

The Organisation of Employment in Japan

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The measures taken for the mobilisation of national resources in Japan in recent years, as a consequence of the war in China, were described in a recent issue of the Review.¹ The immediate result of this mobilisation was the dislocation of the employment market and a rise in unemployment. But as the demand for war materials of all kinds increased there was a shortage of labour, especially in the skilled trades, and it became necessary to find fresh sources of labour supply, to make special arrangements for vocational training and retraining, and to ensure a proper distribution of workers among the various undertakings. The following article gives a brief survey of the measures adopted to meet this situation. In justification of these measures it has been urged that together they constitute a comprehensive scheme calculated to facilitate a transformation in the industrial structure of the country which judging from recent trends had become indispensable.

RECENT CHANGES IN INDUSTRY

THE measures recently adopted in Japan, under the provisions of the General Mobilisation Act of 1 April 1938, for the organisation of the employment market in accordance with wartime requirements have had the effect of hastening the transformation of the industrial structure of the country, a process which had already begun before the Act came into effect and which doubtless influenced it. During the period 1930-1937, the largest increase, according to the index numbers of the volume of production published by the Department

¹ Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XL, No. 6, Dec. 1939, pp. 822-836 : "Economic Control in Japan".

of Commerce and Industry, was in the iron and steel and chemical groups, while textile goods, with the exception of rayon tissues, showed a decrease or only a moderate increase, with the miscellaneous group generally following a similar curve. This trend is confirmed by a report of the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau of Tokyo, according to which, during the six years from 1930 to 1936, producers' goods increased by 72.4 per cent. as compared with a rise of 47.8 per cent. in consumers' goods.

The change was reflected in the distribution and composition of the labour force. The total number of workers covered by the factory statistics rose from 2,095,240 in 1929 to 2,592,687 in 1936, an increase of 497,447, or 23.7 per cent. The number employed in the iron and steel and mechanical engineering industries rose from 371,723 to 703,821, an increase of 89.3 per cent., and the number of chemical workers from 126,520 to 273,487, an increase of 116.2 per cent.; on the other hand, there was an increase of only 29,222, or 2.9 per cent., in the number of workers in the textile industry.

The relative decline of the textile industry, in which women workers predominate, and the sharp rise in the iron and steel and mechanical engineering industries, in which the workers are mostly men, have sensibly affected the composition of the labour force. The number of male workers rose from 960,342 in 1929 to 1,458,398 in 1936, an increase of 498,056, or 51.9 per cent., while the number of female workers fell from 1,134,898 to 1,134,289. In 1929, 45.8 per cent. of the total number of workers were males and 54.2 per cent. females, but in 1936 the percentage of males was 56.2 and that of females 43.8. Of the net increase of 498,056 males, 59 per cent. were absorbed by the iron and steel and mechanical engineering industries, 19 per cent. by the chemical industry, 18 per cent. by the miscellaneous group, and only 4 per cent. by the textile industry.

Female workers, during the same period, showed increases of 37,054 and 52,334 in the iron and steel and mechanical engineering industries and the chemical industry respectively. These increases, however, were more than counterbalanced by a decrease in the miscellaneous industries. As regards the percentage distribution of workers in the male group, there was a marked increase in the iron and steel, mechanical engineering and chemical industries, and a noticeable decline

in the textile and miscellaneous industries. In the female group there was an increase in the iron and steel, mechanical engineering and chemical industries, a substantial decrease in the miscellaneous group, and a slight increase in the textile industry.¹

The tendencies noted above were further accentuated in 1937. The total number of persons employed in factories increased by 343,825, but the rate of increase in the textile industry was only 1.3 per cent., while in the heavy industries and the chemical industry it was 75 per cent. The percentage of female workers fell to 41.2. As the military operations in China gradually developed from a local incident to a major undertaking with the declared intention of establishing a new order in East Asia, increasing demands were made on industry for the necessary supplies for the war and for the development of Manchuria and occupied areas in China, while at the same time a large number of men who would normally have been employed in various branches of industrial activity were mobilised. Consequently, it became necessary to transfer labour from one industry to another in certain cases, to find new supplies of workers to replace those drafted into the army, and to secure an adequate supply of skilled workers.

