



Indians Educators at the 1937 Tokyo Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations

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Summary

In 1937, Tokyo hosted the 7th conference of the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA), attended by nearly nine hundred foreign delegates, fifty of whom were from the Indian subcontinent. This paper offers an overview of the involvement of a few of the fifty Indian educators at this conference. The paper serves two main purposes. Firstly, it continues the author's work on Anakkara Vadakath Kuttikrishna Menon, one of the Indian delegates. Secondly, and more importantly, it urges researchers in Japanese Studies in the Indian subcontinent to collaborate on examining the writings of these educators, likely composed in the various local languages of India. Unravelling these writings – a byproduct of the people-to-people diplomacy between the colonial subjects of pre-Independent India and Modern Japan- will help us better understand how these interactions provided the foundations for present-day India Japan relations.

Keywords

WFEA, India Japan Relations, People-to-People Diplomacy

1. Introduction

In December 1941, Japan declared war on the United States and Great Britain thereby formally declaring its involvement in the Second World War. Four years prior to this, in 1937, Tokyo hosted the 7th edition of the Conference of the World Federation of Education with almost nine hundred participants from more than forty countries.



This paper provides a broad overview of the role of fifty Indian educators at the 7th Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) held in 1937. The author is surprised at the dearth of existing literature by Japanese Studies scholars regarding the conference held in Tokyo that was attended by three thousand members, almost nine hundred of whom were non-Japanese delegates and fifty from the Indian subcontinent.

The objective of the paper is two-fold. Firstly, this is a continuation of the author's work on one of the Indian delegates at the 7th Biennial Tokyo Conference, Anakkara Vadakath Kuttikrishna Menon. Secondly, and more importantly, this paper is a call to fellow Indian and South Asian researchers in the field of Japanese Studies to work on a collaborative project to search and analyze the documents that were composed by the fifty educators from pre-Independent India, most probably in the local languages of India.

Tracing the images created and disseminated by these educators through their writings in various Indian languages after returning to the Indian Subcontinent is crucial for understanding the role of people-to-people diplomacy in shaping the larger India Japan diplomatic relations. Additionally, such studies will assist Japanese Studies scholars in India contextualize the people-to-people diplomacy between the various regions of pre-Independent India and Japan, rather than framing the relations at a relatively amorphous national framework. Furthermore, it will help uncover self-reflections of the colonial subjects on identity and how they navigated inter-war spaces resulting from transnational interactions with the cultural other. Weaving together these individual narratives, whether in the form of travel writings or newspaper articles, will contribute to a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of the evolution of the diplomatic and economic relations between the Meiji Period and the interwar years.

The paper is divided into four sections. The second section examines the relevant literature available in English and Japanese. Section 3 provides an overview of the formation and evolution of



the WFEA, the organization that conducted the biennial conference and the various publications that are available of the 1937 Tokyo conference at the National Diet Library archives in the same city. The fourth section focuses on the records available in these archives and other sources about the Indian delegation before concluding the paper in the fifth section. The name, organization and address of the Indian delegates taken from the archives are given in Table 1 of the Appendix.

2. Literature Review

This section will examine the existing literature, written in Japanese and English, on the WFEA, the organization behind the biennial conference, including the seventh one, the Tokyo Conference of 1937; the last of these conferences to be held before the organization and the conference faded away with the onset of the second World War. At the time of writing this chapter, the author was surprised to see a dearth of literature within the Japanese Studies circles or in any of the works by Indian scholars in the field of Japanese Studies.

In the early twentieth century, especially during the interwar years, Russell, W.F. (1950) notes that there were multiple efforts in bringing together various local and national organizations or unions of educators in various countries such as FIPESO (*Federation of Professors in Secondary Schools*) in 1912, FIAI/IFTA (*International Federation of Associations of Elementary-School Teachers/International Federation of Teachers Associations*) in 1926. The WFEA founded in 1923 was the second of such organizations that attempted to do the same. Russell (*ibid.*) notes that the WFEA is markedly different from FIPESO or FIAI in the fact that unlike the latter, WFEA is the only organization that met outside western Europe.

One of the first references of WFEA, the organization that conducted the biennial conferences in question, is in a paper by L.A. Williams (1926), which mentions the series of events that led to the formation of the organization and about the first conference held in 1925 in Edinburgh. References to



the second conference can be seen in the 1927 paper by August. O. Thomas.

