and decide definitely whether it should be approved or not. On the basis of this decision, Japan should redouble its efforts for increasing coal production in response to SCAP's advice."

Views of the Japan Federation of Industries

Following a special meeting, reported in NISSANKYO GEPPO, the board of directors of the Japan Federation of Industries published a written opinion regarding the proper form in which coal mining legislation should be cast. The principal points of this opinion were as follows:

"In regard to the fundamental principles of coal mining legislation, one characteristic must be accentuation of production of better grades of coal as well as total output. No time should be lost in solving the difficulties which stand in the way of preparing for State administration.

"According to the present bill, every managing structure is placed under an 'Administrative Committee' in order to democratize management and to realize an organization uniting capital and labor, the Government, and the people. The Federation, however, aims at the establishment of autonomous organizations, both central and local, which will deliberate and decide on production plans and policies. The Federation plan falls midway between the proposal of the Socialits (which attempts to make the 'Administrative Committee' an executive body for administration) and the proposal of the Democratic Party, the Economic Stabilization Board, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, which attempts to make the 'Administration Committee' a consultative body."

Regarding the make-up of the Administration Committee: "The Democratic Party proposes to limit the membership, in principle, to those engaged in the coal business; while the Socialists propose the inclusion of all who have any connection with the industry. The Federation goes a step further, while favoring the latter plan, by suggesting the addition of representatives of the general consumers. Further, the Federation stresses that the 'Administration Committee' is not only a court of judgment concerning the interests of capital and labor, but also is a deliberative body, both authoritative and technical.

"While other bills touch lightly on the establishment of a public corporation which should be charged with production problems dealing with materials and also with management of coal mines controlled directly by the Government, the Federation of Industries suggests separation of these functions, on the grounds that such a corporation should have different branches for maximum efficiency. Further, the Federation insists on separation of the corporation from the Government structure, in order to avoid any taint of bureaucracy, and urges democratization of its officers and minor officials."

Production Problems

Not all writing is done in controversy over the pending legislation. A number of economists are concerned with the actualities of production under present circumstances, with only passing reference to the State control bill. Ryozo Isahaya writes in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO; "It is my opinion that State control of coal mining may be entirely justifiable for the current economic situation from the theoretical standpoint, but the real effect of State control, as demonstrated by past experiences in various fields, is problematical.

"For increased coal output, the Government should adopt the following positive measures: 1) opening of new seams and mines; 2) developing of the unmined pits in presently opened seams; and 3) further development of old and operating mines."

In respect to the first measure, this writer urges the Government to carry out scientific investigation and research for the discovery of new seams throughout the country, and to render the necessary positive aid to enterprisers. His principal emphasis is laid on the second proposal: "The old and operating mines are well equipped, and the further development of unmined pits in presently opened seams will provide an easy and immediate

increase in the production of coal. Government authorities should, therefore, make every effort to develop these standing resources."

As regards the third measure, Isahaya exhorts the Government to supply the necessary materials without delay, stating: "The further development of the old mines should be carried on as the direct responsibility of the enterprisers concerned."

Bottlenecks of coal production are reviewed by Tameji Kawakami, of the Coal Board, writing in SENKEN KEIZAI. Commenting on the necessity for attainment of production goals, Kawakami expresses optimism for the future. But difficulties are summarized: "The greatest cause for previous inability to reach scheduled production was that the full effects of the sliding production system took some time to be felt. Thus, the priority allocation of steel to the coal industry did not show full effect until July, at which time the majority of quotas were met 100 percent or better. Other factors were: 1) the method of allocation of materials, which forced a number of smaller operators into reduced production due to shortages; 2) the food problem, which reduced the will and ability of the miners to work; 3) the prolonged delay in setting the official price of coal; 4) the shortage of working capital; and 5) the reduction in the number of miners. At present there is a sufficient supply of labor from point of numbers, but the shortage of skilled labor still exists, and a period of years may elapse before the present new and unskilled labor will reach peak efficiency.

"Such are the causes of the past bottleneck. However, the attainment of the scheduled goal of 30,000,000 tons is the key to the economic recovery of Japan, and recent production figures indicate that hope exists for realization of the desired output. On this rests our hope for the future prospects of Japanese economy."

Sources: (Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

CHUO KORON, 50,000, Keizo Kojima; DAIAMONDO, 20,000, one staff article; NIPPON KEIZAI JOHO, 10,000, one staff article, NISSANKYO GEPPO, 7,000, one staff article; RODO SHUHO, 3,000, one staff article; SENKEN KEIZAI, 2,100, Tameji Kawakami; SHAKAI SHICHO, 15,000, Kanju Kato, Etsujiro Uehara; THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 2,000, two staff articles; TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, Ryozo Isahaya, one staff article. *Where Available.

Four other articles were used, but not directly quoted, in this analysis, which is based on articles published in August through October, 1947.

These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with the Coal Industry

Coal, Pub. Anal. No.104, 6 June 1947.
Production figures, labor-management relations, nationalization of the mines, individual enterprises.

Nationalization in the Coal and Fertilizer Industries, Pub. Anal. No.70, 10 Sept. 1946.
Discusses nationalization of the coal industry.

Labor and Industry, Pub. Anal. No.64, 26 July 1946.
Contains a discussion of production control and of coal mines in Hokkaido.

Production Control by Labor, Pub. Anal. No.40, 15 May 1946.
Efforts of labor to share in production control, and tendency toward nationalization of the coal industry.

State Control of Coal Mines, Pub. Anal. No.117, 20 Sept. 1947.
A presentation of different views on the proposed nationalization of the coal industry in Japan, based upon magazine comment during the period from June to August, 1947.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
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PUBLICATION ANALYSIS, 7 November 1947 No.128

Floods and Flood Prevention

The recent flood in the Kanto area was treated by Japanese magazines as a news story of first importance. Writers were quick to examine the causes of the disaster, and presented constructive discussion of river control and flood prevention measures.

Most on-the-spot stories and pictures stress the magnitude of the calamity and the hardship inflicted on the individual victims. Some articles point out the unwarranted confidence and unconcern of persons living in the path of the flood. There are reports of unpreparedness, confusion, and of bureaucracy hampering swift counter-measures. Magazines give little coverage to relief efforts, but hint at some lack of success in these -- possibly because of alleged antagonism between the urban population and the farmers.

Reckless deforestation and failure to maintain river control works in good condition are considered the chief causes for the flood, while Government and local officials are charged with contributory negligence. It is noteworthy that prior to the occurrence of the Tone River flood, Japanese magazines contained little mention of threatened dangers and seldom were concerned with the urgency of flood prevention measures.

The Flood as a News Story

In the magazines which treat the flood primarily as a news story, there is conveyed a picture of unpreparedness and confusion, as well as of the helplessness of the people against the force and magnitude of the disaster. An ASAHI GRAPH picture story declares that Home Ministry officials gave advance warning to persons in threatened areas, but claims that few heeded it and only a small number made preparations against the onrush of the waters. Only when the flood was almost upon them did the people make hurried and irrational attempts to save themselves and their belongings.

One large picture shows refugees on a mound near the place where the Tone River levee broke, with water on both sides and no means of escape. Another shows men shoveling earth into bags of straw to reinforce the bank, while the caption comments on the futility of such primitive efforts. Farmers were more anxious to save their farm products than their personal belongings, according to one photo, while another reveals them hastily harvesting rice with the flood waters close at hand. Flour is shown being distributed when the flood seemed imminent, so that the responsibility for keeping it dry, according to the caption, would be shifted from the officials to the people.

A NIPPON TSUSHIN staff article annotates its report with critical observations. When collapse of the Tone's banks threatened, the population to the north (the north bank had been considered the weaker) made preparations to escape. Each house had its own small boat, the present inhabitants being guided by the experiences of their ancestors. When the south bank gave way, people in an area without previous flood experience are said to have lost everything in an instant.

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The disaster continued to spread, the writer continues, but people downstream refused to take warning and went their usual ways until the last minute -- when it was too late. This was true not only in villages but also in the city (Tokyo), where people ignored police advice to flee. "This carelessness on the part of the people doubled the damage." At the same time, the author avers that the Home Ministry -- said to have been constantly in touch with the details of the situation -- took no positive action for the flooded district for three days and had no comprehensive plan for rescue work.

The damage was wrought in an area where the farmers had accumulated great amounts of money through black-marketing; thus they surely felt, the writer thinks, that "Heaven must have punished us for our bad behaviour."

Examination of the clothing and other things spread out to dry on the river banks after the flood revealed many fine and luxurious articles. Proof of the resilience of the inhabitants of the region is seen in the ferrying enterprises which were quickly set up. The writer also mentions traders who went into the flooded area for selfish purposes while the flood waters were still high.

Tameshichi Sugiyama of SANDEI MAINICHI tells how Stationmaster Takeshima of Kurihashi is believed to have saved a thousand lives. Over the vigorous protest of the passengers, he refused to allow a northbound train to cross the Tone River railroad bridge and sent it back to Ueno. Only a few minutes later the banks broke; the entire roadbed was swept away, and the station was swallowed up by the waters.

Downstream from Kurihashi the river has double banks and ironically, the strip of land between the two remained dry. This furnished a place of refuge for many persons. Previous floods always had struck the area north of the river, in Ibaraki Prefecture; hence the people of Kurihashi, confidently at ease, slept soundly until they were awakened by sirens and alarm bells. It was then too late, and with nothing but the clothes they wore they rushed for the safety of the bank. Unprepared for flood, the residents of Kurihashi had no boats, and so many were marooned. The shortage of boats also prevented relief materials, sent speedily from Ibaraki, from being distributed quickly to those in need.

"Impromptu Venice"

Effects of the flood within Tokyo are shown in four pages of ASAHI GRAPH pictures, under the heading, "Impromptu Venice." The high water may not subside for a month, the writer laments, and the victims will have to live on the river bank, exposed to infectious disease and cold. "No matter how good the relief measures, the actual situation of the victims . . . is miserable."

The photos show typical scenes among the people living on the banks. Rumors of thieves going through the flooded houses worry the evacuees, and farmers take care of their farming implements as their most valuable possessions. Expensive Japanese doors (shoji and fusuma) are shown being used to provide protection against rain in a tiny shelter. Cooking is depicted outdoors under difficult conditions; merchants are pictured already setting up businesses, while "authorities still are consulting over emergency measures." The "main street" (with makeshift shacks and tents on both sides) of the temporary settlement is adorned with laundry drying. The pictures also show a barber with a temporary chair set up in the open and other expedients utilized by the flood victims in their uncomfortable life on the levee.

Damage sustained by the Government railways is detailed in the railroad magazine SHINSENRO. In the area near Tokyo alone there were 154 washouts, 123 places where tracks were carried away, 79 where tracks were flooded, 12 bridges swept away, and 23 railway lines buried. At Kurihashi only the roof of the railroad station remained above water, and employees had to spend

three days on the roof. Near Ichinoseki, on the Tohoku line, flood waters rose 2.5 meters above the platform level, and 26 locomotives with passenger cars were submerged. The tracks in this area were under water for a distance of 60 or 70 kilometers. Two weeks would be required to repair the bridges that were swept away, the writer estimates.

Emergency repair works would require 125,000 railway workers and 228,000 laborers. Costs are estimated at ¥100 million for emergency repairs, and over ¥200 million for permanent repair work. "In many cases, the damage suffered . . . could not have been prevented by the railways themselves," concludes the writer, who blames the poor condition of the river banks and reckless deforestation.

The service performed by the Communications Section of the Police Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry is praised by a staff writer of RADIO DENKA SHIMBUN. This organization anticipated the interruption of wire communication and was prepared for the emergency. "When the levee broke on 16 September . . . the Section borrowed from GHQ three FM-type short-wave wireless sets and set up a headquarters for Saitama Prefecture at Urawa City. * * * When other means of communication in the vicinity of Kasu were cut off, the first unit of three engineers . . . opened communication on such matters as the latest flood conditions, damage, clothing, and medical supply." They were given much assistance by the Allied commanding officer of the Urawa area. "The results show that radio communication is more useful than wire in emergency. The local people were grateful for the service . . . because they could keep track of all the reports clearly through amplifiers."

A SHONEN TIMES staff writer tells briefly of the Emperor's visit to the flooded area. "The Emperor sympathized with the flood sufferers in the Kanto district and inspected the condition of the broken dike at Kita, where the water rushed through. With a pair of boots on, the Emperor comforted and encouraged the sufferers, and he told Mr. Nishimura, Prefectural Governor: 'In this harvest season, I really sympathize with them.' He spoke in a sorrowful voice when he expressed his feeling for the people."

Relief Measures

Little attention has been paid in the magazines to the organized efforts for the rescue and relief of flood victims. In a staff article which appeared only a few days after the flood reached its height, the labor journal RODO SHUHO tells of the extent of the damage and the counter-measures required of the Government. The labor unions have taken quick steps to help, says the writer; the NCIO promptly organized a committee to raise funds, to aid directly in rescue work, and to mobilize factory medical groups in the inundated areas. The movement extended not only to stricken factories but also to flooded villages, and is considered to be a significant step in the establishing of a firm spirit of cooperation between farmers and laborers.

The writer declares that in a certain town in Saitama Prefecture efforts to raise relief funds were unsuccessful, because many of the residents who had moved there from Tokyo during the war had ill feeling toward the farmers, as a result of their unfavorable reception in the village. He hopes that the flood rescue work was a first step in breaking down mutual misunderstandings and distrust.

An ASAHI GRAPH staff writer comments that the Japanese are inclined to accept the Tone River flood "as an act of nature; but this attitude reveals the unscientific nature of the Oriental people, who do not plan things rationally." When the flood disaster occurred, it was felt in Tokyo that the wicked farmers were being punished by God, and when donations were sought for flood relief, only small amounts were collected. The writer also deplores the way in which such funds were handled. "Nowadays the Japanese cannot trust one another, so that even if a person wants to contribute to flood relief, he doubts whether the money actually goes to the victims. This

miserable feeling seems to be the cause of the lack of success of collections."

When the flood occurred, the writer continues, it appeared that the people in Tokyo were worried about the interruption of rice delivery, without having much concern for the victims. "The Japanese really can qualify to be called a subjugated people, if they have such despicable ideas. * * * There are many experts," he concludes, "who know all about effective means of flood prevention, but as usual, everything is done after the death of the patient."

The contribution of ¥1 million for flood relief by the newspaper Tokyo Shimbun aroused considerable controversy in the newspaper world, according to the trade journal SHIMBUN NO SHIMBUN. A staff writer, telling of the donation, asserts that "Mainichi, Asahi, and Yomiuri, the three biggest papers in Tokyo, did not take the same action as Tokyo Shimbun; and readers at large are suspicious (of the other three companies)." But, he explains, they "do not have the resources to make contributions; consequently these companies, according to rumors, are helping the relief work in other ways. Tokyo Shimbun differs in its management structure from other papers. It naturally is considered that the paper contributed so much because it is so rich that it can afford to." Following closely upon a raise in the price of newspapers, the action "brought an unexpected result. All newspaper organizations and their employees are critical of the 'presumptious action' of Tokyo Shimbun."

In another article a few days later, a staff writer under the pen name of Seika praises the donation, while explaining that business conditions prevented the three leading papers from making similar contributions — especially since the latter were likely to incur considerable financial loss themselves as a result of the flood, whereas Tokyo Shimbun is sold largely on newsstands within the city. "The ¥1 million contribution made by Tokyo Shimbun was a great success," Seika asserts. "Even those who dislike the paper's management can but respect it. The contribution, which annoyed the newspaper world, raised the position of Tokyo Shimbun and made it respected by society. Now we would like the three leading papers to contribute ¥100,000, ¥200,000, or ¥500,000 — whichever is within their means — at their convenience, even if it means a loss for them. It will create a general sympathy for the flood sufferers. Thus we earnestly ask these papers . . . to give a sign of sympathy for the afflicted."

Blame and Prevention

"There may have been various causes of the flood disaster," reports a JIYU SHIMBUN staff article, "but one thing is quite clear; that is that the passive way of the Japanese, who seek only immediate gain and formal solutions, is glaringly revealed. * * * We may point out four main reasons for the flood. First — for financial reasons — public works . . . and large-scale river improvement in the upper reaches of the Tone River were not carried out; secondly, prefectural authorities, who made a pretense of accomplishment in river improvement, protecting only their tenure of office, only improved the rivers near cities and towns, ignoring their upper courses; thirdly, no politicians were concerned with large-scale river improvement as a part of comprehensive State policy; finally, during wartime the fuel shortage was acute on the one hand, while on the other there was an increasing demand for timber to make wooden airplanes and ships. In addition, because of the poor transportation conditions, the authorities, despite warnings, allowed reckless deforestation in regions where transportation was available, asking 'What use will the forests be if we lose the war?'"

Another JIYU SHIMBUN article tells of the poor state of repair of the levees and the consequent dangers. "It is said," the article states, "that the chief cause of floods is the sliding of land in the upper courses and the collapsing of the river banks, carrying down so much mud and sand that the riverbed downstream is raised higher. * * * The total amount of money necessary for river improvement during the next five years is estimated at about ¥50 billion; the budget for next year will be submitted to the Diet by the Economic

Stabilization Board. * * * There are 10,800 places where engineering works are required to prevent landslides. Roughly speaking, each one will cost about ¥500,000."

An ORIENTAL ECONOMIST staff writer quotes the Home Ministry announcement that "unprecedentedly heavy rains" were the major cause of the flood, with the river waters rising to higher levels than ever before. A second reason given by the Ministry was that "deforestation operations along the upper reaches of the Tone sent down quantities of sand and gravel into the river, giving added force to the flood to break through the river's banks.

"There is, perhaps, another cardinal reason which the Home Ministry official failed to mention," the writer charges. "It is that the works for strengthening the Tone's banks were imperfect.* * * A positive policy should be adopted for the prevention of flood damages. For this purpose, banks should be bolstered, and wide-scale riparian works should be undertaken. If necessary, a new river bed should be dug along large rivers like the Tone. * * * As a long-range proposal, active afforestation operations should be started. Well-informed circles have long been concerned over the possible evil outcome of unplanned deforestation during and after the war, and their fears, unfortunately, have come true. * * * Some forest owners," the article concludes, "after felling their trees, completely neglected afforestation for fear that the Government might take some radical policy to 'liberate' forestry areas, as in the case of the 'liberation of farmland.' Such unreasonable steps by forest owners should be strictly supervised."

Whose Responsibility?

A variety of opinions concerning flood responsibility is offered in a YOMIURI WEEKLY forum. "There is a lack of coordination between local and central governments, because of the reform of local institutions," asserts Reiji Ito of the Bureau of Public Works, Home Ministry. He also thinks that "the flood was partly the result of the (land) development on the foot of Mt.Akagi. We could not raise objections because it is also necessary to provide jobs and food for evacuees from overseas."

A Katsushika Ward factory owner, Eijiro Sato, declares, "we, who knew the river conditions well, advised the ward office and the police many times of the advisability of blasting the dike (by blasting the Edogawa dikes it was hoped to divert the flood waters into Chiba Prefecture and away from the heavily populated Tokyo wards), but the authorities could not make up their minds. Of course they had no power to make a decision on the matter. Accordingly, they asked the permission of the central Government; but the authorities of the central Government, being seated at their desks, could not understand the actual conditions, and thus the damage was made greater." Sato criticizes officials who neither hurried to the scene to examine actual conditions threatening Tokyo nor delegated their powers of decision to others.

"Residents along the banks of the Tone used to be wary of floods from olden times, particularly in the typhoon season,"explains Kumajiro Takashima, town master of Sugito, Saitama Prefecture, "but lately they have come to depend upon the Government, especially the Home Ministry. Too much confidence in the Government made the disaster worse, I believe." Tetsuzo Inumaru, president of the Imperial Hotel Company, says that the Japanese "do not know how to anticipate, plan, and take action on a matter. They carry on a noisy discussion over the flood which is now past. Why didn't they talk over the matter before the calamity occurred? Both the newspapers and the radio were also negligent in this matter. Hadn't we been warned of the course of the typhoon several days in advance? It is wrong to blame the bureaucrats or anybody else now that the calamity is past; we should all bear joint responsibility."

A round-table meeting at which experts discussed flood prevention was conducted by NOSEI HYORON prior to the Kanto flood, but the text did not

appear until recently. "The great Tohoku (northern Honshu) flood this summer was not simply the result of the trees being cut down," declares Shinko Nomura of the Forestry Bureau. "To what extent forests check the flow of water is a matter of question. If more than a certain quantity of rain falls over a given period of time, a forest is of no use, although it may keep the earth from running from the mountain. In the case of the Tohoku flood, because of the bad weather which preceded the heavy rain, the earth was already saturated; thus a large amount of water was discharged into the rivers and not held by the forests." One reason for the flood, he maintains, may have been "the flow of sand,which raised the level of the bottom of the rivers," but he is "doubtful whether the cutting down of trees had any direct concern with the Tohoku flood."

Koichi Aki,engineering official of the Home Ministry, explains that "during wartime and since the war, river construction works have been of an exceedingly temporary nature, and materials of the worst quality were used." Tomonosuke Shiomi of the Fisheries Bureau states that: "In Japan there were originally no comprehensive embankment works. In addition, construction work suffered during the war. * * * It is essential to improve the rivers with various facilities for controlling floods." Aki comments that "improvement of the rivers by the Home Ministry consisted mainly of building the dikes, which were completed around 1915. But now the dikes have deteriorated and need to be repaired."

Aki later calls Japan's abundance of water supply "a unique resource for the Japanese people," but points out some of the difficulties of utilization. These include the problems associated with creating a large reservoir — the steep grade of the rivers and the rapid building up (by sedimentation) of the reservoir floor. Seasonal variations in the flow of the rivers, he asserts, can best be controlled "by planting trees on the mountains to prevent the mountains from collapsing, creating reservoirs to the greatest possible extent, and cultivating downstream areas." He also suggests that where steep mountains border on a plain, surface floods may be checked by causing streams to penetrate into the ground and join the subterranean waters.

Two explanatory articles on the flood appear in the SHONEN TIMES, a weekly magazine for boys. The first tells, in simple terms, of flood prevention measures, with stress on the importance of forests as protection against floods, landslides, snowslides, and tidal waves. Although afforestation has been planned, the writer declares that it was begun too late to be of help in staving off the recent flood. It will be a full 20 years before the full effects will be felt. The best way of avoiding floods, he concludes, is to plant trees.

<u>Sources</u> (Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

ASAHI GRAPH, 15,000, three staff articles; JIYU SHIMBUN, 100,000, two staff articles; NIPPON TSUSHIN, 1,000; NOSEI HYORON, 3,000, Shinko Nomura, Koichi Aki, Tomonosuke Shiomi, Hidetoshi Isobe; ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 3,000; RADIO DENKA SHIMBUN, 30,000; RODO SHUHO, 10,000; SANDEI MAINICHI, 25,000, Tameshichi Sugiyama; SHIMBUN NO SHIMBUN, 5,200; SHINSENRO, 15,000; SHONEN TIMES,150,000, three staff articles; YOMIURI WEEKLY, 50,000, Reiji Ito, Shigeru Tanaka, Eijiro Sato, Kumajiro Takashima, Tetsuzo Inumaru. *Where available

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 4 November, 1947 No.127

Food: Delivery and Rationing

With the approach of harvest time, problems of food collection and distribution again have come to the fore. A good harvest seems assured, and the attention of Japanese magazine writers recently has focused on the question of how to achieve the maximum utilization of available food. Commentators insist that scientific methods of crop appraisal and quota determination must be instituted and that unfair delivery assessments -- usually attributed to bureaucracy -- must be prevented in the future. An increase in the Government purchase price for rice is believed necessary by many writers (the Government has just announced a new price); and at the same time there is a strong voicing of opinion that the farmers must be made to realize a moral responsibility to participate in, not hinder, national reconstruction. The Agricultural Products Adjustment Bill is explained, and receives favorable comment.

Japan's inability to become completely self-sufficient in food production is acknowledged, but writers in recent months have been more interested in discussing the disposition of home-grown food with maximum efficiency than in determining the total of native supply and extent of deficit. SCAP releases of imported foods to carry the Japanese over periods of shortage seem to have helped turn attention from consideration of absolute shortage to the economics of distribution.

The Basic Problems

Two basic factors in Japan's food problem are stated by Ryota Matsumoto in a SHINSEI article dealing with the background of the present food situation: "Japan cannot get along without importing food from abroad," and "the food question is too important to Japan now to be made subject to party politics." Matsumoto recounts the difficulties faced by the Yoshida Cabinet as a result of the poor crop of 1945 and the strong leftist surge following the defeat but how with the help of imports, a severe crisis was narrowly averted. Despite a good crop in 1946, the Katayama Cabinet also has been unable to solve the food problem. The writer blames the Communists and charges that, together with some Socialists, they followed a policy of impeding rice deliveries. In addition, Matsumoto charges that deliveries have been impeded as a result of farmers' ill will toward the urban population.

Impediments to delivery were halted by a SCAP rebuke and the exercising of Governmental authority, continues Matsumoto, but rice delivery fell 1,600,000 koku short of the official goal. Some farmers, having disposed of their rice, were forced to buy more at black-market prices to meet their quotas. The Cabinet's evergency measures proved unsuccessful. Studying the "actualities" of the food situation, Matsumoto asserts that "we cannot rely solely on the delivery system, and cannot avoid adopting some liberal policies, particularly in fixing the official prices nearer those of the free market. The so-called common-sense control of vegetable prices demonstrated this truth to some extent, but the bureaucrats insist on an omnipotent control policy and have brought about rigid regulation again."

Bureaucrats, Matsumoto continues, have been in power for a long time, but have made little effort to secure accurate statistics and conduct actual

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surveys of crops, although these should be basic steps in a controlled economy. In conclusion, Matsumoto warns that Japan must not expect too much in the way of food imports.

A DAIAMONDO staff article tells of the Governmental measures grouping all supplementary foods with the staples, and strengthening control on rice, wheat, and potatoes, in an effort to make up the mounting ration deficit. "We can hardly expect success from this plan, but if we do our best, then help from others will come; this is indeed our miserable, but actual, condition." The writer feels, however, that "this time of emergency may be more beneficial than injurious" if the steps taken in emergency should succeed in creating "a permanent plan for food control, with improvement of the delivery system, adjustment of the food ration plan, and correction of the one-sided custom of eating only rice."

"Irrationality" of Delivery and Rationing

"The irregularity of supply and demand in foods," Yoshiya Sato asserts in SHAKAI, "is, of course, the result of basic shortage in food production, but also must be attributed to a considerable extent to the Government's faulty food policies." First, he points out, there are no accurate figures on food production. Within the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry, three different bureaus compiled statistics this year, none using scientific procedures, and the variance between the highest and lowest figures was as great as 10 million koku. "Because the production figures are inaccurate and unscientific," he declares, "the Government quotas for food delivery are also inaccurate and unscientific." Sato asserts that quota decisions have not been based upon reason but are the result of "secret politics" between the Food Control Bureau and the various governors. Farmers will feel no responsibility to meet such quotas, he says. (The Japanese Government in October adopted a more forceful policy of prescribing prefectural quotas, after fruitless efforts to reach decisions by negotiation.)

Individual quotas are assigned to farmers arbitrarily, with local bureaucrats usually inclined to favor the well-to-do, Sato continues. "Quotas are lighter for farmers who have much rice and heavy for farmers who have little to spare." Thus the use of legal force against those who are slow in making deliveries usually hurts the poor farmers most. Sato calls for smooth distribution of fertilizer and agricultural implements by the Government (arguing that if this cannot be accomplished, "we must necessarily approve the farmers' keeping rice for barter") and demands a higher purchase price for rice, because "it is a form of robbery to compel delivery at a price which cannot cover costs."

Problems of the farmer in connection with crop delivery are stressed by Kiyoshi Suzuki in the agricultural magazine NOSEI HYORON. This writer believes that farmers are allowed to retain insufficient rice to meet their needs for food and the preparation of sake and miso, and contends that the official purchase price paid by the Government is not equal to the costs of production. Although farmers are required to make deliveries, he says they are not furnished with any of the necessary tools of production. While the present delivery system lasts, Suzuki asserts, it is impossible to achieve democratization of rural villages or increased food production. The difficulties are said to stem from "the irrational delivery system. The farmers, not knowing how to solve their problem politically, try to evade delivery. * * * There should be established such an economic system as would encourage the farmers to deliver their rice voluntarily and willingly."

The Government's efforts to tide over the late summer food crisis are recounted in JITSUGYO NO NIPPON by Shitsu Katsukase, who also makes general recommendations for the future. At present the Government delivery policy penalizes the diligent farmers, he writes. "The Government must set a fundamental production figure," and reward farmers who make deliveries above this, while penalizing those who fall below. It must halt black-marketing.

Extreme dependence upon rice must be eliminated, and food planning made more rational. The Government distributes foodstuffs in a random manner, Katsukase maintains; there should be a more balanced system for the distribution of rice, wheat, beans, potatoes, and other foodstuffs, with thought for the problems involved in preparation of meals. The writer hopes that the raising of soy beans, Indian corn, and buckwheat will be spurred by raised purchase prices. He points out that the present calory consumption of the Japanese is not sufficient, and asks that more albumen and fat be supplied. The Japanese must continue to request imports as well, he says.

A TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff writer stresses the need of improving the rice delivery system, but finds "rationalization of rationing" no less important. He writes that if, for instance, dried green peas, corn flour, and soy bean flour were supplied at the same time as wheat flour, consumers could make the best use of the former foods by mixing them with the latter to make bread. But, instead, they were distributed separately, without any such consideration. Cereals other than rice are usually allotted to cities, while rice goes to villages, the writer charges; hence the country people are overfed with rice while city dwellers are short of it. Such important matters should not be overlooked by the authorities, the author declares.

Government Measures

Eiji Eguchi reports in SANDEI MAINICHI that the Government, realizing its previous delivery methods to be unscientific, plans rational quota allotments this year -- with weather, fertilizer supplies, and transportation facilities taken into consideration. Local food committees are to classify each field according to prescribed standards, then establish quotas for each class. The program calls for immediate payment and rational distribution of fertilizer in conformity with unit areas.

If the Agriculutural Products Adjustment Bill is approved by the Diet, he continues, allotment procedures will be somewhat changed after this year. Rice and wheat production will be assigned, and quotas allotted, prior to the raising of the crop. Local Agricultural Adjustment Committees will be formed, Eguchi reports, to handle administration, collection, and funds. Surplus deliveries will be rewarded, and fertilizer distribution will be carried out only on the basis of advance production plans. Action is to be taken by the State against farmers raising such crops as onions or tobacco when they should be raising rice.

Eguchi stresses the necessity of rewarding excess deliveries. At the present, he maintains, "the harder the farmer works, the greater loss he suffers. The Government should set delivery quotas at a minimum and purchase excess rice at a good free-market price. It is essential that farmers not be forced into losses, and that they take interest in producing." Discussing the progress of the land reform, Eguchi cautions that farmers "should continue to work hard, forgetting their pride as landowners, while consumers should forget their self-willed preference for rice over other cereals."

A TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff article also discusses the Agricultural Products Adjustment Bill, explaining that it provides for advance allocation of cultivation quotas, estimation of the harvest based on this allocation, and the assurance of fair and reasonable delivery allotments. "This bill," says the writer, "is a very proper one, because it aims at regulating the cultivation of staple food by temporarily prohibiting less necessary crops, in order that the Government may know the actual staple food production and take measures in case of food deficiencies."

Advance crop assignments will be handled mostly by Government officials; harvest estimates and crop deliveries will be settled by food committees in the various cities, towns, and villages, by district offices, and by the central committee. Local committees will be appointed by the governors from among food producers; higher bodies will contain farmers as well as

Diet members and agricultural experts. Thus, says the writer, delivery quotas will be determined according to crop estimates arrived at democratically.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate estimates of the expected amount of harvest is the prime obstacle in the system, the writer feels; correct crop estimation is almost impossible without enforcing Government monopolization of all farm products. "Except for this, there is only one way, and that is through the moral sense of the farmers. We earnestly seek to have true reports rendered by the farmers, recognizing the food crisis and how it affects all the people, and with a real sympathy which will contribute to the national reconstruction."

In a discussion with Takeo Sakurai in NOSEI HYORON, Agriculture and Forestry Minister Rikizo Hirano denies that an agricultural panic can come within two or three years after the reopening of foreign trade because of the world shortage of food and transportation facilities; but he foresees possible danger within five years. "Japanese agriculture then is given five years in which to set up a structure able to withstand world agricultural panic. * * * I wish to make the Agricultural Products Adjustment Law a five year plan enabling Japanese agriculture to stand against world panic."