THE GENERAL MOBILISATION ACT

Underlying the General Mobilisation Act of 1 April 1938² is a recognition of the need, in modern warfare, of a mobilisation of the entire resources of the country, human as well as material, in order to ensure an adequate supply of munitions, facilitate swift changes in strategy, and satisfy the normal requirements of national life. The Act therefore confers wide powers on the Government for the control of the "human and material resources of the State", and such control may, in specified cases, be exercised as a precautionary measure even in peace-time. The Act, which consists of 50 sections, deals with the control of capital, equipment, economic activities, prices, the press and information, registration of vocational qualifications, compulsory technical and vocational training,

¹ A more detailed account of these changes will be found in "Industrial Transformation in Japan, 1929-1936", by Yoshio KAMII, in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XL, No. 4, Oct. 1939, pp. 516-533.

² This Act came into effect on 5 May 1938; for the text of the Act and the Order fixing the date for its enforcement, see *Kampo* (Official Gazette), 1 April and 4 May 1938.

compulsory stocking of specified materials, scientific research, and the obligations of private citizens in relation to the plan for general mobilisation. Provision is also made for the payment of compensation and subsidies, and for penalties in case of infringement, but, being essentially an enabling measure, the Act leaves the enforcement of the policy laid down in it to the Government, which is empowered to issue detailed regulations in the form of Orders. All such regulations must, however, first be submitted for consideration to a Committee composed of representatives of the Government and acknowledged experts in the subjects concerned, under the direct control of the Prime Minister.¹

Regulations for the organisation and control of the employment market, issued in accordance with this policy, are analysed below under different heads. It may be noted here that, under the provisions of the Act which relate to labour questions, the following wartime action by the Government is authorised, within the limits of the Orders concerned and if the need arises: (1) to require any Japanese subject to engage in work designed to give effect to the scheme of general mobilisation (Section 4); (2) to take all necessary measures in respect of the engagement, employment (wages and conditions of work), and dismissal, of workers (Section 6); (3) to take measures for the prevention or settlement of labour disputes, including the closing down of workplaces or suspension of work therein (Section 7); (4) to require Japanese workers to give particulars of their vocational qualifications, or their employers to supply such information, and to investigate these qualifications (Section 21); and (5) to require schools, institutes, factories, and other institutions with the requisite equipment, to provide technical and vocational training in order to ensure the necessary supply of skilled labour (Section 22).

MEASURES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The General Mobilisation Act thus conferred the necessary powers on the Government to enable it, by organising vocational training and introducing compulsory labour service,

¹ The Committee was set up by an Imperial Order of 3 May 1938, in accordance with Section 50 of the General Mobilisation Act. The Order came into force on 5 May 1938 (*Kampo*, 4 May 1938).

to secure the necessary labour supply to give effect to its industrial programme. While plans were being prepared to overcome the shortage of labour in the war industries by making use of these powers, however, there was a considerable increase in unemployment as a result of the application of the provisions of the Act concerning the mobilisation of "material resources". The Council of Ministers had adopted a plan for the mobilisation of "material resources" as early as 16 January 1938, but it was amended on 23 June of the same year. A revised plan was drawn up for the year 1939-1940, covering over 200 commodities, the utilisation of which for the normal production of manufactured goods was severely restricted, because the available supplies were needed for the munitions industries or other industries providing materials required for the normal daily life of the nation and for the economic reconstruction of Manchuria or of occupied areas of China.¹ An immediate effect of this restriction was industrial dislocation and an increase in unemployment.² This situation was examined by the Employment Division of the Department of Welfare, in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and of Industry and Commerce, and the first step taken to deal with it was the issue of an Imperial Order on 15 July 1938³ providing for the establishment of a Central Unemployment Commission and various Local Unemployment Commissions for examining specific questions referred to them.

A report was submitted by the Government to the Central Unemployment Commission at its inaugural meeting on 3 August 1938, stating that 400,000 factory workers had already

¹ These commodities included iron, metal products other than ironmongery, light metals, fuel chemical products, machinery, raw materials employed in the manufacture of clothing, foodstuffs, fodder, various imported articles, etc. (cf. statement of the Government Planning Board, published in *Shuho*, 7 June 1939).

² The Government Planning Board's estimate in June 1938 of the probable extent of unemployment resulting from this restriction was four million persons—800,000 industrial workers, excluding persons engaged as motor drivers, etc., and 500,000 families engaged in retail trade (*Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, Aug. 1938).