The onset of the second World War threatened the survival of the WFEA such as limitation in travel and constrained finances (Smith, 1944, p. 108). Willard. E. Givens (1956) gives us an account of how WFEA merged with FIPESO and FIAI/IFTA and became the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). According to Givens (ibid.), after the war, as a result of a two-week meeting held in New York attended by representatives from 38 countries, WFEA was first reborn as the World Organization of the Teaching Profession (WOTP) in 1946; continued meeting annually till 1952, where after deliberating with the European organizations of FIPESO and FIAI/IFTA, merged with the two and became the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP).

References to the WFEA has been made in the past two decades in the context of international education or internationalism by Goto (2002), Sylvester (2002, 2015) and more recently by Glenda Suga (2013). Sylvester looks at constructing a chronology of practices in the world in an attempt to trace the roots of international education, of which the biennial conference held by WFEA is one such example. Glenda's book, on the other hand, examines the history of internationalism at certain points in the twentieth century. The book, however, has sections that do a deep dive into the functioning of the inner workings of the WFEA.

Goto's (ibid.) paper seems to be the only one that places its focus on the biennial conference held in Tokyo in 1937. However, the paper is confined to the role of Oshima Masanori, the secretary general of the Tokyo conference. Apart from this, Heather Goodall and Devleena Ghosh's (2019) paper seems to be the only paper that at least peripherally mentions the presence of one of the fifty Indian representatives at the conference, Kapila Khandwalla.

Lesser-known people-to-people interactions between the two geographies, especially during the Meiji period leading up to the beginning of the second World War, such as the textile exchange between



Japan and India, or the influence of Fusakichi Omori, a seismologist, on the development of earthquake resilient construction in North-East India have been dealt in a recent publication in 2021 (Narasimhan, 2021b). However, the author, as of writing this paper could not find references to the Indian delegation at the 1937 Tokyo conference in this publication as well. One of the major reasons for this might be because, in all likelihood, the documents published by these educators upon their return to various parts of India might be in the various languages of India (and not in English) and hence inaccessible to any one scholar.

In fact, as mentioned in the previous section, the major objective of this paper is to initiate further research on these individuals and their contribution in the relations between the two nations by investigating the documents written by the delegates in their native language. The example of one of the fifty delegates from the south of India, Anakkara Vadakath Kuttikrishna Menon and his writings in Malayalam, the official language of the present-day state of Kerala, including a detailed travelogue -the first travelogue written in Malayalam of Japan- apart from writings in local newspapers about Japan (see 4.2) is a testament to the need for Japanese Studies scholars in India and South Asia to search for the existence of these documents written in the native languages of these participants.

3. 1937 Tokyo Conference of the WFEA

The origins of educators examining the discipline transnationally can be traced back to the middle of the 19th century. The World Fair held in London in 1851 had an education conference on kindergarten among other topics with representatives from Germany, France, England and the USA (Sylvester, 2015, p. 14). Sylvester goes on to state that these would become key events that helped educators position the discipline beyond the nation-state.

With scholars being able to travel overseas towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, Sylvester (2002) argues that concepts such as “education for international



understanding” or “global education,” surfaced, with educators studying the education systems and curriculums of these countries.

Syed Ross Masood’s report “*Japan and Its Educational System: A Report Compiled for The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam*” is one such example. The ruler of Hyderabad, then a princely state in India, looking for a non-western model of education had sent Syed Ross Masood, the Director of Public Instruction of Hyderabad to Japan to study and publish a 370-page report about its education system (Narsimhan, 2021a). In his report, he came to the conclusion that Hyderabad should follow the model of Japan's rapid modernization and that the key to its modernization lie in its education system (Hanaoka, 2022). Coincidentally, the report by Masood was published the same year the World Federation of Educational Associations was formed, and he passed away in 1937, the year the conference was held in Tokyo.

The end of the first world war and the interwar years saw the formation of various bodies that attempted to create networks globally. The WFEA was one such organization. A sixteen-page pamphlet made by the 7th World Education Conference Japan Secretariat (*Dai Nanakai Sekai Kyōiku Kaigi Nippon Jimukyoku*) - the group under the Imperial Education Society (*Teikōku Kyoikukai*) of Japanⁱ setup to organize the conference of the WFEA in Tokyo- mentions the events that led to its formation.

WFEA was originally founded as an outcome of a week-long conference held between 28th June and 5th July 1923 at San Francisco hosted by the National Educational Associations (NEA)ⁱⁱ. It was also here that it was decided that a biennial conference would be held. Originally called the World Education Association, it was during the second conference held in 1927 in Toronto that the name was eventually decided as the World Federation of Educational Associations (Teikoku Kyoikukai, 1937, p. 3). Japan was represented by none other than the famous educator Masataro Sawayanagiⁱⁱⁱ in 1923 at San Francisco (“First General Meeting,” 1938, p.3).and 1927 in Toronto (Kobayashi, 1990).