Increasing the Ration

A forthright argument for increase of the staple food ration is carried in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO as a staff article. "Unless the present method of rationing staple food is improved," the writer begins, "this year's predicted bumper crop will not be sufficient to meet the people's demand for an increased ration. If the increased ration is not achieved, the public will have to continue to get food on the black market in order to make up deficits, and as a result, the people's living never will be stabilized."

"If the present average amount of rationed staple food should be hiked from 2.3 go (per day) to 2.8 go (regarded as the minimum amount for subsistence), the additional total of 5,240,000 koku (a koku is 5.12 US bushels; 1,000 go equal one koku) will be required." The writer believes that this amount can be obtained by 1) reducing the amount of rice allowed to be retained by farmers over delivery quotas, 2) reducing the supplementary ration of staple food granted to dependents of coal miners and of laborers in certain other industries, and 3) cracking down on persons who obtain extra rations illegally by false registrations of residence.

Members of a CHIJO round-table group discuss whether the nation can raise sufficient food to provide each individual with a 3 go ratio. They consider the population as a whole, instead of breaking it down into rural and urban components. "Estimating the population of Japan to be 80,000,000, and allowing a 3 go individual ration per day, the total comes to 87,600,000 koku per year -- the annual food demand," Tei Moriyama states.

"Now what about the annual production?" he asks. "The estimated rice crop in (the fall of) 1946 was 68,000,000 koku according to a press survey, 62,000,000 by the Government announcement. But the latter was based on report of local authorities in which annual production is said to be underestimated. These amounts, however, do not include the second crop (of barley and sweet potatoes), which is said to amount to 30 to 40 percent of the total of rice. If it is 30 percent, the total crop comes to 88,400,000 koku (the writer uses the press survey figure); if 40 percent, 95,200,000 -- both very satisfactory. So the size of the second crop is the question mark."

"But when we also take into consideration the rice allowed to be kept by the farmers and the supplementary ration to workers, the above total is found to be unsatisfactory. Suppose the number of farmers and those entitled to extra rations is about 40,000,000 (or half the nation) and that the extra ration averages 2 go per day, (29,200,000 koku per year) then the total amount of food required goes as high as 116,800,000 koku.

Japan's arable land generally has been calculated to be about 5,000,000 chobu, Moriyama continues. With production of 24 koku per chobu, the (highest estimated) demand would be realized, theoretically at least. Actually, however, "the arable area is far less than estimated, and the average production rate not so high." Of the 5,000,000 chobu of arable land, "that which is suitable for rice cultivation is only about 3,500,000," says Sukeyuki Iketani.

The Food Outlook

The ORIENTAL ECONOMIST in a recent staff article attempts to forecast the food outlook for the coming rice year (November 1947-October 1948). The writer cites Hirano's 19 September announcement that with 2,909,433 chobu under rice cultivation and an estimated yield of 2.122 koku per tan (10 tan equal one chobu) "the crop this autumn would total about 61,738,000 koku." But the writer expects a somewhat higher total. Last year's crop, he explains, was placed by the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry at 61,500,000, in addition to which experts thought there was an additional 3,000,000 koku of black-market rice. "Compared with last year, the weather this year has been warmer and there has been more sunshine. Besides, the quantity of fertilizers distributed has been more than three times that of last year." Even with the flood damages taken into consideration, the writer is "of the view that this year's yield will be at least 2,000,000 koku more than last." Thus he derives an estimated total harvest figure of 66,500,000 koku.

"There is a difference between the Government's estimate and ours. Whether this margin will bolster the volume of farm quotas or escape into the black-market depends upon the Government's efficiency and capability in handling the rice problem."

In computing food demand, the writer sets the mean population for the coming year at 79,114,000; "if this is multiplied by 1.1 koku of rice, the per capita consumption before the war, the total consumption figure of 87,030,000 koku is attained." But where this 1.1 koku before the war consisted of rice alone, and was supplemented by additional potatoes, bread, noodles, sweets, etc., such things as potatoes, wheat, barley, rye, and oats are now included within the staple food distribution, "which means that the people are eating less than before." The writer estimates that 1,500,000 koku of staple food are further required for sake, bean paste, and soy sauce, bringing the total demand to 88,530,000 koku.

Against this demand, he estimates the supply of 66,000,000 koku of rice, 11,880,000 of wheat, barley, and rye, and 6,300,000 of Irish and sweet potatoes. The expected supply then totals 84,180,000 koku, and falls 4,350,000 koku (or about 730,000 metric tons) short of the demand here computed; the deficit is 8,650,000 koku (or 1,440,000 metric tons) if the Government estimate of rice production is considered instead of that offered by the ORIENTAL ECONOMIST.

Foraging

An August ASAHI GRAPH devotes two pages to pictures of city folk visiting the country in search of potatoes. "Which satisfies the appetite more, rice at ¥200 per sho or potatoes at ¥70 per kan?" the commentary asks. "Potatoes are cheaper and more easily acquired; so the people, slipping through the network of strict regulation, dare to go out into the country to buy potatoes as a life-saver. Heaven, however, is merciless. Because of the long rain, the beto disease (an epidemic, affecting the stalk and leaves), the potato's worst enemy, is prevalent throughout the country, and much of a crop cannot be expected this year. What will be left after all these potatoes are bought up? With no time to think about this, the buyers are streaming out in procession."

A September DAIAMOND article notes that the SCAP release of imported foods has caused the number of rice foragers to decrease and the black-market

price to drop considerably. The staff writer urges that the Government utilize this temporary lull to stabilize the food situation. "Fortunately this year we may have a good harvest," the writer declares. "This good harvest should be distributed effectively, not only to prevent foraging for provisions, but also to check in advance the rising of black-market prices. This may have some effect both in holding down general prices and in wage stabilization. Unless measures concerning rice and other foods are adopted promptly, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the halt in foraging, such a good chance will not come again. The Government must not forget that the lull in foraging is only temporary."

The "propriety of the food-buying trip" to the country was the subject of a recent radio debate between Ryoji Inoue, Vice-Minister of Agriculture, and Yasaburo Sakamaki, a lawyer. Yasuyoshi Kobakura reports on the debate and offers his own ideas on the matter in a SANDEI MAINICHI article. Sakamaki is quoted as stating that the food buying trip is a "self-saving act" of the people against starvation, and that there is no reason why persons returning from such a trip should be treated as criminals and have all their food confiscated. Inoue answered that "if the people want to have complete food rations, they must not disturb rice delivery by foraging," and announced that complete food rationing would be put into effect from November on.

Kobakura presents the arguments for both sides. "For a long time people have discussed this problem," he sums up, "but no conclusion has been reached. If the Government accepts the propriety of the food buying trip, it will admit defeat in principle. On the other hand, if people are forbidden to forage, they will face starvation. So there is no end to the argument."

Meals and Food

One means of evading food controls legally is shown by ASAHI GRAPH in a picture story entitled "Banquet on the Sea." A party of men is shown eating a tasty fish dinner in a flat wooden boat; the fish have been netted and the meal prepared offshore. Thus the price is not subject to legal control and no surprise raid by the police need be feared. "But in holding such a banquet on the boat, the cost of the fish alone is ¥3,000; so this is out of the question for ordinary people," the commentary explains.

In another issue, ASAHI GRAPH depicts methods of catching "wriggling sources of albumen" -- snakes and eels. Several thousand snake catchers are said to be active in Shiga Prefecture (reported to be the top snake-producing area in Japan), and their catch sells at from ¥30 to ¥40 per kan.

"We want to know what diet standard Mr.Katayama expected us to accept when he stressed a life of misery and want," asserts another ASAHI GRAPH commentary, accompanying pictures of eight families at typical evening meals indicating varying degrees of prosperity. A company director's table is well filled, as is that of a contractor; the cost of the meal is computed to have amounted to ¥42 and ¥40 per person respectively in these two households. A policeman's family, that of a guard, and of a woman teacher have meals which cost about ¥20 per person. Faring worst is the household of a salaried employee, where only ¥10 has been spent for each individual. The only thing they have in common, says the commentator, is that all bought their staple food on the black market. Only three of the tables bear rice.

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"Where available

Five other articles were used but not quoted in this analysis, which is based on articles published from June to October 1947.

These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are avilable to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with the Same Topic
(In order of publication)

Food, Pub. Anal. No.6,25 January 1946.
Food statistics, farmers' psychology and economic situation, hints for producers and consumers, and the land reform.

Democratization of Japan and the Food Situation, Pub. Anal. No.13, 19 Feb.'46.
Discussion of the food situation, and democracy in Japan.

Food Shortages, Pub. Anal. No.26, 5 April 1946.
Conflict of farm versus town, food delivery, substitute foods, importation of foodstuffs, fertilizers, and democratization of farmers.

Food, Pub. Anal. No.67, 26 August 1946.
Quota collections, fishing, and the government's emergency measures.

Food Distribution and Food Supply, Pub. Anal. No.81, 29 October 1946.
Japan's food supply, quota collection and distribution methods, the food problem as a people versus government struggle, suggested solutions.

Food, Pub. Anal. No.92, 17 February 1947.
The situation following the fall 1946 rice crop, comment by cartoonists, prices, rationing, and the world food situation.

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"Taking into consideration the Government's plans for actual enforcement of the above bill, current opposition to the measure cannot be considered wholly justifiable.

"It should be noted, however, that the interests of consumers in general are not necessarily consistent with the democratization of economy. Excessive emphasis on democratization of industry through arbitrary Separation of concentrated industries is liable to result in increased production costs."

The objective and influence of the Economic Decentralization Bill is discussed by a DAIAMONDO staff writer, who points out that "this bill is supplementary to the industrial Reconstruction Readjustment Law already in effect. The latter law concerns the management of business enterprises, while the new bill is related to the production side — having two objectives: one the reconstruction of productive organization, and the other the thorough democratization of enterprises."

This writer asks the Government to give careful consideration to action on this bill ("because a single wrong step may cause grave consequences to Japan's economy") and goes on to enumerate favorable and unfavorable influences which may be expected with decentralization.

"Well-considered decentralization of enterprises may produce the following good results: 1) the will to produce may be increased; 2) free competition may be opened; 3) opportunity for rationalization of industries may be made possible, with adjustable wage scales based on regional price differences, etc."

On the other hand: "Extreme decentralization will bring about the following bad results: 1) the lowering of credit due to the dissolution of enterprises; 2) loss of management efficiency through the lowering of the efficiency of factories hitherto operating as productive units; 3) the collapse of small companies not large enough to operate profitably as independent economic units; 4) shortage of exports; 5) rising production costs, and 6) an increase of nonproductive capital."

Decentralization and Foreign Trade

Dissolution of the Mitsui Commodities Company and the Mitsubishi Comercial Company is discussed by Seiji Yoshida in JITSUGYO NO NIPPON. Explaining the action as "quite natural," he points out the influence which Mitsui and Mitsubishi have had over foreign trade in the past, and forecasts future developments under the new conditions.

"Mitsui Commodities and Mitsubishi Commercial were the largest companies involved in foreign trade. The great achievements of these two firms may be attributed to their vast resources in capital and credit, their abundant managerial talents, and the size of their organizations. The basic cause of their superiority, however, was due to their championship of Japanese capitalism, and to their pioneering of Japanese economic development. They monopolized the major part of Japanese foreign trade and extended their business to domestic industries. Accordingly, they are affected primarily by the trend to decentralization."

Commenting on the influence which dissolution of these key firms will have on foreign trade, Yoshida believes that: "1) the scale of foreign trade operation will be reduced, with a corresponding reduction in the possibility of profit; 2) Japanese traders will engage mainly in the export business for the time being, leaving the import business to foreign companies; 3) Japanese traders will be much inconvenienced by the closing or dwindling of almost all marine transportation, exchange, and insurance businesses, and will feel the necessity for carrying on their work in close combination with foreign traders."

Yoshida urges close cooperation among Japanese business enterprises in the investigation of foreign markets and the advertisement of Japanese goods. He advises the adoption of "international sensibility and cooperation with foreign countries," and in closing, points out that progress in future foreign trade must be made "step by step" -- with caution, but without fear.

Specific Industries

DAIAMONDO publishes a survey of several leading companies, with comments on their condition and on the effects anticipated by decentralization. Among these is Shinetsu Kagaku Kogyo (chemicals), of which it is said that "it is not evident whether or not this company will be forced to decentralize. As the lime-nitrogen industry had no direct connection with the war effort, decentralization may not be necessary; but in the event of dissolution, this business can be carried on separately without much difficulty.

"Establishment of the $500 million export-import revolving fund (Publications Analysis No.123) makes it possible to obtain raw materials, and perhaps even a considerable quantity of coal. It is said that chief among such imports will be Indian Honge coal and hard bituminous coal from China. The lime-nitrogen industry will be favored most by the import of Honge coal, because during wartime it was necessary to use charcoal (which was expensive and scarce) and coke. By the use of Honge coal, production rates will increase by 30 percent; and as the enlargement of factories is completed, total production will be greatly improved." This company has three factories at Naoetsu, Takeo and Isobe, and "by using Honge coal, is expected to produce 2.5 times as much lime-nitrogen as during the past year."

Takasaga Tetsuko (iron machinery) is said to be sound, and in little danger through decentralization. There is no "boom capital, as this firm took a passive position during the war and established only one new plant. War-damage was slight. Per capita production is running as high as 4.2 times costs and expenses, and the possibilities of dissolution are considered very small." This company operates five plants (Oshima and Shimura for materials; Osaki and Kusatsu for working and Nagoya, operating independently). Only the Nagoya plant may be forced to separate itself, while the other four should be able to continue operations."

Certain qualifications involve Nasu Arumi (aluminum), although capital elements are said to be good. "This company has been manufacturing aluminum since long before the war, and has been under firm management which allowed but little capital expansion during wartime. This passive management has been reflected in present conditions, and the capital position may be considered good." However, "the problem of this company lies in the future supply of imported raw materials. Operations from stockpiled raw materials can continue for about one year, but after that production must depend on imports. As principal items of manufacture are of daily use and in popular demand, it is to be hoped that necessary imports of raw materials will be forthcoming."

DaiNippon Seruroido (celluloid products) "has a considerable possibility of forced decentralization, because its factories have comparatively little inter-relation. Of the five plants (at Amiboshi, Arai, Sakai, Kanzaki, and Tokyo), the main part of the capital (80 percent) is involved in Amiboshi and Arai. Probable procedure will separate these two factories; the Sakai and Kanzaki (both being located in the Kansai District) will merge, and the Tokyo plant will be taken over by the Arai company." Celluloid and articles manufactured from it "are essential both for domestic consumption and for export. Raw materials are all available in Japan, and the future of the business is hopeful."

Decentralization of Banks

"The Government is reported to have decided that no exception shall be permitted in the enforcement of the Economic Power Decentralization Law," states an ORIENTAL ECONOMIST staff writer. "This means that this law, if promulgated and approved by the Diet, shall be applicable to banks as well as to other financial interests. Although the reorganization of affected banks will be delayed much longer than that of business corporations, rumors are already in circulation as to the allegedly inevitable dismemberment of leading banks, especially those backed by the Zaibatsu."

Stating that there is little doubt that the Zaibatsu banks long have exerted a powerful influence over Japan's finance, this writer believes that "under the circumstances, it is a matter of course that the former privileges and monopolies of those financial organs should be eliminated once and for all."

As far as the financial world is concerned, "centralization of economic power is akin to the accumulation of deposits, which, on the other hand, greatly depends upon the network of branches and agents. It must be noted that banks with more than 140 nation-wide branches number only seven: the Teikoku, Yasuda, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Sanwa, Tokai and Kobe. * * * With the Economic Power Decentralization Law being applicable to the banking business, it will become imperative for leading banks to decentralize their monopolizing influence. To this end they will be forced, among other steps, to close some of their branches. Local banks, on the other hand, must be encouraged to set up branches in urban districts.

"One effective measure to this end is to allow local banks to absorb certain urban branches of leading banks whose business is concentrated in large cities. Some predict that big banks will be separated into several nation-wide but minor-scale financial institutions; others believe that in all probability they will be reorganized into several local banks." It is problematic, says this writer, "whether or not such a reorganization scheme alone will contribute overly to the stabilization of postwar economy."

During the war, "local banks were merged under the principle of 'one bank in one prefecture.' In our opinion, this principle must be abandoned, and local banks must be urged to expand their businesses on a larger scale and in wider localities. In such an eventuality, both urban and local banks will be able to compete freely with one another on an equal footing--one of the essential prerequisites for sound progress and democratization of the financial world. At the same time, the Bank of Japan must be reorganized into an autonomous organ in which all private banks will be allowed to invest capital."

Stock Redistribution and Futures

Stating that present and pending economic legislation "gives a clear outline of the future course of industrial enterprises," a DAIAMONDO staff writer believes that "the stage has arrived at which we may decide our attitude towards stocks in the light of these laws.

"Since the end of the war, there has been no standard of selection for investment in securities, nor any reliable standard of comparison between enterprises. Now, however, this series of political measures will bring about a revival of free competitive trade which will serve to reveal the respective merits of companies. It is inevitable that those firms which cannot tide themselves over the present inflation (not having sufficient power to maintain idle capital and equipment caused by wartime expansion) must be reorganized, and that those companies which have poor prospects of securing raw materials will suffer accordingly. These processes will be speeded by the new economic legislation, and the influence on industry and management will be incalculable."

As to the nature of enterprises, "a change will appear inevitably. Henceforth, the passing of heavy industries from pre-eminence will be accompanied by the rise of medium and small-scale enterprises."

Surveying stock prices in relation to inflation, this writer states that "the price of stocks averages 13 percent higher than the 1933 level. This is, of course, due to inflation. However, although inflationary tendencies have influenced the price of shares, the extent of such inflation is far less than in the case of currency or commodity prices, which have increased to an immensurably greater extent." Discussing various types of shares, this writer believes that amusement and department store securities at present are overpriced, while profitable investment might be made in carefully selected fertilizer, chemical, transportation, mineral, cement, or ceramic shares, which currently are underpriced.

Tempered optimism along the same lines is voiced by a NIPPON KEIZAI staff writer: "Consumer industry stocks are in greater activity than production securities, which reflect present financial difficulties under the economic crisis. * * * Stock prices have been gradually on the increase since May, but by comparison with the increasing note issue and the rising rate of general commodity prices, there need be no anxiety over the relation of rising stock prices and inflation."

The future of the securities market under decentralization is discussed by Nobumasa Fujita of the Investigation Section, Industrial Bank of Japan, writing in SANGYO KINYU JIHO. Following a detailed statistical survey of the general character of the Japanese capital market, Fujita writes: "Japan's security market is not one which has developed naturally, owing to active investment as the result of accumulation of capital; but is rather one which has been established to stimulate investment on the part of individuals or corporations.

"The Japanese stock exchange was established in 1878 under Government protection, and at first only transactions in national loan bonds were made. It was not until 1887 that ordinary activity in securities began. Thus, one characteristic of Japan's security market has been that investment by banking organs occupied the major portion of its activities, while direct investment by individuals has been comparatively limited."

Stressing the prior lack of development on the popular level, Fujita writes that since the end of the war, popularization of investment in securities and the rapid development of the securities market have become necessary. The dissolution of the Zaibatsu, the collection of the property tax, the readjustment and reconstruction of enterprises, and the Economic Decentralization Law have necessitated public release of stocks amounting to as much as one-half of the total national holdings. Under present economic legislation, there is vital need for individual investment in securities."

However; "When we look at the actual state of the securities market, a certain degree of pessimism is unavoidable. The accumulation of capital is always the result of the full activity of industry, but our economy displays little hope in this direction, and is generally curtailing production. Furthermore, rationalization of the reconstruction of enterprises, and the influence to be expected from the reopening of foreign trade, as yet are not clearly defined; the soundness of individual investments is, accordingly, difficult to decide."

Another factor is "the aggressiveness of the labor movement, and fear for the rights of stockholders under possible socialistic policies. What is needed is the rapid establishment of laws governing transactions in securities and a council for the control and registration of individual companies and stock issues. These measures are necessary to protect the benefits of investors and to foster the growth of the stock market; without them we cannot expect either the development of our securities exchange or the democratization of our economy."

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(Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

* *

PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 23 October 1947 No.125

Textiles

Many pages of current Japanese magazine publications are devoted to discussion of textiles and to their part in foreign trade and the domestic market. In accordance with policies of dissolving, the Zaibatsu and breaking up monopolies, the larger cotton spinning companies (the "Big Ten") are hastening reorganization of their complex capital structures, and either are separating from subsidiary and "side-line" companies or forming these into separate enterprises. This process is watched by several writers, while others survey individual organizations with close attention to the disposition of their holdings and probable capital results.

In any view of the textile picture, cotton is the central figure. Pessimists hold that the predominance of the prewar cotton trade was due solely to cheap labor and therefore, that a return to prosperity is impossible. This point of view is refuted by others, who claim that not only low-cost labor but technical skill, in management as well as manufacture, formed part of the whole, and that concentration on quality production again will open world markets to the Japanese cotton industry.

Some writers are pessimistic about the results of the initial exports of raw silk to the American market; others have explanations and optimistic predictions for the future based on world as well as American markets.

Textile Decentralization

The Government's proposed industrial emergency laws (Industrial Reconstruction Adjustment Law, Antitrust Law, etc.) are discussed in an EKONOMISUTO staff article. The object of these laws "is to exclude monopolization and in its place introduce a system of encouragement to free competition. As a result, all monopolistic industries must be dissolved or reorganized."

The textile industries are considered to be typical, so "when reorganization has taken place, a new industrial system separated into various departments according to the types of materials used -- cotton, artificial silk, staple fibre, silk, etc. -- will be inaugurated, doing away with past conditions under which cotton spinning interests dominated the entire textile field."

Reorganization will take different forms with different companies: "Some leading companies, such as the Kanegafuchi, Dai Nihon, and Odate spinning companies, plan to become independent 'second companies' by separating their headquarters as holding companies. Other organizations, such as Shikishima, Nisshin, Fuji, Yamato, and Kurashiki, appear to be specializing in cotton spinning only, while separating their side lines and affiliated companies as new firms."

Whatever form it may take, "the textile industry, which presided for so long over all Japan's industrial field and accumulated an enormous monopolistic capital through synthetic management, now must decentralize and start anew in the form of single independent companies."

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Various factors, favorable and unfavorable, "attend the decentralization of the industry." On the unfavorable side, this writer lists: "1) In the field of technique, the loss of internal relations (between companies) will affect the rationalization of management through reciprocal utilization of such technique; 2) profit, stabilized by many-sided management, no longer can be maintained; 3) due to decreased credit, enterprisers will find great difficulty in raising funds for reconstruction.

"However, it must not be overlooked that decentralization will stimulate the activities of the Japanese chemical textile industry and the woolen industry, and, furthermore, all branches of textiles will compete on fair and unrestricted grounds to their mutual benefit."

Firms Involved

A review of leading textile firms to be affected by the decentralization program is found in THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, which comments: "This (program) certainly will bring about far-reaching effects on the textile industry as a whole, inasmuch as most leading cotton spinners are engaged in various additional operations, such as rayon, staple fibre, silk, wood pulp, chemicals, and machinery." Specific firms are surveyed:

Kanegafuchi Spinning: "Because its 'special loss' as provided for in the Business Readjustment and Reconstruction Law, has turned out far larger than previously estimated, Kanagafuchi has been hit hard by the Government-sponsored business adjustment necessitated by the cancellation of wartime indemnities to munitions manufactures.

"In reorganizing its side lines, management authorities reportedly are planning to set up four independent firms in the field of textiles (cotton spinning, silk spinning, woolen, and waste-cotton spinning) and seven nontextile companies (engine manufacturing, electric wire, chemicals, plywood, sawing, toilet articles, and pharmaceuticals). As to the capital and scale of these 11 new companies, it is premature to make any accurate prediction, but the aggregate capital will be about ¥360 million, of which the cotton and silk spinning concerns will comprise ¥150 million and ¥120 million, respectively."

Dai Nihon Spinning: "This is the second largest cotton spinning company. Its equipment, when the restoration program is completed, will comprise 463,000 spindles and 7,000 looms for cotton textiles. Of the total capital investment, cotton comprises 40 percent, wool 30 percent, silk 17 percent and staple fibre 8 percent. Furthermore, this company manufactures baking powder, salt, and other provisions, and operates a lignite mine. Direct enterprises in all likelihood will be reorganized into five independent companies: cotton spinning, woolen and worsted, staple fibre, silk spinning, and chemicals (including provisions). Among these new establishments, cotton spinning will have the largest capital, followed by woolen, silk spinning, and staple fibre firms, in the order named."

Fuji Spinning: "This company can be reorganized more easily than many other concerns, because it has no operations in the non-textile field. There are indications that the company will be dissolved into two independent companies: cotton spinning and silk spinning. Its staple fibre plant, with a capacity of 19.8 metric tons, is too small to be operated separately and probably will be run by the silk spinning company, which in turn finds it more convenient to operate the staple fibre plant, because it suffers from a serious shortage of inferior silk. Fuji Spinning is equipped with 325,000 cotton spindles (8.8 percent of the 'Big Ten' spinners' total) and 40,452 spindles for pongee, or 18 and 11 percent, respectively, of the nation's total. Thus it is seen that this company does not fall under the clause of the Business Reorganization Standard Law which

refers to 'equipment exceeding 20 percent of the nation's total.'"

Shikishima Spinning: "Among leading cotton spinners this is the only company without any additional operation, because it undertook no wartime business under direct management. It projected some non-textile enterprises by setting up 'daughter' firms; therefore Shikishima finds it unnecessary to make any change under the provisions of the Business Readjustment and Reconstruction Law. Spindles now in operation total 253,000, and this figure will increase to 370,000 on the completion of the projected reconstruction. Loomage now totaling 700 will be expanded to over 2,600."

Nisshin Spinning: "Nisshin ranks ninth among the top ten spinners, with an ultimate expansion goal of 288,000 cotton spindles. In addition, it operates a plant specializing in yarn for fishing nets. Other operations which must be separated or abandoned are: silk, hosiery, sewing, silk reeling machines, dyeing and processing, paper, asbestos, and synthetic resin. However, because the so-called 'through' process from spinning to processing is officially recognized for the cotton industry, this company will try to reorganize so as to streamline and coordinate its enterprises with the cotton business as a center.

King Cotton

Whatever the future of rayon, silk, or other forms of textile enterprise following decentralization of the industry, there is little doubt that cotton spinning stands dominant in the present scene. Prominent are articles which attempt to define the limitations under which this industry must operate. One such piece is found in on August issue of BOEKI JIHO, appearing as a staff composition.

"According to advice from abroad," this author states, "a $100 million credit for American raw cotton is to be opened shortly. The problem is how long it will take cotton enterprises to process and manufacture goods from imported cotton, and whether matured drafts can be met through export of such manufactured goods." Looking into present conditions: "At this time it will take about eight months to digest the 750,000 bales represented by the $100 million credit. The number of authorized cotton spindles, however, is 4,000,000, and repairs are proceeding posthaste on this equipment. Once completed, processing time on the same number of bales will be halved."

What regions then may be expected to furnish the most promising market for Japanese cotton goods? "Let us examine this question on the basis of figures obtained from the Foreign Trade Board covering the first six months of 1947. During this period, Japanese cotton exports to all foreign countries totaled 15,287,800 pounds of cotton yarn and 500,000 dozen manufactured cotton articles. Though it is difficult to presuppose what countries we will export to as long as foreign trade is under control, strong indications are that they will be the USA and the South Seas countries. In any case, the new cotton credit will bring activity to our cotton-spinning industry very soon and, further, those industries which supply machinery and materials to this trade also will be benefited."

An EKONOMISUTO staff writer sees a promising future for cotton spinning and tends to minimize claims that increased labor costs will ruin the industry. "Cheap labor," he states, "was not the sole cause of the prewar development of the Japanese cotton industry; China and India had cheaper labor, but could not develop this industry. Japan had such other powerful factors for development as a sound management policy under executives of ability. The Kansai district, center of production, had the best possible climate for the spinning industry, plus excellent production techniques. With these considerations, high wages alone are not necessarily a source of undue pessimism."

This author points out that "the development of the spinning industry in China and India will present no threat to Japanese industry, as the Asiatic demand for textile goods is increasing yearly both through the increase of population and the rise in living standards. The future, accordingly, may be said to be bright."

Hiroshi Kaneko, chief of the Toyo Textile Company's Economic Research Section, considers the democratization of Japanese economy in relation to the cotton spinning industry, in an EKONOMISUTO article. "Japan must tread a new road, acquiring a new spirit as well as assuming all responsibility for the past. This same course must be followed by the Japanese cotton industry, which is faced by the simultaneous problems of democratizing itself and of production on the basis of 4,000,000 spindles. Some critics say that the cotton industry must operate on a small scale, supplying only the domestic market; others state that the large scale of cotton enterprises is undemocratic and should be curtailed. These individuals are quite wrong; most of them little understand the industry itself, and fail to assign cotton to its proper place in Japanese economy. Furthermore, they show little recognition of the true democratization of economy and its relation to the establishment of a democratic society."

Calling for large scale activity in cotton spinning, Kaneko claims that "the previous enormous development of this industry was accomplished almost without any special relations with the Government, which is most exceptional among large-scale enterprises." Development of cotton spinning in the international market prior to the war "was not due only to low wages, but to large-scale organization rationalized as well as refined in technique. With but little domestic raw material, Japan was able to export superior finished goods to the world market by the importation of foreign materials. Though some may criticise the speculativeness of this industry, buying of large quantities of raw materials at one time was not done in order to take a speculative position, but because of the necessity for large stocks in order to maintain a level quality in production.

"An independent economy does not mean a self-supporting economy. Though it is not desirable to place undue emphasis on foreign trade alone, we must not think of Japanese economy apart from world economy, and must make aggressive efforts to take a position which will give Japan fuller activity in the cotton trade so vital to the reconstruction of the national economy." This writer states that "large-scale management (of this industry)never has had any tendency to monopolize or oppress smaller enterprises," and concludes that, for the future, "the cotton industry should carry on high grade production with the utmost effort. The democratization of cotton spinning should proceed with the reconstruction of economy as a whole."

Silk Futures

Widespread disappointment in the initial sale of raw silk to the American market has not dissipated basic faith in the export future of this commodity. KEIZAI SHINSHI prints an article by Toshimasa Nogi in which he investigates the causes of slow American sales. Asserting that pessimism is unwarranted, Nogi is concerned more over the coolness of Japanese farmers towards silk-cocoon production, due to low official prices "and the lack of a black-market channel for silk cocoons."

Blaming "the superficial knowledge of newspapers," which have deprecated raw silk as an export item, "even comparing it with goldfish or frogs' legs for the entertainment of their readers," the writer states that this unfavorable attitude "threatens the very delicate position in which raw silk is placed." It must be shown how important the silk industry is for Japan, and how little ground there is for (long-range)pessimism."

Source of this pessimism "is the slow sale of raw silk in America, and the cooling of enthusiasm for sericulture because of the low (official) price of cocoons. Among the reasons for initial slow sales on the American market are: 1) the first bids of raw silk buyers on the initial shipment were too high, in competition with the low price of nylon, this price gradually was lowered, buyers became cautious, and sales fell off; 2) 50 percent of the American demand was for 14-count white silk, class 3A, whereas this grade comprised only 1.3 percent of the first Japanese shipment. Exports, therefore, were not up to the demand; and 3) due to the selling system, all silk had to pass a testing process and than was put on secret bid. As testing efficiency was very slow, large stocks of silk gradually accumulated in the face of a falling market. This system recently has been revised, however, and raw silks can be sold on open bids and on the Japanese standard."

Nogi also blames poor salesmanship and the quality of initial exports for the slow trade in silk. He believes, however, that means are available to break the deadlock: "In our opinion, the consumption of raw silk in America can, with improvement in sales methods and stabilization of price, develop into clothing lines as well as stockings, and thereby utilize 120 to 130 thousand bales a year. Further, the world-wide shortage of textiles easily will account for the use of 300 to 400 thousand bales yearly. If not a bale were to go to America, this amount could be consumed domestically; thus there is no cause for pessimism."

This author fears that farmers may not cooperate with the Five Year Plan for the silk industry, established by the Government in August of 1946: "Attainment of this goal seems impossible to realize, mainly because of the low price of silk cocoons, which has cooled the farmers' enthusiasm." Nogi states that the importance of silkworm farming, as a hedge against agricultural panic in the future, must be made clear to farmers. "A time will come when farmers will be aware of this truth. It is also certain that a time will come when the (present) low price of cocoons necessarily will be revised."