³ This Order came into force on the date of its promulgation (*Kampo*, 16 July 1938). The Central Commission was to be under the control of the Minister of Welfare, who would be its chairman, and it was to consist of not more than 40 members appointed by the Cabinet on his recommendation. He was also to specify the prefectures in which the Local Commissions were to be set up, and these Commissions, which were to be under the control of the respective prefectural governors, who would act as their chairmen and appoint the members, were to consist of not more than 30 members. In addition to the regular members on the Central and Local Commissions, temporary members might be appointed, and the normal term of office of all the members was fixed at two years.

been affected by the enforcement of the emergency measures, and containing proposals for preventing and relieving unemployment with the aid of Government grants. These proposals, which were adopted by the Commission, included the reorganisation and transformation of depressed industries ¹, in consultation with industrial guilds ², so as to enable them to meet current requirements; avoidance of retrenchment on a large scale by shortening hours of work and lengthening holidays, and, when retrenchment was unavoidable, regulation of the termination of the employment of workers so that there might be no sudden increase in unemployment; establishment of close co-operation between employers and employment exchanges, advance information as to proposed retrenchment schemes being supplied to the exchanges so as to enable them to place the workers affected; regulation of conditions of employment in the munitions and other prosperous industries, with a view to making full use of their capacity for employment; provision of facilities for workers who had to proceed to places far removed from their homes in order to secure employment, such as the payment of travelling expenses and assistance in securing accommodation; provision of facilities for vocational training and retraining by employment exchanges, public institutions, and private undertakings; provision of special facilities by the public authorities and private undertakings for the employment of older workers and those for whom retraining was not likely to be effective; the giving out of work connected with the munitions and other industries to the unemployed and their reintegration in industries unaffected by the emergency restrictions, such as engineering and forestry and in public undertakings generally; settlement of the unemployed on the land; encouragement of emigration to Manchuria and to South American

¹ The measures suggested for assisting such industries were the granting of preference to them in placing orders for supplies of materials for Government offices and army and navy workshops, etc.; the institution of special research for the discovery of suitable substitutes for raw materials which had ordinarily been employed by them but which were subject to restriction; the ensuring of a regular supply to them of such substitutes and of the necessary equipment (machines and tools) as well as of capital; an increase in exports of their products; and the provision of facilities for securing the necessary technical advice as regards management and organisation of purchases and sales.

² Of the 821 guilds affected by the measures concerning the mobilisation of material resources, 732 took up work connected with the production of munitions and 78 were transformed into exporters' guilds (*Toyo Keizai Shimpō*, 25 Feb. 1939).

countries ; and establishment of organisations for increasing medical and other assistance to the unemployed.¹

In order to co-ordinate these measures, two new Divisions, one in the Department of Commerce and Industry² and the other in the Department of Welfare³, were set up, both being required to act in close co-operation with the other civil and military Departments concerned. The Government also issued a notification to the prefectural governors inviting their co-operation in regard to industrial reorganisation.⁴ The notification reiterated the Government's policy of maintaining as many workers as possible in employment by providing the necessary facilities for such changes of occupation as the situation might require, and called attention to the new Division established in the Department of Commerce and Industry for dealing with this question. It also stated that special officials would be appointed and offices set up in local areas, with the aid of Government subsidies, to assist industrial undertakings in obtaining orders and carrying out any transformations that might be necessary, and to help the smaller industrialists and tradesmen affected by the emergency to organise themselves and thus strengthen their position.

¹ Cf. *Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, Sept. 1938. Reference may be made in this connection to a resolution, adopted on 13 August 1938 at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Japanese Trade Union Congress, which drew attention to the unemployment in the peace industries, due to the emergency measures, and advocated : (1) the introduction of an eight-hour working day and a two-shift system ; (2) State intervention to ensure the compulsory engagement of the unemployed in the munitions industries ; and (3) the institution of a system of unemployment compensation and the introduction of a labour service, in addition to vocational training schemes, with a view to preventing unemployed workers in receipt of compensation from becoming work-shy (*Naigai Shakai Mondai Chosa Shiryo*, 25 Aug. 1938).

² This Division was established by Imperial Order on 21 September 1938 (*Kampo*, 22 Sept. 1938), its main function being to deal with questions relating to the reinforcement or reorganisation of certain branches of industry, with the assistance of advisers selected from among high Government officials and others for their industrial experience or technical knowledge and appointed for a period of two years. It consists of three Sections : one to carry out a general survey of the situation, direct the work of the prefectural information officers, and co-ordinate their action ; another to deal with the distribution of the orders available among different undertakings and also with the supply of the materials required for production ; and a third to settle such questions as the grant of loans and subsidies and the provision of technical assistance.