3.1. Biennial Conference of the WFEA

The conference of the WFEA was held seven times during its existence; the first at Edinburgh, Scotland in 1925, followed by conferences in Toronto, Canada in 1927, Geneva, Switzerland in 1929, Denver, USA in 1931, Dublin, Ireland in 1933 and Oxford, United Kingdom in 1935, and the seventh and last conference in Tokyo, Japan in 1937 (Teikoku Kyoikukai, *ibid.*). The eighth conference that was supposed to be held in Rio De Janeiro (Brazil) was cancelled due to political instability in Brazil^{iv}. Instead, a cruise with stops in Latin American countries was held in 1939 (Goto, *ibid.*) in Puerto Rico and Cuba and with the beginning of World War II in the same year, the conference and the WFEA came to an end (Russell, *ibid.*).

The conference had as its objectives, the following, (a) Development of education and teaching practices around the world (b) International cooperation amongst educational enterprises (c) Dissemination of information regarding the status of the development of education (d) Cultivating cooperation between educational organizations and (e) Promotion of world peace (Teikoku Kyoikukai, *ibid.*, p. 4).

Technically, the conference held at Edinburgh was the second conference of the WFEA since the first conference was held at San Francisco in 1923. However, since this conference was part of the annual summer meeting of the National Education Association (Williams, 1926), and most of the time was spent in deliberating on how to organize such a conference, it was decided that the one at Edinburgh, Scotland held in 1925 would be called the first conference of the WFEA (Teikoku Kyoikukai, *ibid.*, p. 3). For reasons of convenience, the author will be using the same numbering.

The first conference held from 20 June to 27 July 1925 at Edinburgh had 1600 delegates (Williams, *ibid.*), however, members from only seven organizations including the NEA and Japan's Imperial Education Society participated (Teikoku Kyoikukai, *ibid.*). Fourteen more joined by the time the second conference was organized in Toronto in 1927, thus taking the total number of organizations



to twenty-one. The decision to hold the conference in Tokyo was decided at the Oxford conference in 1935 (“First General Meeting,” 1938, p.7).

Since the membership of WFEA was concentrated in Europe and North America, the 7th biennial conference in 1937 that was held in Tokyo is also significant as this was its first conference to be held in Asia. The invasion of Manchuria in 1931^v and further aggression in China also did not lead to the cancellation of the conference in Tokyo. In fact, one of the major criticisms levelled against WFEA and the conference was that in its pursuit to maintaining neutrality, the association and its publications ignored the political problems of the times (Smaller, 2015). In fact, P. Seshadri one of the Indian representatives, during his speech hinted at such internecine policies of Japan and Germany (see 4.1.1).

3.2. Locating the WFEA Conference in Japan

In 1935, the Japanese government setup the *Kokusaigakuyukai* under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifically to facilitate the arrival of foreign students from countries other than China (Ito & Takiura, 2024).

Goto (ibid.) is both right and wrong when he states that the WFEA conference was the first time such an event took place in Asia. He is wrong in the sense that, as far as large congregations that assembled as a result of the growing movement of internationalism is concerned, the WFEA Tokyo conference in 1937 was not necessarily a new event for the city of Tokyo. In fact, more than six hundred and seventy-one engineers from different parts of the world had come to Tokyo to participate in the ten-day World Engineering Congress^{vi} (WEC) held in November 1929 (Sasaki, 1985). However, Goto is right, when we look at the qualitative difference and the question of representation between these two events.

While the WEC was motivated by the need for standardization in technical standards and management systems (Sasaki, ibid.) to improve efficiency and labour productivity, the WFEA had as



its objectives, the congregation of educators from across the world and across various levels of the education system and discuss on how to incorporate the spirit of international understanding through education. In terms of representation, the participation of teachers from the Indian subcontinent among other colonies at the WFEA conference is testament to this.

3.3. 7th Biennial Conference of the WFEA, Tokyo (1937)

When the seventh biennial conference was held at the University of Tokyo (then known as *Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku*/Tokyo Imperial University) from August 2-7 of 1937, approximately three thousand members participated (Conard, 1938) from one hundred and fifty organizations (Wallace, 1937) and out of this, 862 were foreign delegates (“Appendix: Delegates from Foreign Countries,” 1938) representing forty-two countries, and 2549 were from Japan (“Appendix: Delegates from Japan,” 1938). Of the 2549 from Japan, a few of them were non-Japanese nationals residing in Japan.

