continues to feel that more thorough revision is needed; on the other, Chinese fear that the ultimate objective is to eliminate China and Chinese culture completely. The textbooks themselves appear to reflect this strain. It should be a natural thing for a Chinese child in Malaya to know both about that land, the land of his birth and residence, and about China, the land whence his forefathers came. Instead, he is being baffled by textbooks which appear both to want, and yet not to want, him to know about either. Having been revised from a corrective rather than a constructive point of view, the textbooks have failed to present a natural and harmonious relationship between two interrelated backgrounds, both of which are important.

12. Textbooks now in use in Chinese primary schools are published by four firms: the Chung Hwa Book Company, the Commercial Press, the Shaughai Book Company, and the Nanyang Book Company. The first three are Shanghai firms with branches in Singapore; the last is a Singapore house. All four produce textbook series for all subjects in Lower Primary. Only the first two carry these into the Higher Primary level. The Nanyang Book Company publishes the only civics series.

13. The following are brief comments on the latest editions:*

Chinese Language: Revision lacking in thoroughness, with resultant lack of harmony between Malayan and Chinese elements.

Contents lacking in substance, failing to stir the imagination.

Pedagogically backward, insufficient attention to selection of reiteration of vocabulary.

Pictures Chinese rather than Malayan.

English Language: For comments, see Chapter VI.

History: Generally mere names and dates.

Treatment of cultural and scientific achievements quite inadequate; economic and social conditions largely ignored.

* Since the various series usually do not differ in content or approach, criticisms apply, in greater or less degree, to all.

- History—(cont.):* Material inadequate in quantity.
Fifty per cent. of contents devoted to China, 25 per cent. to Overseas Chinese and places and events related to China; only 25 per cent. to rest of world, including Malaya.
Pedagogically poor, encouraging bad practices on part of both teacher and student.
- Geography:* Unsatisfactory introduction to subject; too many place-names, too little attention to basic factors of climate, relief, flora and fauna, etc. Too much "what," and too little "why."
Fifty per cent. of contents devoted to China, 25 per cent. to "Overseas" areas, and only 25 per cent. to the rest of world, including Malaya.
Pedagogically poor, with no logical progression from topic to topic. No exercises.
Too few maps; such as there are, are so small and crowded as to be practically useless.
- General Knowledge:* Material abundant, but lacking in organization. A catch-all.
Occasional inaccuracies, as in pictures of Malaya.
Lack of harmony between Chinese and Malayan backgrounds.
No apparent pedagogical objectives.
Too advanced in upper years.
- Civics:* Material and presentation both fairly good. But inadequate indication of Malayan milieu.
Character-building emphasized. Public responsibility could be stressed.
Chief lack: emphasis on communal and racial co-operation.
- Arithmetic:* Generally satisfactory, both in content and method.
Units of measurement still too largely those used in China rather than in Malaya. English monetary units ignored.
- A Textbook Committee:**
14. What is needed for Chinese schools, as for others, is a series of textbooks designed, on the basis of the most approved pedagogical principles, to give the child quickly and effectively the facts of his background and environment, the skills needed for livelihood and for service, and the attitudes and ideals which will make him a creative and happy member of the society in which he lives. This goal cannot be achieved overnight, but now is none too early to begin.

15. To meet this need we recommend that a Committee for the Revision and Preparation of Textbooks for Use in Chinese Schools be established for a duration of two years, to consist of three or four experts attached to and responsible to the Department of Education at Kuala Lumpur. Its responsibility would be to provide, through revision, translation, and original preparation, textbooks* for use in Chinese primary schools. In so doing, it would pay particular attention to sound and modern pedagogical methods and to making Malaya the focus while adequately preserving a Chinese background.

16. In the choice of personnel, greater emphasis should be laid on teaching experience than on scholarship. Especially in the preparation of primary textbooks an understanding of children and an ability to interest are more important than detailed knowledge. Similarly, knowledge of modern textbook methods is of greater value than a Malayan background. We believe that accuracy in regard to facts and suitability for Malaya can be checked by others who themselves may not be equipped to prepare attractive and effective lesson materials. If a combination of all virtues can be found, fine; if not, we prefer someone who can appeal to children.

17. These experts should be recruited, wherever available, from practicing elementary and high school teachers who have had experience in the preparation of textbooks. Experience in China and/or Malaya and command of the Chinese language are desirable but not essential. Special competence in mathematics, natural science, geography, and history should be represented among the members. At least one member should be a Chinese with experience in primary education and possessing an acceptable Chinese literary style. He would be responsible for the Chinese versions of texts prepared in English as well as himself contributing to the planning and preparation of various books. Distribution of responsibility among the other members of the group would be determined after the group had had opportunity to appraise the problem on the spot.

18. The first three months might well be spent in becoming acquainted with the problem through visits to schools and consultations with teachers. These should include other schools than Chinese. The following nine months or a year could be devoted to working on materials. There would then be a period of testing of these materials in a few selected schools prior to final revision for publication. The result would be both finished textbooks and detailed syllabi to guide the Department of Education and other individuals and organizations anxious to produce similar series.

Recommendations:

19. We are aware of the size of the task and the fact that a longer, slower process would be preferable. However, the importance of taking some concrete, forward steps encourages us to suggest this bolder short-term attack. Education in Malaya is not yet at the stage where normal processes can be depended on to produce a constant flow of new texts. At the same time, we feel it to be the better part of valor to limit the task as far as possible to what is of greatest and most immediate importance.

* Exclusive of those for courses in Chinese and English, which are discussed in the next chapter.

20. We suggest the following table of objectives:

<i>Chinese Language:</i>	To be dealt with separately.
<i>English Language:</i>	To be dealt with separately.
<i>History:</i>	A complete new series, more cultural in approach and emphasizing World history while placing Malaya in its Asian setting, and doing more to stimulate and aid the pupil. No English textbook appears suitable for translation.
<i>Geography:</i>	A complete new series, beginning with Malaya and placing China in its Asian setting. More adequate maps and pictures are needed, together with interesting exercises. There is no English text for these early years which appears suitable for translation.
<i>General Knowledge:</i>	For the first three years, complete revision of material, to be organized logically and with Malaya as a center. Duplication with geography should be avoided. For the last three years, courses in Science and Hygiene should be substituted, possibly using translations or adaptations of the following English texts: Science: Tropical Library. Hygiene: Tropical Hygiene.
<i>Civics:</i>	No immediate change.
<i>Arithmetic:</i>	No immediate change.

21. It seems likely that new textbooks will turn out to be considerably longer than most of those now in use in Chinese schools. A hasty comparison is enough to indicate the relative brevity of almost all Chinese textbooks compared with similar ones for English schools. Despite assertions by Chinese teachers that the books are too long for students to cover in the time allowed, we are unconvinced of the adequacy of the material provided. We believe that any failure to complete a book is not due to its excessive length but rather to insufficient active participation by the pupil in the learning process. We find evidence of the truth of this conclusion in the existence of very lengthy teachers' guides to these brief volumes, and in the perpetual lecturing which assaulted our ears throughout the peninsula.