³ This Division was established by Imperial Order on 4 October 1938 (*Kampo*, 5 October 1938) ; it also consists of three Sections ; one to deal with unemployment questions ; another to deal with questions connected with the registration of vocational qualifications, occupational readjustment, and placing ; and a third to organise vocational training and relief work, distribute home work, etc.

⁴ Circular dated 13 September 1938 issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (*Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, Nov. 1938).

REORGANISATION OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

It has been seen that, in the scheme for combating unemployment which was adopted by the Central Unemployment Commission, the employment exchanges were given the important task of organising vocational training and re-training and of maintaining close co-operation with employers in transferring workers from the declining to the expanding industries. It was necessary to reorganise the employment exchanges for this and other similar tasks connected with the emergency¹, but the Government, anticipating the need for appropriate machinery for placing, had already settled the question of reorganisation, before the passing of the General Mobilisation Act, by introducing a Bill in the Diet on 1 March 1938 to provide for the State management of the exchanges and the extension of their functions.² The Bill was passed in due course, and the new Act was promulgated on 31 March 1938.³

The purpose of the employment exchange system was defined in the Act as the proper distribution of workers, and provision was made for the administration of the exchanges by the Government, it being explicitly stated that no other agency would be authorised to undertake placing work.

¹ When the system of employment exchanges was established in 1921, following the ratification of the Unemployment Convention, 1919 (No. 2), its main object was the relief of unemployment. In later years the exchanges were called upon to provide for the proper distribution of workers, in order to cope with a rapid expansion of the productive capacity of munition factories. To meet this need, the Employment Exchanges Act was amended in 1936, and the supervision and co-ordination of the employment exchanges were transferred from the employment exchange boards in Tokyo and seven other localities to the prefectural governments under the Department of the Interior, with the object of adapting the exchanges to local conditions. At the same time, the prefectural governments were authorised to establish new exchanges on their own initiative. As a result of this, the number of exchanges increased from 694 in August 1936 to 745 in January 1938, and the number of workers placed through the exchanges from 47,810 during August 1936 to 92,064 during September 1937. The exchanges, however, were still administered by the local governments, and these, it has been stated, had proved unable to cope with the task. For this reason it was decided to nationalise the system of employment exchanges (*Rodo Jihō*, March 1938).

² Reference may be made in this connection to a memorandum submitted to the Government on 25 February 1938 by the National Confederation of Industrial Associations, urging the continuation of private employment agencies, subject to the necessary supervision, as they had been found useful in practice for securing an adequate supply of labour for factories and mines, particularly female labour for textile factories, and calling attention to the desirability of establishing regulations for the uniform application of the proposed measure throughout the country (*Kansai Sanren*, July 1938).

³ For the text of this Act see *Kampo*, 1 April 1938.

Vocational guidance and training as well as placing were to be undertaken by the Government. Exchanges were to be established throughout the country¹, with liaison officers in each exchange for the purpose of keeping in close touch with other exchanges. Part of the work of the exchange was to be carried out by the mayor of each city, town, or village, in order that local requirements might be met. Employment exchange committees were also to be set up within the Central Government and in various local areas. Part of the expenses of the employment exchange and the liaison officer were to be met by the prefecture in which the exchange was situated, but the prefecture might arrange for some of the expenditure to be met by the cities, towns, or villages, under its administration.

As a transitional measure, private agencies for special classes of workers, which had been approved by the Ministry concerned, might be permitted to continue their work. Previous permission from the prefectural governor was necessary in the case of persons recruiting workers for their own purposes.²

In order to deal with the expansion of the employment exchange system, an Employment Division³ was also set up in the Ministry of Welfare under the direct control of the Minister.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND RETRAINING

There was a lack of trained workers in Japan even before the rapid industrial development of recent years. There were complaints of shortage of labour, and more especially of skilled labour, in various industries before the outbreak of

¹ It was proposed to abolish the existing exchanges and set up 400 new ones in their place—one for every fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, in accordance with local requirements—and the expenditure involved in this reorganisation was estimated at 7,000,000 yen (*Kansai Sanren*, July 1938).

² *Rodo Jiho*, March 1938.