Writing in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, Shunosuke Yoshimoto, former managing director of the Japan Silk Exporting Corporation, ascribes the current unsuccessful status of silk to the present "inferiority of silk to nylon," and to "unsatisfactory selling methods in the American market." He stresses, therefore, the need of improving the quality of silk as a prerequisite for stimulating the export market. "Although current exports have been unsatisfactory, the Government's Five Year Plan should be supported for the future of sericulture and for the progress of silk in world markets." Further, "in view of the importance of silk in foreign trade, a 'government' basis may be natural for the time being, but private trade is most desirable for smooth and efficient transactions in the future."

Discussing various aspects of foreign demand, Nogi writes, "On the basis of American dealers' opinions, one may estimate that the average consumption of Japanese silk on the American market will level off at 50 to 75 thousand bales annually during the next few years. On the present basis . . . surplus stock is accumulating (in Japan) at the rate of 120,000 bales annually, but markets in England, France, Switzerland, Australia, Egypt and India will be promising . . . and should amount to 30 to 50 thousand bales annually."

While "it is advocated in some quarters -- in view of the current lack of success in silk exports -- that the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry's Five Year Production Increase Program be revised downward," this writer is of the opinion that "the production amount envisaged by this plan is quite necessary for the further improvement of silk quality, and for the preservation of the traditional techniques of sericulture."

Sourses

(Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

BOEKI JIHO, 800, one staff article; EKONOMISUTO, 15,000, Hiroshi Kaneko, two staff articles; KEIZAI SHINSHI, 3,000, Toshimasa Nogi; THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 2,000, one staff article; TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, 20,000, Shunosuke Yoshimoto. *Where available.

Twelve other articles were used, but not directly quoted, for this analysis, which is based on articles published from July through September, 1947.

These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analysis Dealing with the Same Topic

Textile Industry in Japan, Pub. Anal. No. 88, 8 Jan. 1947.
The textile industry in Japan, difficulties and counter-measures, the situation of the two leading firms, silk, and other textiles.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

* *

PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 18 October 1947. No.124

Japanese Youth in the Postwar World

The youth of Japan is passing through a difficult period of social and moral confusion and uncertainty and is subject to many pressures. Economic distress of the parents often has had unfortunate effect upon the character of sons and daughters; deterioration of the home has freed many children from normal restraints and wholesome guidance. Immoral practices, often linked with sex ignorance, are reported. Juvenile crime, vagrancy, and delinquency are found to be increasing, but it is notable that among the offenders actual war orphans are in the minority.

These are matters of concern to Japanese magazine writers, who strive to find the causes and means of correction. But specific proposals are few; for it is realized that, by and large, juvenile problems are only a part of the larger picture of a disrupted society in a period of economic hardship. Among the general recommendations voiced by social workers and educators are suggestions that the home be reinstated in its proper place; that welfare work and facilities be extended; that sex education be given, and -- the basic remedy -- that general economic stability be restored.

Troublous Times

The imprint of troubled times upon the youthful mind is shown unmistakably in excerpts from the compositions of primary school children, illustrated with photographs in ASAHI GRAPH. "What a dreadful thing it is to have to bathe in a crowded bathtub," a little girl writes. A third grade pupil complains that malicious children annoy students on the way to school, and declares that "idle students should attend school instead of going to the black markets." "The most hateful thing," writes a fourth grader, "is to have a strike, which causes such troubles as the trains stopping and a lack of rice." "One morning the window panes were stolen from our schoolroom," writes another. "Anyone who would steal the glass from a school must be the worst of thieves." A boy reports that his classroom has no roof, and that students are exposed to rain and snow. A girl is sorrowful because people are cutting down the trees in a park. "They would do better to gather leaves than cut green wood," she suggests.

An increase in the rate of criminal acts committed by school children is revealed by a NIPPON KYOIKU SHIMBUN staff writer, who recounts instances during the recent vacation period of one student injuring another with firearms during a quarrel, of large-scale forging of food ration tickets by students, and of organized stealing from shops. The writer reports a gang of students who broke into a school house to make changes in examination papers, a boy who obtained money by intimidating a wealthier classmate, and another who stabbed and seriously injured a fellow student during an argument. Student crime presents a major problem to educational authorities, the article concludes.

A NIPPON TSUSHIN writer declares that "the number and variety of crimes committed by the young are increasing day by day, and the ages of those involved are gradually becoming lower." He tells of primary school girls found gambling, with pencils and notebooks as starting stakes, later with handfuls of rice. In Chiba Prefecture, he asserts, police -- checking on reported purchases of obscene books and contraceptives by middle school children -- found groups who were holding clandestine meetings for immoral purposes. The

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decline in morals among the nation's youth is serious, this writer maintains.

More than 400 persons in the Kawagoe youth penitentiary were convicted of dealing in illegally-possessed American goods; about 90 percent are first offenders. "A conspicuous fact is that most of them were formerly young military officers." Shoplifting, too, is reported to be prevalent, the children being motivated by "humiliation in the presence of classmates at having to do without books they want," and by high prices which are beyond the means of parents. After the first theft, it becomes progressively easier to commit others, the writer explains.

A FUJIN NO TOMO round-table group of four mothers and four women primary school teachers discusses varied aspects of the schoolchild's life. Toshi Kojima, a Yokohama teacher, asserts that many children have excessive amounts of pocket money, quoting a newspaper statement that this frequently runs between ¥300 and ¥650. "The report seems true," she says, "as far as downtown sections are concerned." "These may be of the 'new yen' class," comments one of the mothers, "but there was a boy with a ¥100 note on a picnic. My child was surprised and told me."

"At our school," Miss Kojima declares, "all the outer doors were stolen, so we took off the inside ones, lest they be stolen, too. With no doors, all kinds of noises penetrate into the room, and we cannot give lessons with composure. Because it is not safe, the children cannot leave their wooden footgear at the entrance, so the lunch boxes are mixed up with shoes in the classroom. Consequently, we cannot train our pupils in cleanliness and order." Riyo Yamasaki tells of a pupil who wore a new hat all through class, fearing that it might be stolen if he took it off.

But a brighter picture is presented by Setsu Murakami who relates how the cooperation of older boys and girls was enlisted by her school (Jiyu Gakuin). "While we were evacuees, all breakfasts and lunches were prepared by the girls, under the direction of a teacher. The boys cut wood, carried cooking utensils, and made fires. Even now the children put things in order after dinner is finished. At our school, all the pupils gather for dinner in one dining room. One child presides over each table and tells about various school events. Or they listen to the talk of a guest. Thus their dinner is a pleasant center of their life."

Mrs. Kikue Yamakawa, recently appointed head of the Women's and Children's Bureau of the Labor Ministry, denounces the militaristic education given before and during the war, which aimed "to teach students how to conquer other countries by violence, instead of teaching how healthy society may progress through cooperation. * * * The young people who were brought up in these conditions suffered from the war both physically and spiritually." Mrs. Yamakawa criticizes those who resort to violence in public meetings instead of respecting reasonable discussion, and cautions that "brutal movements by young people cannot be permitted, even though they are the greatest spiritual victims of the war."

Working Their Way

Most college students are forced to rely on side jobs for sufficient funds to support their education. A SHUKAN ASAHI article gives the results of a survey of summer jobs taken by undergraduates of Kyoto University. Most students are found to be sons of Government officials, teachers, and salaried workers; thus most are subject to financial difficulties. Only 20 percent worked at white collar jobs, while many engaged in heavy labor -- even though the physical condition of the group is reported to be not very good. The most popular job was that of selling iced confections in the street; other jobs were sought in post offices and railway and Government offices. In contrast to the previous summer, the writer says that no one was interested in black-market selling. "Even though they work hard, they barely can make ends meet through the vacation; and it is difficult for them to save money ahead for school expenses." In closing, the author tells of a factory being planned by the college to furnish part-time employment for students.

Sanshiro Shiba describes in SANDEI MAINICHI the circunstances which, he contends, make it impossible for students to get much enjoyment out of their college life. So difficult is their living that in the course of nine months, 355 students either had to leave or temporarily drop out of Tokyo University. Their most difficult problems are getting food, clothing, and places to live. Not only are amusements out of the question, but even reading. Students have to sell their libraries in order to live. Scientific and technical books are scarce, and sometimes ten books or an overcoat must be sold to get one textbook. Students are said to have taken such jobs as musician, interpreter, lottery ticket seller, laborer, tutor, radio engineer, or grocer, Shiba writes. But one Waseda student whom he quotes declares that under present circumstances "learning will be related to actual life, and attention will be transferred from the sparse study materials to a sharp critical attitude toward practical problems." However, "the oppressive living conditions will deaden the spirit and intellect of the student." A Tokyo University student announces that "students in the new Japan earn their living with their own labor, think by themselves, and engage in politics. In view of this . . . the democratization of the schools, freedom, student spirit, and other new moral principles also should be established by their hands."

Sex Education

The needs for sex education and for normal social relationships between boys and girls often are stressed. Sugi Yamamoto tells in JOSEI SEN of two incidents which illustrate these needs. One is the case of a girl middle-school graduate of reasonable intelligence who had become pregnant without seeming to know the cause. When questioned, she replied that "one night on her way home she had experienced a hateful accident, but regarded it merely as a 'naughty' event and did not realize that she had become pregnant as a result." The second case concerned a young girl who, after a quarrel with her father over her right to marry anyone she pleased, became pregnant and would not tell the name of the man involved. "In view of these circumstances and others, I seriously believe that our sociologists and doctors must seek to determine as quickly as possible how to give sex instruction to young men and women."

Members of a KYOIKU TO SHAKAI round-table also favor sex education. "Japanese education has avoided touching the sex problem in the schools," asserts Bunnosuke Sekine. But "in my school, Meiji Gakuin, we have taught sex through biology and physiology to senior classes, and the results have been good. In the future, we want to teach sex in relation to morals, in the sociology class."

"We must admit that juvenile delinquency is inevitable after a war," declares Etsu Odaira, member of the Juvenile Court. "But it is unendurable to see the innocence of children being stained by the immorality of society. Some children now in my charge were instigated to black-marketing, theft, and fraud by their parents." Few sex offenses are handled by the Juvenile Court, but "three out of 1,237 boy criminals and 13 out of 75 girls who came before it in the last half of 1946 suffered from venereal disease."

"I believe it is most important that children receive their knowledge of sex from a wholesome source," says Tomiko Yamamuro. "Every factor in society contributes to the impurity of children," Beiho Takashima puts in. "As a counter-measure, it is most important to provide children with healthy recreation, as Father Flanagan said. And I hope that some provision will be made for healthy social intercourse among boys and girls, under suitable supervision. * * * The responsibility of religious persons in this matter is great. Sex education must begin in the home as well as in the school. But, . . . sex education must start with enlightenment of parents. Sex education in the schools must not be in the hands of youthful teachers. * * * Schools and parents should collaborate in this matter." "Young girls are apt to fall into error," Miss Odaira maintains, "because they are not taught anything about sex in the home or anywhere. A religious atmosphere in the home during

their youth would be the most effective means of preventing them from falling into vices later."

Four college girls discuss aspects of love and marriage in FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN, and they agree that girls have few chances to become acquainted with men because of the lack of opportunity for the two sexes to mingle. Suggested remedies are coeducation, mixed cultural circles, and joint work in the same field of study. Yoko Miyazaka criticizes the attitude of her collage (Tsuda), which does not allow boys to be invited to school entertainments. Before the meeting breaks up, it is agreed that "There must be more opportunities to talk with boys. It is also worth while for students to gain contacts with working women and women of rural areas."

Causes, Effects, and Proposed Remedies

Since juvenile delinquency and other evils stem from a variety of causes, there are bound to be numerous suggested remedies. But few of these are specific. Since the magazines often approach the problems through round-table discussions by groups of authorities in separate fields, the resulting presentations tend to wander from one point to another and dwell on generalities -- the need for improvement of home life, the need for more recreational activities, the need for more and better social welfare work. All of these needs are mentioned in a FUJIN KORON round-table. "An outstanding characteristic of our vagrant children," says Yasumasa Miki, "is that they do not go through a period of youth, but pass from childhood directly into adulthood. The higher the cultural standard, the longer should be the youthful stage, but our so-called juvenile vagabonds never have known what youth is. Their skill in making a living is consequently very great."

"Postwar juvenile crimes are characterized by their vicious nature," Etsu Odaira declares. About 80 percent are thefts, and the objects stolen most often are, in order, food, clothin, bicycles, cash, and shoes. Several speakers agree that the children have no moral scruples over stealing or black marketing. Thus, says Miss Odaira, "it is vitually important that juvenile offenders be awakened to the criminal nature of their acts. I am inclined to think that the earlier a child is caught committing an offence, the more fortunate he will be in the end."

She goes on to describe the juvenile courts, of which there are 15 in Japan. "These courts are what I would call 'Shonen Shimbanjo' or places for looking after children's affairs. They are also children's medical consultation offices. It is the task of the juvenile courts, with the help and cooperation of science, to investigate the causes that led astray the children brought before the court. There are doctors of medicine, psychiatrists, and psychologists to probe the causes of juvenile delinquency. About 1,000 cases are brought before the Tokyo Juvenile Court each month. About 10 percent of these are cases involving girls."

Jine Kanazawa deplores the Japanese attitude toward social work. "People engaged in special work must possess a highly developed sense on insight and must be full of sympathy. It is deplorable, moreover, to see how little interest society as a whole has in social work." Miki comments that "civics is now treated as one of the important school subjects, but any attempt to make a first-hand study of how society functions has the opposite effect of teaching the children only bad things. For instance, when children are taken to inspect a Government office, all that they notice is the officials idling around without attending to their duties; or if they go into shops, there is only black-marketing going on."

Kanazawa notes that the idea for a Boys' Town "began to spread in Japan after the visit of Father Flanagan," and announces a plan to turn Suginami Ward into a Boys' Town. This, however, is called "a form of cultural movement aimed not merely at so-called juvenile delinquents." Present food

and housing conditions, he continues, are responsible for juvenile vagrants. "Hungry parents are apt to get angry and take their anger out on their children." "It is not only food, clothing, and other material factors that are responsible," adds Miki. "The home, after all, fulfills a function -- the function of protecting and rearing children. It is when this function breaks down that juvenile vagrancy results." There follows some discussion of the need for a new type of home and school training to impress self-reliance and self-control upon the nation's youth.

Less exhaustive is a discussion presented by FUJIN KURABU, in which it is agreed that "the lowering of living standards and culture, owing to the confusion of defeat, is the cause of degeneration of young boys and girls." Kazuo Tokuoka and Matsuyo Ueda blame parents' unconcern and carelessness in regard to their children. Iwao Goto dwells on the breakdown of the home, "which should protect children from the rough manners of the world," and complains of the lack of amusements and recreational facilities. Tokuoka insists that the training of children is "the joint responsibility of home and society," and Goto urges creation of a more religious atmosphere by parents, and the "establishment of organizations for scientific research regarding children." Tokuoka maintains that conditions affecting juveniles "must be taken up as a social problem. Each family must try to combat the germs of evil in the early stages."

Lack of a wholesome home atmosphere is a primary cause of juvenile problems, members of the previously mentioned KYOIKU TO SHAKAI round-table group agree. "Since the war," says Beiho Takashima, "mothers have lost authority over their sons and daughters. In contrast to the old days, children now give pocket money from their earnings to their mothers. The mothers' consequent loss of dignity and the resultant disobedience of the children are among the causes of the degeneration of the young. It is necessary to re-educate parents, so that they may be able to train their own children. * * * Environment," he continues, "is sometimes stronger than the home in its influence on children." "Especially in this age," Bunnosuke Sekine adds. "Nowadays," Etsu Odaira explains, "homes are not interesting to children. They do not attract them." "Since the war," says Sekine, "school teachers have almost ceased teaching children to respect their parents." Miss Odaira says that "children no longer listen to their parents, saying that they have gained freedom through the new Constitution. * * * We must teach them about the Constitution in primary school, so that they will understand it at an earlier age."

A FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN interview with Iwao Takashima allows one of the planners of the contemplated "Boys' Town" a chance to voice some of his hopes and ideas. "What we visualize," he states, "is somewhat different from Father Flanagan's Boys' Town, which deals only with vagrants. Our plan is to make the whole Suginami Ward a Boys' Town, and let the institution merge with the town for the purpose of developing the boys into good citizens. It is our hope to enlist all the children of the ward and let them establish a self-governing system, choosing a children's mayor of their own; it is our plan to establish a boys' movie theatre, a science hall, and a library." However, since present circumstances make it difficult to plan new construction, the committee expects that it will have to be satisfied to rent buildings already standing.

Special provision will have to be made, Takashima believes, for the area's homeless children. He would rather have them share a family life than be cared for in large groups by institutions. There are at present sufficient institutional facilities to care for gamins, he believes, but there is a scarcity of skilled personnel to manage them. Finally, the magazine's staff writer argues that juvenile problems will not be solved until family life is made secure.

The value of recreation is recognized by most writers in the field of child welfare; but Kojin Shimomura, writing in KYOIKU SHAKAI, urges a changed attitude, with less thought of play for play's sake and increased

emphasis on the character-building qualities of outdoor recreation (the Japanese character "goraku" is most closely equivalent to the English "recreation," but implies literally "rest and pleasure," or "brief rest between periods of work") as a complement, on an equally high level, to work. "To play with the spirit of building is the true way for the educator," he asserts."

Emphasis on sports, but for a somewhat different reason, is advocated by a JITSUGYO NO NIPPON writer, Kinichi Aoki. In order to lower Japan's population rate, Aoki proposes that young people postpone their marriage for ten years. The period of their youth would then be extended, and they would have additional time to devote to the arts, literature, music, or sports. Aoki particularly favors sports. Let the Japanese, who previously aspired to being a nation of warriors, become a nation of athletes, he urges. "Let the minds of youth be filled with sports, awake or asleep. The prime condition for a good marriage should be to be a good athlete. Let every town and village accord the greatest respect to young men and young women who are good athletes."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

ASAHI GRAPH, 15,000; FUJIN KORON, 25,000, Yasumasa Miki, Etsu Odaira, Jine Kanazawa; FUJIN KURABU, 40,000, Kazuo Tokuoka, Matsuyo Ueda, Iwao Goto; FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN, 17,000, Yoko Miyazaka, Iwao Takashima; FUJIN NO TOMO, 35,000, Toshi Kojima, Riyo Yamasaki, Setsu Murakami; JITSUGYO NO NIPPON, 10,000, Kinichi Aoki; JOSEI SEN, 6,000, Kikue Yamakawa, Sugi Yamamoto; KYOIKU SHAKAI, 2,000, Kojin Shimomura; KYOIKU TO SHAKAI, 25,000, Bunnosuke Sekine, Etsu Odaira, Tomiko Yamamuro, Beiho Takashima; NIPPON KYOIKU SHIMBUN, 50,000; NIPPON TSUSHIN, 1,000; SANDEI MAINICHI, 25,000, Sanshiro Shiba; SHUKAN ASAHI, 25,000. *Where available

Three other articles were used, but not directly quoted, in this report, which is based on articles published from April to September, 1947.

NOTE: These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analysis Dealing with the Same Subject

Youth and Its Problems, Pub. Anal. No.69, 2 Sept. 1946.
'Discusses juvenile delinquency, the influence of current conditions on children, and young people's relations.

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 16 October, 1947 No.123

Credit and Foreign Exchange

Announcement by SCAP of the establishment of a credit base in the form of an export-import revolving fund brought a speedy response in Japanese magazines. Its tone is predominantly optimistic, with an occasional note of caution to responsible authorities to exercise care in handling the tools of economic reconstruction. In spite of a fairly widespread belief that present economic conditions do not justify the immediate establishment of a fixed dollar-yen exchange rate, a large number of articles have appeared in which effort is made to consider some phypothetical means by which such a rate might be fixed. Both plural and single forms of exchange have supporters. Some maintain that a premature single exchange rate would place an undue burden on the national economy, due to prevailing price disparities between export and import goods; others favor the establishment of a new "stabilized yen," which would be tied in with a unilateral exchange rate to form the eventual basis for normal credit relations with the rest of the world. On one point nearly all agree: that the basis for any form of foreign exchange must be the sound economic state of the nation, conditioned by strict enforcement of controlled economy, including trade and exchange controls.

Foreign Credits

Creation of a credit base to promote and make possible a revived export-import trade has been much in the minds of Japanese economic writers (Publications Analysis No.111). Recent expressions of opinion have been concerned primarily with SCAP's announcement on 14 August of the projected use of Japanese-owned and Allied-controlled gold and silver reserves. Commenting on this, THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST says that, in addition to this "gold pot," cotton fabrics and "other cotton goods now in the course of production will be added to the proposed export-import revolving fund. Although the exact amount of such goods remains uncertain, it is estimated that the total amount of the revolving fund, inclusive of prospective cotton exports, will reach $200,000,000. This fund will serve as a payment reserve for deposits, and, furthermore, will allow the extension of foreign credits 3.3 times the amount of the fund. Thus Japan will be authorized to secure credits totaling $660,000,000 from Allied or neutral countries. Actually, however, such foreign loans will be limited to a maximum of about $500,000,000."

This article expresses doubt as to whether "financing institutions of Allied or neutral countries will extend credits in such amount," and continues: "Although such credits may be extended, they will come to naught if Japan is unable to consume raw materials whcih are imported on these same credits. Thus Japan is called upon to make extensive preparations for consuming or processing the largest possible quantity of imported raw materials within the shortest possible period of time, and to export immediately finished goods made available." Quoting Shigeto Tsuru of the ESB, the opinion is voiced that various "major production factors" may be found inadequate. Refering to motive power as the major bottleneck Tsuru estimates that "Japan at best can consume $300,000,000 worth of imported raw materials yearly." This article closes by urging authorities concerned to "show the utmost initiative and keen judgement in the distribution of imported raw materials.

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Efforts should be made to find ways and means for distributing such materials by priority to industrial plants with maximum consumption capacity that are able to manufacture articles of the best quality at lowest production costs. This is the only way to accelerate Japan's economic revival under the new democratic Government."

Pending issues concerning credits are discussed by a SEKAI SHUHO staff member. "The recently established credit," he writes, "is of a short-term nature, but, in addition, the Japanese Government is reported to be expecting the establishment of a long-term credit. Thus, direct investment of foreign capital in Japanese enterprises might be expected in the near future." However, pointing out the inadvisability of expecting long-term credits under the "current unstabilized condition of Japanese economy, and the fact that even short-term credit is under strict supervision," this writer warns against over-optimistic expectations at the expense of present efforts. "According to certain authorities, exports for the next year are expected to amount to $800,000,000, of which goods made of domestic materials will total $100,000,000. Imports may reach $340,000,000, in the proportion of $250,000,000 in capital raw materials and $90,000,000 in subsidiary raw materials. The expected net profits are to be used for further imports of indispensable materials for the rehabilitation of the national economy. Under such circumstances, any form of luxury in the daily life of the nation must not be expected in the near future."

Foreign Exchange Rate

Discussing conditions governing the establishment of a foreign exchange rate, the SEKAI SHUHO article continues: "At the present time, with the reopening of foreign trade, strong hopes are held by both foreign and Japanese traders for an early establishment of a dollar-yen exchange rate in order to smooth the path of future transactions. It is difficult, however to set up such a formal rate of exchange because of the inflationary trend of Japanese economy and because of the remarkable disparity between domestic and world price levels. Under these circumstances, if any exchange rate is determined it must needs be a temporary and transitional one."

In setting up a foreign exchange rate, this writer offers two lines of thought: "To establish a plural exchange rate for different lines of merchandise, or to establish a single rate with tariff measures (such as the imposition of export and import taxes, granting of an export encouragement subsidy) and cheap sale of imported goods." Stating that farm products stand comparatively high, while machinery and chemical products are relatively low in domestic markets, this author sees the necessity for granting a Governmental subsidy for the exportation of machinery and chemical products," as a step forward in adjusting the disparity between Japanese and foreign price levels."

Laying emphasis on the importance of the Bretton Woods Agreement in the future of world economy, a TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO article by Hiroshi Shinjo of Kobe Economic University considers two factors in determining an exchange rate. "The pending exchange rate must be determined from the following standpoints; 1) to avoid confusion between internal and international price relations, and 2) to contribute to the balance of world credit relations. It is next to impossible, however, to determine an immediately proper and moderate exchange rate during the progress of an inflationary spiral. For this reason efforts to check economic inflation and to establish a normal and well balanced price structure must be made paramount.

"Judging from the first standpoint, it is most desirable to determine a well-balanced exchange rate under which our domestic industries would be encouraged properly, while foreign enterprises would not be unduly threatened. In view of the difficulty of balancing international loan relations under current world economic conditions, it is most desirable

that the exchange rate be discussed and determined from the standpoint of avoiding confusion in internal and international price relations, and that economic aid to this end be rendered by the Allied Nations as soon as possible." In closing, Shinjo notes the grave mission to be executed by the Bretton Woods Agreement for the development of an international economy and the securing of world peace.

Single vs. Plural Exchange Rate

Advocates of both single and plural exchange rates are numerous. Masaharu Yoshimura, professor at Kyushu University, favors the latter system in a TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO article. Calling for the reduction of superfluous profits on the part of capital, which he considers "the cause of the disparity between domestic and world prices," Yoshimura states that "the establishment of plural exchange rates will serve to a certain degree in keeping a rein on the current economic situation and in the gradual revision of our price structure; while it is greatly to be feared that the fixing of a single rate would deal a hard blow to the Japanese economy.

"The existing price disparity in our country," according to this writer, "is characterized by the fact that in the home market export goods command a high price, while imported foods and materials are comparatively cheap. Under such economic circumstances, the fixing of a single exchange rate would oppress export industries and result in the 'hunger-export' of labor power. This abnormality in our economy would disrupt the sound development of Japanese industry."

Establishment of plural exchange rates may be said to be justified "by the present state of our economy," but such a measure "is no panacea for current economic ills. In view of the great disparity between official and free price levels, enforced exports at the current official price level will inevitably cause the lowering of workers' wages at the excuse of reducing costs." Yoshimura exhorts industrialists to refrain from profiteering at the expense of the national economy and states that "in order to prevent further aggravation of any possible inflation caused by plural exchange rates, the utmost efforts must be made to revise price disparities through examination of the exchange rates on respective items of export -- while inevitable capital surplus profits accruing through such price disparities must be reduced drastically. It must be borne in mind that the reopening of foreign trade is not the remedy for the current inflation; that remedy lies in solving the problems of our domestic economy."

A new "stabilized yen" tied in with a single exchange rate is called for by Akira Koizumi, writing in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO. "Under the current situation, the establishment of a single permanent exchange rate is hard to realize for the following reasons: 1) The domestic price structure is in disorder--that is to say, the black-market price scale is prevailing . . . in spite of the strict edifice of official prices 2) The disparity between domestic and world prices is notable, due to Japan's long separation from the world market 3) So long as the current production lag and the inflationary trend of our economy continue, the soaring of the domestic price level will be inevitable and will result in expanded imports, reduced exports, and continued decline of the foreign exchange rate 4) If the escape of capital is carried out legally or illegally, it will give spur to the decline of exchange rates and soaring of domestic prices. However, the establishment of a single and stabilized exchange rate is absolutely essential for normal and rational trade transactions and for imports of foreign capital."

This being the case, this writer advocates the issue of a new "stabilized yen" as a prerequisite for the establishment of the exchange rate, which he outlines as follows: "The revolving funds obtained through US credit must be put under the supervision and management of a special committee, and

a new 'stabilized yen' -- linked with the US dollar at a fixed exchange rate -- should be issued; while leaving free exchange between this new 'stabilized yen' and currency now in circulation. Prices of imports and exports should be decided upon the basis of the 'stabilized yen.' If this new currency gains the confidence of the people, the present 'new yen' will be exchanged gradually for the 'stabilized yen,' thus creating so firm a position in foreign exchange markets that establishment of sound credit will become feasible.'

"The value of hoarded 'new yen' in hand is not warranted, but the value of 'stabilized yen' on deposit in the banks will be guaranteed. Thus currently-circulating currency will be absorbed into savings. When rehabilitation of credit becomes possible (through these means), then a formal and single exchange rate should be determined."

Basis for Exchange

Among exponents of a single exchange rate there are many who attempt to justify some basic figure on the strength of more or less involved calculations involving gold, note issues, or commodities. ORIENTAL ECONOMIST editorialist Torajiro Takagaki considers that "the only rational method . . . is that of comparing prices of major commodities." Giving several examples, Takagaki compares the US gold price of $35 with the Japanese black-market price of ¥1,200 per momme, and arrives at a rate of ¥259.48 to $1. Utilizing raw silk as a standard, he quotes the dollar at ¥269.95, while on a comparative commodity price scale the rate is given as ¥170.67 per $1. Typifying the wide range of opinion in valuation, a TAKAHASHI ZAIKAI GEPPO writer states, "Considering the new official price system, the price of commodities in America, and various other circumstances, the gold value of the yen might be set at 1/25 or 1/30 of prewar value; that is, ¥100 to ¥140 as against $1."

Kotaro Araki, in THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, utilizes comparative note issues to arrive at his conclusions: "Assuming that the currency circulation in Japan and the United States in June 1938 was equally balanced at 100-100, and that the exchange rate stood at ¥3.46 to $1; immediately preceding the termination of the war the circulation in Japan stood, at 1,504 to 412.1 for the US, giving an exchange rate of ¥12.64 to $1. Directly after the surrender this rate changed to ¥14.15 to $1, very close to the 15-1 ratio set by SCAP at that time. Again, the ratio of circulation on March 12, 1947, stood at 5,791.1 to 438.4 (¥45.72-$1.00) the same day on which SCAP revised the rate to 50-1." This writer closes his calculations with the 8 June ratio of 6,900 to 437.4, or ¥54.64 to $1. He stresses the familiar point that a proper single rate cannot be based on statistics alone, but must await internal economic stabilization.

Trade and Foreign Exchange

Caution in setting up any exchange rate is advised by a BOEKI JIHO staff writer. Pointing out that "some financial circles advocate the establishment of a single rate, and the readjustment and unification of enterprises which are unable to make a commercial profit under this system," this writer holds that "business men at large are opposed to this opinion . . . and advocate a plural exchange rate set up by commodity or by groups of commodities." On the other hand, "many traders in Tokyo and Yokohama" -- while admitting the impossibility of setting up any immediate single exchange -- recognize the complexity of a plural exchange rate based on groups of commodities, "because of multiple divisions. For example, one cannot treat toys en bloc because of divisions such as mechanical, celluloid and wooden toys -- each of which has been allocated a different exchange rate." For the next six months, at least, this writer counsels the Government to proceed with caution in exchange matters, and hopes that plural exchange rates based on commodities "may be scaled as closely as possible to circumstances and demand in foreign countries, in order to stimulate the reconstruction of domestic industry."

This point of view is sustained by Nobuya Takagi, Kyushu University professor, writing in SHOKOJIN. Pointing out that the reopening of trade has come at a time when the serious economic condition of Japan demands the greatest care in international economic relations, Takagi writes: "At this time, the reopening of trade merely means that American and Japanese traders are permitted to join in planned and controlled trade relations, one distinctive feature of this trade being that the rate of foreign exchange has not been fixed. The inherent danger lies in the fact that, if the domestic price of export goods is not fixed on a sufficiently high level, important exchange goods such as cotton products may be diverted into illegal and black-market channels. Export goods prices should, therefore, be fixed very carefully, keeping in mind the economic future and reconstruction of Japan." Going into foreign exchange problems, this writer believes that "at this time, though no rate of exchange has been fixed, it is essential to prepare for it. The prices of export goods with bright commercial prospects should be placed on a high level, in contrast to those of less promise, so as to encourage production of the former category. If this is not done, our economic situation will be subject to undue stress and upheaval when the time arrives to establish a regular foreign exchange rate." In conclusion, Takagi states the opinion that the economic condition of Japan is not sufficiently strong to stand alone, even with an established exchange rate; therefore, "the most important problem involved in the reopening of foreign trade is the maintainance of balanced and sound economic relations between the United States and Japan."

The importance of proper utilization of the new $500 million credit as a necessary prerequisite to the initiation of a foreign exchange rate is emphasized by a DAIAMONDO staff writer. This article sees bright prospects "through the assistance of the Allied Powers." However, "we must adopt an attitude of grave responsibility toward this credit in order to obtain the best results. According to the export plans of the Board of Foreign Trade, this credit may be used chiefly for the importation of cotton, wool, rayon, pulp, heavy oil, coal, etc." The writer takes a firm stand on the importance of exports: "Export industries, especially the fibre industries, should be forced to the fore, even at the expense of changing the priority system for iron and coal. Daring improvement of production equipment, the rationalization of management, and the settlement of labor relations should be accomplished without delay. The time has come for national cooperation in the encouragement of export industries. We must neither decline, nor waste, the timely assistance of the Allied Powers."