22. Another factor undoubtedly is that of cost. It is said that thin volumes must be bound as two or three still thinner ones so as not to involve too great an investment at one time. While we recognize the economic factor, we suspect that it is exaggerated in an effort to justify present textbooks. We would remind students and parents that, if headmasters' profits should be eliminated, they would be able to secure twice as much material for their money. And we do not believe that, with due preparation, Chinese children cannot master more than they now cover, especially if the increase is in helpful repetition rather than in unnecessary detail.

23. We have no fundamental quarrel with the system of teachers' guides as such, under present conditions. With teachers inadequately trained and reference books almost non-existent, some such aid is probably essential. It is, unfortunately, a necessary substitute for skills and tools which one day must be provided. Until they are, it is our hope that teachers' guides for new textbooks may discourage long lectures and encourage student activity.

24. One further recommendation we wish to make is that, beginning with books for Primary III, English equivalents should be supplied for Chinese names and terms used in the text. Though no emphasis need be laid on these English words, their presence will make easier the later transition to purely English textbooks.

25. So far we have dealt entirely with textbooks for use in primary schools. Books for secondary schools are generally supplied by the Chung Hwa Book Company and the Commercial Press. These are largely the same editions as were formerly used in China, though a few of the latter have been revised. English textbooks in mathematics, science, history, and geography are used in some schools.

26. We do not recommend an attempt at this time to revise textbooks for middle schools.* For one thing, not enough children are affected to justify the expenditure of resources more badly needed elsewhere. Of some 203,000 pupils in Chinese schools, only 9,014 are in classes above Primary VI. Of these, only 896 are in the senior middle schools, while over half (4,790) are in the first junior middle year.

27. For another, the textbooks in use in Chinese middle schools are largely not of such a nature as seriously to handicap competent teachers or to mislead students. The *Kuo-Wen* (Chinese) textbooks for junior middle schools, to be sure, contain a few articles by modern Chinese political leaders which deal with political and social problems peculiar to China and not suitable for Malaya. But, if preparation of the next texts recommended in Chapter VI is delayed, the substitution of articles by less controversial figures will be relatively simple.

28. More important, however, is our opinion that, with the increased teaching of English in Chinese schools, which is already taking place, and with more opportunities for Chinese students to secure higher education in English, there will be less and less use of Chinese textbooks in mathematics and the natural sciences. English textbooks can and will be used. It is also our opinion that, if good textbooks in history and geography, suitable for use in Malaya, were available in English, they could even now be used in Chinese schools, certainly in the senior years and in some cases in the junior. Until such textbooks are available, the present geography and history texts will have to be tolerated.

* Acknowledgment should be made, however, of the results of cooperation between the Department of Education and the Commercial Press in providing a civics textbook for the junior middle school. This is a very commendable effort, both as to content and as to format.

29. We believe that the experience of the Chung Ling High School in Penang points the way that other Chinese middle schools will wish to follow. There, only English textbooks are used in all subjects taught in the senior middle school, with the sole exception of Chinese.

30. Present Chinese textbooks for use in Senior Normal and Teacher Training Classes are quite unsuitable for the purpose of training teachers for modern Malaya. They are badly out of date; they deal with education in China; they are generally uninteresting. Better textbooks in the fields of educational principles, psychology, teaching methods, tests and statistics, and administration are urgently needed. It is possible that English and American works, either in the original or in translation, will serve in some basic fields; but it will also be necessary to have volumes treating specifically Malayan problems. The provision of substitutes for books now in use should be one of the first responsibilities of the staff of the Training Institution. However, unnecessary translation should be avoided, and the editing of new textbooks should be an inter-racial rather than a Chinese project.

31. The work of this Committee for the Revision and Preparation of Textbooks for Use in Chinese Schools is not intended to result in textbooks which will be regarded as final and definitive for all times. Not only is such an achievement impossible; it would be positively undesirable. Their work is expected to serve two main purposes. For one thing it is probably the quickest way of meeting an urgent need for better textbooks; for another, it will serve to blaze a new trail for others to follow. We would emphasize our profound belief that, in a free society, there must always be room for healthy competition and improvement. There must always be a welcome for any new textbooks which are equal or superior in content and method to those prepared by this Committee. Though there must be supervision of content, we share the abhorrence of responsible officials of anything resembling a government monopoly in the field of textbooks.

32. We are also strongly of the opinion that the Department's and this Committee's responsibility should be limited to the preparation of the contents of textbooks, and that problems of printing and distribution are best left to those who make of such matters their business. We would go even further to express our doubts as to the wisdom of British and American publishers attempting to compete in the field of Chinese textbooks, at least at the primary level. We believe that local conditions make the local Chinese book-sellers the logical firms to handle the new texts, just as they have handled the old. Because of their long experience and considerable knowledge, they should be consulted in the preparation of new textbooks and given an opportunity to participate in printing and distribution. They, on their side, will do well to co-operate more closely and to avoid wasteful competition at this time. We welcome the assurance given us by the Chinese Book Publishers in Singapore that they will do so in connection with any new series sponsored by the Department.

V.—THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

A.—The Problem:

1. No school can be better than its teachers. To this fact is due the poorness of some schools and the greatness of others. There is a tendency to place too great reliance on factors which, being material, are simpler to deal with: textbooks, buildings, equipment, and income. The first three are merely tools, and a poor craftsman can misuse any tool; as for money, it is of significance only as it makes possible the combination of good teacher and good tool.

2. The Chinese schools of Malaya are inadequately staffed, perhaps quantitatively, certainly qualitatively. Because of the growth in the number of schools after liberation, supply has not matched demand. Because of rises in the cost of living, low pay, and insecurity of tenure, many teachers have sought other more rewarding means of livelihood. Because of political involvements, others have disappeared or left the profession. Because of government restrictions, only a negligible number can now come from China, which was once the main source of supply. Though Chinese schools can console themselves with the thought that they are not unique in this respect, the fact of inadequacy remains.

3. Quantitative inadequacy is easily demonstrated. A student-teacher ratio of 37:1 is entirely too high. It reflects both the shortage of trained personnel and the inadequacy of school budgets. Financial provision must eventually be made for more teachers, aiming at a ratio of 30:1. If the number of schools and students remains the same, that will involve a 26 per cent. increase in an item which absorbs 85 per cent. of the average school income, or a net increase of 22 per cent. in overall expenditures. Such an increase can be met only by (1) more than tripling government aid, or (2) more than tripling private contributions, or (3) a 25-30 per cent. increase in fees, or (4) a combination of all three.

4. We doubt if an increase in the number of teachers is the best present use for such funds as may become available. The returns in effectiveness of teaching are unlikely to reflect adequately the amount invested. Furthermore, the difficulty of finding trained personnel for present posts makes it most improbable that these additional teachers can be secured in the immediate future. It seems wiser, therefore, to concentrate on what is the more fundamental problem—the qualitative.