The scale of the conference can be judged by the number of staff involved in organizing the conference. Thousand two hundred staff including four hundred students were part of the various committees (“First General Meeting,” 1938, pp. 6–7). Since the participants travelled to various parts of Japan as part of the events organized by the conference hosts, this number represents the total member of local committees who organized the visits of the conference participants.

3.4. Publications, Broadcasting and Newspapers

Publications can be divided into two, those that were published in English and Japanese. In English, the proceedings of the conference were published in five volumes titled ‘Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, Tokyo, Japan, Aug. 2-7, 1937’. These were published in the following year, i.e., 1938.

The first volume is of significance for those of us in Japanese Studies outside Japan as the fourth



and final section of the Appendix has the entire list of foreign delegates and their affiliated organizations.

The author was able to locate the Indian delegates primarily through this list that spans forty pages.

Apart from these proceedings, the organizers with the support of the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan arranged sixteen radio broadcasts for listeners both within and countries and regions outside Japan such as the USA, Europe, South America etc. between 26th July and 8th August. An Indian delegate and one of the directors of WFEA, Mr. (Dr.) P. Seshadri's was the only person from South Asia whose lectures were broadcasted.

Within Japan, those who would have turned on the radio on the 30th of July at 11AM would have heard the Japanese translation of his lecture '*Education in India*'^{vii}. Outside Japan, on 8th August, a day after the conference was over, another of Seshadri's speech, this time in English, titled '*Japan and Her People*' were broadcasted to the Straits Settlements, territories controlled by Britain ("Overseas Broadcasts," 1938, pp. 127, 200–206). Unfortunately, no one in India would have heard any of these talks or speeches as there were no broadcasts for countries and regions in South Asia.

4. Indian Delegation at the 1937 Tokyo Conference of the WFEA

According to the last two pages of the first volume of the proceedings, there were eight hundred and sixty-two foreign delegates and (British) India had the fourth largest delegation with fifty members^{viii}, only next to the USA (479), Canada (84), Philippine Islands (62), and Hawaii (56) ("Appendix: Delegates from Foreign Countries," *ibid.*, p. 149).

In terms of gender, men (34) outnumbered women (15). This was not specific to India and was generally the case for countries in Asia (Wallace, 1937). With regards to their institutional, affiliation, a quarter of the fifty-member delegation (14) represented the All-India Federation of Educational Associations (AIFEA) followed by representatives from individual universities or colleges (13), schools (6), government officials (3), Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association (2), Sahitya Seva Mandir (1),



Khandke Education Trust (1) and nine delegates who did not declare any affiliation.

In terms of geographical footprint, the members represented the length and breadth of the present-day Indian subcontinent. 19 members were from the West; the present-day states of Maharashtra (14) and Gujarat (5), 12 from the North; from the present-day states of Uttar Pradesh (6), Delhi (2), Uttarakhand (1), Madhya Pradesh (1), Rajasthan (1), and Punjab (1), 5 members from the South; from the present-day states of Kerala (2), Telangana (2) and Tamil Nadu (1), 3 members from the East; all from the present-day state of West Bengal. Out of remaining ten, 9 members were from present-day Pakistan and one person^{ix} joined from Japan.

Out of the fifty delegates from India, two were officials of WFEA. They are Mr. P.A. Inamdar^x and Mr. (Dr.) P. Seshadri^{xi} who served as Board of Directors of the WFEA. Seshadri and Hidejiro Nagata^{xii} were the only two Asians amongst the nineteen officers of the association (“Directors of W.F.E.A.” 1938).

4.1. Indian Speakers at the Conference

To add a bit of context, the conference was structured broadly along two main pillars, General Meetings and Sectional Meetings^{xiii}. The General Meetings, addressing all the participants, were held thrice during the course of the conference in the auditorium at University of Tokyo in the evenings whereas the twenty Sectional Meetings^{xiv} were held in the morning in various smaller rooms at the university. Members from the Indian delegation have spoken in both these sections.

4.1.1. General Meetings

Amongst the twenty-seven speeches during the three General Meetings, there were two Indians, in fact, they were only two from South Asia, P. Seshadri and P.A. Inamdar. The three meetings were held on the evening of the second, fourth and on the last day of conference, i.e., 7th August. P. Seshadri and P.A.



Inamdar were speakers during the second and third General Meeting respectively.