Sources

(Magazines, Curculation and Authors*)

DAIAMONDO, 20,000, one staff article: BOEKI JIHO, 800, one staff article; SEKAI SHUHO, 10,000, one staff article; SHOKOJIN, 3,000, Nobuya Takagi; TAKAHASHI ZAIKAI GEPPO, 600, one staff article; THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 2,000, Torajiro Takagaki, Kotaro Araki, one staff article, TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, 20,000, Hiroshi Shinjo, Masaharu Yoshimura, Akira Koizumi. *Where available.

Twelve other articles were used, but not directly quoted, in this report, which is based on articles published from August through September, 1947.

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Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Related Topics
(*indicates most recent analyses)

Export Industries, Pub. Anal. No.97, 27 March 1947.
Covers foreign trade, export commodities, and necessary imports.

*Export Trade for Japan, Pub. Anal. No.121, 9 October 1947.
A discussion of products and materials which may be made the basis of Japan's new export trade.

*Foreign Capital and Exchange, Pub. Anal. No.111, 13 August 1947.
Discusses use and application of foreign capital, and the establishment of a foreign exchange rate.

Japan's Position Among the Nations, Pub. Anal. No.87, 18 December 1946.
Discusses Japan's place in world trade and its relation to Japan's internal economy.

Japan Wants Foreign Trade, Pub. Anal. No.58, 11 July 1946.
Explains problems of producing for foreign trade and of establishing a dollar-yen exchange.

Reopening of Foreign Trade, Pub. Anal. No.109, 5 August 1947.
Comments on trade resumption, outlook for foreign trade, and the future of export industries.

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 11 October 1947. No.122

Crime, The Police, and Criminal Law

Information contained in Japanese magazines reflects a recent increase in crime. Rough and violent crimes, pocket-picking, and minor thieving are said to be rampant, while a growing number of white collar workers reportedly are driven by economic distress to embezzlement and swindling.

There is, at the same time, evidence of considerable interest in the part the Japanese police must play in a healthy society. Writers in magazines of general circulation stress the new attitude which the policemen must adopt, of public servants rather than masters, and along with this explain the newly granted rights of the individual citizen, which must be protected and respected. Structural reform of the police system is surveyed in association with overall Occupation policies.

In the field of criminal law, much popular attention has been focused on the current heated debate over whether adultery should continue to be held a criminal offense, and if so, whether the law against it should apply to women only or to both sexes.

The Nature of Recent Crime

An increase in the crime rate is reported by Moto Ishiguchi in SANDEI MAINICHI, and he asserts that many recent crimes have been of a rough and violent nature. A large proportion of murder cases, Ishiguchi writes, were unpremeditated, growing out of burglaries and the extreme callousness of the perpetrators, but there also are many crimes of a complicated nature, involving groups of conspirators. Most of the apprehended criminals are first offenders. Swindling is said to occur often; and corruption in the lower ranks of officialdom is frequently uncovered. Street thieves and highway robbers are said to be numerous, reputedly because of the shortages of goods and money.

Ryokichi Minowada, of the Asahi staff, surveys "The Salaried Man and Crime" in the initial issue of the magazine, SALARIED MAN. The life of the salaried worker is desperately hard, says this writer, for "salary earners have sold practically everything they own and have nothing more to sell. Yet they have not become so desperate as to commit such vicious crimes as murder. There is not a single case of a salary earner turned criminal who has been sentenced to more than 10 years' imprisonment." Tokyo police officers of the First Search Section (concerned with the most serious crimes) "do not recall a single white-collar worker among the criminal suspects they have hunted. * * * The Second Search Section, however, is kept busy tracking down criminals among the salaried class for such offenses as swindling, embezzlement, and bribery. During 1946 and through March of this year, 50,000 criminal suspects were arrested. Of these, about 1,000 were white collar workers. About 40 percent of them were Government and public officials. For a city such as Tokyo, with so large a salaried population, this figure is surprisingly small. Despite his hardships, the salaried man remains a good and law-abiding person. Crimes committed by salaried employees are mostly thefts, graft, swindling, embezzlement, and gambling.

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"* * * When the life of the salary earner hits rock bottom, there is no telling what he may do. Since about last spring, when the inflationary situation began to grow worse, there has been an increase in crimes requiring intelligence." Minowada tells of some of the ingenious methods used by salaried workers in schemes for perpetrating swindles or embezzlement, citing as examples persons of good character who previously had been regarded as trustworthy workers.

Four Tokyo policemen speak of criminal trends in a round-table discussion for YOMIMONO JIJI. Mitsui Dezawa tells of an increase in the number of pickpockets. "Trams and trains are their haunts," and, he goes on, "whenever the rationing of staple food is delayed, lunch-boxes and rice balls begin to form a considerable portion of the stolen goods."

"This also is true in the schools," comments Mitsuo Kimbara. "When ration delays occur, lunch box thieves begin to increase. Many amateurs now pick pockets," he adds, "not necessarily simply upon impulse."

Kimbara explains that it is difficult for police to get cooperation. Particularly in the investigation of economic crimes, they find that the people who are questioned do not tell the truth. "Nowadays there are few honest dealers in secondhand articles who keep books. * * * We also are vexed by restaurant owners and others who do not cooperate with us."

Shinjiro Senda mentions auto thefts. "Eight hundred automobiles have been stolen since the end of the war. The crimes usually are committed by groups of men. Stolen cars are sold at from ¥120,000 to ¥150,000, although some of them are sold in pieces."

Another round-table group of policemen discusses "summer crimes" for the new magazine G-MEN. "Of summer crimes, sex crimes are foremost," states the chief of the Metropolitan Police Detective Section. "Sex crimes increase in summer," Shoichi Kimura continues, "because, for instance, the contact between thinly clad bodies on packed trains stimulates even normal men, while erotopathic persons are driven by it to indecent misdeeds."

"Next is the movie theater," says Tokuzo Goto. "A while ago a woman was taken by the hand in a movie theater, persuaded to supper, and then to a hotel. As a result, a vicious relationship continued for a while, but when she was found out by her husband, she committed suicide."

"Sex maniacs take advantage of the timidity of women," says Rinzo Ono. "If a woman's hand should be taken, she must without hesitation flatly reject the man. And if spoken to by a stranger, she must never respond."

The speakers agree that many sex crimes are made possible by the imprudence of the victims.

The four policemen then discuss normal precautions against crime: persons should not walk alone at night in lonely spots; when a person leaves his home, he should ask a neighbor to keep watch for him; a padlock is dangerous, for it denotes the absence of the tenant; lights should be extinguished when the occupants go to bed -- "outside bright and inside dark is the best rule to prevent robberies," says Ono. The police officers also discuss pickpockets, their methods of operation, and means of guarding against them.

Soichi Oya writes about sex criminals in G-MEN, and seeks to impress the point that they are of a different type than other criminals. Generally, he declares, crime is considered bad, and men who commit crimes are thought to be villains. "But those who commit sex crimes are not simple villains, but often persons who have good qualities in other respects. That is because this type of crime is rooted in one's inability

to control his human instincts," and not in avarice or personal willfulness. The strength or weakness of a person's ability to restrain his passions has little to do with his moral character. * * * I should like to have the special nature of this type of crime more widely recognized," Oya concludes.

Large numbers of children are being brought into juvenile court for stealing, gambling, and fraudulence, Emori Moriya says in JIMMIN HYORON; and he blames the black markets, where attractive items are openly displayed at prices far too high for harassed parents to meet. Imitation of their elders has had its part in inducing a lowered moral standard for children in the present deteriorated society, the writer maintains.

Between 70 and 75 percent of these juvenile delinquents are said to be "of good family." Children of laborers are believed by Moriya to be actively interested in the social movement and the democratic revolution "into which their parents are putting their whole lives," while on the other hand many persons of good family "saw their entire foundation collapse, lost all their hope, and must begin again in the new program of democracy and pacificism. How can these parents, who have lost hope themselves, impart hope to their youngsters?"

Writing in SANDEI MAINICHI of the inmates of Wakayama prison, where she is warden, Tsuneko Mita declares that the majority of women prisoners are between the ages of 25 and 35; their crimes are mostly theft, fraud, and murder. "Women do not kill out of greed," she declares, "but out of sorrow and hate, in cases where they are betrayed by lovers, or because of family economic suffering--cases which are quite pitiable." She traces the previous history of many young convicts, showing that from the time of leaving home until their admittance to the prison they have experienced a roving life, ill treatment, and in most cases have been in reform school.

The Policemen

A four page picture story occupying the lead position in ASAHI GRAPH is entitled, "Seeing the World From a Small Police Box," and shows the around-the-clock activities of policemen at a post near Yurakucho Station, Tokyo. The officer on duty is shown at various hours of the day, giving directions, dealing with pickpockets and a black-marketeer, sending home a runaway girl, aiding a lost child, receiving complaints. He is shown in the heat of the day refusing a present of sherbet from a girl (because to eat it "would lower the dignity of his uniform"); and he is pictured in the evening with a group of children playing around the police box, checking his area for fire, and stopping a streetwalker. The presentation is kind and the policeman is portrayed sympathetically.

"With pistols, hatchets, and swords, in a series of bloody episodes, eight policemen were killed at their posts of duty and 90 were injured last year alone (within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Board)," says the commentary. Even though their income has been augmented, "to serve as a policeman is a painstaking job, requiring heavy labor of mind and body -- although there are some among them who take advantage of their position to behave as 'street bosses.'"

With two more pages of pictures in the same issue, ASAHI GRAPH shows the arrest of a pickpocket. A staff cameraman sought unsuccessfully for 13 days to get pictures of a pickpocket in action; on the 14th, at a crowded street stall, he succeeded. Just as he snapped his first picture, a stranger(who turned out to be a detective) moved forward and arrested the youthful thief. The picture sequence covers the whole episode.

Less complimentary to the policemen is an article in KEISATSU KENKYU by Masami Ikechi, chief of education for the Metropolitan Police Office. He opens by describing an accident at a street crossing; the automobile

driver involved asked a passing policeman to come to the scene. "Report to the police down at the station--I'm too busy on my patrol," was the answer he received. This is presented as an example of the individual policeman's habit of evading responsibility -- which Ikechi believes one of his worst faults. Policemen in the past have been regarded as unkind, gloomy, and bigoted, avers the writer. What is required to establish a democratic police system is not structural reform, but a change of the mental attitude, he says, and this change should be accomplished through education.

A police inspector, Saburo Fujisawa, in JIKEI suggests certain reforms which he believes should be instituted in the police system. These changes are concerned largely with the attitude of the police toward the people and that of the people toward the police. "Since the police exist for the people, we must first of all be loved by the people. As public servants, we must be kind and never oppressive. It is desirable that people be able to approach policemen and police stations easily. Since the police are the means of controlling social evil, we must be respected and trusted by the public. We are not only public servants, but also guardians and leaders. Since we have to deal with people, we should work for their understanding and cooperation. While supervising, we must respect human rights and not suppress them."

In searching and arresting criminal suspects, their rights must be considered, Fujisawa asserts. "Hitherto, when making arrests, the police often have put persons under wrongful restraint, forced them to confess, and what is worse, used torture on them." Since this is no longer allowed, these practices must be replaced by the exercise of special ingenuity and effort, with respect for the rights of the individual. It is not for the police to render judgment; that is the duty of the courts, Fujisawa explains. "Fully understanding this spirit, the police must be prudent in searching and investigating suspects. Unless a suspect is found guilty by formal trial, he should never be treated as a felon."

A JIKEI article by Morita Fukui lays emphasis on the exemplary behaviour now required of policemen. "In order to realize a truly democratic police administration, both the police officer and the public first of all must observe the principles of decorum in their daily life." While being fair, they must also be firm. "Police officers are expected on the one hand to observe a fair and just attitude toward the public; on the other, they must carry out their duties positively and resolutely, with a stern attitude toward those who violate the law or disturb public welfare." It is further emphasized that "they must act more than ever in close association with prosecuting authorities. * * * In contrast to other administrative officials, the police assume responsibility for maintaining public peace at the risk of their lives. Since this is their mission, they must live up to it, and in their daily conduct must show the public the criteria they are to follow."

Police Magazines

There are several specialized magazines which combine informational and instructional material for the policeman with summaries and interpretations of current events. KEISATSU JIHO (Police Times) is a typical example of this type of publication. The opening editorial of the August issue warns the policeman that under present-day conditions few persons can live without violating some of the established laws in some degree; therefore the officer should avoid a retreat into strict formalism and discharge his duties with understanding and common sense.

Minoru Shiba offers a number of pointers on scientific examination of the scene of a crime, and Tadahiro Hayama discusses the status of hearsay evidence under new Japanese law. "Random Notes," credited to "Takahashi," a policeman of 22 years service, urges policemen to become more "daring and

determined" and advises stronger disciplinary control. Seizo Matsumoto writes about the control of black markets, and stresses that while regulations must be strict, care should be taken to prevent any revival of the "police state." The role of the newly established Economic Inspector also is explained.

"The New Constitution and the Popular Police" is the title of an article by Shigetoshi Tsutano. Another commentary, "What Others Don't Know," gives police experts an opportunity to divulge favorite methods and tricks of the trade. In the latter pages of the journal are summaries of new laws and how they are to be administered by the police, together with explanations of current events abroad and in Japan. Other issues of this magazine seem to follow about the same general pattern.

The Police System and the Laws

A long KEISATSU KENKYU article describes the administration of Japan under terms of the Potsdam Declaration, linking reform of the police system with other basic changes. The writer explains how the Allies have utilized the Japanese Government and other existing machinery to carry out Occupation policies under the direction of SCAP. Prescribed reforms reportedly are being enforced in accordance with Allied directives, with revision of the police system described as one of the objectives. Among important steps taken, the writer notes, are the abolition by police directive of all restrictions on thought, religion, meeting, and freedom of the press and speech; the abolition of secret police and the special foreign police department; the discharge of high police officials and members of branches previously abolished; reform of the prefectural police structure, and dedication of the police system to the maintenance of public peace and welfare.

Japan's progress from a "police state" under the Meiji Constitution to present democratic conditions is detailed by Jiro Tanaka, of the Tokyo University Law Department in SHIN KEISATSU. Under the old form of government, the Emperor was given the right to promulgate decrees or ordinances in order "to secure the public welfare and protect the public from calamities" when the Diet was in recess. This paved the way, according to the writer, for the issuance of police regulations in the form of "independent decrees." To support these laws--proclaimed by the administration rather than by the legislative branch--there was issued an "Imperial Ordinance on Penalties for the Violation of Cabinet, Ministry, Departmental and Prefectural Decrees and Police Regulations."

At the end of the war the author contends, this condition had to be changed to comply with the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. Since the process of securing Diet approval for immediately necessary reforms was slow, the Government promulgated an Imperial Ordinance "Concerning Orders to Be Issued in Compliance with the Terms of the Potsdam Declaration." This ordinance is said to have furnished guidance for many police cases. Inauguration of the new Constitution, however, meant the end of the previous police regulations and also of the penalty law which supported them. Now "it is evident," Tanaka declares, "that henceforth all police regulations will be enacted in the form of laws, because any police regulations not enforced by penalty rules hardly can be expected to exert effect."

Tanaka further anticipates that, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, "a new Police Law will be enacted as the central basis for many police regulations, and in it will be prescribed general principles regarding police organization and standards. Within the realm of each department -- business, traffic, and general welfare -- separate laws will be enacted establishing police regulations and penalties for violations. But practical police procedures will be enacted within each district, in accordance with the Local Self-Government Law, for it is essential that

police administration be suited to the actual circumstances in each locality."

The Adultery Question

The Diet recently attracted wide attention by conducting an open meeting to receive public opinion on the question of whether adultery on the part of women should continue to be punishable (with a prison sentence) under criminal law; whether adultery provisions should be applied to men also, or whether the subject should be omitted entirely from the new criminal code. "An important problem now under consideration by Diet committees is whether or not adultery should be retained in the revised criminal code," a FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN staff writer observes. "The majority (of speakers at the public meeting) advocated punishment of adultery." The writer criticizes the old provisions under which only women were held responsible. "It is unfair that married women alone are to be condemned for having a new love, while men's adultery is exempted. Allowing concubines' sons to inherit the fathers' property instead of legal wives' daughters, and maintaining a licensed system of prostitution, run counter to the spirit shown in the new Constitution." To penalize both sexes equally is called "a haughty attitude, ignoring human nature," and to retain the existing provisions on adultery "would be a great impediment to the emancipation of women and the establishment of monogamy in a true sense."

Sakae Wagatsuma, head of the Tokyo University Law Department, explains in SHUFU NO TOMO that under the provisions of the draft of the new criminal law, adultery will not be punishable as a crime, but it will furnish cause for divorce for either sex under the civil code. Elaborating on the German system (under which both sexes are held accountable) and the English (where adultery is not a criminal offense), Wagatsuma expresses belief that the English system has shown better results. To punish a husband for immoral conduct would be, he declares, "meaningless under present conditions in Japan, where the wife's economic status and the level of social morality are extremely low in contrast to those of other countries." In England, he explains, immoral conduct is held in check by social restraints and public opinion. Japan, too, "must elevate the level of her social morality and improve the economic position of women. If popular morality is elevated and social restraint made stronger, immoral conduct will gradually decrease without the necessity for legal punishment."

Continued punishment of adultery is urged by Mumeo Oku, member of the House of Councillors, in NEW PAGE. The ideal, Oku writes, would be to check immorality through the public conscience, but this is not possible because "the Japanese people are very immoral; in Japan there has been no social restraint against illicit intercourse. * * * Thus it is necessary to prevent such shameful deeds by direct punishment." Although he does not actually say so, it appears from Oku's arguments that he favors application of the law equally to men and women.

Eight well-known personalities, questioned by a YOMIURI WEEKLY reporter, give their opinions on the adultery issue for this journal. The group however, seems weighted with individuals famous for their romantic love affairs, and the majority oppose retention of the adultery provisions. The most frequently voiced reason is that (in the words of Mrs. Asao Hara), "it is barbarous to make love an object of punishment or bind it by a law." Several who favor abolition propose that problems of infidelity be solved by intelligent approach on the part of the persons concerned. Upholding retention, Mrs. Shizue Kato declares: "If adultery is not punished, we cannot insure that it will not be committed openly. * * * As an ideal the law should be abolished; but from the practical point of view, it should be preserved." Denyemon Ito, a coal mine operator, asks: "What shall we do if adultery is committed as easily as smoking or drinking? * * * I want punishment for an adulteress to be as heavy as possible."

"The matters attracting most attention in the Diet have been the Seko* case, coal production, and the adultery issue," a staff writer sums up.

*(Investigation by Diet committee -- of which Seko was vice-chairman -- of hoarded and concealed goods.)

"Not only did the public hearing in the House of Councillors attract wide attention, but also the matter is receiving heated discussion within each party. At the public hearing, both approval and disapproval were heard. But the actual opinion in the Diet is 70 percent in favor of retention. Those who want to preserve the law are powerful. In particular, 80 percent of the women members of both houses support the provision. Of course, they support equal application to both men and women, flatly opposing the previous one-sided punishment."

The Courts

Shinnosuke Abe comments on Japanese courts in a BUNGEI SHUNJU article. It is the duty of the court, he asserts, to learn everything possible about the defendant, who should be examined by a physiologist, a psychologist, and a sociologist in order that both prosecution and judgment may be accurate. Abe refers to the Kodaira trial* (which attracted considerable press attention) and says that if the criminal had been given a mental examination at the time of an earlier conviction, he would have been isolated from society and thus prevented from committing later crimes. But the writer voices suspicion that Kodaira was tortured into confessing three more murders than he actually had committed, and asks for an investigation of this charge.

In MINSHU HYORON, Akira Masaki demands that many judges now in office be purged. "In accordance with SCAP orders, the State-supreme doctrine was denied; the Emperor became an ordinary man; the military forces were demobilized, and the thought-police were abolished. But the judges remain unpurged. * * * The greater number of the present criminal judges have deprived the people of freedom, dignity and independence during wartime. They are enemies of human progress. It is unreasonable and dangerous for such undemocratic judges to be retained in office under the new Constitution."

The prosecution system of the United States is discussed in KEISATSU JIHO by Kotaro Kawaguchi. Differing functions of state and federal laws are pointed out, and the guarentees of individual rights are explained. The writer insists that Japanese officials strike a proper balance between respect for individual rights and firmness in executing arrests when action is warranted. American officials realize, he asserts, that their system still needs improvement and the Japanese are urged to make "selective imitations" of the American system rather than to copy it blindly.

*(Kodaira was convicted in the spring of 1947 for the seduction and murder of ten women.)

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

ASAHI GRAPH, 15,000; BUNGEI SHUNJU, 30,000, Shinnosuke Abe; FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN, 17,000; G-MEN, 35,000, Mitsuo Kimbara, Tokuzo Goto, Rinzo Ono, Shoichi Kimura, Soichi Oya; JIKEI, 2,000, Saburo Fujisawa, Morita Fukui; JIMMIN HYORON, 6,000, Emori Moriya; KEISATSU JIHO, 1,000, Kotaro Kawaguchi; KEISATSU KENKYU, 2,000; NEW PAGE, 5,000, Mumeo Oku; MINSHU HYORON, 4,500, Akira Masaki; SALARIED MAN, 30,000, Ryokichi Minowada; SANDEI MAINICHI, 25,000, Moto Ishiguchi, Tsuneko Mita; SHUFU NO TOMO, 50,000, Sakae Wagatsuma; YOMINONO JIJI, 35,000, Mitsui Dezawa, Mitsuo Kimbara, Shinjiro Senda; YOMIURI WEEKLY, 50,000, Fumiko Takarada, Mrs.Asao Hara, Musoan Takebayashi, Ippei Okamoto, Shizue Kato, Akiko Yanagiwara, Denyemon Ito, Mrs. Toshi Matsuo; SHIN KEISATSU, 1,000, Jiro Tanaka.
*Where available.

Seven other articles were used but not directly quoted in this report, which is based on articles published from April to October, 1947.

NOTE: These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are avilable to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with the Same Subject

Japanese Police and Penal System, Pub. Anal. No.16, 2 March 1946.
Summary of press comments on Japanese police, penal system, and prison conditions.

Law and Law Enforcement, Pub. Anal. No.74, 24 September 1946.
Covers reform of the court system and criminal law, reform of civil law, police and prisons, and police handling of black markets.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

* *

Publications Analysis, 9 October 1947 NO.121

Export Trade for Japan

Economic and general magazines continue to pour out articles dealing with foreign trade, credit speculation, and the various forms of enterprise which may be expected to take a prominent part in the commercial future of Japan. Disappointment is widespread at the failure of silk to regain its prewar popularity in the American market, but writers discuss other products and materials which may be made the basis for future trade.

Much emphasis is laid on medium and small-scale industries, and many commentators hold the view that processed and finished goods made with imported raw materials should be regarded as the best form of enterprise at the present time. Some hope for American credit, others more realistically suggest imports of needed goods to be paid for out of increased Japanese production.

Japanese Industry in the Postwar Period

A warning note is sounded by industrialist Yujiro Iwai, writing in EKONOMISUTO, as he cautions Japanese industry to "rationalize" in preparation for the economic future.

Iwai aska, "Why do so many persons discuss the postwar industry and trade of Japan without paying attention to the economic changes which have taken place all over the world as well as in Japan itself? Such people seem to think that the economic future of Japan is merely a matter of deducting all war losses and indemnities from the economic structure of the country and reckoning the surplus.

"It is not quite so simple; Japan and all the nations of the world are undergoing constant progress and change. If one considers this rationally, it becomes clear that Japanese industry must adapt itself to a new world. . . abandon its independent prewar attitude and prepare for a sound international future."

This writer cautions against "employment for employment's sake," and urges direction of manpower into truly productive channels. "Hereafter Japanese industry must develop along sound business lines; even Japanese agriculture must produce articles having a high exchange value in the international market. It eventually may be more profitable even to import such commodities as rice and sugar. Japanese industries which are to be concerned with foreign trade and imported materials must devote themselves to the study of international business practices. To promote the welfare of the nation and to develop the culture of Japan, we must learn first of all the way of scientific production and the rationalization of living from the example of America."

In a discussion of various types of merchandise, Koichi Chiba writes, in KANZUME JIHO, that "medium and small-scale industries will play the most important role in the resumption of trade, and the Government and the people should cooperate in developing products and merchandise which can be manufactured on this level."

Chiba cautions against over-optimism based on the cheap labor of the past: "We must consider the cost problem in respect to export goods. The

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former backbone of our export trade was low wages; however, under present conditions, not even medium and small-scale business can count on manufacturing goods on such a basis. There is little hope of exporting any large volume of goods in competition with world prices as long as we cannot operate our own cargo carriers for cheaper freight."

Much the same note is sounded by Shinichi Hishiyama in a MINSHU DAIGAKU article. He points out that "since the war broke, Japan has been separated from foreign commerce, and the system of trade has been altered greatly. Japanese trade may be said to have gone back to the Meiji era, at which time Japan took orders from foreign traders, executed them, shipped on foreign vessels, and received or made payment through foreign banks. A similar condition may be expected to prevail for some time. To establish basic industries, such as coal, iron, or steel, is of paramount importance for the rapid development of export trade in general. To give priority to the concentrated production of coal and iron, and also to encourage export industries, it will be necessary to put industry as a whole on firm foundation, and to elevate its standards to fit Japan to resume normal trade, establish credit, and set up an exchange rate -- with the ultimate aim of repaying all debts due the Allied powers."

Conditions in medium and small-scale industry are discussed in KEIZAI SEISAKU KENKYUJO-HO by Chotaro Sakairi, who attaches much importance to the reopening of foreign trade. "In the past, a large proportion of Japan's exports were products of small companies, a prop to the national economy. Any attempt to account for the extraordinary increase in the number of medium and small-scale enterprises must be a part of the study of the industrial mechanism of Japan as a whole. It may be said to stem from such sources as over-population and the transition of farm-villagers to city industries in times of agricultural impoverishment, and . . . from the low wage scale established thereby."

Sakairi also says that the days of cheap labor are past, and outlines a course of action for smaller enterprises "which must survive through cooperation with larger industries. Further, cooperation between medium and small scale industries themselves is necessary, in order to strengthen their position in financing and in obtaining supplies of necessary materials. Care also must be taken to outline spheres of influence in production between large and small industries; their relationship should be a close one, and consideration should be given to sepcialties suited to the productive machinery of small business. Especially important for these industries are the development of sound productive methods and techniques and the rationalization of management. It is by solving these problems that the importance of medium and small-scale industries will be brought to the fore in Japan's future export trade."

Export Goods

With emphasis on these medium and small-scale industries, many pages of economic magazines are devoted to factual surveys of foreign trade prospects, with specific industries listed as suitable for export activity.

One such DAIAMONDO account, while deploring the decline of silk "due to the unpreparedness of American markets and the remarkable development of nylon," goes on to regard the future of the rayon and staple fibre industry as "very hopeful," because these enterprises are based on domestic materials.

"However, in view of the advanced techniques developed in foreign countries during wartime, the Japanese must concentrate every effort on parallel technical advancement," he says.

As for other industries: "Bicycles held an important role in the prewar export trade. This industry was obliged to convert to munitions manufacture during wartime and was seriously damaged by air-raids, but by strenuous efforts of all concerned, production capacity has risen to 70 percent of prewar levels. A brisk demand for bicycles may be expected in foreign countries. . . and the present low rate of production will increase

if raw materials are made available and if the present low official price is raised."

In regard to communications equipment, the writer states that this industry "does not require a great amount of imported materials, but calls for a high degree of skill in the processing and finishing procedures. Because of this, it is well adapted to Japanese industry. Last year products were exported to Korea, and they also may be expected to find a market in the Philippines, the Malay States, and other Far Eastern countries, among which China will be prominent. Industrialists concerned must endeavor to obtain the minimum imports which will permit them to increase production."

Demand for cameras is expected to be active, even though "the present rate of production is only half that of prewar days'." However, "cameras for export in the past were generally cheap and of poor quality, while today's output is of high quality and not inferior to American and German products. Demand for cameras is very great in the U.S. market, and techniques of production have been improved and elevated through the cooperation of Commerce and Industry Ministry authorities. In view of the nature of camera manufacture, medium and small-scale units are an integral part of the industry, and Government support for these units is to be encouraged."

Improvement of the quality of sewing machines is held to be the key to expanding exports, for "with the use of steel of increased quality, sewing machines made in Japan are not inferior to these on the American market. This industry has a bright future as an export industry, and exports in proportion to foreign demand will be limited only by production."

Sewing machines also are regarded favorably in an ORIENTAL ECONOMIST staff article, which states that "the authorized reopening of trade with the rest of the world has brightened prospects for the sewing machine industry. About 17,000 units are to be shipped abroad during the current year, according to the export program of the Board of Trade. Equipment capacity makes possible the output of 220,000 to 230,000 units, but the shortage of necessary materials may bring actual output down to the 140,000 level. The export total of 17,000 units must be maintained, however, even at the expense of domestic consumption. Efforts also will be directed toward reviving export of needles and sewing machine parts and accessories. * * * The rapid revival of production is attributable to the early resoration of manufacturing plants, the alleviation of the power restriction, and the recent raising of the price ceiling. If only coal, steel, and coke are supplied in sufficient quantity, the production curve in all probability will continue an upward movement."

Another DAIAMONDO staff article considers current Japanese export economy in relation to specific industries. Stressing production, this writer points out that only through increased exports can Japan justify continued imports of vital materials, and thus curb mounting inflation. Also desired is some form of foreign credit, for "at the present time when Japan is experiencing difficulty in getting back to economic normalcy, the import of foreign capital is an imminent problem. If (an American) credit is established, production will expand and the present runaway inflation will be halted. We must, however, undertake to increase production (on the basis of present conditions) in order to justify credit and continued imports."

Taking the view that the textile industry will be unable to recapture the full volume of prewar trade, this writer discusses certain other pivotal export enterprises. Of tea, it is said that "the amount exported in 1946-1947 was less than one-fifth that of prewar days. This was due to decreased acreage under cultivation and also to reduced yield per acre because of the shortage of fertilizer. It will be four or five years before prewar production levels may be attained, and every effort must be made to elevate the quality of the product in the interim."

The future of the electric lamp industry is promising, according to this writer. "Electric lamps have long played a large role in our export trade.

Factories suffered severe war damage, and many were forced to convert for munitions manufacture. Postwar output therefore was remarkably reduced, but the current production is steadily on the increase due to the smooth distribution of materials, the restoration of producing machinery, and the enhanced will of industrialists to work, owing to the revision of official prices. The expected export total will be attained easily in view of present production, and if certain needed imports are allowed, a sizeable gain will be shown in the future."

Ceramic production "has emerged as a major export industry, and is gaining ground rapidly, though exports are still less than ten percent of prewar totals. To judge from reports of scarcities of ceramics in foreign countries, a considerable demand may be anticipated. Present ceramic output is approximately forty percent of capacity, due to war damage and the shortage of coal. With adequate repairs and an increased flow of coal, it will not take long for the industry to resume prewar production. Ceramics of high quality will take position as one of the major items of export in the future."

Musical instruments, which can be manufactured as handicraft by medium and small industries, "may be viewed with encouragement. Up to now other Oriental nations have been the chief customers, but with improved quality, such items as harmonicas should find a place in the American market. Japanese harmonicas and violins are not inferior to those sold elsewhere, though the quality of Japanese pianos leaves a little to be desired. Musical instrument plants suffered considerable war-damage, but industrialists concerned are making progress in rehabilitation. They must stress quality if they are to expect export trade with Occidental nations."

Marine Products

"The future of Japan, surrounded by the sea," this writer continues, "must depend, to a large extent, on marine products. Establishment of processing and finishing factories will be necessary for increased exportation of marine products, such as isinglass, the present output of which is only one-fifth that of prewar days. The same is true of canned crab, salmon, and trout, which industry also labors under the handicap of the loss of Arctic fishing waters. Salted fish, edible seaweed, etc., formerly exported on a large scale to China, will not resume full volume under the confused economic situation now prevailing in that country. As regards cod-liver oil, remarkable advances in exports may be anticipated in view of foreign demand."

Fish-liver oil also is regarded highly in an ORIENTAL ECONOMIST article which considers it "one of the most promising exchange items. The American demand is large and stable. Fish livers are abundantly available in Japan, and costs of production are low. Livers rich in Vitamin A are found in tuna, horsemackerel, yellow-fish, and sole, while Vitamin D comes mostly from bonito livers. * * * Various bottlenecks confront the increased production of liver oil. Because one of the greatest is the scarcity of fuel and equipment, it is to be hoped that the Allied Powers will extend as much assistance as possible to alleviate the situation. Drums are in short supply, as are caustic soda, salt, and coal. Another step of urgent importance is to raise the official price of fish livers, the present price being so low that fishermen find it more profitable to sell their hauls in bulk than to take the trouble of extracting the livers -- which are thereby lost."