³ The Division was established by an Imperial Order of 16 April 1938 (*Kampo*, 18 April 1938), and comprises three Sections—the Employment Section, the Supervision Section, and the Employment Exchanges Section. The Employment Section deals with matters relating to the enforcement of the Act guaranteeing re-employment to men demobilised after military service, vocational guidance, national employment registration, and unemployment relief. The Supervision Section handles matters relating to the supervision of employment exchanges, training of personnel for employment offices, and the employment exchange committees. The Employment Exchanges Section attends to matters relating to the business of employment exchanges, their co-ordination and unification, fee-charging employment agencies, undertakings for supplying labourers by contract, and the recruitment of workers.

hostilities in China¹. But adequate arrangements for vocational training and retraining to meet this shortage became more and more urgently necessary as the demand from the munitions and other war industries increased. One of the first steps taken by the Government, pending the reorganisation of the employment exchanges described above, was to institute a system of itinerant squads, under the control of the Department of Home Affairs, to assist in employment and vocational guidance; the system came into operation on 1 October 1937.² Another step, calculated to ensure systematic vocational training for juveniles who entered employment on leaving school, was to require the prefects to co-operate with the employment exchanges in co-ordinating and supervising the vocational guidance of juveniles of school-leaving age. In October 1938, a Circular containing instructions in regard to placing juveniles when they left their elementary schools was addressed to the prefects by the Ministers of Welfare and of Public Instruction.³ A series of Imperial Orders relating to vocational training has also been issued, in pursuance of the provisions of the General Mobilisation Act.

These Orders, promulgated on 30 March 1939, came into

¹ Reports appeared in the press (*Jiji Shimpō*, 13 Nov. 1936, and *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, 1 Dec. 1936) of a shortage of skilled workers in the heavy industries, of female workers in the textile industry—attributed generally to the absorption of these workers in industries paying higher wages—and of workers in the cotton-spinning industry—due to the increase in the number of spindles and also to the improved agricultural conditions.

² These squads were to give vocational guidance to young persons and to collaborate with the employment agencies and the authorities in cities, towns, and villages, with a view to meeting the demand for labour. Those accepting employment in a place far removed from their usual place of residence were to be accompanied and protected by a member of the squad. (*Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, March 1938).

³ The Circular (dated 26 October 1938) stated that the prefects would have increased responsibility in the work of co-ordinating and supervising the vocational guidance of juveniles of school-leaving age. The elementary schools, in close collaboration with the employment exchanges, were to give preliminary information in regard to the employment situation to pupils who were to take their final examinations at the end of the following school year, as well as tests of vocational ability, and to intimate to the prefectural authorities the approximate number of juveniles likely to seek employment. The employment exchanges were to carry out enquiries into the conditions of work in different undertakings, and these undertakings were to be required to inform the employment exchanges of vacancies which could be filled by juveniles. The exchanges were then to determine the number of juveniles to be employed in each undertaking, on the basis of the information received from the undertakings and the juveniles' individual aptitudes. Every possible assistance was to be given to the juveniles to enable them to secure employment, so that they might acquire skill with the least possible loss of time (*Kampo*, 26 Oct. 1938).

effect on 5 April 1939.¹ They required all heads of undertakings engaged in operations included in a schedule drawn up by the Minister of Welfare, and normally employing more than 200 workers over 16 years of age, to organise a technical training course for a certain number of workers. The Minister was also empowered to extend this provision to employers who had less than 200 but more than 50 workers over 16 years of age in their factories, provided that the workers in question were engaged in one of the scheduled processes. Twenty-two kinds of work were scheduled by the Minister, all connected with the metal-refining and machine tool industries. The technical branches in which training was to be given numbered 61, and not more than 6 per cent. of the total number of workers in each factory were to be trained.

The training was to be confined to workers over 14 and under 17 years of age, who had attended a higher primary school for two years, or had received another form of education recognised as equivalent by the Minister of Education. The normal period of training was to be three years, but this might be reduced to two years in special cases, with the permission of the competent Minister, or to less than two years if the requirements of the war made it necessary.

Every employer was required to communicate to the prefect or the head of the mines inspection department for his district the syllabus of the training course to be provided for his workers. The prefect or head of the mines inspection department was entitled to call upon the employer to make any changes that might be found necessary in the syllabus, and also to take steps to ensure that the necessary equipment for technical training was installed. During the three years' training, the workers were to be given in all 220 hours of general and 500 of technical education. These hours were to be considered as working hours within the meaning of the Acts and Orders governing hours of work.