5. Qualitative inadequacy is more difficult to determine, but of the fact there seems to be no doubt. There are some splendidly qualified teachers in the Chinese schools; but the average is not what it should be, and there are many who are seriously unprepared for their duties. According to figures for 1949, 60 per cent. had not completed secondary school, and only five per cent. had University degrees; 78 per cent. had had no pedagogic training. The unsatisfactory nature of the situation is recognized by all, both within and without the Chinese schools. The crying need in Chinese schools is for better-educated and better-trained teachers.

6. How are these to be provided? The problem has two aspects: (1) improving present teachers and (2) developing future teachers. Though not related, these constitute two largely distinct problems. The first requires prompt but temporary ameliorative measures; the second, a long-term program aimed at preventing a recurrence of the present situation.

B.—Improving Present Teachers:

7. The size of the first problem has already been suggested. Some 4,500 teachers have received little or no pedagogic training. Though it must be recognized that the hard school of experience has made acceptable teachers of some who have had inadequate formal preparation, the Department of Education classifies some 2,000 as unregistered, even on the basis of admittedly low standards. Allowing for the heavy wastage which will continue until conditions of service are improved, it seems reasonable to estimate that some 1,200-1,500 unregistered teachers will take advantage of opportunities for further training.

8. We believe the present three-year, week-end Teacher Training Classes to be unsound and largely unproductive. They are a make-shift, the life of which must be made as short as possible. We would like to feel free to urge their complete abandonment in favor of shorter programs of full-time training. But any satisfactory alternative involves such substantial sums, required to cover loss in earning power during the period of training, that we are forced to accept their continued necessity for the time being. However, they must be thought of only as a means of correcting an existing situation and not as a justification for the employment of additional untrained personnel. By the end of 1953 there should be an end to the employment of untrained teachers. This will mean an end to week-end teacher-training by 1956 at the latest, by which time unregistered teachers will all have had an opportunity to make up their deficiencies.

9. By that time there must be provision for adequate training of teachers *prior* to their employment. Most of this will be in the form of two-year and three-year courses outlined later. However, until the products of these courses are available in considerable quantities, there will have to be short, concentrated courses for academically qualified but pedagogically untrained candidates. These would take the form of three-month Training Institutes in educational theory and practice, and would be open to senior-middle-school graduates. They would result in recognition equivalent to that accorded on completion of the junior course in the proposed Training Institution. Two such training courses a year in each of four or five centers could equip several hundred aspirants for teaching posts. Again, these must be considered a make-shift, to be abandoned as soon as more adequate facilities become available.

10. Meanwhile, the Teacher-training Classes must not be permitted to carry on without improvement. More satisfactory instruction must be provided. This would be one of the responsibilities of the selected teachers who go through the National Institute described later on. Instead of being taught by overburdened teachers with full week-day schedules, these classes would be largely staffed by men and women who had themselves recently received special advanced training and who would be

allotted adequate time for these duties. If qualification has to be achieved through such classes, they must at least be in the hands of relative experts.

11. In addition to untrained teachers, there must be many registered teachers who would benefit greatly from "refresher" courses. One teacher touched the core of this problem when he said: "For twenty years I have been teaching in the same old way; I have had no opportunity to learn something new." For such generally older men and women the need is hardly less urgent than for the younger untrained teachers.

12. Refresher Institutes would provide these teachers with new ideas and new methods and send them back to their jobs with fresh enthusiasm and a renewed sense of the greatness of their responsibilities. They would not merely offer facts and "advanced" training, they would help to rebuild morale. The Science Teachers Institute planned by the Department of Education for August, 1951, is an example of what needs to be done on a larger scale. Similar institutes should be offered in other fields, such as Chinese, English, history and geography, physical education (given in 1950), music and art, and administration. Both the spring and summer vacations could be used for this purpose, and similar opportunities could be offered in other centers than Kuala Lumpur, perhaps in Penang, Ipoh, Malacca, and Johore Bahru.

C.—Experts—Local and Imported:

13. Any adequate program of teacher-training and refresher courses will require more resources of personnel than are at present available in the Federation. Not only is there a shortage of qualified instructors; all are carrying too heavy loads to permit them to undertake this additional task, though of course they will have much to contribute to its effective functioning. Reinforcements from abroad will be needed, especially in the early stages.

14. In this connection, we wish to emphasize both the necessity and the desirability of adding to the number of highly trained Chinese educators in the Federation. These are required for instruction in Chinese language and for work in Chinese middle schools, as well as for any teacher-training program. But there is a growing shortage of such people, and there is no way in which this can be met from within, at least, for many years to come. We therefore urge that Chinese be included in any group of educators brought into the country.

15. What are the actual needs? The answer will depend very largely on the use to be made of such educators from abroad. If they are to be used at the school or local level, the total can easily run into three figures; if they are experts and used as such, a relative handful can render effective service. We are opposed, on grounds both of practicality and of desirability, to a quantitative approach to the problem; we urge instead a qualitative attack by a few thoroughly qualified British, American, and Chinese educators.

16. It is not thought that these experts should be scattered about the country in an effort to have one in each section or even in each center. Few could function effectively alone in local situations. Nor could the group be large enough to provide

directly all the training that is needed. We propose, rather, that such experts as may be secured concentrate on the training and inspiring of local educational leaders and on guiding and aiding the development of local sources of personnel. In this way a relatively small group could achieve widespread results. Moreover, it would not be necessary to restrict selection to those with a command of *kuo yu* and would therefore make recruitment far simpler.

17. The first responsibility of these experts would be to hold a "National Institute" for a period of seven months—say from January 15 to August 15. A carefully selected group of sixteen teachers and administrators would attend. Seminar would largely replace lecture; visits and demonstrations would be important. So far as possible the group would live together, sharing problems and solutions both in and out of formal classes. Emphasis would be on fundamental principles and modern methods.

18. Upon completion of this period of refreshment, these sixteen educators would constitute four teams to provide training and refreshment in local situations. They would pass on to their fellow teachers the information and inspiration they had themselves received; and they would do so in Chinese and for generally less well educated and trained groups. For the next year and a half they would devote their time to the following activities: (1) Training Institutes, (2) Refresher Institutes, and (3) Week-end Teacher-training Classes. At the end of two years, most would return to classroom teaching or administration (plus some participation in Refresher Institutes and Training Classes), while a few might be called upon to help staff the proposed Teacher-training Institution.

19. Teachers selected to attend the National Institute would be supported by the Government both while securing training and later while rendering various types of service. If we assume the average salary to be M\$10,000 a year, the two groups would involve an expenditure of M\$160,000 the first and third years and M\$320,000 during the second year.

20. For this National Institute, we propose a team of four or five experts, recruited for from one to three years. These would be practicing teachers of elementary schools and specialists in methods. Ideally, specialization in several fields (social studies, science, language) should be represented; one member should be an administrator familiar with contemporary education theory. Knowledge of Chinese, though helpful, would not be essential. Previous experience outside one's own land would be desirable; worldmindedness, essential.