Other Export Industries.

Japanese industry, according to a DAIAMONDO staff writer, is characterized by "poor resources and superfluous labor." In the light of this characteristic feature, products "should be exported after due processing and finishing of imported raw materials. Most hopeful, prospects are for ceramics, glassware, precision instruments, art goods, and cotton and yarn products. After these come farm and marine products, such as raw silk,

tea, fruits, Japanese paper, cigarettes, and camphor. These products will not aggregate a large amount of money; the emphasis should therefore be placed on processed and finished goods for export -- concentrating on high quality and technical perfection."

Match making, according to another ORIENTAL ECONOMIST staff writer, is one of the oldest export industries in Japan, the first shipment of matches having been made in 1878. Production in 1945 "dropped to about one-fifth of the 1933-1936 level, due to scrapping of match plants, air raid damages, and unfavorable profit conditions. Match production capacity is estimated at 380,000 match tons per year. Due to the shortage of necessary materials, however, it will be difficult for Japanese makers to exceed 300,000 match tons."

Lacquerware previously was exported, according to this writer, to the USA, England, Kwantung and Manchuria. "The blueprint for exports of lacquerware for the period July 1947-June 1948 estimates 3,259,800 pieces valued at ¥355,318,000. However, as commodity prices are mounting, it is certain that the value of the contemplated exports will have to be revised. Lacquerware has been turned out by medium and small-scale enterprises and consequently has suffered little war damage. But the greatest stumbling block to this branch of industry is the shortage of raw materials, especially of home-produced lacquer indispensable for the manufacture of high grade ware. In order to increase production of this critical raw material, it is desirable that land be reforested with lacquertrees, (which) were felled recklessly during the war, and that foreign lacquer be imported from such countries as China and French Indo-China. Some sort of financial assistance, too, will be necessary for the promotion of lacquerware exports."

The Oriental Market

Recognition of the importance of the Oriental market for Japanese exports comes from Tetsuji Sato, chief secretary of Osaka's Shin Nippon Businessmen's Association. Writing in BOEKI ANNAI, Sato points out that in considering foreign trade, "most Japanese seem to think only of America. It is true that there are good reasons for this; only America has sufficient supply of goods to export and import on a large scale at the present time. However, if we give further consideration to the prospects of foreign trade, we shall find that closer investigation of the Oriental market is both necessary and essential for the future. "It is well known that, among other articles, raw silk and certain special natural products were shipped to the United States and other Western countries, but the leading customers for exports at large were India, China and the South Sea countries. With the failure of silk to recapture its former market in America, and with other natural resources as scarce as ever, it becomes evident that we must select as exports sundry goods, processed cotton yarn and cloth, and other articles made of imported materials. It is also evident that the customers for these exports will be limited to Oriental, not Western, markets. * * * In reopening foreign trade, especially with the Oriental market, scientific research into export's will be of utmost importance. There are, however, other considerations to be studied closely. One such factor is that Japanese articles may be ill-designed for the foreign market because of our long withdrawal from world trade. This must be closely considered. Also important, and much talked of before the war, is the necessity for making a more thorough study of the conditions and customs of the Oriental peoples. Japan has suffered in the past because of lack of such study and understanding. This is a mistake not to be repeated."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

BOEKI ANNAI, 4,000, Tetsuji Sato; DAIAMONDO, 20,000, three staff articles; EKONOMISUTO, 15,000, Yujiro Iwai; KANZUME JIHO, 1,000, Koichi Chiba; KEIZAI SEISAKU KENKYUJO-HO, 3,000, Chotaro Sakairi; MINSHU DAIGAKU, 3,000, Shinichi Hishiyama; THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 2,000, three staff articles.
*Where available.

Sixteen other articles were used, but not directly quoted, for this analysis, which is based on articles published July to August, 1947.

These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Foreign Trade

Foreign Capital and Exchange, Pub. Anal. No.111, 13 August, 1947
Considers the questions of finance involved in reopening of foreign trade.

Reopening of Foreign Trade, Pub. Anal. No.109, 5 August, 1947.
Comments on trade resumption and on the outlook for foreign trade, and the prospects for export industries.

Export Industries, Pub. Anal. No.97, 27 March, 1947.
Covers foreign trade, export commodities, and necessary imports.

Japan's Position Among the Nations, Pub. Anal. No.87, 18 December, 1946
Discusses Japan in foreign trade and world trade in relation to Japan's internal economy.

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the election, Yoshida "irrationally" objected to their formation of a cabinet and also declared that a national cabinet was unnecessary.

In order to prevent such occurrences, Imanaka believes that "it is necessary to specify in the Constitution that the prime minister shall be chosen from the leading party" -- the ranking party being allowed to yield the premiership to the runner-up if it wishes -- and "parties should not interfere in the internal affairs of other parties." Coalition arrangements should be carried out by agreement between whole parties, not through personal consultation of a few politicians. A coalition cabinet should not aim at the ideal of "national unity," but should attempt simply to stabilize a confused political situation. Imanaka dislikes the idea of a "national unity coalition," as rendering the parties unable to carry out their own ideas.

A short TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO article notes that two members of the Cabinet are non-party-men: Wada, Director of the ESB, and Kurusu, Minister of Finance. In order that true constitutional democracy, based on party politics, may be realized, the writer insists that "it is their duty to make clear their actual position," because as Cabinet members they will be compelled to act as politicians rather than simply as economic technicians, and because the economic policies they formulate are bound to be in agreement with those of the group to which they belong.

Prime Minister Katayama

Katayama's idealism and Nishio's realism characterize the Cabinet, writes Susumu Sawabiraki in SANDFI MAINICHI. "Nishio," declares this writer, "is the driving force which built the present Cabinet. It is Nishio who undertook almost single-handed the difficult task of Cabinet-making. It is said that Katayama simply acceded to the proposals of Nishio." The two are closely allied, and it is impossible to think of the one without the other, Sawabiraki says.

"Of rather tall stature, looking young for his age (61), with tufted hair, Prime Minister Katayama is a man of retiring disposition; there is something melancholy, too, in his expression. Nishio is a small-statured man of about five feet, his hair mixed with grey. He is always combative, sharp, and alert." Sawabiraki asserts that there is "a kind of magnetic attraction" between the two; more important, "each of them knows his own individual qualities and respects those of the other. * * * Whether the Katayama Cabinet will give us happiness or not depends on how well these two manage to keep in step with the other ministers to carry out adequate policies."

Sawabiraki attests to the popularity of Katayama among journalists in another issue of SANDFI MAINICHI. This popularity "is the result of his fine character, which never shows discrimination against any journalist." Sawabiraki laments that since Katayama became Premier, he has had little chance to talk with newspapermen, and urges that more opportunities be made for such talk. This will help Katayama to gain public support for the Cabinet.

ASAHI GRAPH shows pictures of the appearance of Katayama and Wada on the Ginza for a public discussion meeting of the emergency economic measures. "Judging from this," says the commentary, "the Socialist Cabinet members seem anxious to show the people how they are putting the ideas of social democracy into practice." But on the same day the restaurant owners' association held a demonstration in protest against the closing of their establishments, and many present at the forum insisted on bringing up their own problems. This aroused antagonism in the crowd and the meeting ended in confusion, the article relates.

Leftist Influence Within The Socialist Party

Makoto Hayama gives in SEIKAI JIHPU an interpretation of the events accompanying the formation of the Cabinet, particularly the anti-Communist declaration of the Socialist Party leftists. As a condition to successful accomplishment of a four-party coalition, Yoshida is said to have demanded of Katayama a purge of left-wingers in the Socialist Party on the basis that State secrets would leak out if Communist elements mingled with the administration. Hayama considers this a political attempt to prevent a Katayama-led Cabinet and get the

premiership for Shidehara. Finally, with an anti-Communist speech, Yoshida separated his party from the coalition and went over to opposition,

Although the Democrats also wanted the position of prime minister, and made many demands on the Socialists, a triparty cabinet was finally formed on an "antiultraleftist" basis. Agreement was reached through concessions of the Socialists, and the left-wing members of the Party were not active participants because they had made a great mistake, according to the writer.

The "mistake" of the leftists was the declaration by Kanju Kato and Mosaburo Suzuki separating their faction from the Communists. These two are said to have sought Cabinet posts because they felt that "the left wing must enter the coalition cabinet with the rightists in order to realize leftist policies." When the danger of the "leaking out of state secrets" was brought up and the conservatives began to attack the left-wingers by utilizing anti-Communist feeling, Suzuki and Kato(who previously had urged collaboration with the Communists) "yielded to the rightists" and made an anti-Communist declaration which had "unexpectedly great" results, and "brought complete defeat to Kato and Suzuki because of the incoherence of its argument and the poor timing and method of its announcement."

Havama traces the previous beneficial influences of the left wing within the Party and regrets its temporary eclipse. "If the Socialist Party is to develop into a healthy, socialistic organization, the inclusion of the leftists is indispensable. The leftists are a belt which connects the Party with labor and farmer organizations."

A CHORYU staff writer likewise characterizes the left-wing Socialists as "a link, which our intellectual class and our laborers support, between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party." Loss of the Party's left wing would mean the loss of labor support, he states. "The Socialist Party is like jelly, but through cooperation with the Communist Party it can become as firm as concrete. * * * It is doubtful whether the Socialists can accomplish the democratization of Japan if they are severed from the Communist Party."

Several episodes and observations on political activities form the substance of a JIKFI article by Hanzo Izumi. "The Socialists," he asserts, "have the staunch support of the people. * * * The reason the Socialist Party had its recent (election) success is not the popularity of the party itself, but because it opposes the conservatives. * * * Suehiro Nishio, of the right wing, makes an interesting statement: 'The character of the Socialist Party would be lost should the left wing be eliminated.' This is well spoken. * * * We earnestly hope that each political party will cease thinking only about the allotment of cabinet seats and being concerned only with the prestige of the party, and that each will show itself to the nation to be a fair and broad-minded party."

Administration Policies

Shinjiro Tanaka, writing in CHORYU, calls the election a triumph for the Socialist Party and lists as reasons for its success, 1) the awakening of the masses to the importance of the election; 2) the purge of mayors and village officials; 3) the support of labor and farmers' unions; and 4) reaction to soaring inflation and black-market economy under the Yoshida Cabinet. "Until our industrial strength is restored," he asserts, "endurance and diligence are the only means of holding up the living standard of the Japanese. There must be a Government under which the people willingly and voluntarily endure hardships. This is exactly what we expect of the Socialist Party . . . with the strong support of the working class."

In a page of "General Views," a TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff writer notes the spiritual nature of the Cabinet's general policies. "A spiritual movement in itself is not always insignificant, but too much shouting does not necessarily bring the people to follow Government policies," he comments. Before Katayama

came to power, the Socialist leader had stressed the need of an administration slogan, "'One who does not work is not entitled to eat.' * * * Unless he puts this into practice, the national movement will surely be devoid of results." The writer approves the proposed Civil Service reform. "Supervision and inspection of both bureaucracy and black-marketing will be more effective than the above-mentioned national movement in assuring a bright future."

Another TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff article summarizes briefly the points made by Katayama and Wada in their policy speeches to the Diet on 1 July. The most important problem before the country is the increase of production, and FSB Director Wada is quoted as saying that "the Administration is working primarily on two matters -- increasing priority production of basic raw materials, and promotion of exports." It will be a long time, states the article, before these steps will produce an abundant supply of goods and materials, and it is well that both ministers emphasized the need for stoic living and enduring of hardship.

Tomoyuki Ishihama, an economic commentator, begins a HYORON piece by pointing out three characteristics of the Cabinet. A coalition cabinet's policies "must be formulated on the basis of compromise," he says. Although a coalition, the present Administration does not encompass all parties, omitting the Liberals, Communists, and the Socialist left-wingers; hence "it may be said to be a coalition of the Socialists with other parties representing the progressive bourgeoisie." It is not a so-called "save-the-nation cabinet," but one formed after careful consideration of the interests of all parties concerned, after some degree of normalcy had been restored following the war. The Katayama Cabinet, Ishihama continues, inherited an unfortunate situation from its predecessors. "Both the Shidehara and Yoshida Cabinets were 'entreating cabinets' which, floating on the stream of reality, let themselves be carried by the current. * * * They drove inflation into an irremedial condition." Although the present Cabinet is led by Socialists, it omits the most radical elements and represents a coalition with bourgeois elements, including "the newly risen class which earned big inflationary profits." Thus, the writer declares, "the Cabinet must go along the same old course. Although it may show some freshness, it cannot muster sufficient political power to attack the impending crisis from its very foundation."

Ishihama surveys briefly the problems in the fields of industry, finance, and economy confronting the present Administration. Then he asserts: "We see how serious is its responsibility and how unreasonable it is to expect too much of the Cabinet. * * * Since the present crisis has been caused by a decline in production, the only way to overcome this is to seek the positive cooperation of the workers. But capital already has lost the power to mobilize labor. Even supposing it to be possible, capital would have to endure great sacrifice and make concessions in doing so. Under these circumstances, it is to be anticipated that capital will strive to enlist the support of labor, which is now escaping from its control, through association with the Socialists under the name of a 'save-the-nation coalition regime.' We ask that the Socialists take every precaution against such cunning capitalist overtures, so as not to be tempted, consciously or unconsciously, to betray the working class."

The incumbent Administration has two politically difficult problems, Kiyoshi Tsuchiya tells ASAHI HYORON readers. "One is the problem of control of prices and wages, and the other is that of inflation. Measures relating to the former are not very well liked by the laborers, but cannot be solved by other than a Socialist cabinet. As to the latter, the profits acquired through inflation should be absorbed by all means. As things now stand, however, registration of new yen and a second tax on property may be impossible because of the relationship of the Socialists with other parties. If so, it is clear that labor will not be satisfied with the conservative attitude of the Socialist Cabinet."

In order to enjoy labor cooperation, Tsuchiya declares, the Socialists must enforce nationalization of basic industries -- coal, steel, fertilizer, electric power, shipping. "Of these, State control of coal should be instituted first. Control of coal is a key not only to the fate of the Socialist Cabinet, but also to the success of all the Cabinet's policies."

Tsuchiya calls the present period "the last chance to save the difficult situation peacefully." With Japan preparing to regain a place in international society, and with important accompanying decisions to be made and programs to be begun, all of them factors in the nation's reconstruction, Tsuchiya calls on the people to "make great efforts, which coincidentally will give encouragement to the Cabinet."

Support and Encouragement for the Administration

Hitoshi Yamakawa gives a rebuttal in SEKAI HYORON to alleged conservative criticism that the Socialists are a "class" party and not a national party. "If socialism is a principle for a single class instead of for the whole nation, capitalism also is a principle of a special class and cannot be supported by the whole nation," he declares, charging that the Liberals, too, are "a class party, supported by financial capitalists, war-profiteers, and those who have gained through inflation." The success of the Socialist Party in the elections "means that the political power of the people who support socialism has prevailed over that of the people supporting capitalism." * * * A leading member of the Socialists rightly said that the Party represents the working people, who are 95 percent of the nation. The policies to be followed by the Socialists will satisfy the working people even though not all of them voted for the Socialists in the April elections."

In America, Yamakawa goes on, parties based on capitalism are overwhelmingly favored by the people. But in Japan the situation is different, he asserts, and the views and interests of the working class have now become identical with those of the nation.

"A Letter to Mr.Katayama" in CHUO KORON, authored by Hyoji Kato, assures the Prime Minister that all the nation appreciates his democratic and friendly behaviour and reiterates the need of linking the Administration directly to the people's will. Kato urges that the announced emergency measures and the national movement be put into practice. "Mr. Katayama, you have stated the necessity for enduring a scanty livelihood; and the nation will gladly endure it if they are able to have real hope for the reconstruction of their fatherland. * * * If you wish to have the nation cooperate, there is no other way than actually to practice such policies as will satisfy a people who are more concerned with inequality of living than with poverty. * * * You say in your statement that 'the politics of love and sacrifice is that of humanism, a spirit which we have been hoping to instill into politics for a long time.' I think that this is perhaps the first time we have been told of 'the politics of humanism' by a Prime Minister."

Criticism

A DAIAMONDO staff writer charges that the Socialists are failing to eliminate bureaucracy. To counter inflation, he writes, it is necessary to effect financial retrenchments. "Where shall we start the retrenchment policy? First, with a thorough adjustment of the administrative machinery, vast, complex, and parasitic. * * * Japan is still a bureaucratic state despite the termination of the war. Look at the vast number of Government workers, whose total reaches 2,300,000, including all employees of the Government railways, communications, bureaus, and prefectural governments. Suppose that the family of each contains four other persons; the total number will be 11,500,000. If the Japanese population is 75,000,000, then approximately one person out of six lives, directly or indirectly, off the parasitic bureaucratic structure. * * * The Government should decrease the number of employees by at least two thirds.

"The Government should initiate a cut-the-price movement," the writer continues, "by lowering the price of monopolized commodities, such as railroad fares, sake, and tobacco. There is nothing more necessary for present-day Japan than to have a 'cheap government.' No matter what the time or place, an 'expensive government' is apt to encourage corruption in the

official class and also bring about their collusion with a few of the privileged class, producing an unbearable fetter upon the development of prduction. The Socialist Party has surrendered completely to bureaucracy; and the ruinous bureaucratic structure is growing stronger every day."

A critical discussion which contains few constructive ideas appears anonymously in CHORYU. The Cabinet policies are said by the writer to contain nothing socialistic. "It is a policy that any party not led by Socialists could draft. Its content can be converted at any moment into a program against the interests of the working class. * * * It lacks an economic theory. In short, the economic emergency measure is like the model examination paper of an honor student, superior only in his school record. In it we can find scarcely any earnestness, spirit, or conscience on the part of the Socialist Party, which had been expected to stand up for the working class and enforce socialistic policies."

The Socialist Party, the writer continues, is not guided by any consistent principles. "This derives naturally from the fact that the Party includes many diverse elements. This is a weak point, which lessens the gap between the Socialists and the old conservative parties. The weakness is disclosed specifically in its economic policy. Its policy for Japan's economic recovery and rebuilding is unexpectedly commonplace and seems to be backed by no lofty principle."

Goro Hani, a member of the House of Councillors, prefaces a SEIKAI JIIPU article by remarking that the Katayama Cabinet is the first in Japanese history to have been "established by the people." He suggests, however, that the upsetting interparty parleys which preceded the formation of the coalition reminded the people that traces of the old type of power still remain, and made them disillusioned and doubtful over the future of the Cabinet. Going back through history, Hani recounts how liberal and communistic movements formerly were silenced by the imperialists. "We must never, at all costs, repeat that tragic history." He then refers to the present drive against Communists in Greece. "The policy of laying down a clear line of demarcation against Communism will lead to persecution of all those who oppose and criticize the Government as Communists and Communist supporters." Since the Japanese Communists gained five percent of the votes in the April elections, they should be entitled to one cabinet seat. "If we disdain the Communist Party, which aims at peaceful revolution and approves parliamentarism, I am afraid that we may make the Communist Party of Japan despair of peaceful revolution and lose respect for parliamentarism."

Communist Reactions

Communist leader Kyuichi Tokuda reports in ZENEI that "the Liberal and the Democratic Parties have been forced to make major concessions to the laborers and farmers as a result of our efforts in day-to-day struggle. But the class consciousness of the laborers and farmers did not increase very much, because the Communist leaders relied upon daily struggle alone." In addition to this, Tokuda believes, it is necessary to employ "the propaganda of class political education." Tokuda asserts that Communist opposition to the conservatives has benefitted the Socialist Party, and urges that misunderstandings of the laborers and farmers about Communism be straightened out.

"In the general election, the Communist tactics were very poor," he adds, "because the Communists had no past election experience." Tokuda believes that the lack of a "joint struggle" in cooperation with the Socialists harmed the Communists, and advises that future Communist election tactics be based on mobilization of a class organization.

Similar ideas are expressed in the same magazine by Toshio Kamiyama, who believes that daily activities are more important to party success than election campaigning. "The Communists," he declares, "must make efforts to safeguard the interests of the masses through daily strife, and at the same

time we must enlighten and educate them." He calls for skillful preparation for election campaigns, and for propaganda which will "serve to enlighten the public and gain its support." Noting that "the number of those who voted for the Communist Party is about ten times the total of Communist members," he urges that members increase their individual efforts to gain more supporters for their cause.

Communist Sanzo Nozaka, also writing in ZENFI, asserts that a bourgeois revolution is now in progress, with socialistic revolution a thing of the future. "For the time being, while the bourgeois revolution is gradually progressing toward socialistic revolution, our (Communist) strategy should be to seek the accomplishment of the former and prepare for the latter." Nozaka hopes for "State ownership of key industries and financial organs" under democratic supervision by the people. He cites as steps along the path of peaceful revolution the gains already made: the dissolution of the strength of the former ruling class; the weakening of the political and economic power of large, monopolistic financial interests; freedom for all; the broad power delegated to the Diet, and the international progress of democracy.

"In order to execute peaceful democratic revolution successfully," he asserts, "it is necessary for the Communists to grasp the minds of the people. In order to obtain popular support, we must strive to solve the various problems which confront the masses." As do the others, Nozaka stresses the importance of "enlightening and propagandizing the public" by studying and attacking everyday problems.

Parliamentary Processes

Ideas on the representative system of government are offered by Masamichi Royama in IE NO HIKARI. Diet activities, says he, are very much influenced by the people's attitude and the attention the people pay the legislative body. Although unions and farmers' organizations may send their own representatives to the Diet, they should allow these representatives freedom to express their own ideas, without forcing on them the ideas of the people of the electoral district. "The people must not feel that their representative is a proxy," he remarks, "yet they must follow the political trends and the activities of their representatives, watching particularly to see how they put into practice the policies promised by their parties."

Royama registers a protest against political maneuverings. "For the Government party to pursue a policy simply to increase its own power is against the principle of parliamentarism, which requires that the Government carry out policies for the people's benefit. On the other hand, so long as the people are concerned only with their own affairs, ideal party politics can never be realized."

Hiroo Sasa of the House of Councillors explains the Diet structure in FUJIN ASAHI, emphasizing that the upper as well as the lower house now embodies the democratic spirit. But the House of Councillors does not have the constitutional power to check misdeeds of the representatives; hence this duty devolves upon the electorate. "The important question," he writes, "is how to apply the laws and how to operate the system, and these policies are determined by the opinion and the good sense of all the people. This is the essential point of democratic government. Therefore the people must have interest in politics and must keep watch over the Diet without leaving everything to the politicians and the authorities."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

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Six other articles were used but not directly quoted in this report, which is based on articles published from June through August, 1947.

NOTE: These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Political Affairs

NOTE: A number of Publications Analyses have been issued dealing with Japanese political affairs. In chronological order they are:

Democracy: Conservative and Radical Viewpoints, Pub. Anal. No.5, 19 Jan. '46.
Views on democracy as expressed by writers of various political affiliations.

Politics, Pub. Anal. No.12, 16 Feb. 1946.
Discussions of the leading political parties and comments on the timing of the 1946 general election.

General Election and the Communists, Pub. Anal. No.23, 28 March 1946.
Discusses political parties, women voters, and the Communists.

Political Affairs, Pub. Anal. No.43, 22 May 1946.
Covers the Cooperative Party, the Democratic Front, and bureaucracy.

Political Picture, The Pub. Anal. No.56, 1 July 1946.
The political situation following the 1946 general election.

Party Politics, Pub. Anal. No.85, 3 Dec. 1946
Late 1946 political history, discussion of conservative parties, and criticism of the Socialists.

General Elections and the New Administration, Pub. Anal. No.110, 11 Aug. '47.
Discussion of the April 1947 general elections, criticism of politicians, an evaluation of the Katayama Cabinet, and forecasts of future policies.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 27 September 1947 No.119

Medical Conditions and Public Health

Although medical and public health conditions in Japan are in need of improvement, the general circulation magazines have shown no strong tendency to offer constructive criticisms, to urge reasonable improvement of medical and sanitary facilities, or to bring common-sense hygienic measures before the public. Articles on these subjects usually touch only a single aspect of the various problems; and the type of popularized medical article common in American magazines is noticeably lacking.

Poor Conditions

ASAHI GRAPH, with its picture-story method and incisive comments, has led all other publications in depicting Japan's inadequate medical facilities and generally unhygienic conditions. One picture story reveals the difficulties faced by doctors and students of the Medical Department of Tokyo Imperial University. Emphasis is laid on the lack of medical apparatus and supplies. Separate photographs show the forced use of unsterilized water; doctors wearing worn-out and often dirty cotton gloves; gauze (formerly used but once) washed and re-used more than ten times; valuable specimen which cannot be preserved properly because of the lack of formalin; a sterilizer which cannot be used because of failure of gas supply; shortage of test tubes and beakers, and the inadequate operating room. Some of the doctors have no homes in which to live, and there is a picture showing a number of them sharing a small hospital room.

Tomio Ogata, a doctor, describes in NYUSU how hospital patients suffer because of the shortage of such materials as cloth and bandages, alcohol for disinfection, and fuel for heating. Cloths used for operations have been so much used that "every cloth has become a dark brown color and is full of patches. * * * Those who perform the operations cannot wear rubber gloves because there are none."

Another ASAHI GRAPH article considers the shortage of doctors in rural areas, with pictures taken in a small village in the Chiba area. Two thousand Japanese villages have no doctors, the text reports. There are photos of nurses who visit the village once or twice a month to be available to native residents, a returned medical corpsman treating an injury, a school mistress giving a lecture on hygienics, and, in an emergency case, a patient being carried by litter to the nearest town.

"Even now, although science has made wonderful advances during the war, superstitious medical practices still influence the lives of the people," ASAHI GRAPH asserts elsewhere. "This is because of the high cost of medical treatment. As long as there is maladjustment of wealth, superstition will persist." Two pages of pictures illustrate typical customs: that of contributing small earthern jars to local shrines (believed by rural young men to be beneficial to afflictions of the genital organs); patting the head of a small figure of the god Obinzuru-sama (called in the caption "a device for spreading disease germs"); giving a few drops of so-called curative water from a public bath to an infant to counteract congenital syphilis; submitting one's self to a

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religious healer; and swallowing small religious charms of cardboard while uttering prayers to be cured.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is the disease which seems to concern the writers most. A doctor, Harumichi Oka, declares in DAIGAKU SHIMBUN that "Japan will not be a progressive nation until people in good health are concerned about (preserving) their health." At the present time the Japanese are said to be interested only in food and money, with no regard for the hygiene which is necessary to keep them healthy. Doctors, at the same time, are concerned only with those who are already sick.

It is because of this, Oka asserts, that medical examinations given prior to university admission reveal a large proportion of students to be suffering from consumption. By the time students consult the doctor about their illness, it has become far advanced because of their medical ignorance. "Consumption can be prevented by altering people's ideas about the disease. If, instead of relying upon sensory judgment, we depend upon X-ray examinations and reactions to tuberculin, we will easily spot the disease at its inception. * * * In Japan, where consumption is the national disease, healthy people should give more attention to their physical condition and should utilize scientific facilities," Oka concludes.

Teru Ashida tells the farmers, in the agricultural magazine NOGYO ASAHI, that the year 1945 saw a new high in the number of deaths from tuberculosis -- 203,000, or 28.2 persons per 10,000 population. "Rehabilitation of our health is an important factor in the reconstruction of our country," he maintains, and "the farmers should help take responsibility for prevention of tuberculosis."

Many of the young men who were in war service had their health damaged. "Nutritive food," he declares, "is effective in the prevention of tuberculosis; rationalization of our diet will help to keep young people free from disastrous diseases." Thus, "our agriculture must be reorganized on the basis of restoring the national health."

Shinobu Miyamoto points out in SEKAI that as industrialization advanced in western countries, the rate of deaths from tuberculosis decreased; he attributes this to the improved standards of living, more health institutions, and birth control information.

In Japan, however, the tuberculosis rate continued to advance as industrialization progressed. Miyamoto believes that this is because in the industrial development of Japan, except for the cotton industry which operated large-scale factories, 95 percent of the industrial establishments were of small or medium size. Whereas the large factories had good medical equipment, the smaller ones were poorly provided. Moreover, most of the labor power was supplied from rural communities, and included many women and children, who are particularly susceptible.

"Unless the Government alters the half-feudalistic land system which compels the second and third sons of farm families to go to work in city factories to support their household economy, the wage level of city workers will not reach the international level, nor can we keep tuberculosis from spreading into the rural communities," Miyamoto asserts.

"The workers' health should be looked after by the workers themselves," and on this thesis the fundamental countermeasures against tuberculosis should be established. "Active groups, with interest and perseverance in preserving good health, should form hygienic committees to cooperate with the doctors and nurses of factory medical staffs," he advises.

Intestinal Worms

A TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff article urges the launching of a campaign to rid the nation of intestinal worms. "Infectious disease," the writer notes, "has been reduced to the lowest level known in our history, but the spread of the intestinal worm is very great. Our country is notorious in this respect. This affliction is widespread today, and the health of our children particularly is severely affected by it.

"The reason the intestinal worm is prevalent here is the shortage of fertilizer and the popularity of the vegetable garden in almost every home. Human waste is welcomed as the primary fertilizer because of the shortage of chemical fertilizer; and, still worse, we have the habit of eating raw vegetables. We should disinfect the human excrement and avoid eating raw vegetables. These things may be hard to put into practice; so we must make strong efforts to exterminate the intestinal worm."

In the absence of efficient commercially-prepared drugs, the writer urges that people make use of traditional homemade drugs to help rid themselves of worms. He voices the hope that it may be possible for the desired drugs to be imported soon, and advocates that "the Ministry of Welfare launch a movement, with the close cooperation of civil sanitary organizations, for the purpose of exterminating the intestinal worm. It is much to be desired that the Government and the people give this matter their serious consideration."

The Doctors

Doctors do not escape the general criticism. Japanese Army drug supplies were released for sale at official prices to doctors and druggists early this year, and ASAHI GRAPH has pictures of the rush of buyers. The captions are satiric. "The doctors (shown thronged at the counter) look different than in their consulting rooms." They are shown waiting all night, "although they may refuse to make a call to see their patients at midnight. * * * I hope the price of the drugs will not become nine times as high as the original price as soon as they are taken home," the writer says.

Ukichiro Nakatani, in a random commentary in BUNGEI SHUNJU, makes an instance involving a single doctor the basis for an attack upon school physicians and the educational system. "The Mainichi reveals that a school doctor injected tuberculosis bacilli by mistake, instead of an innoculation for abdominal typhus, disregarding the advice of a nurse and causing many children to be hospitalized. * * * This occurrence shows that the Japanese are, in general, handling this matter reluctantly, as something they are obliged to do. If they had been his own children, the doctor would have been more careful. * * * This shows also that the officials concerned are doing their work ostentatiously, without paying serious attention to the health of the children."

Shinnosuke Abe, in SANDEI MAINICHI, reports increasingly rough treatment of insured patients by insurance company doctors, who are said to resent the fixed fee and to favor their private patients. As a result, "the patients are complaining and giving up their insurance rights if they can afford to." Abe also tells of "villainous members of the medical profession who demand hundreds of yen for a single dosage or injection, representing it as a rare medicine." As a result of such practices, he asserts, there is a growing opinion which supports the placing of all medical personnel, facilities, and activities under Government operation and supervision.

The belief that the medical profession is a benevolent one originated in China, Abe declares, and the special respect for doctors is "common to all races." Recently, however, he thinks medical art has degenerated somewhat toward a "profit-making profession," and the respect for the doctor has

turned to a demand that he not be merely a trader.

Converting medical and health activities into a public enterprise is an excellent ideal, but involves practical difficulties, the writer points out -- first, that of securing buildings, and, second, that of distributing doctors of equal ability fairly among all hospitals. It would be easier to fix low medical fees, but Abe fears that this would discourage the practice of medicine and cause doctors to behave more high-handedly.

Government Management

"Only a medical system nationalized on the socialistic pattern can ensure medical treatment and prevention of illness for all the masses," asserts Shinobu Miyamoto, a member of the Medical System Deliberative Council(sponsored by the Welfare Ministry), in MINSHU HYORON. Miyamoto weighs the advantages of private practitioners against State management, admitting that "bureaucratic influences are strongly entrenched in the State hospitals and sanitoria and in the Welfare administration," but maintaining nevertheless that "the greatest obstacle standing in the way of a democratized medical system is the profit-making nature of medicine. * * * A generally agreed advantage of the medical practioner is that he knows each member of the family and can be consulted easily, whereas it is rather embarrassing for common citizens to have to go to the State hospitals. At the present, however, medical practitioners are victims of inflation just as all other citizens, and are finding it imperative to buy medical supplies on the black market. Popular physicians are finding the rationed, officially-priced medical supplies far short of their needs. Thus many of them demand foodstuffs, fuel, and such medical supplies as gauze from their patients."