The cost of training was to be borne entirely by the employers, for whom, however, certain compensations and subsidies within the limits of the State budget were to be granted by Ministerial Order. The Minister of Welfare, the prefect, or

¹ *Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*, 17 March 1939 *Tokyo Asahi*, 30 March 1939 ; *Kampo*, 31 March 1939.

the head of the mines inspection department, might demand from employers reports on the technical training of their workers, and might send officials to places where training was being carried on, for the purpose of inspection, in accordance with the provisions of the General Mobilisation Act.

Similar provisions were to be applied later to the Japanese colonies and dependencies.

The Minister of Education might, moreover, call upon certain universities, technical schools, and training institutions, to train a number of technicians in certain subjects, both numbers and subjects to be specified by himself; for this purpose he might require the universities and other institutions to make changes in the number of students admitted, the subjects taught, etc. The syllabus for the training of technicians was to be submitted by the head of the university or school to the Minister, who was entitled to make changes in it. The Minister might require the head of the university or school to present reports on the training of technicians, and might send officials to make inspections. Subsidies and compensation were to be granted in accordance with the provisions of the Order applying this system. This Order applied also to the Japanese colonies and dependencies.

REGULATION OF LABOUR SUPPLY

With the gradual extension of the scope of the operations in China, it became necessary, on the one hand, to utilise the entire supply of skilled labour available in the country and, on the other hand, to regulate its distribution so as to ensure that it should be employed profitably and with due regard for the national interest. Restrictions were therefore imposed on the engagement of skilled workers. An Imperial Order was issued on 24 August 1938 concerning the placing of graduates of technical schools and colleges qualified for employment in the chemical industry, transport, shipbuilding, mining and metallurgy, and mechanical or electrical engineering.¹ By

¹ Under this Order, a special committee consisting of the officials and representatives of the undertakings concerned was to be set up, with the Minister of Welfare as Chairman, for adjusting the supply of qualified workers in accordance with the requirements of the situation, and no employer might employ a larger number than that allotted to him, penalties being provided for any infringement of the provisions. The Department of Welfare was to receive regularly from the Department of Education a list of students of technical schools and colleges who were about to complete their studies, together with their qualifications, as well as a statement from the employers of their precise requirements (*Kampo*, 24 Aug. 1938).

an Imperial Order of 30 March 1939¹, issued under the provisions of the General Mobilisation Act, skilled workers and technicians were classified in four groups according to their qualifications and experience, and might not be engaged except by the permission of the employment exchange for the locality where they were working or receiving technical training; the director of the exchange might require them to report to him and might appoint officials to make inspections. The Order affected 93 skilled trades in the machine tool, metal and mining industries, enumerated by the Minister of Welfare, in respect of which regulation appeared to him necessary in view of the requirements of national defence. It was to have effect in Japanese colonies, but did not apply to the engagement of workers by the State.

The next step was to secure a complete census of skilled workers. As has already been seen, provision was made in the General Mobilisation Act for a plan for the registration of vocational qualifications (Section 21). This plan was put into effect by five Orders concerning respectively persons engaged in the medical profession, technicians and persons with training for or experience of specialised work in industry, seamen, veterinary doctors, and persons employed by the State.

Under the first Order², all doctors, dentists, chemists, and hospital attendants of either sex, were required to notify the prefect in whose area they worked of their vocational qualifications.

The scope of the second Order³ was very wide, and covered a large section of the population. Under its terms, all Japanese male subjects between 16 and 50 years of age residing in Japan proper—with the exception of those engaged in military or naval service and attached to the army or navy—who belonged to one of four specified categories were required to notify their vocational qualifications and other details to the local employment exchange for registration, both the

¹ This Order came into force on 20 April 1939 (*Kampo*, 31 March 1939).

² This Order was issued on 23 August 1938 and came into force on the day of its publication (*Kampo*, 24 Aug. 1938). According to a Government estimate, more than 210,000 persons were affected by it, including about 50,000 doctors, 21,000 dentists, 26,000 chemists, and 113,000 male and female hospital attendants (*Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*, 24 Aug. and 4 Sept. 1939).

³ This Order was issued on 6 January 1939 and came into force on 20 January 1939 (*Kampo*, 7 Jan. 1939). The number of persons affected by it was estimated at 5,300,000 (*Naigai Shakai Mondai Chosa Shiryo*, 25 June 1939).

workers and their employers being responsible for the notification.