21. The experts from abroad would accompany the four teams as advisers in teacher-training during the last term of the first year. During their second year some would offer, with reinforcements from abroad, a second National Institute; others would join the staff of the Teacher-training Institution.

D.—Preparing Future Teachers:

22. Any long-term program of training qualified teachers for Chinese schools must ultimately involve a Training College. Such an institution should be the goal of any steps that are taken to meet present and future needs. We do not consider the proposed normal schools either a satisfactory temporary

measure or a move in the right direction. They would be junior middle schools with normal classes attached and, as such, would provide neither adequate facilities nor desirable atmosphere. Teacher-training must be established on a more substantial foundation and with greater recognition of both its nature and its importance. We urge that the present scheme for four hybrid institutions be abandoned and that the resources available be invested in a single self-respecting Teacher Training Institution.

23. The ultimate objective should be a Training College entirely at the post-secondary level. However, neither the present needs of Chinese schools nor the situation in the teaching profession justifies immediate insistence on such standards. For some years to come it will be necessary to accept something which, while short of the ideal, is the only practical answer to present needs. We therefore recommend that the Institution offer a junior and a senior course, for graduates of junior and senior middle schools respectively. The former would be three years in length, the latter, two.

24. Such an Institution should be detached from any secondary school, but should be located in a center where good primary schools offer opportunities for practice and observation and where outstanding teachers were available for advice and special courses. Penang appears to provide such a combination of facilities, though the site recently secured for the proposed normal school is quite inadequate. There should be boarding facilities for all students, so that community life may contribute fully to the educational process and to the development of professional *esprit de corps*.

25. From the beginning, provision should be made not only for present needs but for possible future development. This means a generous site fully adequate for academic buildings, dormitories, and playing fields. We have not made a detailed study of plant needs, but suggest the following as approximately what might be required for 300 students:

- 1 or more academic buildings providing:
 - 3 administrative offices,
 - 12 teacher's offices,
 - 18 classrooms,
 - 3 laboratories, and
 - 1 library.
- 10 residential units housing 30 each.
- 6 faculty residences.

It seems likely that these could be erected with the funds voted for the four normal schools. Since the funds available for equipment appear insufficient for laboratory and library facilities, it would be wise to seek special grants for those purposes.

26. The immediate goal might be an enrolment of 180 students, with approximately 120 in the junior courses and 60 in the senior. This would theoretically increase to 360 the second year and 480 the third, though losses would somewhat reduce these totals. Such an enrolment could be expected to produce some 150 new teachers each year, after the third. While this number would fall far short of meeting the demand, it would provide a very significant body of teachers who had

had improved training. It is not thought of as offering a complete answer. It would be but the first of several Training Colleges which must arise before the Federation's schools are adequately staffed.

27. In this connection we wish to make unmistakably clear our conviction that all Training Colleges must be non-racial and truly Malayan. They must not be purely Chinese, or Indian, or Malay. They must train all races and supply all schools. Their staffs must be drawn from all elements of the population. It seems inevitable that the language of instructions will be English, providing a common ground of understanding and opening up to all the greatest possible advance in their profession. Our only reason for thinking temporarily in terms of a Training Institution for teachers in Chinese schools is the very great immediate need of those schools which is not at present being otherwise met. It is our earnest hope that, before many years, the proposed Training Institution would be one of several non-racial Training Colleges.

28. This is not the time to lay down a rigid curriculum for the proposed training program. That will be the task of those who are to staff the institution, in consultation with the Department of Education and with others. However, it is perhaps not out of place to point out certain questionable features in the curriculum of the present "senior normal classes".

29. For one thing, the requirement of 33-34 periods of classwork each week seems certain to discourage individual initiative and to encourage an undesirable dependence on the instructor. A schedule approximating 25 periods a week would permit a better balance between preparation and recitation or lecture. For another, handwork, art, and music appear to receive disproportionate attention compared with the other subjects in the primary school curriculum. The sort of acquaintance with arithmetic, history and geography, science, and physiology which is enough for the passing of middle school courses is not adequate for the teacher of those subjects. Again, the division of courses in education appears somewhat artificial and suggests the need for greater integration in that field. Finally, the wisdom of introducing practice teaching near the beginning of the future teacher's training is open to question. While some observation may come in the second year of the junior course and the first year of the senior course, practice teaching might well wait for the last year of each.

E.—Staffing the Training Institution:

30. If a student-teacher ratio of about 15:1 or 16:1 be accepted as a practical standard for such an institution, a student body of 480 would require a teaching staff of at least 30. For the first year, with 180 students, 15 might suffice; for the second year, with 360 students, 24. It appears unlikely that qualified personnel, even for the first year, could be drawn from local sources, at least without serious strain on existing programs.

31. We propose that the personnel needs of the Teacher Training Institution should be met from three sources: educationists recruited abroad, qualified instructors recruited in Malaya and Singapore, individuals sent abroad for preparation for specific services.

32. The first group would be international in composition and temporary in nature. It would consist largely of individuals on short-term contracts of from one to three years and would be especially helpful in the initial stages before a more permanent staff had been built up. At least half of these should be Chinese, some of whom might well choose to cast in their lot with Malaya and become more permanent members of the faculty.

33. We would call the attention to the source of supply that now exists in the considerable number of Chinese professors in the Far East and North America who are either unwilling or unable to return to mainland China. This seems to us to offer too great an opportunity to meet critical personnel needs in Malayan education, not only in Chinese but in English schools, to make a rigid policy of exclusion anything but short-sighted. Many of these individuals are academically qualified and otherwise suitable, and efforts should be made to attract them to Malaya.

34. The problem has two aspects: one political, the other academic. The Federation is naturally fearful of permitting immigration which might bring into the country elements inimical to the orderly development of a Malayan nation. However, the admission of carefully screened individuals need not constitute such a threat. Care would have to be taken to eliminate people with excessively alien political loyalties and to admit only those who sympathized with the goal of an independent Malaya. Many such exist. For them, the process of admission to the country must be so simplified that they will not be discouraged in their efforts.

35. They must also be freed from the discrimination which now results from the Department's laudable desire to maintain standards. Insistence on certain specific degrees has lost and is continuing to lose to the Federation the service of many highly qualified educators. This has been especially true in the case of Chinese who have received their undergraduate training in China and or their graduate training in the United States. Especially for instruction in Chinese, a first-class Chinese degree is the practical equivalent of a British honors degree for a teacher of English or mathematics. An American Ph.D. should not be discounted because it has not been preceded by a particular degree. An equitable evaluation of academic training, followed by equal treatment, is essential if self-respecting Chinese scholars are to be attracted to Malaya.

36. Only if they are so attracted will the needs, both of Chinese schools and English, be adequately met. The proposed Training Institution would prepare teachers of primary schools. It cannot be expected to staff itself or to provide competent instructors of the Chinese language for either Chinese or English schools. Nor can the University of Malaya be expected to do so in the near future or in sufficient quantity. If Chinese is to be effectively taught, and particularly if future teachers of Chinese are to be produced in Malaya, it is essential that there be some addition to present Malayan resources.

