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# COLLECTIVES IN JAPAN

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ITTOEN

SHINKYO FARM

MAEMORIYAMA

HOKUTO FARM

YAMAGISHI-ISM

SHIKENJO

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OCTOBER 1969

THE JAPAN KIBBUTZ ASSOCIATION

C O N T E N T S

ITTOEN (KŌSENIN)	Nobuyoshi TEZUKA	7
SHINKYO-FARM	Nobuyoshi TEZUKA	23
MAEMORIYAMA "The Struggling Collective Farm"	Zenzo KUSAKARI	47
HOKUTO FARM "Japanese Kolkhoz"	Zenzo KUSAKARI	59
YAMAGISHI-ISM SHIKENJŌ IN HOKKAIDO "The Collective Extending Vision"	Zenzo KUSAKARI	69

Published by The Japan Kibbutz Association  
(Address; 2-5-7, Akasaka, Minato-ku, Tokyo  
Japan Tel. Tokyo 583-3280)

Tokyo, 1969

## PREFACE

Today everywhere we can not help being aware of defects of capitalistic society, such as egoism, inequality, poverty, atrocious crimes, and various social unrests etc. On the other hand there are many kinds of reactions against them. As we find everywhere in the world, the new rising of the radical student movements must be a big challenge to these contradictions of our society, which should be changed basically. Also great interests of young people in the Israeli Kibbutz Society must be a sign of their aspiration for changing our society into free and equal communal society.

Though today the Israeli Kibbutz are well-known in the world, only few people know Japanese collectives. Because they are really small minority in this highly industrialized country, just like a drop in the Ocean. But at the same time we should realize that sometimes quality matters more than quantity. In this meaning we have been paying our attention to the importance of Japanese collectives and trying to make contacts with them.

The oldest collective is "ATARASHIKI-MURA" which is 50 years old. And the biggest one is "KŌSENIN (ITTOEN)" and has 350 inhabitants. An average size of the Japanese collectives is much smaller than one of Israeli Kibbutzim. Number of the collectives is said to be more than 50. (A complete statistical research has not yet been done.) We find various ideas and forms among them, from religious to communist. And it is quite difficult to find things in common among them. There is no common organization among them which, we think, is necessary to develop communal idea in Japan. Each collective has its own values as well as its faults. We can not avoid looking at their faults. Nevertheless we believe it is valuable

to introduce Japanese collectives also to foreigners who are interested in them.

In this booklet two writers introduce five collectives. Mr. Nobuyoshi Tezuka is a founder of the Japan Kibbutz Association who is eager to promote collective movement in this country after having retired from the industrial society. Prof. Zenzo Kusakari is a professor of pedagogy in Hokkaido University Of Education. He is one of the top experts in research of the Japanese collectives.

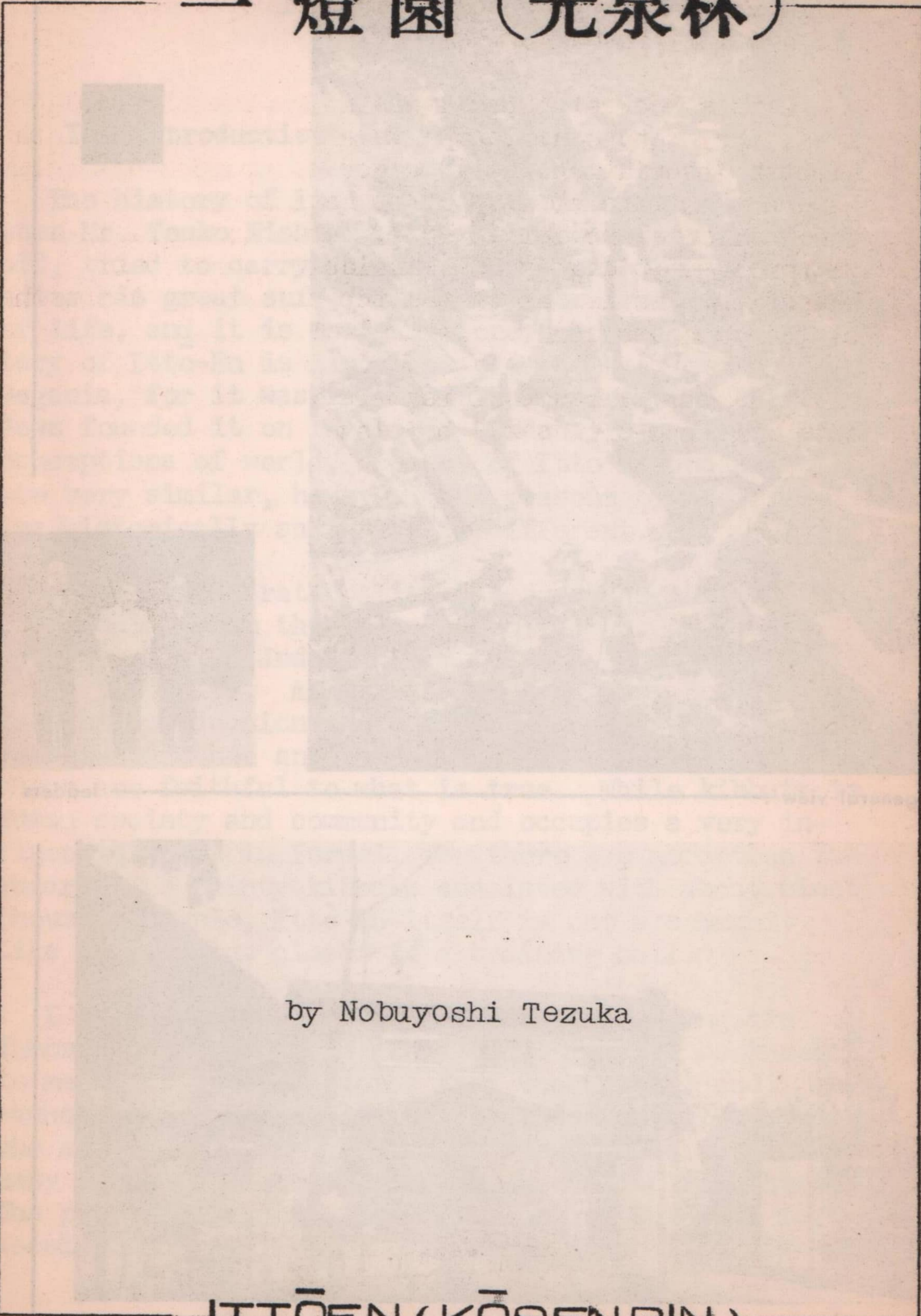
It is our pleasure if readers will be able to learn anything from this small booklet.