To ensure equal medical treatment for all, "steps should be taken to ensure sufficient earnings for medical practitioners to sustain their livelihood, without jeopardizing their character as family physicians, so as to prevent them from demanding of their patients medical fees beyond their paying capacity." The Medical System Deliberative Council, says Miyamoto, debated for three months on how to deal with the situation, but failed to reach a concrete conclusion. Then "we turned to the SCAP authorities for direction and were given an answer which I have long thought to be the logical conclusion -- nationalization or public management."

It remains to be determined to what extent such nationalization of medical treatment will be undertaken, and only the future will tell whether it is to be but a temporary expedient or will remain a permanent policy, according to this writer.

Non-Government Socialization

Noriyoshi Ota believes that socialized medicine will benefit the doctors, who, he declares in CHUO KORON, instead of being prosperous, are struggling along in the face of high prices. "Is there any system under which patients can consult doctors for a small fee, and doctors can live a secure life?" he asks. Socialized medicine, set up coincidentally with other cooperatives, is his answer, and "the first step in the socialization of medicine must be the establishment of more public hospitals and medical facilities for the poor."

A SANDEI MAINICHI article by Seiji Toki describes an Osaka hospital operated by labor unions of the Nishi-Yodogawa area. Its stated aim is to protect the health of the workers and furnish socialized medical treatment. It has all major medical departments, six doctors, and seven nurses. Its management is entirely democratic, according to Toki, and it provides good medical treatment for all members of the unions' health insurance programs.

Women Doctors

There are about 7,000 qualified woman doctors in Japan, a FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN article explains, of whom about one-third are not now actively engaged

in their profession. The ratio of women doctors to male physicians is illustrated by the fact that in the Tokyo metropolitan area there are 761 woman doctors and 6,435 men. Approximately 80 of these women have the advanced degree Igaku Hakase.

The new educational system prescribes three years of preparatory and four years of medical college courses and one year's internship, followed by a State examination, to obtain a certificate to practice. This totals three years more than was previously required, but, the writer maintains, provides a more complete training, even though in the case of some women it may work a greater inconvenience. New graduates attached to hospitals are said to earn about ¥1,000 monthly plus fees for visits, while the incomes of some women practitioners reach ¥10,000. According to the writer, the practice of medicine fits in smoothly with family life, particularly if husband and wife are both doctors.

Dr. Yai Sano, of the Tokyo Women's Medical College, is quoted at the article's conclusion as stating: "It is said that women doctors are not reliable in cases of serious illness, but this belief is merely the result of discriminatory feelings against women. Women are well-suited to preventative medical science, pediatrics, obstetrics, and gynecology, and it is also our duty to strive to introduce general sanitation into the home."

In contrast, an anonymous woman doctor relates in FUJIN NO TOMO the difficulties of her work. Practicing in a rural area, she often has to travel considerable distances under difficult conditions. Her working hours are long and it is not unusual for her to be up all night. The thing she regrets most, she writes, is that because of her heavy duties, she was not able to nurse her (four) children beyond the age of one month. "Under present conditions," she says, "I feel that family life and professional life cannot exist together. To us who have the busy life of the doctor, it is most difficult to make the two compatible." But she does attest to the pleasure of having her services appreciated by her needy patients in the poor farm village.

Penicillin

SHUKAN ASAHI reports on a visit to the penicillin plant (a converted factory of the Toyo Rayon Company) at Otsu. The production processes and the functions of this new drug are explained in some detail. "The use of this splendid drug will contribute much to the people's welfare," the writer announces. "The present quantity of penicillin is so little and its black-market price so high that it is far beyond the reach of the common people. It is to be hoped that penicillin will be made more readily available at low prices as soon as possible."

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Five other articles were used but not quoted for this report which is based on magazines published from January to September.

NOTE: These reports constitute an analysis of comment and information reaching the Japanese people through the medium of Japanese language magazines. Approximately 1,000 publications are scanned each month for material related to topics of possible interest to the Occupation. The reports are made up largely of direct quotations in order to show what is being presented to the Japanese reading public. Because these quotations are the opinions and views of the authors and publishers concerned, no means are available to check their accuracy.

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Civil Information and Education Section
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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 23 September 1947 No.118

Agriculture

Agricultural writers in Japanese magazines are showing concern lest preservation of Japan's small-scale farming structure will hinder the introduction of modern methods and the substitution of machines for manual labor. Otherwise the Land Reform program draws little criticism, although several writers report that the implementation is being hampered by "cunning" landowners who are attempting to cheat the ignorant tenant farmers. Establishment of cooperative farm and merchandising units, in varying degrees, has many advocates.

There is a variety of suggestions as to how Japan's dependence upon rice can be lessened, and -- in the technical journals -- there are instructions on how to improve methods and increase productivity. The hardships farmers are suffering from the results of war, inflation, and lack of industrial production also are explained by several authors who are anxious to dispel the idea that all farmers are wealthy.

Land Reform and Small-Scale Farming

While there is approval of the principle of the farmer owning his land, there continues to be criticism of the small size of the holdings on which the individual farmer will be set up by the Land Reform program. A typical plea for larger individual farms is that voiced by Tosaku Wagatsuma in EKONOMISUTO. Comparing the present agricultural structure to a foot deformed by binding, which cannot be cured merely by removing the binding but requires surgery and further treatment, Wagatsuma contends that simply releasing the bonds of the peasantry will not wholly solve their problems. "It is necessary," he maintains, "to alter the traditional and feudalistic agricultural system, characterized by too-small farms, into a free and independent family farm structure. In order to accomplish this, we must make the best possible use of the land and increase the amount of arable ground so that every farmer may cultivate a piece of land of designated size, large enough to bring his income up to the average wage level of urban workers and to take full advantage of the labor of the entire family. * * * Cooperative unions should be organized at the same time and should have such vitality that the free and independent farmers might be enabled to hold secure their positions. But what is of highest importance is to grant independence to each farmer. * * * We believe that the present unbalanced scale of management should be enlarged to provide one chobu and five tan as a country-wide average (a chobu equals 2.45 acres, 10 tan equal one chobu) so that the majority of the peasants may be truly independent farmers."

A similar view is presented by Michitake Kuga, Agriculture and Forestry Ministry official, in DAIGAKU SHIMBUN. The total number of farms in Japan, he declares, has increased by 280,000 since 1941. Despite this increase, farms of between one and two chobu have decreased by about 10 percent, and those of more than two chobu by about 30 percent. Farms of less than five tan have increased by 450,000, and those with areas between five tan and one chobu by 163,000. Of the total of 5,698,000 farms in Japan, 39.2 percent are of less than five tan, and 31.3 percent are between five tan and one cho. With farms of such small size, Kuga considers it natural that farmers should turn to supplementary employment, and in 1943 65 percent were said to have been engaged in supplementary occupations. But this part-time employment rate dropped to 46 percent by 1946; and the greater portion of the resulting increase in the number of farms which relied upon

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agriculture alone was in the class of those of less than five tan. Thus, while the average size of their farms decreased, the opportunity for the farmers to supplement their income by means of part-time employment also diminished -- the result mainly of the collapse of industries and mining, says Kuga. There are in rural areas 1,880,000 able-bodied workers between the ages of 16 and 61 who are not working at all, he continues, while there are 4,000,000 part-time farmers "who have no chance of making their labor an asset to agricultural management."

Kuga reasons that rural overpopulation results in failure to put available agricultural labor to the fullest use, and attributes this to "the semifeudal system of small-scale farming. To overcome this and increase farm production are the only means of solution. Therefore we must expect much from the reform of the farm land system, and we are anxious to carry out a thorough land reform as quickly as possible."

A concise description of the aims and methods of the Land Reform program, accompanied by criticism of some points, appears in SHAKAI, authored by Kazuhito Nakano. This writer charges that, because in many districts Land Committees were recommended by influential persons rather than elected, between one-third and one-half of the committees have landowners as chairmen, while only one-fourth are headed by tenant farmers; and he fears an abuse of their power by the landowner-chairmen.

Other criticisms include several which are often voiced by leftist writers: "Possession of one chobu of cultivated land is permitted non-cultivating landowners; reimbursement is given to landowners; because the law provides that the transfer of land from the landowners to the Government and its sale by the Government to tenant farmers are to be instantaneous, tenant farmers do not have much freedom in deciding whether to buy or not to buy; farm rents . . . are still too high." Nakano opposes the creation of small-scale independent farmers -- charging that they will soon become slaves to debt -- and advocates collectivism.

Keiki Owada, of the Agricultural and Forestry Ministry, reports in NOGYO ASAHI dissatisfaction among present small landowners (of approximately one chobu) with the Land Reform program. They are said to feel that the transfer of portions of their land to tenant farmers annuls their chances of ever becoming independent.

Owada maintains that the reform of land ownership should be based upon exact conditions existing on 23 November 1945, but believes that many of the Land Committees do not realize this. Hence the illegal actions of many landowners who have taken land away from tenant farmers since that date and thus are thwarting the purposes of the Reform. "Since the Reform Law is for the benefit of the cultivators, these illegal acts should not be left unrequited; it is for this reason that the farmers are protected by laws."

Several participants in a SEKAI HYORON round-table concur with this view. "The tenant farmers," says Toshio Kojima, "seem not to be interested in the rural land reform, The landowners are taking every possible cunning measure to keep their land, while the tenant farmers make no efforts to fight them." Masasaku Sugama declares that landowners' living costs have advanced beyond the revenues from their land, so they are investing money in rural factories and renting their horses to tenant farmers. It is chiefly the landowners who are organizing cooperatives, he says. Thus "the landowners will appear to farm their own land, while the tenant farmers are on the way to becoming agricultural wage laborers."

Cooperatives

Cooperative farming continues to be advocated by most writers, as the best means of solving Japan's agricultural problems. That such a program

will take time,however, is the consensus of opinion of a NOGYO ASAHI round-table. Because the farmers do not yet feel the need, the conferees believe that it will be difficult to interest them. "It cannot be initiated easily," says Yoichi Fukushima, "unless the farmers can gain immediate profit. If we seek to enforce joint farming throughout the country, strong political force may be required. Joint farming should be enforced by all means, but I do not believe that this is a simple matter." Harumaru Inoue agrees, and suggests that it be introduced gradually, by simple steps. "I believe that it may be rather easy to begin with minor projects. For instance, joint management of an orchard might be cited as a good example." Cooperative purchase of expensive machinery also is mentioned.

How a cooperative farming community works is described in the next article of the same issue of NOGYO ASAHI. The community is that of Asakura Village, Kasama district, Nara Prefecture. The writer tells what land and equipment is available, how the farmers use the time when they are not engaged in cultivation for improvement of their facilities, and notes the plan to raise livestock and cultivate a variety of fruits. The laborers work cheerfully; their profit is held jointly, but is usually invested for machinery or improvements. All participants are on an equal basis, and decisions are made by the will of all the members. The leader of the farm declares that it is necessary only "to eliminate selfishness from the heart, to shut out of our minds, the idea of having our own possessions." The reporter declares that it is significant that the community did not grow out of any communist ideology, "but is a life spontaneously generated." (The group reportedly originated ten years ago when the members banded together to protect themselves against religious persecution.)

Minoto Uetaki(of the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry), writing in SHAKAI, criticizes the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry for seeking to establish small independent -- rather than collective -- farms, even in the case of reclaimed land where collectivism could be instituted most easily. Farm mechanization, he charges, is considered by officials to be only in the experimental stage, and there is no intention of introducing it in a practical way to the farmers. "Then who is it that applies these ideas?" asks Uetaki. "The toiling farmers themselves. As a result, it becomes necessary to brush aside land reform 'from-above' and carry out a real reform through the farmers." Citing examples of mechanical threshing, of cooperative use of farm machinery, of collective farming on reclaimed land, and of farmer resistance to land reform, he declares: "These moves show the efforts of progressive farmers to lead other farmers and to organize them in the way of collective and mechanized farming. Here is our chance . . . not to furnish guidance, but to support actively the initiative already shown by progressive farmers." Quoting Marx and Stalin, Uetaki admits that the desire for private ownership of land is strong; hence he considers it necessary to persuade farmers gradually into the ways of collectivism and mechanization.

Characteristics of Japanese Agriculture

Factors which regulate the character of Japanese agriculture are of interest to a number of writers. "The nature of our agriculture," Akira Kinoshita observes in NOGYO ASAHI, "is 'paddy-field rice agriculture'" and it is considerably influenced by "the so-called oceanic Asia monsoon climate." This monsoon climate provides good conditions for the cultivation of rice, but at the same time provides good conditions for weeds, disease germs, and insect pests, he continues. "The necessity of constant war against weeds and insects keeps the farmers too busy to advance Japanese agriculture from its backward condition." The remarkable variety of the monsoon climate and the peculiar biological characteristics of rice cause seasonal differences in the amount of labor needed in the paddy fields. In the active farming season, all farmers become busy simultaneously, so it is impossible to rely on temporary employees. For this reason the scale of farming must be limited to what the farmers can maintain by their own labor. This is another cause of small-scale agriculture.

Furthermore, Kinoshita continues, "the monsoon climate restricts our agriculture by its unpredictable and violent nature. Our farmers are powerless in the face of nature, and this makes it difficult for them to assert economic independence. The employment of advanced means of increasing products and the saving of capital for investment in expanding one's work are thereby interrupted, and the unstable nature of agricultural production and economy is aggravated." Seasonal variations in the climate make the control of water a most important factor in paddy-field cultivation. "The problems of control and regulation of water for irrigation are another factor in making paddy-field management extremely intensive and provide another reason why our agriculture is small-scale," asserts Kinoshita. The only solution to the problems, he concludes, is to eliminate backward conditions and to "elevate, rationalize, and democratize" Japanese agriculture.

A NOGYO ASAHI round-table covers several aspects of what Japanese agriculture is now and what the speakers think it should become. "The net output per Japanese farmer is but one eighth that of the American," says Hidetoshi Isobe, head of the Development Research Institute. "As has long been advocated, we must make the rural districts more efficient. On the other hand, since so many Japanese must live in this limited area, we must continue to produce a large quantity per unit. I think it is important to keep these two points in harmony."

Although Japanese agriculture is fundamentally the same as that of America, Chozaburo Tanaka maintains that "Japanese agriculture is behind in mechanization, and for that reason it appears to be very much different. But the two systems are the same in substance." Though Japan is far behind America in mechanization, Tanaka points out, it does well enough in the art of farming, the improvement of plant species, and the use of fertilizer. "It was machinery that reformed American agriculture," he insists, "and it is in this respect that Japan is most backward."

"America," says Isobe, "has plenty of land in proportion to labor. * * * Accordingly, in contrast to Japan, land value is cheap and labor high. * * * Labor efficiency has become a principle in America, but in Japan we try to produce a maximum of products on limited land by sacrificing labor efficiency. We depend upon intensive agriculture. * * * We must make efforts to obtain higher efficiency."

Farmers must be encouraged in large-scale farming, declares Shuroku Mori, "in cooperative method and management, even if the area cultivated by each house is small. Otherwise, it will be difficult to spread the use of machines."

Improvements

"It is discouraging," Isobe goes on, "that 97 percent of the Japanese daily diet is vegetable (non-animal). Can we not introduce livestock farming to provide more food supplementary to rice and barley? We have other fields beside paddies, so we would be able to obtain fodder for livestock without affecting rice and barley production, if we but make the best use of the land by intensive agriculture." Isobe also urges the pasturing of domestic animals in forest land and making use of natural grass.

Shinsichiro Mitsugi, editor of NOYU, wants cattle raising to be made a productive part of farming rather than the "valuable loss" it now represents in farm economy (because "even if the actual raising of livestock represents an economic loss, the utilization of cattle helps make possible a net profit in the overall farm operation."). "The standard of stock raising which I have long advocated," he explains, "is one cow or ox, three pigs, and 100 hens per chobu of arable land. * * * We must, henceforth, build a system under which livestock farming is introduced into crop farming. * * * It is plain that our starch-centered diet should be improved by the addition of more animal albumen and fat. Otherwise we cannot expect the elevation of

the nation's health and culture." Dairying, says Mitsugi, should not be an end in itself, but a means of helping to balance the cattle-raising economy.

Benji Yamazaki, writing in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, realizes that it may be difficult to institute cooperative farming on land already under cultivation, but feels that this should be begun on land now being converted to farming. "Japan has large areas of mountains or hillsides in comparison to the amount of land under cultivation. This large area of virgin soil can be cultivated by employing special 'hillside plows' which are now used in America. The Government should establish a plan to create farms on mountain slopes and hillsides, and should carry this out as a national project. * * * Farming rights and agricultural machines should be given to the cultivators (farmers or cooperative societies) without compensation."

Yamazaki also asks that agricultural prices be stabilized, and suggests that "trade unions, farm cooperative societies, and farm-village cooperatives be so associated with each other that the need for middlemen will be eliminated."

Giving technical advice on soy bean cultivation in NOGYO ASAHI, Shigero Fukui states that the price must be raised to encourage production. Because soy beans used to be imported cheaply from Manchuria and Korea, Japanese farmers have never been interested in competing with these countries. The writer suggests that increased soy bean acreage may be achieved by methods of crop rotation, catch cropping (germination of field crops, requiring no replanting) and mixed cropping. Since the soy bean is sensitive, care should be taken in selecting suitable soil. The plants need nitrogen fertilizers, and others, such as potassium phosphate, are also very beneficial. In closing, Fukui tells how to ward off damage from insects and from drought.

Physiology and Meteorology

Another NOGYO ASAHI writer, Gito Teruoka, seeks to instruct the farmers on human physiology. Japanese farmers have long been considered little more than agricultural machines, but they fail to use scientific principles in applying human energy, he points out. "If farmers desire to realize their dream of emancipation and independence, they must begin by understanding thoroughly the principles governing the mechanism of the human body and the 'science of labor,' and then applying them to daily life."

A TANSHO reprint of an article by Yoshiyasu Daigo (which appeared originally in NOSEI HYORON) calls for the development of agricultural meteorology to help rationalize Japanese farm management. "Our narrow land stretches far out from north to west, with complicated natural features. As a result, the climate varies greatly with the position of the land. Thus it is very important that the type of farm management be best adapted to the climate of the particular region. * * * A scientific climate map for agriculture must be made, and with its help all farmers will be able to determine the products most fitted to their land." Daigo asks for better weather forecasting and climate improvement -- the latter to be accomplished by mixed planting of high and low trees, scientific arrangement of crops, forestation, irrigation, and other measures.

Agriculture and Economy

Only when the farmers realize that inflation is not to their advantage will they agree to join forces with labor, and only then will inflation be conquered, declares Tsutomu Ouchi, assistant professor at Tokyo University, in KEIZAI HYORON. Reasons why farmers stand to gain by inflation are: 1) after quota delivery and retention of their own subsistence, they reportedly still are able to black-market 20 percent of their product; 2) inflation has disburdened them of their heavy debts; and 3) taxes and levies are comparatively light, not having advanced with the same speed as the inflation. But farmers stand to lose in the long run, Ouchi figures,

because 1) official prices for farm products are below those of required farm and household goods, 2) appraisal of farm products is easier than that of manufactured goods, hence they are more liable to heavy taxation, and 3) income is derived from quota sales at official prices plus black-market sale of about 20 percent of the total products, but 80 percent of the required farm and household goods must be acquired at black-market prices.

While the volume of currency in their possession has increased greatly -- Ouchi estimates that approximately ¥100 billion had been accumulated in farm villages at the end of 1946 -- the farmers actually are impoverished by the drop in their money's purchasing power. Production has fallen because of shortage of fertilizers and other necessities. Their money has been accumulated through abstenance from purchasing such necessities as cattle, farm implements, and other requirements which they still have in stock; but when current stocks are exhausted, the reaction will set in at a doubled speed and quickly deprive them of their accumulated funds, he predicts.

"What does inflation bring the peasantry?" Ouchi asks. "The answer is all too clear and simple. Inflation, no doubt, has brought them wealth, but at the same time it has weakened their productivity."

Of similar mind is Ryozo Tagawa, who asserts in SHAKAI that it is false to believe that all farmers are millionaires. Tagawa thinks that sentiments of animosity against the farmers are rising in urban districts, and he admits that a few farmers located close to the big cities are accumulating much wealth. The case of the majority, however, is quite different, he insists; the greater part of their earnings have gone into black-market purchases of fertilizer and other necessities. Tagawa reports the results of an investigation of a typical village in Niigata Prefecture, which revealed the average savings of small farmers(those with less than one chobu) to be about ¥2,000. With 79 percent of the farmers cultivating areas of less than one chobu,Tagawa maintains that after meeting their quotas and bartering for necessities, these small farmers do not have sufficient rice to feed their own families.

Writers continue to discuss the problems created by rural overpopulation and surplus of labor (Publications Analysis No.98). Yoshinojo Abe, writing in SHINTOSHI, expresses the common view that this surplus labor must be diverted to industry in local cities. "An agricultural expert has said rightly," Abe declares, "that the total labor power of rural districts should be reduced and mechanization and scientific management instituted, in view of anticipated price drops in agrarian products resulting from the reopening of foreign trade. * * * What will save the agrarian villages from chaos is to divert the surplus labor of the rural districts into factories in urban areas. The provincial cities, therefore, should be the centers of reconstruction." Industrialists, Abe advises, "should take upon themselves the task of setting upplants in smaller cities," in order to utilize the supply of rural labor.

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Six other articles were used but not directly quoted in this report, which is based on magazines published in June, July and August.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 20 Sept.,1947 No.117

State Control Of Coal Mines

Nationalization or State control of Japan's coal mines continues as a topic of interest to Japanese magazine writers. Some are out-and-out exponents of complete State control; others lean toward the theory of State ownership under private management, with the contention that -- while State ownership might stimulate employment and the flow of capital and materials to the mines -- the know-how of private administrators is invaluable. Another group, notably mining enterprisers, opposes all forms of State control or nationalization, and assures the public that the goal of 30,000,000 tons annual production would be attained easily if the industry were granted a priority in capital assistance and material distribution, coupled with an adequate official price scale.

Also stressed is the necessity of improving the quality of the output, and scaling official prices according to the grade of coal. Mining operators are urged to develop new veins and pits, though it is admitted that such exploitation must be considered apart from nationalization under present conditions.

Governmental Control

An exponent of State control is Socialist Ushiro Ito, writing in SEKITAN TSUSHIN, who believes that "for a long time, a strong demand for Governmental monopolization of the coal industry has risen from coal mine operators, labor unions, and those who are responsible for coal production. Because present coal administration is weak, the pending Governmental coal measures are intended to simplify the complex and intricate processes of administration. Such a plan should be most effective in increasing the coal output, (but) such an increase will be possible only if the Government will supply necessary materials on a regular basis." Also important is the plan for solving labor disputes on the spot: "Needless to say, the will to work will develop among laborers only when they realize that they are not working for the interests of capital alone, but for themselves and for the rehabilitation of defeated Japan."

Also favoring national supervision of the mines is Kanju Kato, in a round-table discussion appearing in SEKITAN. Countering the suggestion that such a plan would "cause confusion and a decrease in production," Kato states that "the Coal Rehabilitation Council has presented this plan only after minute investigation." Among the reasons for poor production in the past, Kato mentions the labor problem: "An improvement in treatment of laborers and assurances of adequate food will swell their ranks. Even with sufficient materials on hand, and a good supply of capital by loan, the productive will of labor is still necessary for permanent productive results. Present arrangements at coal mines are not good enough to a rouse such enthusiasm, but operators cannot afford (under present circumstances) the sums necessary for the betterment of housing, welfare, and sanitation. This is, in itself, another reason for the necessity of establishing national supervision of the coal industry."

Kato believes that "a psychological change has taken place maong laborers under the Occupation; we must lead them to realize the present state of the national economy, and stimulate their will to produce." With regard to the price of coal, "even the present price is too high, and too heavy a burden for the national economy, while the projected production of 30,000,000 tons is too small for the future of Japan. This also is a strong reason for a national supervisory policy."

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An ORIENTAL ECONOMIST editorial (issue of 26 July) takes a different view of the proposed coal control bills. Suggesting that the "lukewarm nature of the legislation as a fundamental measure is incommensurate with the actual condition of the industry," this writer fears that "the proposed bills may result in a production drop instead of an increase as intended. This was indicated by Commerce and Industry Minister Mizutani himself, when he admitted (in the House Of Councillors) that he was casting about for ways and means of preventing coal production from dwindling due to the very process of changing over to State control. The Minister has been at pains to convince the public that the charted bills do not mean a more overhauling of the prevailing system of operating the coal industry; nevertheless, there is no denying that they will bring about a definite change in the present form of management." Outlining the proposed structural changes to be made by the pending legislation, the editorial continues: "We are keenly alive to the necessity of formulating a fundamental policy for operating (Japan's) coal mines. If the proposed State control bills are premised on an eventual complete nationalization of the coal industry, and if the Government is prepared to face a possible drop in production in the transitory period, the effort is worthwhile. If, however, the object is to attain a production objective of 30,000,000 tons for the (current) fiscal year, it would seem necessary to reconsider the project so as to find some better means of achieving this end. The economic crisis is too severe for anything in the nature of an experimental stop-gap measure. What is needed is a thoroughly workable system based on common sense, rather than a paper plan many degrees removed from practicability."

The Executive View

The views of three coal mining executives are given in TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO. In a short article entitled "National Management Unnecessary for Production," Ryoichi Yamakawa, president of the Mitsui Coal Mines, stands in firm opposition to State control. Among his reasons: "The official distribution of necessary materials has been poorly handled in too many cases; men of experience are highly necessary in mining, and, moreover, a sort of spiritual harmony must exist between mining personnel. I do not believe that the coal problem can be solved by national management, for the planning is not sufficiently detailed to cover these and other points." Previous inefficiency in handling coal mine problems on the part of Government authorities is scored by Reizo Takeuchi, vice-president of the Kyushu Coal Mining Company, who also registers strong disapproval of the proposed nationalization plan. Claiming that the coal industry already has weathered many financial difficulties and material shortages without appreciable Governmental aid, Takeuchi calls it nonsense to look for hope through State management, "which has been shown to be already unreliable." He closes by referring to the Shimen Coal Mine, which, under national management, allegedly "has suffered a steady decrease in production."

Hiromi Kikuchi, president of the Takahagi Coal Mine, leans to State ownership with management by civilian experts. He opposes national management "because of Government authorities' unsuitable manner of handling(past) coal mining problems, especially in financing and in the distribution of materials." Kikuchi's preference for State ownership and civilian management is based upon his belief that it will be "much easier to secure additional laborers by State ownership -- by such means as shorter working hours -- than by privately owned mines, where financial opportunities are fewer." He does not, however, propose immediate conversion, and suggests a trial period in which some particular mine may serve as a test case.

Production Problems

A number of writers are concerned with the relationship between the official price of coal and increased production, and some feel that it is by no means impossible to attain the 30,000,000 ton goal if coal prices and the supply of necessary materials reach the proper level. In discussing the recently-announced coal price, a DAIAMONDO staff writer gives his approval, but believes that in order to make it successful, "it must be backed by full distribution of necessary materials. Raising the price of coal inevitably will bring about

higher commodity prices, but this will be compensated for if increased coal production ensues -- with a resulting stabilization of the national economy. Dealers concerned support the new coal price in the hope of avoiding past deficits. This coal price has been decided on a basis of average coal quotations, in contrast to the previous practice of strictly calculated costs (which presupposed supply of necessary materials at official prices). Thus the industrialists concerned will make efforts to economize on expenditures, rationalize management, and enhance efficiency." In closing, this writer also enjoins the Government to supervise closely the quality of coal production.

Emphasis on quality is stressed by another DAIAMONDO staff article, which states: "Regarding this year's plan for production of 30,000,000 tons of coal, Japan must not aim merely at increased production, but also at producing coal of a higher caloric content. Recently the tendency has been to dig excessive quantities of inferior coal; this may be ascribed to the previous failure of the Government to establish a proper price system. Heretofore, operators have not been compensated for digging coal of high quality (due to emphasis on production per se); lately the Government has begun to pay attention to this point and intends to revise the system. A primary change should be to establish a wide difference in purchasing price between good and inferior qualities of coal."

Confidence of mining operators in their ability to attain the desired goal under proper conditions is reported by Goichi Yokoyama in EKONOMISUTO. "In the matter of national supervision of the coal industry, the Minister of Commerce and Industry is not yet settled in his resolution; the Democratic Party is in opposition, and there is much doubt within the Government itself as to the feasibility of the plan. Mining operators report that they will produce 30,000,000 tons of coal without fail, provided that they may obtain capital and materials distributed according to a top priority production system and a proper official price scale. The Minister (Mizutani) is uncertain what course to adopt, and it is by no means certain which course is best suited to the present state of Japan's economy."

Topical Comment

Call for national exploitation of new coal mines comes from a SEKITAN TSUSHIN staff writer, who urges the use of capital and materials for this purpose. "The extension of new coal-beds will call for construction materials for housing new workers; this in turn will aid the over-all housing program by reducing concentration in crowded areas. By expansion of mining facilities a constant standardized coal output will become possible; this will ensure the output of other industries, and provide a sound basis for Japan's economic future. What remains to be decided is the relationship between this new exploitation and State administration of the coal mines. The two problems must first be considered separately."

Security measures are discussed by Yuzo Kuboyama, in SEKITAN. This writer regrets that, in Japan, mining security problems are forgotten during normal times and only drawn to public attention by disaster. Referring to various major calamities, Kuboyama writes, "From the practical point of view, security measures are indispensable in insuring the steady flow of production, and are of major importance at a time when increased production is the basis for the future of the nation."

Sources: (Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

DAIAMONDO, 20,000, two staff articles; EKONOMISUTO, 15,000, Goichi Yokoyama; KOGYO NO NIPPON, 3,000, one staff article; SEKITAN, 6,000, Yuzo Kuboyama, one round-table; SEKITAN TSUSHIN, 3,000, Ushiro Ito, one staff article, one round-table; THE ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 2,000, one staff article; TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, 20,000, Ryoichi Yamakawa, Reizo Takeuchi, Hiromi Kikuchi.

Seven other articles were used, but not directly quoted, for this analysis, which is based on articles published June to August, 1947.

*Where available.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Coal

Coal. Pub. Anal. No.104, 6 June 1947
Production figures, labor-management relations, nationalization of the mines, individual enterprises.

Nationalization in the Coal and Fertilizer Industries. Pub. Anal.No.70, 10 Sept. 1946.
Discusses nationalization of the coal industry.

Labor and Industry. Pub. Anal. No.64, 26 July, 1946
Production control, Mitsubishi's Bibai Coal Mines (Hokkaido).

Production Control by Labor. Pub. Anal. No.40, 15 May, 1946
Efforts of labor to share in production control, and tendency toward nationalization of the coal industry.

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 10 Sept. 1947 No.116

Unemployment

During the two years since the war's end, unemployment has not constituted as serious a problem to the Japanese as the total number of unemployed persons would seem to suggest. The main reasons for this are said to be that black-marketing and inflation have supported large numbers of those technically listed as unemployed and that many enterprises have carried a surplus of workers beyond their actual needs. Unemployment problems have therefore been overshadowed, hitherto, by more immediate and pressing economic and industrial matters.

Recent Government drives to stamp out black-marketing, plans for giving production priorities to essential industries, and programs for "readjustment" and "rationalization"* of industries and businesses have drawn the increasing attention of magazine writers to the problems of unemployment which are believed certain to follow.

Commentators have few counter-measures to propose, other than to charge the Government with responsibility for those who are expected to be deprived of their present -- whether legal or illegal -- means of livelihood. Encouragement of small industries, continued public works programs, and provisions for unemployment compensation are some of the measures suggested to meet the problem.

Unemployment in the Offing

Unemployment has remained an impending, rather than a present and actual, problem. "The reasons why unemployment has not yet developed into a serious social problem," a DAIAMONDO staff writer explains," are first, that most enterprises are unable to get rid of excess workers even though they operate at a loss because of the surplus labor; and, second, that many people have turned to professional black-marketing because it is more profitable than normal and honest professions. As the adjustment of enterprises and the payment of reparations progress, the actual number of jobless will increase. Our present inefficient and overstaffed industry will have little power to reconstruct our economy.

"With the economic crisis advancing, lukewarm anti-unemployment policies cannot be countenanced, because the tightening restrictions over rampant black-market operations inevitably will deprive the professional black-marketeers of their work. In addition, a large number of unemployed inevitably will result from the closing of eating establishments, the rationalization of enterprises, and the payment of reparations. * * * Since our industry cannot, under present conditions, afford to employ all the available labor, it is an urgent necessity that we rehabilitate our industry, especially exporting industry, by means of imports of fuels and raw materials. The most effective counter-measure for large scale unemployment is to attain the goal of 30,000,000 tons annual coal production. * * * The unemployment insurance system and the promulgation of the Livelihood Protection Law will serve to aid those workers who inevitably must be unemployed."