37. The second group would be inter-racial, including if possible Europeans, Indians, and Malays, though Chinese would probably predominate. Though full-time personnel is the goal, some of this second group must of necessity be teachers in other educational institutions who would give part-time service. They would not only contribute instruction, they would provide helpful contacts with education-in-practice. After the first year, the National Institute might contribute to both these groups.

38. The third group is in many ways the most important. Though there should be welcome for any of the experts from abroad who care to stay more than two years or to cast their lot with other inhabitants of Malaya, a permanent staff for the College would depend largely on a constant program of training abroad. We wish to leave no doubt as to our conviction of the absolute necessity of such a program.

39. While such a program might well be, indeed should be, geared into a comprehensive plan for the training of teachers for all schools, we shall deal only with the needs of the Chinese schools. We recommend that, beginning if possible in the fall of 1951, and certainly by the fall of 1952, at least eight Chinese educators a year be sent abroad, for periods of one or two years, for training that will enable them to render more effective service in Chinese schools, the Training College, and the Department of Education. Upon these the Training College would largely depend in building up and maintaining its staff after the first two years. This program should continue at this level for at least three years.

40. Some of this advanced training would be given in American institutions.* Perhaps the greatest obstacle to such a program lies in the fact that study in the United States would not result in a "British honors degree." In connection with this program, we propose that the difficulty be circumvented by a definite statement by the Department of Education prior to the departure of the student, that a specific course of study in a certain institution is being carried out at the request of the Department for a particular purpose and will therefore, if satisfactorily completed, be considered an adequate substitute for the usual requirements. As a very tentative and flexible guide, we submit the following schedule for recruitment of staff for the Teacher-Training Institution:

	1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	Total.
Recruited in Malaya and Singapore ...	10	4	1	15
Full-time service	(8)	(4)	(4)	
Part-time service	(8/4)			
Recruited abroad ...	5	3	1	9
Trained abroad	—	2	4	6
	15	9	6	30

* However, provision should be made in each case for a visit in the United Kingdom on the way back to Malaya. Similarly, it would be helpful for anyone studying in the United Kingdom to visit the United States before returning. The resultant cross-fertilization of educational ideas should be of great value.

F.—Improving Conditions of Service:

41. We have outlined measures which we believe might, under proper circumstances, go far toward correcting the present unsatisfactory situation as regards the quality of instruction in Chinese schools. However, we cannot state too strongly our conviction that no program of teacher-training can achieve significant or lasting results without adequate provision for improved morale. Neither qualification for registration, nor refresher courses, nor adequate training will result in satisfactory service by unhappy people. We believe that any plan for improvement of teachers in Chinese schools will, in the last analysis, be dependent on improvement of conditions of service.

42. As things now stand, teachers in Chinese schools impress us as being unhappy and discontented, generally lacking that professional pride which is essential to the best teaching. Problems of existence and physical welfare consume so much time and energy that there is little left over for intellectual development or for creative planning. Many are trying to serve more than one master in an effort to support their families. Nor is there much incentive when the future is both dark and uncertain.

43. This situation is the result of several factors. One of these is inadequate remuneration. While beginning salaries compare favorably with those in other schools (with due allowance for qualifications), the teacher in a Chinese school cannot be sure of cost of living subsidies or yearly increments. Indeed, he has little in the way of "prospects," for there is rarely assurance of employment beyond the current year, and advancement is haphazard and fortuitous. Finally, he is without the security offered by Government pensions except in the few cases where he may participate in some provident fund.

44. We do not deny the presence, often in the most discouraging situations, of devoted men and women, some of them extremely capable. These deserve far greater recognition than is likely, or even possible, under existing conditions. What we wish to emphasize is the inescapable fact that a very considerable proportion of teachers are only awaiting an opportunity to escape from the endless treadmill of teaching. This explains the extremely high turn-over among teachers in Chinese schools.

45. Though a Training Institution, and eventually a Training College, seems to us essential, we are keenly aware of the fact that, under present conditions of service in Chinese schools, it is not likely to attract enough students of sufficiently high quality or to produce many actual teachers. So long as prospects and security are absent, few capable students will choose teaching as a profession; and any graduate of a training college who is presented with other opportunities is likely to seize them.

46. We recommend, therefore, that the Government make for graduates of the Training Institution such provisions as will attract students and keep them in the profession after graduation. While ultimately such provision must be an integral part of every school budget, under present conditions Chinese schools are not in position to make it. It can come only from the

Government. Even though they will be teaching in Chinese schools, it will be necessary for the Government to place graduates of the Training Institution on its payroll, treating them as it does teachers in Government institutions. These it would assign for service in Chinese primary schools throughout the country.

47. To such a program it will be necessary to set some limits. As we pointed out earlier, assumption by the Government of complete support of all Chinese schools is neither immediately practicable nor ultimately desirable. Government support of teachers in private Chinese schools must be thought of, not as substituting for Chinese efforts, but as supplementing them.

48. One limit has just been suggested—to teachers of primary schools. We do not propose such aid to middle schools because it is our belief that the Chinese themselves are capable of maintaining adequately all the middle schools the situation will justify. In the first stages of the program, shortage of supply will impose another limit. Not before 1954, when the proposed Training Institution will have graduated its first class, will there be any such teachers. Even then the maximum number would be only some 50, with 150 possible additions each succeeding year. Since it is possible that some of these may prefer direct employment by the better Chinese schools, especially if, as we expect, Government example and increased aid would encourage Chinese schools themselves to provide more satisfactory conditions of service, it is unlikely that the total of such Government supported teachers would exceed 500 before 1960. Yet another limit will be provided by the increase of Government provisions for primary education.

49. Rather than set an exact figure as the final goal or limit, we would prefer to suggest a general principle by which to determine the extent of this Government contribution. Government support of teachers in Chinese schools should be limited to making satisfactory conditions of service for all other teachers. Such a principle has the advantage of flexibility; Government aid would be determined by actual need. At the same time, Chinese schools would be protected from the threat of undesired absorption by the Government by their privilege of accepting only such assistance as they desired, and even of refusing it entirely when they were able themselves to provide adequately for their teachers.

50. We look forward to the day when all vernacular schools are private, with all Government schools, by whatever name, truly common in the sense that they provide a balanced Malayan education for all. By that time it is to be hoped that the Training Institution will have become one of several inter-racial Training Colleges, and that Government schools ("English" or "National") will have taken a sufficiently increased share of the load of primary education to enable private Chinese schools to carry their share more effectively. When that day arrives, there will no longer be need for this program, which will have served its purpose.

VI.—THE LANGUAGE BRIDGE.

Trilingualism:

1. Elsewhere attention has been called to the fact that many citizens of Malaya will need to be bilingual, and that most educated Chinese will choose to be trilingual. With bilingualism we have no quarrel. We know of no evidence to prove that it is either undesirable in adults or dangerous to children. Indeed, the evidence is in the other direction. Even trilingualism does not frighten us. Though too early introduction of all three languages may prove temporarily confusing, there need not be permanent harm. Provided too great demands are not made on the child, particularly at any one time, there is likely to be more advantage than disadvantage for the Chinese child in what must at times seem an unfair load.