P. A. Inamdar spoke on behalf of the Indian delegation and expressed the wish that upon the return of the Indian delegation, people in India would get to know Japan better and how it has rose to become one of the leading nations in the world (“Third General Meeting,” 1938, pp. 88–91).

Seshadri’s speech, however, focuses on international understanding through education. He emphasizes that there is no such thing as racial purity and that *‘unfortunately there are some people who pride themselves on the alleged purity and superiority of the race’* (“Second General Meeting,” 1938, p. 41). Seshadri goes on to say that amongst the various subjects, History has the greatest scope to promote international understanding. The prevalent criticism at the time that internationalism was *‘written as a history of political idealism above and beyond the cynical practices of nation- states’* (Sluga, 2013, p. 151) can be seen in his speech where he refers to this as an imagined phenomenon and that nationalism and internationalism need not be in conflict as he says *‘as a true patriot [...] If I am proud of the Taj Mahal[...] I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens’* (“Second General Meeting,” *ibid.*, p. 46). Seshadri’s speech can be seen as evidence of a growing aversion towards the fascistic policies of Japan and Germany at that time.

Almost three quarters of the representatives from India were members of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations (AIFEA). To put in context, various teachers’ associations were already present in India, such as the Women Teachers Association formed in 1890, the South India Teachers’ Union in 1909, etc. The umbrella organization of All India Federation of Teachers’ Association (AIFTA) was formed in 1925 and renamed as AIFEA in 1933 (Tiwari, 2005).

4.1.2. Sectional Meetings

Ms. Kapila Khandwalla from Santacruz in present-day Mumbai, represented multiple organizations at the conference; Bombay Presidency Teachers’ Associations, the All-India Federation of Education



Associations (AIFEA) and Vanita Vishram English School. In the 1930's Kapila had returned to India after finishing her postgraduate studies in the USA and this led to her involvement in the WFEA (Goodall & Ghosh, *ibid.*).

In Room 21., she presented her paper titled '*Women's and Girls' Education in the Bombay Presidency*' as the last of the eight speakers of 'Section 3. Colleges and Universities' held on 2nd August.

Kapila Khandwalla's (1938) paper was on women and girls' education in Bombay presidency with focus on secondary education. She talks about the need for education to be free and compulsory, which was not the case in Bombay Presidency at that time. She places the blame on India's political subjugation by the British. She has harsh words of criticism for the government for not spending enough on education, especially for girls' education. She also criticizes how the education system is not suitable for the people since the education provided does not link itself with the political and economic life outside the school and moreover, the teaching methods are unscientific. She also laments the fact that there is very little investment by the government, with the teachers paid low wages and the lack of infrastructure.

Mr. (Dr.) P. Seshadri was the Discussion Leader of this session. He made a remark criticizing the difference in curriculum between men and women in universities, whether the universities in Japan were truly autonomous like Oxford or Cambridge and that status of women in higher education is way behind even a country like India. While acknowledging that much can be done for the upliftment of women in higher education, he also stated that the paper read by Khandwalla does not depict the entirety of India but some certain regions. The reader should note that Seshadri's defense of India is not surprising considering he is representing the government and as the president of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations at this conference.

Mr. S. Bagchi (1938) represented Calcutta University. However, when the conference was held, he was already a research scholar sponsored by the government of Japan. He read his paper titled



‘*Commercial Education in India*’ on the same day as Kapila, however in Room 18 as part of ‘Section 4. Commercial Education’. Bagchi’s talk was not originally part of the programme, and his talk is short - just two pages long - as he was requested by Nagata Hidejiro (see Notes 12.) on the same day morning to give an overview of the status and the educational structure of commercial education in India.

Mr. Harbhai Trivedi (1938) was one of the members who represented AIFEA. At the time of the conference, he was the Principal of the Secondary Teachers’ Training Department in Kathiawar, otherwise known as the peninsular region of Saurashtra in present-day state of Gujarat. He presented three papers, one each in ‘Section 5. Educational Crafts Section’ titled ‘*Educational Crafts as They are Practised in India, and the Teachers’ Quota*’ on 2nd August, followed by a paper titled ‘*Four Fundamentals of New Education*’ in ‘Section 16. Secondary Education’ on 4th August and finally a paper titled ‘*Education of Women*’ in ‘Section 19. Joint Sessions of Home & School Section & Pre-School & Kindergarten Section’ on 7th August. Unfortunately, unlike Khandwalla and Bagchi, the author could not locate his photograph in any of the five volumes.