The four categories in question were : (1) any person who, at the date when the Order was issued, had been engaged regularly for more than three months in one of the occupations specified by the Minister of Welfare ¹ ; (2) any person who had been engaged regularly in one of the occupations in question for more than one year during the five years previous to the date of the Order ; (3) any person who had completed a course specified by the Minister of Welfare in one of the universities, collèges, or technical schools, indicated by him, or any person holding a similar diploma ; and (4) any other person specified by the Minister of Welfare. A vocational qualifications booklet was to be delivered to all persons on the register, and regulations on the lines of this Order were to be enforced in the colonial territories.

The third Order, concerning seamen, which was promulgated on 28 January 1939 ², provided that persons belonging to certain groups—with the exception of those in the service of the army or navy, or members of the medical, dental or pharmaceutical professions—must, not later than 15 April 1939, and not later than 15 July in each succeeding year, supply the Maritime Division of the Bureau of Communications in their district of residence with the details of their vocational qualifications. The groups in question were : (a) any person holding a seaman's certificate ; (b) any person who had completed his training within the three previous years in one of the seamen's training institutes specified by the Minister of Communications, or who had within the three previous years left a vessel on board which he had been serving since completing his training ; and (c) any person with more than one year's service on board a vessel covered by the Seamen's Act ³, who had left the vessel within the three previous years. ⁴

¹ In an Order of 18 January 1939, the Minister specified 56 occupations in the metallurgical, machine tool, chemical, transport and communications industries.

² This Order came into force on the date of its promulgation (*Kampo*, 30 Jan. 1939).

³ *Kampo*, 14 August 1937 ; for the text of this Act, see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : *Legislative Series*, 1937-Jap. 1.

⁴ The Order did not refer to persons on board such vessels, as they were already under administrative supervision in consequence of their being registered with the competent authorities.

Under the fourth Order, all persons authorised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to practise as veterinary doctors were required to notify their vocational qualifications to the prefectural authorities of their place of residence once in every four years.¹

The fifth Order² applied to persons in State employment, such as, for instance, Government undertakings for printing and for the manufacture of tobacco or army clothing, the provisions of the Order of 6 January 1939 concerning workers with specialised industrial training (see above), subject to certain modifications.³

Finally, when the arrangements for the registration of vocational qualifications were completed, compulsory labour service was introduced by an Imperial Order of 7 July 1939⁴ for the first time in the history of the country, in accordance with the General Mobilisation Act (Section 4), which empowered the Government to require any Japanese subject to take part in the work of general mobilisation. The Order stated that compulsion would be resorted to only to the extent to which national defence requirements could not be met through the public employment exchanges and methods of voluntary recruitment, and that only specialised industrial workers to whom the Order of 6 January 1939 applied were liable to be mobilised. Such persons might be assigned to any work undertaken by the State and declared to be general mobilisation work under the General Mobilisation Act.

In order to give effect to this measure, it was proposed

¹ This Order was issued on 3 February 1939 and came into force on the day of its publication (*Kampo*, 4 Feb. 1939). The first registration of this kind was to be effected in 1939.

² This was an inter-departmental Order which was issued on 18 February 1939 and came into force on the same day (*Kampo*, 18 Feb. 1939).

³ All these five Orders prescribed that the particulars to be notified for registration should include the name, sex, date of birth, place of residence, military status, number in the professional register, specialised branch of the profession practised or studied, professional *curriculum vitae*, income or salary, state of health, and number of dependants, of the person concerned, and any other information specified in Ministerial Orders, as well as a statement showing whether the person concerned was married or unmarried, and willing to accept employment in one of the occupations specified as work of general mobilisation. The Orders also empowered the competent authorities to test or examine the vocational qualifications of the persons on their respective registers and to require them to submit the papers necessary to facilitate supervision.

⁴ *Kampo*, 8 July 1939. This Order, which was supplemented on 11 July 1939 by a series of Ministerial Orders, came into force on 15 July 1939 (*Kampo*, 8 and 11 July 1939). The number of persons affected was estimated at 5,300,000 (*Naigai Shakai Mondai Chosa Shiryo*, 25 June 1939).

that detailed plans should be prepared, showing the order in which the workers in question were to be called up. These plans would take account of a number of factors, such as the place where the work was to be carried out and the vocational qualifications, physical capacity, family circumstances, and personal wishes, of the workers, on the basis of the data provided by the 400 public employment exchanges.¹

All persons called up for compulsory labour service were to receive an allowance, intended to compensate them for any material loss they might incur owing to their mobilisation. The rates of the allowances were to be fixed by the Minister responsible for the supervision of the undertaking to which the worker was assigned, after consultation with the Minister of Welfare, account being taken of the wages or other income of the persons concerned before they were called up for compulsory service, the nature of the work, and the place where it was carried out. The cost of transporting mobilised and demobilised workers was to be dealt with in separate special regulations.