2. We believe that, if a child's early education is to be in his mother tongue (assuming that *Kuo Yü* constitutes the mother tongue of an Amoy, Canton, or Hainan child), the first two years should be solely in that tongue. Beginning with the third year, however, a second language may be introduced. By the fifth year it should be possible, if desired, to give some instruction in this second language rather than in the first. Also by the fifth year it will be possible to introduce the third language.

3. Whether the second language for a Chinese should be Malay or English depends partly upon the difficulty of the language and partly upon the extent to which study of it is likely to be pursued. On both scores it seems to us advisable to begin with the latter. Not only is Malay an easier language to learn; it is one of which a great many Chinese children of school age already have some knowledge, gained from contacts with Malay playmates. English, however, is at present the language of most post-primary education. We therefore recommend continuation of the present scheme, according to which the Chinese child is likely to start English in his third year and Malay in his fifth. This will result in four years of English and two of Malay for all students of Chinese schools who complete the six primary years.

4. We doubt the wisdom of setting for the secondary years other language requirements than those now in force in English schools, which merely specify one language other than the language of instruction. For such Chinese middle schools as instruct in Chinese, there would be a choice between English and Malay; for those in which English is already the medium of instruction, the choice will lie between Chinese and Malay. Thus the Chinese student will continue to be academically bilingual (and conversationally trilingual) through his secondary course. The pupil in a Chinese school would therefore follow the following pattern of language-learning:

Primary School.						Secondary.
1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.	6th year.	} Two of these three languages
Chinese	Chinese	Chinese English	Chinese English	Chinese English Malay	Chinese English Malay	

5. However, the problem is not limited to Chinese schools. There are to-day some 51,000 Chinese children attending English schools in Malaya; and it is recognized that, if circumstances permitted, the majority of Chinese parents would send their children to such schools. Since many parents also desire their children to know Chinese, it is imperative that adequate provision be made so that the boy or girl of Chinese descent who prefers such schools may also acquire satisfactory mastery of Chinese.

6. It is also vital that the road be clearer and smoother for those Chinese boys and girls who begin their education in Chinese schools but, for one reason or another, wish to continue or complete it in English schools. Of these there are many. At present, the admission of Chinese to English schools is severely restricted by two factors: the lack of facilities, particularly in the early years, and the language barriers in the way of transfer at the secondary level. While the development of more English schools would help the situation, this is not a speedy or complete answer to the first problem and does not affect the second. It seems to us that any increase in facilities must logically be accompanied by such improvement of instruction in English in Chinese schools that the advantages of English schools in this respect largely disappear and transfer from good Chinese schools after the primary years is relatively simple and painless. We believe that this goal can be achieved and that the approach here suggested has logical and practical advantages.

7. At the same time, we recognize that this program will require several years before it becomes truly effective and that, even after it does, there may remain, especially in small and remote schools, a considerable number of Chinese young people whose primary education does not provide an adequate foundation in English. Certainly for the time being, and probably even in the more distant future, there will have to be some effective way of bridging the gap between a largely vernacular and only weakly English primary training on the one side and an English secondary education on the other. Here we believe that the answer lies in an adaptation of the Special Malay Classes now in existence.

8. "Special Chinese Classes" of one year's duration should suffice, since there will be some English-language foundation to begin with. The objective would be, largely though not entirely through subject-matter courses, to increase facility in English and to acquaint the student with English terminology for facts and ideas with which he is already acquainted. We suggest that these be offered at the end of Chinese primary six and prepare the student for admission to English standard five. While this would appear to mean a loss of one year, the fact that eleven years lead to the senior certificate while twelve are required for graduation from Chinese middle school would provide compensation. Nor should the single year put these transferring students seriously out of step as to age.

9. This suggestion, however, should not be taken as denying or precluding the possibility of transferring directly, without loss of time or special consideration, from Chinese schools to English. Such transfers are being made to-day. As

the quality of instruction in English in Chinese schools improves, they should become increasingly common. It is possible that eventually practically all secondary education for Chinese Malaysians will be in schools in which whatever their classification, English is the language of instruction. Direct transfer is the objective; transfer classes are a present and, on a small scale, possibly a future necessity.

10. In view of the unusual importance of languages in the life of Malaysians of Chinese descent, we believe that one phase of the textbook and teacher-training programs most likely to prove fruitful is that of language-teaching. We are convinced that the application of improved techniques by improved teachers, through greatly increasing achievement while substantially reducing the time required, will bring improved relations and significant bridging of the gaps now existing between different systems of schools.

The Present Situation:

11. Instruction in all three languages—Chinese, English, and Malay—is at present open to criticism. We have made no special study of the teaching of Malay, but we have encountered no evidence to suggest that either present textbooks or current methods are in line with modern principles of language-teaching. From what we have learned, we are inclined to believe that a command of Malay more nearly in accord with the desires of Malays can be acquired without exceeding the amount of time Chinese feel should be devoted to that subject. (We suggest two years as probably adequate except in cases where students may wish to pursue the subject as an elective in the secondary years.) We urge upon the Department of Education the importance of instituting a program which will achieve for the teaching of Malay in all schools the same efficiency we believe can be attained in the teaching of Chinese and of English. Such a step would go far to remove one cause of misunderstanding and friction.

English:

12. We have been impressed by the degree to which Chinese Malaysians not only accept the need for English but actively insist on learning it. This demand is motivated largely by obvious utilitarian value, but it also stems in part from a recognition of its political and cultural values. To them English is the logical and destined *lingua franca* for Malaya. This fact explains both the Chinese preference, in many cases, for English schools and their insistence that English be taught, and taught effectively, in the Chinese schools.

13. The teaching of English in Chinese schools seems to us to be in a generally deplorable state, except in regard to textbooks. With very few exceptions, we found instruction being given with antiquated methods and by instructors who had not yet themselves learned the language. The results cannot be anything but disastrous. Instruction in English simply does not, in most cases, provide the student with a usable tool, not to mention qualifying him for further education where English is the medium.

14. This is too great a problem for the Chinese schools themselves to solve, for it involves the adequate training of a large body of competent instructors. They realize the need but cannot meet it from within their own ranks. Everywhere, we found awareness of the situation; and, everywhere among the Chinese, we encountered appreciation of Department efforts to help. We share with them gratitude for the Two Year Training Course for Teachers of English in Vernacular Schools, which has been so hopefully begun. We believe that some such program should be pushed forward with even greater energy. The need is both great and urgent.

15. At the same time we would venture two suggestions, the first regarding methods and the second concerning textbooks. The first is our impression that inadequate consideration has been given techniques developed during the last decade or so.* Palmer, West, and Fawcett were great pioneers, but a second revolution, as great as theirs, has since occurred. The second suggestion is related to the first. We are not convinced that the Oxford English Course (or either of the other two series in common use) adequately reflects improved techniques. These were outstanding a quarter century ago, but to-day they are behind the times. Though above the average as texts now in use go, they simply are not good enough.