Similar to Bagchi, his talk titled ‘*Educational Crafts as They are Practised in India, and the Teachers’ Quota*’ was prepared on the same day as he was requested to speak on the subject. Trivedi talked on how educational crafts became part of the education system and adds that handicrafts are seen by most educators as a solution to the problem of unemployment, which he disagrees with and goes on to state that handicrafts should be given the same position as any other academic subject so that the student becomes a full-rounded individual.

Towards the end of the second volume, we find another person by the name of **Mr. F.L. Brayne** representing Government of Punjab. He was the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction in the present-day state of Lahore in Pakistan. From the records (Brayne, 1938), it seems that he did not travel to Tokyo and T. D. Bedi who also represented the government of Punjab as the Chief Secretary read out the paper titled ‘*The Better Village Movement in the Punjab and the Part Played by Village Schools*’ as part of



‘Section 9. Health Section’.

Brayne talks about rural reconstruction as a social campaign, about raising awareness of cleanliness, hygiene etc. in the villages through cinema, press, posters etc. He goes on to state that the lack of desire is the main culprit. There is also mention of how the last resort to solve this situation might lie in educating the housewife on these issues which might help improve the acceptance of these ideas.

4.2. A.V. Kuttikrishna Menon

Anakkara Vadakath Kuttikrishna Menon (1885-1972) was one of the fifty Indian delegates who participated in the 1937 WFEA Tokyo conference. He was the principal (1929-1939) of the Zamorin's Guruvayurappan College in Kozhikode, Kerala and was a representative of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations. While the five-volume proceedings of the conference available at the National Diet Library of Japan do not have any mention of his activities at the conference, he published works in the local language of Malayalam, the official language of the present-day state of Kerala.

The author has previously presented papers on AVK Menon and his works^{xv}. Since the focus of the paper is not him, this section will be limited to listing the works that A.V. Kuttikrishna Menon published after his return to India. He has published a 63-page travelogue with about thirty-three images titled ‘*Ente Japan Yatra*’, the first published travelogue written in Malayalam on Japan, and two articles in English in the college magazine in 1941 and 1939 respectively. The Malayalam translation of the two articles originally published in the college magazine is available in the travelogue. Apart from this, the author was able to locate three newspaper articles written by him in Malayalam about Japan in 1937 in *Mathrubhumi*, one of the most widely read Malayalam-language newspaper daily.

5. Conclusion



The author has provided the entire list of Indian delegates available in the proceedings at the National Diet Library in Table 1 of the Appendix with the hope that this paper will provide the impetus to collaboration by Japanese Studies scholars in India to investigate the existence of documents written by the fifty delegates from various parts of India in various languages such as in the case of A.V. Kuttikrishna Menon.

Mapping the images produced and propagated by these educators from India -who were also colonial subjects- through their writings in various Indian languages of Japan after their return to the Indian Subcontinent is vital in understanding how people-to-people interactions in pre-independent India provided the continuity and foundations for India Japan relations that revived after the war in post-independent India. Further, such studies will help Japanese Studies scholars in India contextualize the diplomatic relations between various regions of pre-Independent India and Japan. Moreover, such transnational interactions will also help us identify self-reflections of identity and inter-war spaces as a result of interaction with the cultural Other. Knitting these individual narratives, be it in the form of travel texts or newspaper articles written by these educators most probably in the Indian languages, will help produce a much more complex and dynamic perspective of relations between India and Japan.

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Appendix



No.	Name	Affiliated Organization	Address
1	Mr. P.A. Inamdar, M.A.	Director of Public Instruction	Director of Public Instruction, Idar State, Himatnagar, India
2	Dr. P. Seshadri	Government College	Principal, Government College, Ajmer, India
3	Mr. Jagat Parkash Agarmal	Meerut College	Meerut College, India
4	Ms. Qamar Jehan Jafer Ali	All India Federation of Education Associations	Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P. India
5	Mr. C. Anand	Punjab University	Railway Road, Lahore; Punjab, India
6	Mr. S. Bagchi	International Scholar, Government of Japan Calcutta University	Berhampore (Bengal), India
7	Mr. T.D. Bedi	Indian Civil Service	c/o Chief Secretary, Punjab Gov't., Lahore, India
8	Mrs. T.D. Bedi	-	c/o T. D. Bedi Esq., I.C.S., Punjab Commission, Lahore, India
9	Mr. Amrit Kumar Bhalla	Benares Hindu University	c/o Ganga Ice Factory, Lahore, Cantt., India
10	Mr. G.P. Bhawe	Fellow, American Geographical Society, N.Y. Normal School, Akola All India Federation of Teachers' Associations	c/o Normal School, Akola (Berdi), India
11	Mr. M.V. Dani	Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics	Sydenham College of Commerce & Economics, Bombay, India