Mobilisation and demobilisation arrangements were to be left entirely to the Ministry of Welfare, and its decisions were to be applied by the prefects. State administrative departments which required compulsory labour were asked to supply the Ministry of Welfare with lists of the vacant posts to be filled, and to keep the Ministry informed of any changes in the lists, and of suggested measures for demobilisation.²

PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

A statement³ was recently published by the Director of the Government Planning Board⁴ concerning the plan which the Cabinet adopted on 4 July 1939 for providing the supply of labour required during the current financial year. The

¹ As has already been stated above, the Order of 6 January 1939 provided for the registration of these particulars by the public employment exchanges.

² *Shuho*, 19 July 1939; *Shokugyo Jiho*, June 1939.

³ *Chugai Shogyo Shimpo*, 5 July 1939.

⁴ This Board was set up by an Imperial Order of 23 October 1937, which came into force on the date of its promulgation (*Kampo*, 25 Oct. 1937). It replaced the old Planning Bureau and Bureau of National Resources. Its functions, which are of an advisory character, include the co-ordination of national policy, the examination of measures proposed by the various Ministers, and their budget estimates, and the unification of the schemes for general mobilisation. It is under the direct control of the Prime Minister, and has some 50 senior civil servants attached to it, in addition to experts on different questions, who act as advisers.

statement points out that the supplementary labour force necessary for industry, mining, transport, and communications, including technicians and workers with special training as well as those required for employment in Manchuria and occupied areas in China, has been estimated at 1,100,000 persons, and that this supply is to be drawn from young persons who completed their elementary school education in March 1939, industrial workers who became unemployed as a result of the dislocation caused by the enforcement of the general mobilisation plan¹, workers engaged in agriculture, commerce, and other branches of activity, who may become unemployed as a result of the possible application of the proposed measures of rationalisation, and Korean emigrants who have settled in Japan. Unmarried women without a definite occupation are also to be urged to seek employment. The plan also contains proposals for a proper distribution of the supply of skilled workers, for increasing the facilities for retraining, and for raising the standard of efficiency of the workers. With this end in view, greater attention is to be paid to the workers' health and safety, and to improving their living conditions and means of daily transport between their homes and their places of employment, together with other similar questions.

This plan has been criticised, and the view has been expressed that the sources mentioned in it could hardly be expected to yield the additional supply of labour required, which is as much as 23 per cent. of the total number of persons employed in industry, mining, transport, and communications, at the end of 1938, and over 200 per cent. of the increase for that year. In justification of this criticism, it is stated that only 38 per cent. of the juveniles who left elementary schools in March 1937 took up work, while the majority of the remainder continued their studies, and that among those who started work about 54 per cent. were absorbed by their parents' concerns; that in June 1937 the Korean emigrant workers in Japan numbered only 730,000, most of whom were employed in mining in certain parts of the country, and that for various reasons an appreciable increase in their number does not seem practicable; that the key industries require the whole of

¹ For an estimate made by the Government Planning Board of the number of workers likely to be affected by unemployment owing to the enforcement of the general mobilisation plan, see above, p. 138.

their normal personnel and that there is little scope for reduction in the other industries ; and, finally, that agriculture, although it is of national importance, already suffers from a shortage of labour due to the exodus of rural workers to industrial centres and emigration to Manchuria.¹

On the other hand, it has been held that the industrial structure of the country is in process of transformation, and that the various general mobilisation measures should be regarded as parts of a comprehensive plan, which takes full account of this transition. According to this view, further rationalisation in all branches of industry, commerce, and even agriculture, has become indispensable, this being the only means of obtaining fresh supplies of labour ; supporters of this attitude also attach considerable importance to the task of distributing the labour supply, which has been attributed to the reorganised employment exchanges, and to retraining.²

¹ *Toyo Keizai Shimpō*, 15 July 1939.

² Cf. an article on "The New Phase in the Control of Labour", by Mr. KAWASAKI, a member of the Government Planning Board, in *Sangyo Kumiai*, Aug. 1939.