16. What is needed is a more concentrated drive to correct the present situation and to provide, if possible, safeguards against its recurrence. This will require (1) preparation of new textbooks and (2) training of teachers both in method and in actual command of the language. It is likely that an intensive English Language Institute may be necessary to provide instructors for an expanded training course if the process of preparing teachers of English for Chinese (and other vernacular) schools is not to drag on in a hopeless race against increased demand. We believe that several experts in the teaching of English as a foreign language should be sought from the United States to spearhead and direct this drive.

17. The problem is at once so urgent and so concrete that we advise an approach separate from, though co-ordinated with, the textbook and teacher-training programs as a whole. It can be handled by itself even if the broader program should for any reason be delayed. Moreover, from the start it should be concerned with the problem of English-teaching in *all* schools, not only the vernacular schools but English schools as well, for they too would benefit from improved textbooks and methods. Only if this common approach is likely to result in serious delay should the project be limited to Chinese schools.

18. We believe that the financing and staffing of such a practical and significant project might well appeal to some foundation or other private organization. We urge that suitable approaches be made.

19. Eventually, teachers of English for all schools must come from some common training program in a common Training College. For some time to come, however, the Chinese primary schools, particularly those which depend on one or two

* We have in mind developments at the University of Michigan, under Professor Fries, and at Columbia University and other centers in the United States.

teachers, will have to be content with instructors with a considerably lower mastery of English. The proposed Training Institution will have to provide the students in its junior and senior courses with some training in English. Such training must be in line with the spirit of this section. We therefore call attention of whatever group undertakes the task of improving instruction in English to this particular need.

20. The experience of institutions and organizations in both the United States and China, leads us to believe that more modern methods, aided by improved texts, can greatly increase the efficiency of instruction in English. It is probably safe to say that what the average Chinese pupil now spends four years on, he should be able to do in two*. However, we do not recommend that the period of study be shortened. We suggest rather that the post-primary gap between the product of the Chinese school and the product of the English school be so narrowed that the bridging of it, and consequently the transfer from one school to the other, will prove much simpler. And, what is perhaps of greater significance, the Chinese boy or girl who cannot continue in school after Primary VI will have a useful language tool.

Chinese:

21. The teaching of Chinese in Chinese schools has fallen on evil days; the teaching of Chinese in English schools is little if any better. Convinced as we are that the continuation of Chinese primary schools is both necessary and desirable and that the Chinese language must be given an honorable place (together with Malay and Tamil) in English schools, we find the present situation thoroughly unsatisfactory.

22. These are problems which the Chinese themselves might logically be expected to solve, but circumstances over which they have no control enclose them in a circle out of which they find it impossible to escape unaided. An adequate training program requires personnel at present unavailable in Malaya and which cannot be produced by any program dependent on local resources. It is this fact which leads to a feeling of frustration on the part of the many Chinese who recognize the unsatisfactory nature of instruction in Chinese in Malayan schools.

23. Again we are forced to recognize that help must come from without, and to recommend a program largely financed and staffed from other sources. We think in much the same terms as in connection with the teaching of English: a group of experts from abroad introducing improved texts and improved methods both in intensive institutes and in a long-term program. These experts and their programs would have to be financed from resources over and above the normal budget of the Department of Education. Again we urge suitable approaches.

24. In this case, however, we must go further and recommend the recruitment of qualified teachers (not necessarily specialists, but with adequate Chinese scholarship and command

* In this connection the experience of Yenching University, China, is encouraging. There it was found that a student with no English could be given as much in one year as the average student received in four years of ordinary instruction in middle school. Of course these were mature students capable of more prolonged concentration than are children.

of *Kuo Yü*) from outside of Malaya. Though much can be done to improve teachers of Chinese now in the schools and though some potential teachers might be recruited locally if teaching conditions were attractive, there is a shortage of personnel that can only be made up by immigration. Teachers brought into the country would need to undergo the same intensive training in methods required of others, but they would be potential instructors of high calibre, especially for the upper years.

25. As is pointed out elsewhere, the textbooks now in use are not dangerously bad in content. They are, however, pedagogically out of date and therefore ultimately unsatisfactory. The same texts as were used on the mainland of China prior to 1949, they reflect less the politics of the times than the educational thought of the 20's and 30's, when they were first produced and revised. They simply do not make use of recent discoveries and developments. This weakness is particularly glaring when efforts are made to use them in the teaching of Chinese as a subject in the English schools, where an accelerated program is desirable. They are quite out of place where streamlining is at a premium. There is need for up-to-date Chinese texts, not for political or cultural reasons, but because the present ones are not efficient.

26. Teaching methods, are almost everywhere, pathetically inadequate and even harmful. Sing-song repetition by the pupils and endless explanations by the teachers are positive evils, but in general the fault is an almost complete unawareness of the many methods and devices which improve pupil interest and teacher efficiency. So much progress in this field has been made in the West in recent years, particularly during the War, that it seems inexcusable that instruction should still be carried on as it was in China a quarter of a century ago.

27. Here we must add our conviction that the present treatment of courses in Chinese in many English schools is both ineffective and harmful. Failure to incorporate such courses as an integral part of the curriculum, offered in regular school hours and expected of most Chinese (and perhaps of a few others), is short-sighted. For one thing it cloaks the subject in a dubious legitimacy. For another, it drives students desiring such courses to the afternoon sessions of Chinese schools and so emphasizes their apartness. We urge that (1) every English school offer Chinese, (2) all courses be a regular part of the curriculum, and (3) teachers of Chinese be given equal status with their colleagues in other subjects, with due allowance for relative adequacy, not nature, of training.

28. Any program aiming at improving instruction in Chinese will need to couple revision of texts with introduction of improved methods. It will also involve actual instruction in *Kuo Yü* so that the Chinese that is taught conforms to a reputable and recognized standard. Our own ears confirmed the reports we had received of the poor command of *Kuo Yü* possessed by a high percentage of the teachers now serving in Chinese (and English) schools. The group spearheading this program must include three or four Chinese of considerable scholarship and with impeccable *Kuo Yü* for actual instruction in the language.

29. It is our firm conviction that modern texts and modern methods can double the efficiency of present instruction.* In other words, either the present time required can be reduced by one half, thus reducing the disproportionate amount of time now consumed in the study of languages, or a much higher level of achievement can be expected. In Chinese schools, we would recommend a compromise, reducing somewhat the number of hours but aiming at distinctly higher achievement. In English schools, we would recommend maintenance of as large a number of class hours as possible but a very considerable raising of standards.