12	Mrs. Dr. K. Lilavati	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Santi Nivas, Park Road, Vilaparla, India
13	Mr. A. E. Foot	The Doon School	The Doon School, Dehra Dun, U.P. India
14	Mr. Digambar Damodar Gangal	Maharashtra Griha High School	Poona Anath Vidyarthi Griha, Poona 2, India
15	Dr. N.N. Godbole	Hindu University	Hindu University Benares, India
16	Mr. C.L. Gupta	-	The Capital Science . Laboratory Works, Delhi, India
17	Mr. Khem Chand Gupta	-	The Capital Science . Laboratory Works, Delhi, India
18	Mr. P.D. Gupta	N.R.E.C. College	N.R.E.C. College, Khurja, India
19	Mrs. P.A. Inamdar	-	Department of Public Instruction, Idar State, Himatnagar, India
20	Mrs. G. Jamaluddin	Model School	Public Gardens, Hyderabad, Dn., India
21	Mr. Syed Zahiruddin Jamaluddin	-	Public Gardens, Hyderabad, Dn., India
22	Mrs. Indira Joshi	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Vanita Vishram English School, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4, India
23	Mr. Nand Kavi	Sahitya Seva Mandir[r?]	H.A. Desai Wadi Bhuleswar, Bombay 2, India



24	Dr. Gajanan S. Khair	Bombay Presidency Secondary Teachers' Conference Head Masters and Education Officers M. Club All-India Federation of Educational Associations Poona Secondary Teachers' Association	Poona Anath Vidyarthi Griha's Maharashtra High School, 624 So[a]dashiv, Poona City, India
25	Mr. Shanker Mukund Khandke	Khandke Education Trust	32 Walkeshwar, Bombay, India
26	Ms. Kapila Khandwalla	Bombay Presidency Teachers' Associations Vanita Vishram English School All-India Federation of Education Associations	22 B. Willingdon Colony, Santacruz, Bombay, India
27	Mrs. Lila Khandwalla	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Mohan Villa 2nd Hasanabad Lane, Santacruz, Bombay, India
28	Mr. N.H. Kotak	-	79, 4-chome, Nakagamate-dori, Kobe
29	Mrs. Vidya Wati Lal	-	5 Ferozepore Road, Lab[h?]ore, India
30	Mr. D.P. Mayor	-	Jullence, Punjab, India
31	Mr. A.V. Govinda Menon	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Anakkara, South Malabar, Madras Presidency, India
32	Mr. A.V. Kutti Krishna Menon	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Zamorin's College, Calicut, Malabar, India
33	Mr. J.D. Mody	The Proprietary High School	The Proprietary High School, Ahmedabad, India
34	Ms. Sybil McMannes	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Old Dindigul Road, Madura, South India



35	Mr. Kalidas Nag	Dr. Tagores International University Greater Indian Society	University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India
36	Mr. Lekh Raj	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Saharanpur, India
37	Mrs. Lekh Raj	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Saharanpur, India
38	Mr. Kharati Ram	Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar	Inside Lohgarh Gate, Amritsar, India
39	Mr. S.S. Roy	Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta	c/o Mr. S. Bagchi, Berhampore (Bengal), India
40	Mr. B.V. Samarth	All India Federation of Educational Associations	250 Matunga-Dadar Extension, Bombay 19, India
41	Mrs. Nirmala M. Samarth	All India Federation of Educational Associations	250 Dadar-Matunga Estate, Bombay 19, India
42	Mr. O.P. Seth	Benares Hindu University	c/o Professor R. B. Seth, Government College, Lyallpur, Punjab, India
43	Mr. R.B. Seth	Government College Lyallpur	Government College, Lyallpur, Punjab, India
44	Dr. G.M.D Sufi	Educational Service	Jubbulpore, Central Provinces, India
45	Mr. G.G. Thakker	Santan Dhauma High School	Panvadi Road, Bhavnagar, India
46	Mr. Harbhai Trivedi	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Daxinamurty Vinaya Mandir, Bhavnagar, India



47	Ms. Najoo Wadia	All India Federation of Educational Associations	Vanita-Vishram English School, Olympia, Warden Road, Bombay, India
48	Mrs. S.B. Yodh	All India Federation of Educational Associations	c/o Dr. B. B. Yodh, 5 Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, India
49	Mr. F.L. Brayne	Government of Punjab	Commissioner, Rural Reconstruction, Punjab, Lahore India
50	?Unknown?	?Unknown?	?Unknown?