October 1969

The Japan Kibbutz Association

Tokyo, Japan

# 一 燈園 (光泉林)



by Nobuyoshi Tezuka

ITTŌEN (KŌSEN RIN)



general view



leaders



kinder-garten

# ITTŌEN (KŌSENIN)

Nobuyoshi Tezuka

## I. Introduction

The history of Ittō En or Garden of one Light began when Mr. Tenko Nishida, who was then thirty two years old, tried to carry out his way of thinking in his life, after his great suffer to search for troubleless way of life, and it is now sixty one years old. The history of Ittō-En is almost as old as the first Kibbutz Degania, for it was 1909 when Romni group of Ukrainian Jews founded it on the river Jordan. Strangely, the conceptions of world, economy of Ittō-En and kibbutz are very similar, however, the reasons of their births are historically and racially different.

I feel ultra-rationalism based on the philosophy of Buddhism from the thought of Ittō En, and rationalism based on Judaism from that of kibbutz, as well as christianity. And these features come out clearly in their production and social life, however, their substance is one and the same because those who live there are faithful to what is true. While kibbutz is human society and community and occupies a very influential part in Israel, for there are more than two hundred thirty kibbutz consisted with about ninety thousand people, Ittō-En itself is not a community like kibbutz but closer to a training hall.

I feel deep respect to Mr. Nishida reading his famous book The Life of Penitence, for the book seems to me as if it was a voice from the heaven, and I cannot help thinking of the greatness of Mr. Nishida who could carry out the thought. Because it is not easy for an ordinary person to do what he has thought. The pure thought of Ittō-En may not be suitable for secular society like pure water is hard to be digested.



This is why people like Mr. Moroi, director of Chichibu Cement Company and Mr. Yoshioka, director of Ziikuraito Chemistry and Mining Company, as intermediates to turn pure water into drinkable water, are necessary.

Another difference between kibbutz and Ittō-En is that Ittō-En functions best as a training hall, while kibbutz is human society itself. The examples of communities in Japan are Yamagishi-Kai, which is similar to Ittō-En, and Shinkyō Nōsan, which is closer to kibbutz. It is worth paying attention to the ways of running companies which is based on the thought of Ittō-En become similar to kibbutz.

The economic principle of Ittō-En will not be understood from the stand point of materialism like capitalism and socialism, however, no one can deny the fact that Mr. Tenko Nishida, who worked for nothing found himself to be a millionaire without doing any competition and struggle, and he, spending a happy and meaningful life, lived to be ninety three.

## II. The Economy of Service.

The philosophy of Mr. Nishida is to live an absolutely conflictless and struggleless life, and if it is impossible to avoid conflicts, he would have chosen rather death. The present economic system is, however, well and beautifully one may interpret 'labor is like a merchandizing commodity.' The seller naturally craves to receive the highest pay for his labor; while the buyer expects the lowest bid for the labor. Herein lies the very cause of conflict; a wage raising struggle.

In Ittō-En, the merchandizing of labor is denied, and service is taken as the way. Working for nothing. Where labor is evaluated by money-value comes out conflict and struggle, but if one works with all his might without any expectation of being rewarded, strug-

gle fase of economy, which is the basis of human life, can be gotten rid of, and a new principle for 'Peace' will be born.

Mr. Nishida lived a life of service for sixty years to prove this new principle.