Importance:

30. On the question of the best auspices and relationships for the Chinese and English language programs, we have no deep convictions. We recognize the important part the Department of Education must inevitably play. It is possible that, in the long run, the University of Malaya may assume greater responsibility. We see the necessity of considerable freedom for any functioning group. We suggest, therefore, that individuals be given a seconded relationship to the Department, but that direction and control of any program be left with the leader of the group (in consultation with the Director of Education, who will necessarily have to approve activities involving schools and government-supported personnel). With the University there should be such consultation as its personnel and facilities make mutually desirable.

31. We do not hesitate to urge for all of these language programs a very high priority. With the exception of improved recognition and treatment of teachers in Chinese schools, in the long run nothing suggested in this report is likely to do more to bridge present misunderstandings and to bring about happy and effective participation of Chinese schools in the task of preparing citizens of Malaya and of the world.

* There is evidence in the success of special accelerated programs during the War and of such peace-time programs as those at Yale University and the University of California, to mention only two.

VII.—CONCLUSION.

1. In its study of the education of Chinese in Malaya, especially in Chinese schools, the mission arrived at the following conclusions and recommendations.

2. The distinct cultural strains which have defined the pattern of life in Malaya in the past seem destined to continue to do so for many years. Any attempt to force unwilling fusion will almost certainly lead to further cleavage. What is to be sought is a peaceful and co-operative relationship based on community of interest.

3. An answer to the problem of diverse languages must be sought, not in historical analogy, but in the collective wisdom and consent of the peoples of Malaya. If it is recognized that Malay is an official language, that English is in the nature of a lingua franca, and that Chinese has important cultural significance, it will be seen that Chinese Malaysians are likely to choose to be trilingual and should be encouraged to do so.

4. It is only natural that Malaya's educational policy should be directed toward the goal of an ultimate Malayan nation. The schools of to-day, however, like those of the past, are essentially foreign. New schools must center on Malaya, in the setting first of Asia and then of the World. They must prepare for all phases of life as it will be lived in Malaya, and offer vocational as well as academic training. They must make use of new methods and techniques.

5. On the whole, Chinese schools suffer from poor equipment, inadequately trained teachers, and China-consciousness. Nevertheless, they are an expression of Chinese love of learning and Chinese initiative. The reasons and need for their existence should be recognized and they should be strengthened and helped to find their proper place in the educational pattern of Malaya.

6. Chinese schools also labor under the handicaps of suspicion and insecurity. There is need for understanding, constructive guidance, and financial assistance based on educational rather than political objectives. It is recommended that Government subsidies to Chinese schools be increased 100 per cent. in 1952 and again in 1953.

7. There are many ways in which the Chinese can set their own house in order. The chief areas for improvement are those of foreign politics, management, competition between schools, and practices which reflect adversely on Chinese Malaysians. It is suggested that an *ad hoc* committee be formed, on the initiative of the Chinese, to deal with such problems and with that of constructive co-operation with the Government.

8. The textbooks used in Malayan schools are really one problem, which should be treated as such. The basic contents and methods most desirable for one group of schools are desirable for all. Fundamentally, textbooks must be prepared with life in Malaya in mind and be based on modern pedagogical methods.

9. From their beginning, Chinese schools have of necessity depended on textbooks imported from China. To date, revisions have been made largely from a corrective rather than a constructive point of view. They fail to produce a natural and harmonious relationship between interrelated backgrounds.

10. What is needed for Chinese schools, as for others, is a series of modern textbooks designed to develop the skills, information, and attitudes required by children living in Malaya. To meet this need, a Committee for Revision and Preparation of Textbooks for Use in Chinese Schools is recommended. The local Chinese Booksellers should be consulted in preparation and given an opportunity to participate in printing and distribution.

11. There is also need for improvement in the quality of teachers in Chinese schools and in their conditions of service. To help achieve the first goal, a National Institute, staffed largely by experts from abroad and attended by selected Chinese educators, is proposed. These latter will then staff Refresher Institutes and Teacher Training Institutes. It is also recommended that eight Chinese educators a year be sent abroad for training, and that immigration laws be made flexible enough to allow a limited number of selected Chinese scholars to enter the country.

12. To help achieve the second goal, it is proposed that qualified teachers in primary schools be supported by the Government to such an extent that Chinese schools will themselves be able to provide equally satisfactory terms of service for all others.

13. Any long-term program must involve a Teacher Training Institution. It is recommended that the present scheme for four normal schools be dropped and that the resources available be invested in a single institution. This would offer both a junior course of three years and a senior course of two. Its staff would be international and inter-racial, drawing heavily at first on short-term instructors from abroad. Though concentrating temporarily on preparing teachers for Chinese schools, it would eventually become a non-communal Training College entirely on the post-secondary level.

14. It is thought that improvement in the teaching of language would prove extremely fruitful. Present instruction in all three languages—Chinese, English, and Malay—is unsatisfactory, and programs designed to increase efficiency are needed in all three fields. In the cases of Chinese and English, this report recommends two teams of experts to develop improved textbooks and to introduce modern methods. It is strongly urged that these language programs be given a very high priority.

15. The various programs proposed in this report involve the recruitment of personnel not now available in Malaya and the appropriation of funds not in the current educational budget. No effort has been made at this stage to work out detailed estimates, but the following tabulation provides an approximation of probable needs.

PERSONNEL.

	1952.	1953.	1954.	1955.	Totals
TEXTBOOK REVISION	3	—	—	—	3
TEACHER-TRAINING—					
National Institute	4	—	—	—	4
Training Institution	—	5	3	2	10
LANGUAGE PROGRAMS—					
English	2	1	—	—	3
Chinese	3	2	—	—	5
TOTAL	12	8	3	2	25

EXPENDITURES

(in M\$thousands.)

	1952.	1953.	1954.	1955.	1956.
TEXTBOOK REVISION—					
Salaries of Experts (including travel)	75	75	—	—	—
Operational Expenses	5	5	—	—	—
TOTAL	80	80	—	—	—
TEACHER-TRAINING—					
Salaries of Experts for National Institute (including travel)	100	100	—	—	—
Subsidies for Teachers who attend	160	320	160	—	—
Overhead of Institutes	50	150	100	50	—
TOTAL	310	570	260	50	—
Salaries of Experts for Teacher-Training Institution (including travel)	—	120	180	180	120
Other Operational Expenses	—	150	240	320	400
Plant for Training Institution	600	200	100	—	—
Equipment for Training Institution	100	50	50	—	—
TOTAL	700	520	570	500	520
Support of Teachers in Chinese Primary Schools	—	—	—	200	600
Scholarships for Study Abroad	120	240	240	240	120
LANGUAGE PROGRAMS—					
English Language Salaries (including travel)	50	65	65	—	—
Equipment	10	5	—	—	—
Overhead	20	20	20	—	—
TOTAL	80	90	85	—	—
Chinese Language Salaries (including travel)	60	90	90	—	—
Equipment	10	5	—	—	—
Overhead	20	20	20	—	—
TOTAL	90	115	110	—	—

16. The contribution which improved Chinese schools which are an accepted and co-operative part of the educational system can make to the future of Malaya and to the stabilization of Southeast Asia is potentially so great that the assistance herein proposed is considered an investment likely to bring rich returns.