Table 1. Prepared by the author based on the list of participants available in the first volume.

Notes

ⁱ The Imperial Education Association was established in 1896 as an umbrella organization of teachers across Japan. The association also organized education associations at the prefectural and sub-prefectural levels. (JICA, 2004)

ⁱⁱ Founded in 1857 as the National Teachers Association, the organization got its present name, the National Education Association, in 1870 (NEA, n.d.).

ⁱⁱⁱ Director of Education between 1899 and 1906 and then promoted to Vice Minister of Education till 1908, Sawayanagi Masataro (1865-1937) was nominated as the President of the Imperial Association of Education and was involved in the liberal education movement in Japan through his founding of Seijo Elementary School. He is also well known in Japan for introducing the Revised Elementary School Code of 1900 and the infamous 1914 Sawayanagi Incident where he discharged seven professors on grounds of incompetence during his time as the President of the Kyoto University.

^{iv} Known as the Estado Novo coup, this was a coup d'état by Getúlio Vargas with the support of the military in 1937.

^v Four months after the conference, the Imperial Japanese Army would carry out the infamous Nanjing Massacre.

^{vi} Proceedings in the form of 39 volumes were published two years later in 1931. Out of the 279 organizations that the participants represented, 230 were non-Japanese and the event saw 4495 participants, including 1285 foreigners from 43 countries. However, there was no representation from



the Indian subcontinent (World Engineering Congress, 1931).

^{vii} Translated by Taiichiro Sato (“Home Broadcasts,” 1938, p. 125,153).

^{viii} The author could not identify the name or any details of one delegate, serial number 50 in Table 1 in Appendix.

^{ix} N.H. Kotak from Nakagamate-dori, Kobe.

^x Mr. P.A. Inamdar was the Director of Public Instruction and Archaeology in Idar State, formerly a princely state that has become part of present-day Gujarat, a state in West India. One of his works published by the Department of Archaeology, Idar State in 1936 is titled ‘Some Archaeological Finds In The Idar State’. (Inamdar, 1936) Inamdar’s findings at Devinmori in the present-day state in West India, Gujarat led to the further exploration in the 1960s of the area. The explorations established the existence of 24 buddha images and early historic settlement in the 2nd-4th century CE. (Ahluwalia, 2023)

^{xi} Mr. P. Seshadri was the principal at the Government College in Ajmer and a well-known educationist (Staff, 2011). A road in Mylapore in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu is named after him. Incidentally his wife, Rajalakshmi Seshadri shifted to Mylapore in 1942 soon after his death (Staff, *ibid.*). One of his works published by The Indian Press in 1935 for students of the intermediate education in Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior is titled ‘Selections In Prose (for Intermediate Classes)’ (Seshadri, 1935). At the time of the conference, he was the president of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations and served on the ‘Educational Experts Committee’ setup by the League of Nations in Geneva to consider ideas on how to promote international understanding through education (“Second General Meeting,” 1938, p. 43).

^{xii} Twice the mayor of Tokyo, Hidejiro Nagata held various influential positions. He was the chairperson of the Imperial Education Society and one of three vice-presidents of WFEA at the time of the Tokyo WFEA conference.

^{xiii} General Meetings were held from 8PM, whereas the Sectional Meetings were held in the morning from 9-12, except on the first day of the conference, i.e., 2nd August where it was held from 10:30-12:30 (“Schedule of Sectional Meetings,” 1938).

^{xiv} Almost all the twenty Sections were held over two days except the following seven; Elementary Education, Visual Education, Health, Herman-Jordan, Science & Science Teaching, which were 3 days each, and one day each for Pre-School & Kindergarten and Joint Health, Rural Education. Further, one session each of Broadcasting, Visual Education and Science & Science Teaching were held at the Meiji Seimei building, a few kilometres south of the university (“Schedule of Sectional Meetings,” 1938). Film Demonstrations were held at this building. Incidentally, this building completed a mere three years before the conference still stands to this day after surviving the WWII bombings and was the first building of the Showa-era to be listed as a National Important Cultural Property.



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^{xv} The author has presented papers on Anakkara Vadamkath Kuttikrishnan Menon at various forums, such as the East Asia Forum (Higashi Ajia Forum) jointly organized by Soochow University & Chengchi University in 2019 and more recently at the 'Japanese Studies in India and South Asia: A New Integration' conference organized by the Centre of Japanese Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2022. He is currently working on an English and Japanese translation of the travelogue.