*(These expressions, recurring frequently in recent Japanese economic writing, usually include such ideas as changing from one type of production or business to another, increasing efficiency, eliminating surplus workers, establishing new financial bases, changing methods, and a number of other associated ones)

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An ORIENTAL ECONOMIST staff article gives the same reasons for the relative lack of seriousness of the unemployment situation so far, plus another -- the fact that "a considerable number of unemployed and demobilized soldiers were absorbed into farm villages." At the end of 1946, this writer asserts, "the number of unemployed needing relief was estimated at 5,595,000." In an attempt to provide for these persons, the Government initiated a program of public works, but only a small number of the unemployed applied for jobs under the program, and the Government was compelled to transfer some of the funds to other undertakings and to rely upon local labor to carry out the projected public works. "According to the Welfare Ministry, the number of those seeking jobs at employment offices in the whole country last year was only 2,230,000, as against 3,017,000 (requests for) help-wanted."

As black-marketing is brought under control, as stockpiles of raw materials supplied to industries through illicit dealings diminish, and as overemployment is eliminated in order that production costs may be made equitable with price levels, the unemployment problem is bound to become more serious, declares the writer. "Unemployment relief measures should be adopted beforehand. Of course no satisfactory step can be taken in this connection under the present economic conditions, and attempts should be made to have workers appreciate this point. But some measure or other must be planned. For instance, the social insurance system, inauguration of public works, and granting of relief funds are conceivable as feasible measures, but the most essential is to take a census of able-bodied workers and prepare for registration of the unemployed. It is necessary for every local government to have accurate unemployment statistics, so that jobless persons may get temporary jobs as well as doles, and -- along with the progress of the economic rehabiliation program--be given appropriate work."

Japan has suffered great loss in material, productive equipment, and capital "and her economic basis has been changed radically," a SHOKOJIN staff writer asserts. "The decrease in industrial productive power, poverty of resources, and relative surplus of population are particularly important factors in determining the character of Japanese economy. * * * The solution of the postwar unemployment problem is becoming increasingly important, because Japan has a tremendous number of unemployed at a time when her industrial scale is about to be reduced greatly."

The number of persons totally unemployed is estimated by this writer to be about 2,100,000.

"How should this unemployment problem be solved?" he asks. "The situation is such that there is no alternative than to absorb the unemployed into industrial circles by increasing industrial production. * * * Present instances of over-employment should be adjusted, because surplus employees, after all, simply add to the economic confusion." The writer calls for "a social insurance system, in addition to unemployment relief carried out by public enterprise."

Even under the Socialist-led Katayama Administration, "large-scale unemployment of workers is inevitable," writes a DAIAMONDO staff member. In fact, he believes that such a situation is implied by the Cabinet-sponsored Emergency Economic Program. "Mizutani, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, has declared that adjustment of enterprises is unavoidable under the present circumstances and that enterprises so affected should be converted to export industries; but the problem is not as simple as he makes it out to be. Everyone, of course, is, agreed that exports are very important, but home markets should not be neglected. Some people are of the opinion that our small and medium-sized industries should rely upon the development of the home market. * * * It is very important that the Government do its best to prevent workers' being dismissed from their jobs. We cannot agree with the belief that rationalization of enterprises must inevitably cause large-scale unemployment."

Instability

A survey of more than 400 Tokyo industrial plants, reported in a July issue of DAIAMONDO, showed increased employment during April, in contrast to previous decreases since the beginning of the year. Rapid turnover is indicated by the

report that in the 436 plants inves igated (with a total number of 73,320 employees) 3,464 new employees were taken on while 2,421 were discharged. "Although the study shows an increase in employment during April, such an increase is not entirely satisfactory, since April is the particular month when new employment is usually obtained."

A breakdown of the figures shows increased employment in chemical, spinning, foodstuff, and machine industries, and decreases in metal works, printing, banking, insurance and other establishments. A particularly large rise (male -- 4.9 percent, female -- 11.6 percent) is found in department stores. "There is a striking contrast," says the writer, "between the rise of department store employment and the fall in the banking and the insurance businesses. * * * Even within particular industries, some departments absorb labor while others release it, indicating the unevenness of employment. For example, in the field of transportation, the number of conductors and motormen increased, while other workers have become fewer in number."

Problems Raised by Production Priorities

With foreign trade about to be resumed, a TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO staff writer anticipates that the Socialist Administration will moderate to some extent the priority-production system which was planned by the preceding government. He is in favor of this, but urges that "more positive measures should be taken to protect workers affected by the adjustment of industries of secondary importance. * * * The ultra priority-production system is constructed upon the idea that priority should be given to the basic producing industries, and that others of less importance should be readjusted. * * * But if imports of necessary raw materials and foodstuffs are made possible by the reopening of foreign trade, moderation of the priority-production system may become feasible." The author warns, however, against neglect of the basic productive industries in favor of export enterprises.

"Industries of secondary importance will necessarily be reduced because of the dearth of raw materials and the stringent loan policy of the Bank of Japan. Their difficulty is closely related to that of the medium and small merchants, and very likely will lead to a serious social problem. Under such circumstances, the transfer of those industrialists and workers into other professions will be inevitable. The Emergency Economic Program of the Katayama Cabinet should clarify this point."

When the priority system of production was adopted, the same writer continues in the next issue of TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, full employment in all industries became impossible of attainment. Thus adoption of the priority system in production "caused the same system to be adopted in employment too, and measures to deal with non-priority industries and unemployment subsequently became important issues."

Rationalization of management necessitates an employment system "based on the employee's efficiency." For the "priority laborers" thus created, the writer urges payment of wages "which will stimulate their efficiency" and opposes the currently prevailing method of giving uniform pay to all, regardless of skill. The writer has little to suggest in the way of help for the unemployed; he does not believe that the promotion of export industries and the program of public works -- by which the Government hopes to absorb many unemployed -- will be of much immediate benefit because of "difficulties in obtaining materials and in transferring workers." Government payment of an unemployment allowance also will be impracticable, since an allowance of even as much as ¥800 per person per month would total ¥24 billion when paid to 5,000,000 persons for six months.

Repatriates and Demobilees

The problem of unemployment particularly affects repatriates and demobilized military men, and a NYUSU writer gives a few specific and graphic examples (an ex-professor reduced to black-marketing; a priest becomes a street vender) of the straits in which they find themselves.

There were in January, according to the figures given, 3,007,372 civilian repatriates, and 3,547,275 demobilees. In Oita Prefecture, 88 percent of repatriate and demobilized families (family heads) are listed as unemployed; in Wakayama 87.5 percent; in Aomori 84 percent; in Tokyo 80 percent; and the country-wide average is said to be about 80 percent.

Shortage of funds for their aid is the main reason why so many remain unemployed, declares the writer. Lack of money makes it difficult for them to get a fresh start, and funds furnished by the Government are insufficient. In the cities it is difficult for them to secure the license necessary to start businesses and equally difficult to get food rations. In rural areas the limited amount of land and density of population keep them from employment. They find that the people everywhere are cold-hearted toward them, the writer asserts. Repatriates and demobilees have had most success in overcoming their difficulties when they have formed cooperatives in light industry or agriculture.

Repatriates and demobilees demand that an attempt be made to solve their basic problems, the article continues, and consider the measures now being taken by the Government to be temporary and insufficient. Since a cross section of the group shows that a majority are executive or office workers, the Government program for public works is not considered likely to prove a proper solution to their difficulties. It is estimated that a total of about 2,500,000 people (although this figure is declared to be only approximate) are in need of Government assistance.

Counter-Measures

Few writers have concrete suggestions on how to minimize or avoid large-scale unemployment. An exception is Yasoji Kazami, Waseda University lecturer, who urges in DAIGAKU SHIMBUN that the payment of reparations be postponed as long as possible.

"In the problem of assuring the workers a minimum standard of living, large-scale dismissal is a more formidable difficulty than the wage question. The coming adjustment of enterprise is closely related to the reparations issue, and the large scale dismissal of workers which is expected to result will strike a heavy blow at the working class."

Kazami accuses the Socialist-led Government of failing to take adequate counter-unemployment measures and urges that the Administration "make public and put into practice a reasonable plan for the rehabilitation of our economy."

"In regard to reparations," Kazami continues, "we should remember two main principles. The first is that the material sources of aggressive war be eliminated. The second is that the productive capacity indispensable for maintenance of a minimum standard of living not be removed.

"In order to preserve a minimum standard of living consistent with the sound democratization and independence of our country, we sincerely ask the SCAP authorities to postpone the reparations as long as possible. The working class should have the responsibility for the future use of the remaining industrial facilities and should work together for the restoration of peacetime production. The 'postpone the reparations' movement should be based on a practical plan for industrial reconstruction. The labor unions of the designated factories are displaying eagerness to have reparations postponed, but this is impossible if each factory acts individually. Whole labor unions should carry on a powerful 'postpone the reparations' movement, in close association with the farmers, working citizens, and even with progressive industrial capitalists."

Goro Mori, writing in RODO HYORON, urges that labor have a part in formulating policies for the readjustment of industries, and charges that "the principles of the controlling class have been put into practice gradually. * * * When the law concerning 'Reconstruction and Readjustment of Enterprises' becomes effective, the labor class should not commit the problem to the hands of financiers and capitalists alone, but should participate positively in the committee meetings which will establish concrete plans. * * * The working class must fight actively against the ruling class who will make the decisions for the

readjustment of enterprise." In taking positive steps to present the labor attitude, labor leaders are urged to scrutinize closely and evaluate all Government laws, plans and proposals which deal with the subject.

The Katayama Cabinet is in a delicate position with regard to the unemployment situation, writes Yokoyama in EKONOMISUTO, because 5,000,000 unemployed are expected after the readjustment of enterprises takes place. The Government, he asserts, does not say openly that so many will be jobless, but implies it by speaking of the replacement of workers and by hastening the establishment of unemployment allowance and unemployment insurance systems.

If Japan is to be reestablished as a capitalistic nation, unemployment insurance will constitute a heavy burden on the national finance, and Yokoyama thinks the idea should be given up. But "Japan will not be able to get along on capitalism alone; we will be obliged to take up some socialist policies. If so, we should not hesitate over unemployment insurance." Whereas an unemployment allowance is merely a sum for relief -- paid from the national treasury -- unemployment insurance funds are provided by payments from the workers themselves; thus more independence for the labor class is provided by the latter.

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations and Authors*)

DAIAMONDO, 20,000, 3 staff articles, DAIGAKU SHIMBUN, 50,000, Yasoji Kazami; EKONOMISUTO, 15,000, Yokoyama; NYUSU, 10,000; ORIENTAL ECONOMIST, 20,000; RODO HYORON, 10,000, Goro Mori; SHOKOJIN, 3,000; TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, 20,000, 2 staff articles. *Where available

Eight other articles were used, but not directly quoted, in this report, which is based on magazines published from April to August 1947.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Related Topics

Japan's Labor Movement, Pub. Anal. No.99, 2 April '47.
Contains a section on unemployment.

Labor and Unemployment, Pub. Anal. No.21, 21 Mar. '46.
Contains a section on unemployment and wage levels.

Unemployment and High Cost of Living, Pub. Anal. No.68, 29 Aug. '46.
Covers unemployment, salaries, and cost of living.

Welfare, Pub. Anal. No.91, 24 Jan. '47.
Welfare considered from standpoint of homeless children, repatriates and demobilees, and how they have drifted to the black market.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 5 September 1947. No.115

Labor Developments

Recent magazine consideration of labor developments consisted largely of "self-examination" and close critical study of policies and past mistakes. Few specific labor disputes have figured in the news, and discussion has been of a general nature. Alleged despotism on the part of union leaders (primarily in the NCIO), undemocratic structure of certain unions, and lack of education of the rank and file of union membership are the points of criticism most often mentioned, while discussion of the pros and cons of labor participation in politics is frequent. Leftist writers criticize recent labor legislation as imposing too many restrictions upon labor organizations, but such dissatisfaction does not appear to be widely felt; and the tone of most labor comment examined for this analysis seems to be constructive and moderate.

Union Activities and Labor Disputes

Although the power of the labor movement generally is believed to have been weakened by the abortive 1 Februarygeneral strike (This strike was called off a few hours before it was scheduled, on instructions from the Supreme Commander, who pointed out that it would be disastrous to the national economy.) Shigetoshi Murakami, of the Welfare Ministry's Labor Union Section, does not agree that the number of labor disputes decreased in the months immediately following. In RODO HYORON he reports that there were 49 open disputes in January, with 8152 persons involved; 49 in February, involving 25,976; 72 in March, involving 22,442 persons, and 21 in April, involving 8150 persons.

Murakami attfibutes March increase to "the fact that living became more and more difficult for the working class with the advance of inflation, the reduction of businesses, and the weeding out of superfluous workers by minor enterprises. * * * On the other hand, the causes of the decrease of disputes in April, it seems to me, were the fluctuations in the internal and foreign situations, the more serious self-examination of the labor unions . . . and the general election, the special circumstances of which affected the unions so deeply that they had to call a temporary truce to concentrate on the balloting."

Examining the various disputes, Murakami points out that "cases of production control amounted to a considerable number even after February, but disputes have been on a smaller scale." With the unstable livelihood of the workers as the underlying cause of most strikes, the result has been that "the demand for higher wages has been the primary cause of disputes — although some have been precipitated by demands for retirement pay and protests against discharge of workers."

Although Murakami's figures indicate a somewhat delayed reaction, there is little doubt that the failure of the 1 February strike threat constituted a turning point in labor activities, halting unrestrained action by union leaders and giving rise to serious self-examination. Wataru Tsuzura, chairman of the Federation of Coal Miners' Unions, declares in KAIZO that "the February strike has contributed to the political awakening of the workers," but he attacks those who advocate formation of a labor-dominated political party and stresses the argument that a unified and intelligent labor movement should seek its ends through parliamentary processes in the Diet.

The episode of the Mainichi chapter's withdrawal from the Japan Press and Radio Workers' Union while the Asahi group remained in the fold is considered by a RODO SHIMBUN writer to be illustrative of "the forked road of

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the labor front." He writes: "The foundation upon which the labor camp is constructed has begun to fluctuate, and serious study is being applied to the policies and the organization of the NCIO." The reason for Mainichi's withdrawal reportedly was that "the press is a public organization and should not be placed under any political influence. The NCIO is under the guidance of the Communists. Accordingly, all the Mainichi staff should leave the NCIO to ensure complete freedom of the press."

A group of articles presenting the points of view of all parties concerned in the dispute is offered by RODO HYORON. In the first, Yoshio Saito, head of the Mainichi chapter, charges that the NCIO "sought to make all its (member) unions the means of a political strike or to use them in the interest of political parties — which was clear evidence of its going far beyond the scope of the labor movement." Furthermore, "the leaders of the NCIO are coercive and dictatorial in carrying out their guiding policies, and those who do not obey their directions are called down as 'betrayers or reactionary elements.' While such leaders are at the head of the NCIO, we can no longer stand the strain of remaining in the conference."

Kikutaro Ikeda, who headed the committee to prepare a new Mainichi workers' union, writes that the union must disregard ideological considerations and base its activity and organization on actualities. "The peculiar structure of a newspaper enterprise must be given first consideration. * * * Because a newspaper is a vehicle for unbiased dissemination. . . . we are prohibited from inclining toward any particular parties." Ikeda acknowledges and gives credit to the aim of the NCIO to form a united front with all member unions on an equal footing, but maintains that membership involves "the loss of all newspapers' originality."

Masami Saito, representing the Press and Radio Workers Union, objects to the "sudden and unexpected" way in which the Mainichi withdrawal was effected and asserts that union members cannot be criticized solely for their political affiliation. "Whether the JPRWU be controlled by Liberals or the NCIO influenced by Communists, we cannot -- on that basis alone -- oppose their leadership if the interests of press workers are protected by them and if the development of newspapers is properly accelerated." Kenta Kaneko of the Machinery Workers' union denies that the NCIO has entered a specific "reflection period," and maintains that all progress is based on reflection of past actions. "We have learned bitter lessons through both the October offensive and the threatened February general strike," he declares. "We were too busily occupied with our strife to be sufficiently active in the field of education of the workers. * * * Thus, if the NCIO be asked to examine itself, it should be in connection with the fact that the educational movement has been inadequate during the course of our labor activities."

Other magazine space is devoted to accounts of NCIO policy changes. RODO SHUHO reports the resolutions drawn up by the chapter secretaries for presentation to the executive meeting. The resolutions recognize that there has been disharmony between union leaders and members and that overemphasis has been attached to the strike weapon. The writers admit that there are many Communists in the NCIO, and declare that "we have no objection to Communists' belonging to the NCIO; but they should be conscious first of being CIO members, above their being Communist."

Shinjiro Tanaka maintains in CHUO KORON that the NCIO must not receive blanket condemnation because it includes Communists in its membership, for political parties and labor unions are in separate realms. He believes, however, that the Communists have had much to do with NCIO strikes. Tanaka praises the union for great accomplishment in a short time, but suggests that broad self-examination by the union is still necessary.

Torao Miyakawa, vice president of the Hokkaido chapter of the NCIO, reports in CHUO KORON that Hokkaido now has nearly 2,000 labor unions, with 400,000 membership, of which 250,000 belong to the NCIO, 30,000 to the JFL, and 120,000 to independent unions. Citing several labor struggles as examples, he maintains that labor groups have become increasingly active in recent months and that "the labor class, since the suspension of the February 1st general strike, is leading

the way in the rushing democratic revolution."

Betterment of The Unions

Union organization and activities now are being considered a little more critically, perhaps, than in the period preceding the February strike threat. One commentator, Itsutaro Suehiro, deputy president of the Central Labor Committee, declares in KAIZO that patience and generosity are qualities which labor unions must exhibit. Regulations governing labor unions, he says, are sometimes so indefinite "that a certain union had difficulty determining who had the power to order a strike." Suehiro believes that members of union staffs or union leaders can run legitimately for public office or recommend other candidates. "I think," says he, "that there can be no objection to encouraging union members to vote for such candidates, insofar as this does not interfere with the election law. But the leaders must be very careful not to force union members to vote for any candidate."

The structure of the union is the same traditional structure characteristic of all Japanese organizations, Susumu Isoda asserts in CHORYU. "Japanese shops, factories, and companies are not corporations in which every member has an equal administrative power," but "pyramidal structures in which the person of higher position always has greater power than one in lower position." Unions formed in such organizations take the same structure, with company officers becoming union officers. Thus, "the trade union movement has been guided by the more important members rather than by the decisions of all the members. * * * It is clear that Japanese trade unions should not remain this way forever."

It is important, Isoda insists, that the labor leaders strive to correct this condition, "but the most important means of correction should be the struggle of the members themselves for democratization, because unions which strive earnestly cannot help being democratized by themselves. * * * This is the reason the trade union is basically a democratic group."

Practical, useful education for labor is urged by Kaizo Fujibayashi, Keio University professor, writing in SHAKAI. Labor education at present "gives theoretical knowledge alone, and in most cases merely satisfies the intellectual dilettante interest of some of the laborers," while the average person figures that such education holds no practical value for him. It is necessary that "scientific . . . educational establishments be supported by the labor unions and * * * a practical education be furnished to the laborers."

Junichi Iwakami, writing in RODO HYORON, similarly insists that the "culture" of the labor class be improved. "Ninety percent of Japanese laborers barely completed compulsory education. It is said that young workers who received compulsory education have forgotten, after five years' factory work, the Chinese characters which are used in third grade textbooks." The increase of labor intelligence must be an objective of the unions, declares Iwakami. Workers must be made conversant with the cultural inheritance of Japan and of the world. "Such materials as papers or magazines, printing paper for circulars, educational publications, motion picture films, photographic equipment, musical instruments, stage equipment and costumes, facilities for physical exercise and dancing -- all these things must be produced, distributed, set up and managed to meet the needs of labor unions." Finally, "labor should eliminate the poison given off by the capitalists, in order that it may be independent and autonomous as soon as possible."

When Itsutaro Suehiro, of the Central Labor Committee, Toraichi Hara, general secretary of the JFL, and Matsuta Hosoya, assistant secretary of the NCIO, meet for a RODO HYORON round-table, the discussion ranges over many topics. Hosoya admits that the leaders of his union are too radical and that the officers are disassociated from the general membership and make decisions "highhandedly." Hara asserts that action should be taken to ensure "that a unit industrial organization embracing one or two hundred thousand workers not be permitted to enter a strike without consulting the will of all the members."

Suehiro observes that company staff members are joining labor unions, and remarks that "as union representatives, they are not sufficiently familiar with actual conditions of the laborers." Hosoya agrees. "Since ordinary laborers are not shrewd at handling statistics or planning tactics, staff workers take over these jobs. Laborers act instinctively, while staff members want to rationalize. * * * This is a cause of disagreement within the union, and caused the wavering of the union at the time of the (February) threatened strike." In a recent metal workers' dispute, the negotiation was carried on chiefly by office workers, Hosoya recalls, but he thinks "that the voices which should be heard at such a time are those of the miners." This is recognized as a strong argument for education. "Education not by lecture, but by practice," puts in Suehiro. "I believe that until the idea that mental labor is more respectable than manual labor is dropped, and the age arrives when manual laborers are really respected in society, substantial democratization of Japan is impossible."

The CLC member also urges a common sharing of responsibility for the national welfare. "At present, everyone is thinking only of the betterment of his individual position, and the union also thinks only of itself, with no thought for the general welfare." The three conferees agree that unification of the labor front should not be forced, and that when it comes, it should represent "not a merger of the leaders, but the unconditional merger of the masses." In regard to Japanese labor's concern with politics, Hosoya explains that "our every economic demand is closely related to the political situation and . . . we face what are basically political issues."

Kanju Kato, left wing Socialist leader, also stresses the political strength of the labor unions in SHAKAI, and that one cannot properly judge the power of the labor unions — with their more than 4,000,000 members — without considering their political as well as their economic influence. Of course, Kato writes, unions are not political bodies, and their political objectives must be attained through the agency of actual political parties. Any party, therefore, is constrained to consider the influence of the unions when it establishes and carries out its policies, he says.

Criticism and Encouragement

The sarcasm of ASAHI GRAPH is directed against members of the All Japan Railroad Workers' Union, who are reported to have held three general meetings at a hot-spring resort. "The sky is blue, the transportation is free," comments the cynical writer. "Do they intend to warm up their cooled fighting spirit in the hot baths?"

Laborers are exhorted to show "militant democracy" by Shinichi Matsumoto in JIMMIN HYORON. The NCIO has a fighting nature and must fight to achieve its objectives, he maintains. There are, however, many members who have a distaste for the words "fighting" and "revolutionary", a distaste which the writer attributes to unhappy experiences in the recent war. In seeking to justify the union's fighting nature, Matsumoto looks back to the Meiji Constitution, "in which there was a breath of democracy. Why did Japan not then become a democratic nation? Because few fought for democracy. This was fatal; democracy implies fighting for ideals, and democrats are those who fight for them. Democracy as an ideology is neither very profound nor very noble. A democrat who observes democracy only as a concept is not worthy of respect. What is important is to fight for democracy."

The Government and Labor

A RODO SHUHO writer urges the Socialist Government to hasten to put into effect its stated labor policies: 1) promotion of the sound development of labor unions, farmers' unions, and similar organizations, 2) guarantee of a minimum living standard by establishing a minimum wage system, and 3) reducing labor disputes by increasing the power of the Central Labor Committee. It is agreed that these are proper measures to be taken, but the writer says that they must be taken quickly. "The Socialists should be faithful to their promises and not neglect them in the name of coalition government."

A staff article in DAIAMONDO stresses the important role to be played by the projected Labor Ministry. "The Labor Ministry primarily should encourage the workers to do their utmost in tiding over the current national crisis, and then should take effective and positive measures against large scale unemployment. * * * Labor Ministry officials should take responsibility enthusiastically for our economic reconstruction."

Professor Heiji Numura of Waseda University examines the Labor Standards Law (soon to go into effect) in detail in a RODO HYORON article and concludes that something is still to be desired. Nomura criticizes what he considers inadequate provisions and correlation with the unemployment insurance system, and asserts that it fails to recognize the Constitution-granted "right to work" as the "right to enjoy the opportunity to work," and thus does not grant the protection which the Constitution stipulates. (Unemployment allowance and unemployment insurance bills have recently been prepared and are now being considered by the Diet.)

Dismissal allowance provisions of the Law are insufficient and fail to protect the worker, he charges, urging a longer period of notice before dismissal (the Law provides for thirty days' notice) and a minimum dismissal allowance. The provisions which assure equal treatment and special protection for women are likely to result in reduced employment of women, he fears. And the suggestion is made that working hours must be reduced in order that full employment be realized.

Nomura also calls for amendment to the Trade Union Law to compel employers to enter into collective bargaining, for elimination from the Labor Arbitration Law of the period of notice required before strike of a public utility (because "the power of workers to bargain collectively is nil when it is not backed by the power to strike"), and for reexamination — from the point of view of the workers — of the "working regulations" of the Labor Standards Law.

Yoshiji Shimizu, writing in the Communist magazine ZENEI, finds much progress in recent labor legislation, but believes that "it still retains an anti-democratic coloring which cannot be tolerated by the laborers." Among his objections are: "Production management of factories by workers is not yet recognized as a legitimate means of labor struggle. The right to strike has been considerably limited by the Labor Relations Adjustment Law." He insists that improvement of labor conditions cannot be effected without protection of the right to strike; that no compensation is given to laborers who are treated illegally by employers, and that the Central Labor Committee tends to be capitalistic and bureaucratic. Enforcement of the Labor Relations Adjustment Law should be carried out by labor, he suggests, instead of by the Board of Labor Standards, which is "bureaucratic." Recent labor legislation is important, Shimizu concludes, "but should be revised to be more democratic and more suited to the laborers."

<u>The Future</u>

An exhortation to action by the common people is the MINSHU HYORON article of Hajime Tamashiro, who strives to refute what he considers to be the commonly held belief that "the progressive Democrats, Socialists, and Communists aim at destructive, instead of constructive, action." He criticizes Government officials for "destructive policies under the cloak of construction," and praises the healthy spirit of labor.

"The general public alone, "he maintains, is qualified to break up the old order and carry out reconstruction. People, awaken!"

In a RODO HYORON article, Taikichi Ito sees unrelenting strife between capital and labor, with no compromise possible. "Whether the revolution is carried out peacefully or violently, through parliament or through proletarian despotism," depends on the attitude of the capitalists. "The proletarians rather prefer peaceful revolution," with "the final battles fought through the agency of election," he asserts.

Unfortunately, he goes on, the farmers -- concerned with immediate profits -- have not realized that their future lies in alliance with labor, and have continued to support the conservative power, as has the general public, which believes that the labor movement is bent solely on destruction. Ito's article then attempts to prove that inflation has been the intentional policy of the capitalists, and that the old influences have retained the reins of government, at the cost of the people. He calls for renewed efforts by labor, refusal to compromise with capital, and "collaboration of the labor class, the farmers, and the medium and small businessmen."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

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Thirteen other articles were used, but not directly quoted, for this analysis, which is based on articles published March to August 1947.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Labor

Japan's Labor Movement. Pub. Anal. No.99. 2 April 1947.
Recent labor developments, specific disputes, wage-price stabilization, unemployment, education of unionists.

Labor and Its Problems. Pub. Anal. No.79. 11 October 1946.
Trends in the capital-labor relations, Japan's labor organization, specific problems and solutions, working women, and cooperatives.

Labor and Industry. Pub. Anal. No.64. 26 July 1946.
Brief survey of important industrial disputes between December 1945 and May 1946.

Labor and Unemployment. Pub. Anal. No.21. 21 March 1946.
Labor history in Japan, the labor union bill, unemployment, labor relations, wage levels, and the Japanese CIO.

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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 3 Sept. 1947. No.114

Fishing Enterprises

Amid general recognition of the importance of the fishing industry, both in the alleviation of the food crisis and in future prospects as an export industry, Japanese magazines are aware of the necessity for democratization of ultra conservative factions reportedly remaining in fishing villages and remote communities. Some writers are concerned with problems of the individual fisherman, some with the community of which he is a part; still others are concerned with democratization of local enterprises. The point is made that fishing villages are of no less importance than agricultural communities, and the Government is urged to accord equal importance to needed reforms in their structure and inherent conservatism. In this connection, the necessity for autonomy in smaller centers -- where village brokers and net owners have held unduly preponderant positions --is stressed. The link system, generally praised, is frequently discussed -- with occasional suggestions for improvement, principally in connection with higher official prices for maritime products and an increased supply of vital fishing equipment.

Democracy in the Fishing Villages

Democratization of fishing villages must be achieved through individual effort, and must include reform of fishery associations and management as well as enlightenment of the fishermen themselves, in the opinion of Shinichi Funayama, writing in SUISANKAI. "Fishing villages have diversified organization of control, of which the most important is the gyogyokai (fishery association)," he explains. "Although this gyogyokai first was formed as a controlling body, it has become the central organ of all fishing activities. The democratization of fishing villages must, therefore, begin with the democratization of this association. * * * In wartime this association was used to extend militaristic control over fishing enterprises, but after our defeat it was restored to its original mission of concern with the welfare and interests of fishing people. This alone, however, cannot be called democratization, nor can any democratizing act which comes from official levels be termed true democratization -- such must be worked out by the fishermen themselves. The gyogyokai, therefore, must strive for the interests of the fishermen rather then for the interest of the State."

Democratization also must be adopted by fishery management and "may be effected in the phases of fishery rights, enterprising, wage system, and fishing technique. The best method of democratizing fishery rights is to grant them to fishery associations, and not to individuals."

The forms of fishery enterprises "are of infinite variety, from grand scale management down to the single fisherman. It is evident that democratization of enterprising cannot be brought about by uniform action throughout the industry; it must be the result of action in accordance with the several forms and characters involved. Large-scale enterprises easily may be democratized through the improvement of labor conditions, treating them as genuine labor problems. But in the case of medium or small-scale enterprises, care must be taken to unite the workers and to allow them participation in management and in the improvement of labor conditions."

Funayama discusses fishery wages, and urges collective bargaining as the basis for wages of "cooperative character." Along the same line of thought:

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"The democratization of fishery enterprises must be achieved by the modernization and mechanization of techniques. Such democratization may extend to either capitalistic, socialistic, or cooperative forms of enterprise, but -- because there are certain limits to the application of either capitalism or socialism in the fishing industry -- it would seem that the cooperative principle is most suitable."

In closing, this writer again emphasizes the importance of the individual, and mentions the necessity for improved housing in fishing villages and electrification of these areas.

Democratization of fishing communities is closely akin to that of farm villages because of the inherent conservatism of both, an EKONOMISUTO editorialist maintains. "Concerning the reformation of the fishing villages, there is a difference in the policies of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and the Central Marine Products Association (Chuo Suisankai), which latter organization advocates more radical measures. * * * Such radical reformation is, after all, contingent on the awakening of the fisherman himself." Outlining the differences in opinion, this writer days that the Government "aims first at the increase of fishing production to alleviate the food crisis," while the Chuo Suisankai "is concerned with the establishment of fishing village policy, and believes that the formation of a special fishing union will hinder the democratic development of small fishing businesses."

Detailing the relationship between fishing village brokers, net owners, and fishery workers, this writer states that centralization of power in the hands of village capitalists has led to subordination of the interests and welfare of the fishermen. He calls for "the formation of cooperative unions by small capitalists and fishermen in the villages, to compete with present monopolies. For this purpose, the political and social emancipation of fishing villages is of urgent necessity."

Following an extensive dissertation on the economic necessity for autonomous control of industry as a whole, Takeo Watanabe, in SUISANKAI, applies his arguments to fishing enterprises. "At present," he writes, "fish products are officially priced at an unduly low level, whereas necessary items -- such as shipbuilding materials, fuel, nets, etx. -- are in short supply and of high cost. Therefore, unless official prices are raised drastically unless necessary materials are supplied or controls removed, it is clear that complete breakdown must result." Watanabe brands the Government's counter-measures -- "small-scale price raising" -- as inadequate, and claims that "the situation will be saved only by more decisive measures, or by the interuction of autonomous control in fisheries. To gain the latter end, it is imperative to establish cooperative bodies which will act to stabilize the economic base of fishery enterprises through the joint forwarding, selling, and purchasing of maritime products. These cooperative bodies must be linked directly with consumer livelihood cooperatives, so as to regulate demand to supply as well as to stabilize fish prices. Needless to say, one of the premises of autonomous control in the fishing industry is the increase of maritime production. To accomplish this, arrangements must be made for establishment of a production plan, fair distribution of materials, setting up of rational fish prices based on fair cost calculation, efficient transportation, and a workable system of fish distribution.

"To take charge of these fundamental problems, this author suggests "a supreme commission organized by the representatives of democratic bodies concerned, and by learned and experienced persons. This would have full authority, based on the over-all cooperation of producer and consumer alike."

Production and the Link System

The link system, in which heavy oils and other necessary materials are distributed to fisheries on the basis of productive return, is generally hailed as the greatest single factor in the increase of maritime production. There is, however, considerable feeling that certain factors -- notably the low official price of fish -- lessen the potential effectiveness of link operation.

A DAIAMONDO staff writer stresses the diversion of "a large percentage" of the increased catch to black-market channels: "The production of fish and shelfish during the past year (this article is dated 21 July 1947) has reached a rate which is two or three times that of'1945. While actual distribution has been only about half that of prewar days. this increasing rate of production is very significant. Partly due to seasonal influences, the main causes were the distribution rule set up in April, which established 70 landing places and about 200 distribution organs. In spite of surpluses at all landing places, howev er, only about sixty percent of the catch reached the six major cities and the remote prefectures; the remainder being diverted to the black market. The reason for this is mainly the unreasonably. low official prices of maritime products, which -- since fully half of the necessary materials must be obtained in the black market -- are ruinous for the average operator. Producers desire not only a rise in the official prices. but would prefer distribution of needed fishing materials at official prices, which may be done best through the link system. properly applied."

Operation of the Link System

In a more detailed exposition on the link system. Tatsuo Aoyagi. writing for JITSUMU CHISHIKI, claims that it is necessary to extend and intensify the functioning of the system, together with the amendment of existing link rates. "The fishery link system was successful from its inception, inasmuch as initially it'was able to supply fisheries with an adequate supply of link materials, which brought about an increase in the actual forwarding of fishery products. Later. however, the supply of link materials began to decrease, which forced many producers into the black market, and resulted in the siphoning off of a considerable quantity of the catch."

"Of all link materials, the most important article is oil, and Japan must depend on imports for 80 to 90 percent of this material." Aoyagi continues. "In order to realize a perfect fishery operation, the time between allocation and delivery of link materials must be shortened as much as possible, and existing link rates must be amended so as to conform more closely to actualities. * * * Under the present system, the monthly quota of oil is decided upon about the 20th of each month. on the basis of the actual forwardings of the two preceding months. Such quota allocations must be taken over by the end of the month in which they are made. But in practice this allows too short a time for fisheries in remote areas to take up their full quota. In order to rationalize this aspect of the link system. the elapsed time between submission of the actual forwarding reports and subsequent quota allocation should be shortened as much as possible. This would enable fishermen to secure full delivery of their oil."

Another matter indispensable to the rationaliz ation of the system is the revision of existing link rates. Much importance is attached to the utilization of the link system as a food counter-measure for the great cities and inland prefectures. Due to priority schedules balance is in danger of being lost in the link rates between specified landing areas and other regions. It thus becomes only natural for fishermen to prefer to land their catches at such specified areas, so that they can obtain a special supply of compensatory articles in addition to link supplies. Fishermen residing far from such centers are obliged to be contented with supplies of oil alone, though they have attained or surpassed their goals. These complexities arise from ill-balanced link rates, and from the compensation system; and lead only to violation of the official price system."

Also important is "the establishment of authonomous forwarding organs" to expedite movements of marine products to the consumer. To do this, "it is necessary to establish cooperation between fishermen and central forwarding agencies. Along this line, establishment of a system of responsibility by the individual fisherman must be backed by the Government, so that forwarding agencies may take action against those who violate allocations set up in the forwarding schedule."

Praise for the principle of the link'system, with advice for tightening loose ends, comes from Yoshimasa Sakamura, head of the Investigation

Section of the Fisheries Bureau, who writes in SUNADORI. According to Sakamura, the low percentage of fish deliveries to large centers such as Tokyo cannot be ascribed to poor catches; but can be corrected by "solidification of the link system. . . in order to secure the future of Japanese fisheries."

Fishing Villages and Inflation

The commonly held view of Japanese fisherman as being rich in new yen is refuted by a student investigation made in Tagomura and printed in TEIKOKU DAIGAKU SHIMBUN. "It often is said that fishing villages are richly endowed in new yen. This may be true with villages closely connected with big city consumption, but more remote villages sometimes are forced to self to merchants and brokers at prices below the official rate." The investigating body found poor conditions in fishing villages of this area," and recommended "the establishment of cooperative industrial enterprises in order to support the fishermen and to provide a broad base for future export trade."

A DAIAMONDO staff writer reports a Hypothec Bank investigation in Kanto Province which supports this view, and states that middlemen and brokers make three times the net profit of fishermen: "Fishing village inflation stands, after all, upon black-marketing. Although a fisherman's gross income may be increased by black-marketing, this profit is eaten up by increased cost of materials -- and the net profits disappear into the pockets of black-market brokers."

A Glance at the Fishing Industly

Expressing the opinion that fishing is a paying business. BOEKI TIMES reports that "new fishery enterprises have sprung up like so many mushrooms, and established companies have been intent on increasing their capitalization." This writer states that "insofar as fisheries are concerned, vessels, men and technical skill enlisted in the service of these lines are the most essential factors to achievement of the desired end." Three fishery companies whose stock has been offered to the public are briefly reviewed:" 1) Nippon Suisan is carrying on both coastwise and deep-sea fishing, and of prime interest to this company is whaling. The profit for last year came to ¥56 million, both from whaling and from trawling enterprises. 2) Nichiro Gyogyo, though hardest hit by war damages, is more favored in men and technical skill than many others, and may be in a more advantageous position than many other newer firms for this reason. 3) As for Kyokuyo Hogei, only one vessel is now in operation, with five under construction; but company officials are very optimistic as regards the future."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulation and Authors*)

BOEKI TIMES, 3,000, one staff article; DAIAMONDO, 20,000, two staff articles; EKONOMISUTO, 15,000, one staff article; JITSUMU CHISHIKI, 3,000, Tatsuo Aoyagi; SUISANKAI, 2,500, Shinichi Funayama; Takeo Watanabe; SUNADORI, 3,000, Yoshimasa Sakamura; TEIKOKU DAIGAKU SHIMBUN, 30,000, one staff article. *Where available.

This report is based on articles in Japanese magazines published April to July, 1947.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with the Fishing Industry

Fishing Industry, The, Pub. Anal. No.93 18 February 1947.
Covers marine production and distribution, needed materials, the advance of capital into costal fisheries and individual enterprises.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 20 August 1947. No.113

Publications

Of the problems that beset Japanese publishers, none is greater than the paper shortage. This has magnified the resentment of the older and larger publishers against the multitude of minor and sometimes unworthy and erotic publications which have flooded the market since the war's end.

Many of the 65 articles that appeared in the magazines examined in preparing this analysis indicate a reaction against "degenerate" publications and urge the members of the publishing industry to realize their position as cultural leaders of the nation. Many ideas are expressed concerning the methods of allocating paper, and the progress being made along this line is described. Other problems in connection with the world of publications are the scarcity of skillful writers who can mould public opinion constructively, the poor system of distributing books and magazines, which gives rise to black-market sales, and the rapidly increasing cost of production, which drives magazine and book prices beyond the means of the average reader.

The articles upon which this analysis is based appeared in trade journals and magazines of general circulation dated from February to the first week of June. The most authoritative sources indicate that during the second quarter of 1947 paper deliveries to magazines were better than 90% of allocations, and delivery conditions reportedly have been steadily improving in respect to regularity and reliability. It should also be noted that "erotic" and "degenerate" magazines constitute only a small portion of the total number of published periodicals. The considerable volume of criticism directed against "degenerate" magazines should not be interpreted as any indication of the relative importance of this type of reading material in the total magazine field. The Japan Publishers' Association, without attempting to invoke censorship, is now taking active steps to eliminate such publications, chiefly by arousing public opinion against them and by urging the police to apply existing laws.

Problems

"There are three big problems in the publishing world at the present time," declares Kenzo Nakajima in SHUKAN ASAHI, "the acute shortage of paper, eroticism in publications, and the matter of copyrights. The paper shortage is the most fundamental problem. . . and paper is now an object of speculation." The problem of regulating erotic books "should not be disassociated from the principle of freedom in publishing or from the paper shortage. * * * Erotic books should be controlled by means of literary criticism and not through publishing regulations. As regards the malignant erotic magazines, that they should come under the control of the general criminal code, but not that of publishing regulations, is welcomed. * * * The shortage of paper is likely to necessitate a planned program of publishing, but the principle of freedom in publishing should be kept." In general, Nakajima continues, the Japanese "have not been disciplined to respect the value of so intangible a property right as that of copyright. * * * In addition, we must remember the disorder in publishing circles during wartime. During the war, the creative spirit of the individual was neglected, and excessive censorship was enforced by the authorities. As a result, editors were accustomed to rearrange original articles capriciously, out of fear of censorship. This wartime habit should be corrected

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to protect the right of copyright. Readers, writers, and publishers should bear this in mind."

A DAIAMONDO staff writer believes that few other than "degenerate" works are to be found in the world of publications, and that the trend is harmful to national morality. He expresses concern over the question of how to check the lowering of the cultural level and how to encourage publications of a higher order. "Learned men, critics, and men of letters should make positive efforts to educate readers. Degenerate works will disappear proportionately as the readers' knowledge and culture is elevated. Exercise of self-restraint by publishers is much desired, but this is a difficult matter because a bad publisher always has more power in the publications business than a good publisher. Strong Government control is required to suppress degenerate works, and bad publishers should be brought under strict legal restraints. Thorough control of paper black-marketing should be enforced; not a bit of paper should be given to bad publishers. Priority in the purchase of paper should be given to worthy publications, without conformity to the amount of paper consumed in the past."

A SHUPPAN JOHO cartoon points to the strength of leftist influences in the publications world, by depicting a performing monkey cavorting under a tree -- representing "democracy" -- in full flower. The monkey is the symbol of "publishing," while the man who guides and controls the animal is a caricature of the "leftists." Beneath this, another cartoon illustrates the main problem facing the magazine world: the drawing is of shell-gathering on the beach at low tide; the men (publishers) are hunting frantically for shells (paper), but find nothing.

The Paper Shortage

There are varied opinions as to who should be made to bear the brunt of the hardship imposed by the paper shortage, with most writers agreeing, however, that minor publications of recent origin should be sacrificed. "To the publisher, nothing is more painful than a paper shortage," declares a JOURNALIST staff writer. "We are shocked when we look back upon last year's miserable tabloid-size papers. Our great desire is to secure at any cost as much newsprint as possible, but to our way of thinking, there is still a fair amount of paper at hand. Look at the recent flood of new papers and magazines. More than 50 percent of them are useless; some are actually harmful. Consequently, it is necessary to make proper adjustment of these publications, and turn over the surplus paper thus obtained to the really useful press and magazines. If this is realized, the current lack of paper will be moderated to a great extent. Is it not the responsibility of the journalists to take up the problem of founding an appropriate adjustment organ in collaboration with the Government?"

In contrast, a TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO writer charges that magazines are being discriminated against in favor of the newspapers. Solution of the paper distribution, he claims, is a matter of life and death to 3200 magazine publishers and their employees, and it is "difficult to understand" why the Government has accorded preferential treatment to the press. "About half our meager paper production is supplied to the newspapers, while magazines and books are assigned the scanty quota of 18,000,000 pounds, in contrast to their minimum yearly requirement of 110,000,000 pounds. We admit that newspapers are the eyes and ears of society, but we cannot allow their monopolization of half our paper supply at a time of such shortage. Since the termination of the war, a multitude of useless papers have sprung up like mushrooms after a rain. We are told that some of them are selling their newsprint quotas in the black markets and thus are barely managing to stave off difficulties. Now is the time to take action concerning these useless newspapers and to make available to the publishers of useful books and magazines the surplus paper thus obtained."

Even the "scanty" quota allotted is not received in full, the writer complains. "Paper is the bread of publishers, so when delivery is delayed, as it is today, they are forced out of self defense to purchase in the black market. This is the chief cause of many scandals. But even in the black market, the stock of paper has at last touched bottom and prices are rising abnormally.

The situation has turned out to be unmanageable. This is the reason some prominent publishers have announced that they cannot publish May editions. If this situation continues, the publication of books will stop. When we face the prospect of all publications except newspapers disappearing from view, we can no longer call our country a 'cultural nation.'" To correct the situation, the writer would "reduce the paper quota for newspapers as much as possible and make it available to other publishing circles, would select such books and magazines as are truly useful to society, then supply their necessities. * * * However, it is difficult to screen the existing publishers and eliminate undesirable ones. We think the best way to handle the matter is to examine their publishing plans as closely as possible and to give publications permits--and the necessary paper--only to those who have successfully stood such examination. The publishers must take the initiative in effectuating such a plan of action." The writer calls the present Japan Publishers' Association "too loose"; he would unite all publishers into one strong organization, because "we can expect nothing from a motley assembly of publishers."

In a March issue, NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN suggests that several hundred magazines will have to suspend publication in the near future, not having received necessary paper. Of 2258 listed as having applied for paper allotment, 723 were said to have been unsuccessful. A later issue of NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN announces that suspension of publication by 18 leading publishing houses will mean stoppage of 60 magazines. Among those declared to be affected are Shufu No Tomo Sha, Kaizo Sha, Chuo Koron Sha, Jitsugyo No Nippon Sha, Shincho Sha, Mainichi Shimbun Sha, Bungei Shunju Sha, Asahi Shimbun Sha, and Ie No Hikari Sha. (In most cases, however, these firms have continued to publish, by combining issues and reducing the number of pages.)

Another issue of NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN emphasizes the paper shortage in another way -- by comparing the actual circulation figures of some leading magazines with the demand reportedly voiced by magazine dealers. Figures representing the demand are given at the left; those in parentheses are current circulation figures, which reportedly have been even further reduced.

General magazines		Women's magazines	
SEKAI	300,000 (60,000)	SHUFU NO TOMO	1,100,000(70,000)
CHUO KORON	180,000 (50,000)	FUJIN KURABU	800,000(60,000)
KAIZO	170,000 (50,000)	FUJIN GAHO	160,000(50,000)
TEMBO	70,000 (30,000)	FUJIN NO TOMO	100,000(50,000)
ASAHI HYORON	40,000 (20,000)	FUJIN ASAHI	100,000(30,000)

Literary magazines		Children's magazines	
NIPPON HYORON	37,000 (30,000)	SHONEN KURABU	350,000(40,000)
NINGEN	220,000 (40,000)	SHOJO KURABU	350,000(40,000)
BUNGEI SHUNJU	150,000 (30,000)	YONEN KURABU	350,000(50,000)
GUNZO	70,000 (20,000)	YOIKO NO TOMO	200,000(50,000)
SHINCHO	50,000 (30,000)	GINGA	60,000(30,000)

What to do About the Shortage

Solution of paper shortage problems is to be found in increasing paper production, elimination of black-marketing and monopoly, and enforcement of a strict distribution system, according to Takaroku Aji in JOURNALIST. He says that the publishing of tabloid-size editions at the year's end was "unprecedented in our newspaper history," and attributes responsibility to newspaper publishers as well as to the Government. The greatest hindrance to proper distribution is declared to be lack of transportation; hence efforts must be made to provide adequate transportation facilities as well as to boost production. He also claims that "large differences between the announced and the real output (of paper manufacturers)" is a source of black-marketing, and that monopoly in the field of paper manufacture is a grave defect.

Holding that the paper problem cannot be solved by individuals acting singly, a group of small publishers and labor unions have organized the United Press and Publications Democratization Association, reports NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN. Their resolutions include: "Encourage the increase of printing paper production; oppose any bureaucratic control of publishing administration;

abolish the Paper Allotment Committee of the Government -- allotment of paper should be autonomous; democratize the allotment of the limited amount of paper; advance paper to special newspaper companies, organs of labor unions, school textbook publishers and others; stop paper allotment to licentious publications; secure transportation facilities for paper; and thoroughly purge war criminals from newspaper and publishing circles."

NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN also describes the emergency measures adopted by the Government's Paper Allotment Committee. The Committee "does not allow the use of any paper which is obtained outside official allotment channels." It determines the amount of ration "on the basis of cultural worth, following a petition for paper from a publisher." Allotment amounts are to be decided at the beginning of each quarter of the year, and "whenever the committee finds a publisher using paper supplied by any other agency than through the official channels, especially that obtained by exchange of commodities, proper measures will be taken." Another issue of NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN describes inspections conducted by the Department of Commerce of paper storage in 110 publishing firms. Figures are given showing the amounts of paper held in storage and the considerable amounts said to have been obtained through illegal means. Paper in the latter category is to be distributed among other publishers, the writer declares.

Other Problems of the Magazines

A lengthy round-table discussion -- its six participants including four editors, a professor, and a critic -- appears in CHORYU and takes up 23 pages. It is brought out that the most frequent criticism of magazines voiced by the general public is that they deal too much in theoretical and ideological questions and are difficult for the average reader to understand. It is agreed by the speakers that magazines should deal more in current events, and that writers should endeavour to use easily understood words and expressions. Minoru Miyakawa of St Paul's University declares: "For the time being, the greatest mission of journalism should be to fill up the pages left blank by ten years of war, during which the cultural level of both the intellectuals and the general public fell very far. This mission belongs to the press and especially to the magazines." Shigeo Matanaka, editor of CHUO KORON, adds to this: "One of the missions of journalism is to digest and make available (to the public) those fruits which are produced by academic research." The speakers decry the prevalence of "reputation-worship" in the world of magazine writing and reading, pointing out that the name and fame of a writer frequently has more to do with putting across an article or argument than the real value of the piece or the skill with which it is presented. It will be a long time, they assert, before the general public can be rid of this overemphasized regard for authority. Ikki Komorida, SEKAI HYORON editor, closes the discussion by stating that "it is necessary to begin with simple things. The most important task is not to inquire ostentatiously how to proceed in a democratic way, but simply to start in with concrete matters in an effort to better our life and our environment. * * * It is most important that editors return to the realistic life, and join hands with the general public."

Freedom of speech and of publication has loosed a flood of minor and useless publications, states Takematsu Takahashi in JOURNALIST. Despite a severe paper shortage, the market is filled with "vulgar and opportunistic publications," and bad books are said to be driving out the good ones. Takahashi finds this a bad omen for cultural reconstruction. "We admit that the scarcity of commodities is a principal reason for our moral deterioration. But to restore our decayed morality, another problem must first be solved. This is the reconstruction of our spiritual life, which can be accomplished only through the encouragement of reading. However, when publications are thrown into such confusion as they are today, there is almost no hope in gaining the desired end. * * * Publications must play the part of textbooks in the coming new society. If they prove to be only guidebooks toward an evil society, the effect may be very dangerous. It is not too much to say that the healthy development of democracy depends solely upon publications. Therefore the publishers, who are said to be men of culture, must refrain from lowering themselves to the

pursuit of profit in vulgar publications. They must not misinterpret the meaning of true liberalism."

A NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN writer notes with regret that not only is the physical size of Japanese magazines being reduced, but -- in contrast to what might be expected to follow -- the contents are at the same time becoming poorer. But another writer for the same magazine finds hopeful prospects for the future: "Members of the publishing circle are agreed that a new democratic movement, aiming at sound development of the publications industry and elimination of black-market transactions for paper, and seeking to procure the necessary allotment of paper, should be launched in the near future. In conjunction with this movement, the announcement of purge actions in the publishing world will have a great effect. * * * Thus there is strong possibility that the rehabilitation of the publishing world will occur in the near future."

Tadamichi Kan, of the editorial staff of the children's magazine KODOMO NO HIROBA, complains in NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN of the slowness of democratization of publishing enterprises. He speaks mostly of the mechanical side of the industry, and gives reasons why progress is so slow: 1) private enterprise and informal relations prevail in many editorial establishments because they are of a small scale, 2) most office managers consider themselves on a different basis from ordinary capitalists, and are not corrected in this attitude by editorial chiefs, 3) there are difficulties in getting funds and materials, and 4) editorial personnel usually hold their thoughts and their actions in separate spheres. "Editors have a good sense of what should be done," writes Kan, "but they fail to carry out their ideas and are content to remain spectators. * * * It is very hard for them to be practical reformers."

Publications Evaluated

ASAHI GRAPH runs pictures of the managing editors of some of the leading magazines and attempts to characterize their policies in a few words — pointing out initially that most of the editors of general magazines have spent time in prison, that well-known writers are hardened in characteristic mannerisms, and that young writers naturally lack depth of thought. Thus present-day literary expression is declared to lack both "gentleness and depth." Of CHORYU, the writer declares: "The Communists call this magazine academic and the rightists call it communistic; the aim of the editor is to analyze present conditions scientifically for students and thinking people." Of KAIZO: "Its editorial principle is to criticize our culture from a neutral standpoint." CHUO KORON: In order to promote concerted democratic action, the editor seeks to "propagate thoughts of a high level for the public." SEKAI: "The guiding principle is to make SEKAI (suitable to be) a representative spokesman of the Japanese to foreign readers, respecting all shades of opinion without any political affiliation." BUNGEI SHUNJU: To make his magazine "easy to read and beneficial to the reader is the aim of the editor." NIPPON HYORON: "The aim of this magazine is to educate the newly rising classes of society, including labor, and the ideal is to create a magazine made up entirely of staff commentary, in the manner of NEWSWEEK." The results of a public opinion poll conducted by the National Students' Library Association among 5772 college students in 16 institutions, announced in NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN, shows that SEKAI holds top rank, followed by NINGEN, CHUO KORON, and TEMBO. Two magazines whose forte is eroticism, LIBERAL and AKA TO KURO, are especially disapproved by the students.

The leading article in another issue of NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN laments that scientific magazines are failing. Destruction of printing offices is said to have been especially hard on scientific publications, because they require special printing techniques, while paper shortages and lack of capital have been additionally severe obstacles. Scientific publications have not received black-market paper and have failed to obtain even their full quota allotment. Most of the leading science magazines have had only one issue during the first four months of the year, it is reported. "Professional treatises on scientific techniques have had no chance for publication, except in academy organs. Since scientific magazines have only limited circulation, and since they are not

profitmaking, leading publishing houses are not anxious to publish them. Urgent measures must be taken to furnish a supply of paper for the scientific publications."

In the world of women's magazines, NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN finds that the temporary vogue for fancy and elaborate magazines has declined as amusement and motion picture magazines increased in popularity. * * *"In contrast, those intended for enlightenment and magazines seeking to be of practical use are, in general, making steady advancement." FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN notes that "serious and enlightening magazines, such as FUJIN KORON and JOSEI KAIZO," are selling well, and attributes this to "the development of women's consciousness and the reading zeal of working women."

NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN is concerned also with violation of copyright regulations. In one issue it endeavours to familiarize publishers with regulations concerning the printing of translations, explaining that permission of the copyright owner is required. Permission must also be obtained, the writer states, before cartoons, fashion drawings, or photographs can be reprinted from American books or magazines. These rights can best be obtained by application to SCAP, it is asserted. In another issue the magazine tells of recent cases of unauthorized printing of articles written by two well-known Japanese authors in the magazines SHAKAI and KOKUMIN KEIZAI. The staff writer condemns such practices and the code of ethics which allows them.

In the World of Books

Book publishers also have been handicapped by paper shortage, and the number of books issued is reported to have decreased considerably in recent months. NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN recently has resumed the practice of printing a weekly summary of the number and classifications of books submitted for Government inspection (it is emphasized that this is not a complete list of all published books, but the breakdown is useful in showing trends), and some of the figures are as follows:

	Weeks			
Classification	Feb.11-17	Feb.18-24	May 12-19	May 20-26
Philosophy and religion	5	4	4	-
Political and social science	8	9	7	4
Economics and industry	3	4	3	3
History and geography	2	-	2	-
Education	2	3	-	2
Literature	19	48	21	26
Arts	1	8	-	3
Language	2	-	-	-
Science and engineering	1	18	3	4
Medical	1	9	1	-
Agriculture	1	3	7	2
Juvenile	11	7	5	6
Women and welfare	4	8	2	1
Reference books for students	9	3	-	4
Philology	-	-	2	2
Dictionary	1	-	-	-
General information	2	-	-	-
Totals	72	124	57	57

A large proportion of these books, it must be remembered, are not new works, but reprints of editions previously issued.

Freedom of the press has brought a flood of inferior books into the market in a reaction against previous oppression, Saburo Nagara writes in SHUPPAN JOHO. "Even in the publishing world Gresham's law is applicable; bad books drive out good books," and under the new freedom, publishers must be mindful of the influence which uncontrolled publications have on the public mind. Nagara quotes several passages from a work entitled, "The Wife of Colonel H,"

and then declares: "We cannot welcome such obscene literature, which expresses immoral conduct sensationally and spurs the deterioration of society, when we are seeking a way to reconstruct Japan." "Erotic books of a low type are still frequent," a BUNGEI SHUNJU writer agrees. "It is regrettable that almost every one of these erotic books is published only for the purpose of exciting the obscene curiosity of the readers: the authors have no sincerity or conscience." The writer speaks of several worth-while books, but considers that their prices are too high for common people. "Popular editions should be published cheaply," he asserts. In this connection, NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN computes that an average high school teacher, with a family of five, is able to spend only 50 yen, or two percent, of his monthly income for cultural purposes. "How can we expect him to buy books or magazines for new information and knowledge? * * * Book lovers, who have no money to spare, are forced to stay away from the bookstores." Another article in the same magazine says that "the prices of books are getting higher and higher." Book prices are reported to have risen about sixty percent in a few months. "There are many books which cost ¥40, ¥50, and ¥60, while ¥100 and ¥200 books are not rare. Immediately after the end of the war we could buy a copy of Kaneta's 'Easy Dictionary of the Japanese Language' for ¥10; now it costs ¥120. Even a monthly magazine costs from ¥8 to ¥10 and a quarterly runs to ¥30 or ¥35." Causes for the rising prices of books are examined by SHUPPAN JOHO. Primary factors are said to be increased paper costs, printing delays, and high costs for printing and binding. Lack of political strength on the part of the publishers is said to be a reason for failure of delivery of paper to book printers, at a time when paper for newspapers is not wanting. If costs continue to rise, "novels at ¥100 per copy will soon be on the market," the writer predicts.

A letter from a schoolboy reader, Tatsuo Akiyoshi, to NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN, complains that books are not being sold at the prices stamped on them. "Books," he writes, "should be sold fairly at fixed prices. Black-marketing should be eliminated from the field of publications, which directly concerns education and culture." In its next issue, this literary journal announces that action is being taken in the Kansai region, where "the Kansai branch of the Japan Publishers' Association has launched a movement — in close cooperation with the authorities concerned -- to stamp out the rampant selling of books at excessive prices in retailers' shops." Takamoto Tanaka of the Japan Publishing Delivery Company is concerned with the poor system of book distribution. After listing, in SHUPPAN JOHO, the difficulties faced by the publishing world, he voices confidence that the Government's Paper Allotment Committee will help in overcoming the problems, but stresses the obligation of the retailers. "They (the retailers) should bear responsibility for the popularization and elevation of cultural standards through the distribution of books." The publishing world, he urges, "must realize its grave mission and refrain from any attitude of seeking to further selfish interests."

Another NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN article tells readers that the Japan Library Association distributes new publications to libraries in 30 prefectures out of funds amounting to ¥50,000 monthly. This makes possible the delivery of less than 2000 books per month and —- spread over 150 libraries -- provides only an average of about 13 books per month per library.

The Newspapers

Newspapers, free from many of the ills which beset book and magazine publishers, continue to be exhorted in the pages of the trade publication, JOURNALIST, to accept their responsibility and to exercise their power beneficially. Takaroku Aji charges that newspaper opinion is dominated by leftists. Young journalists are considered to lack "education in writing" and "seem to be satisfied with a superficial democratization of the press evidenced by random use of the word 'democracy.' They call only the progressive and radical elements 'democratic.'" Aji criticizes staff editors for not exercising a better influence over their young writers and accuses them of a "spiritless and irresolute" attitude in their editing of the news. When editors are subjected to pressure by labor unions, he insists that they should stand up for their beliefs "with more resolute conviction and more firm bravery."

Yuki Kurio, president of the Kochi Press, reports a "Press Moralization Movement," sponsered by the Japan Press Association, whose aims are "to maintain a high moral level, to guard the dignity of the press, and to enlarge its power of leadership." To spread democracy, Kurio writes, the press must "have a clear grasp of the spirit and ideals of democracy. We must be brave and resolute in order to put them into practice. * * * Attainment of morality of the press requires a high standard of morality in the newspapermen."

Takematsu Takahashi declares that the press may be considered to represent the nation. Thus its object must be to offer good leadership to the nation; and it becomes urgent that flattery and prejudice be eliminated from staff policies. If a newspaper is an organ for a particular party or group, it should clarify this position, while business papers also should announce where they stand. The press must build itself upon truth and justice, writes Takahashi.

Another JOUNALIST staff article is more concerned with efficient circulation. The value of good papers is lost when their distribution is delayed or improperly handled, the writer maintains. Newspaper companies, he insists, "must get their circulation departments to take direct charge of paper delivery. It is necessary that they have their own places of sale, which would compete with one another in the selling and delivering of papers. It is certainly through the cowardice of the press that this system has not yet been established."

Sources

(Magazines, Circulations, and Authors*)

ASAHI GRAPH, 15,000; BUNGEI SHUNJU, 30,000; CHORYU, 20,000, Minoru Miyakawa, Shigeo Matanaka, Ikki Komorida; DAIAMONDO, 20,000; FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN, 100,000; JOURNALIST, 1,000, Takaroku Aji, Takamatsu Takahashi, Yukio Kurio, 2 staff articles; NIPPON DOKUSHO SHIMBUN, 100,000, 15 staff articles, Tadamichi Kan, Tatsuo Akiyoshi; SHUKAN ASAHI, 25,000, Kenzo Nakajima; SHUPPAN JOHO, 30,000, Masaichi Okamoto, Saburo Nagara, Takamoto Tanaka; TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO, 20,000. *Where available

Additional survey was made of thirty-one articles which were considered but not quoted for this report, which is based upon magazines dated from February through the first week of June.

Previous Publications Analyses Dealing with Similar Topics

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Comments on largest Tokyo papers, criticism of journalistic policies, and guiding principles.

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What is lacking in Japanese magazines, inefficiency and lack of paper, specific objections, and the JPA and the paper shortage.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Analysis and Research Division

* *

PUBLICATIONS ANALYSIS, 16 August 1947. No. 11

Educational Reform

Announcement and initiation of broad reforms in Japan's educational system have elicited considerable discussion of past, present, and future policies from magazine writers. There are none who disagree with the principles or aims of the new program, but many who realize the difficulties involved in putting the plans into effect. There are words of caution to those who believe that sweeping changes in the system alone -- without a change in the people's attitude toward education -- will suffice to democratize Japanese schools and colleges. Lack of materials, equipment and teachers is considered the greatest impediment in the way of complete and successful expansion of compulsory education, and leads many authors to suggest methods of temporary improvisation. Initiation of coeducation has provoked much discussion and pleas for careful consideration and preparation; and the objectives of Japanese education, as one of the greatest means toward the nation's democratization, are restated by many leading writers and educational authorities.

The New Education

Mothers of school children are instructed in the meaning and significance of educational reform by articles in several women's magazines. In FUJIN ASAHI, Kanjo Yano, director of Meiji Gakuin, explains the details of the 6-3-3-4 system, and tells how compulsory education will be extended. The new program, Yano writes, makes coeducation optional in private schools as well as in public schools. "There will be no special (normal) schools for teachers; and university or higher school graduates will be trained to teach." New textbooks are being prepared, and "in the future, prefectural committees can choose suitable textbooks from among the many which are recommended by the central authorities. The committees will be made up of people elected in each prefecture. * * These committees have been planned in order to free education from bureaucracy; therefore the people should be very careful in the election, in order that they may gain the most possible from the new system."

Up to now, Yano continues, teachers have doled out their knowledge to the students. "But true education," he asserts, "should teach students to think, to question, and to increase their knowledge by themselves. And the formal education given by the school must be supplemented by a home education which lays stress on individuality."

Features of the new system are described in FUJIN MINSHU SHIMBUN by Yosuke Saito, who tells of the extension of the period of compulsory education, and of the rewriting of the textbooks. "The aim of the new educational method is to guide the children's life in a democratic way," he maintains. "It is necessary to develop the child's real ability. * * * To rely upon one's self and to accept responsibility are the most important lessons that children must learn."

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