It is natural that one should have a doubt about how he could survive in this world, working for nothing, but the fact that he lived to be ninety three, and had founded a community of three hundred fellow men, which has complete educational system from kindergarten to college, and both physically and mentally safe and peaceful life is maintained, will answer the question. Now one cannot doubt the possibility of 'economy of service.' Although there are many sayings about the difficulties of life, the difference between human society and the world of animals lies in this fact. If Mr. Nishida had died much earlier, one may hesitate to adopt his way of life, however, he spend a very healthy life, eating one plate of side dish, and boiled rice with about sixty percent wheat mixed for each meal. It seems that everyone can easily live like Mr. Nishida, but unfortunately, it is very hard for an ordinary person. But one can learn a lot from his way of life, if he eagerly hopes for a safe and peaceful society where all the people are happy, recognizing that the actual world is full of conflicts, contradictions, absurdity, and struggle.

### III. The Economy Without Distribution

Mr. Nishida, who has now decided to live a struggleless life, naturally noticed that the cause of struggle is distribution. Should anyone insist on getting a better share of distribution, it would cause argument immediately; while any one trying to distribute things with fairness, would find it extremely difficult. So, Mr. Nishida simply decided not to

distribute. This is the economy of non-distribution. When a thing is necessary, the necessary amount and quality should be supplied, and nothing more. Therefore, in Ittō-En, no personal wealth is distributed, and take the rest as belonging to the whole community.

The weakpoint of capitalistic economics is that it lies its substance in the private competition under the name of freedom, and consequently cause unbalance of wealth, increase of the poor, and, finally, social anxiety. The defect of socialism is that it sticks to the fair distribution of wealth even when all the people are poor. 'The economy of service' and 'the economy without distribution' does not cause any of the weaknesses of them.

Besides, the economy without distribution has collective power of money as its merit. The more the money is gathered, the more effect it tends to have. If a hundred million yen is distributed fairly to all the Japanese people, each person gets only one yen, and has almost no effect. But as a hundred million yen collected, it has great influence and power. It is not only money which has power when gathered, but especially money loses its might if distributed. One may even say that there are too many poor people in the world because of economy of distribution. Therefore, it is the safest and healthy way to live a community life under the strong economical condition that comes from the economy without distribution. Mr. Nishida would say, "Let's not distribute because it causes trouble." The principle of nondistribution leads to peace and happiness of all mankind.

Everybody has instinct to possess, and only human can control it by reason, while capitalism neglect the quality of human beings. Mr. Nishida's economy without distribution is the voice from heaven in this respect.

*every capitalist would agree!*

Shinkyō Nōsan is, though small in size, said to be more than a kibbutz in Japan, where the economy without distribution symbolically works better than any other place. It is a group of proletariates, which runs the largest tatami mat factory in Japan, spending a community life under the principle of economy without distribution. It has now a project to produce furniture, which is very hopeful. One of the leaders of them, Mr. Ozaki said, "You don't necessarily have to make tatami or furniture. If a hundred people, even day workers, get together, they can surely lead a rich life without anxiety." This is the greatness of economy without distribution.

#### IV. Mr. Nishida's Decision

Mr. Nishida was born of a well-to-do merchant in Nagahama in Shiga Prefecture. In his boyhood, he was sent to a silk merchant by his father to learn how to trade. From the beginning, he was taught how to give short measure as a rule of thumb. He could not stand such a way. So, at his age of twenty, he led a group of one hundred families, and went to Hokkaido, on a pioneering venture. The nature of the project requires a long term to realize the profit, even a fair income to sustain the life of the pioneers. The investors on the Mainland-Honshu-began to demand their due interest on the investment, while the pioneers began to make the bare necessity of livelihood. Mr. Nishida as young leader of pioneers had to face a sandwiched situation, between the capitalists and the workers: "promote the pioneers at the expense of the capital" cried one side, and the other: "Squeeze the workers for the interest of the capitalists." Just then, relations between Russia and Japan became strained and the war broke out between the two nations.

Mr. Nishida had then come to doubt the validity of the situation he had confronted. If taking things,

one from the other, is necessary for existence, is it not worth existing? If grabbing each other's throat is part of life, is it not better to end life by death? He pondered in his mind. With this far-reaching doubt on the prevailing condition of the society, he deliberated this simple yet humanistic ideal with all his seriousness. The more he pondered, the more he was led to believe that a peaceful livelihood was difficult if not impossible, if he was to follow the conventional trend of grabbing on each other.

He reached his decision: He gave up the pioneering project, giving away his shares; and returned alone to his native town of Nagahama. There within a tiny temple, Eizen-Do, of the Hachiman Shrine, he fasted three days and nights, seeking the way of Providence.

During his meditation, either by chance or by accident, he heard an infant's desperate cry. The cry soon subsided as its mother commenced to give her breast. He then visualized a scene. A happy child at its mother's breast, and a joyful mother giving her breast to the child. A down came upon his mind as he realized the importance of the scene. Mother and child. "This is not grabbing" he exclaimed "No. It is a joy of mutual existence! If we become like a child, Mother Earth will provide the necessary food."

Then he came out of the temple in the early morning to find a line of grained rice. He gathered a handful of rice and borrowed a pan from the neighborhood to cook it. It was his first meal after three days' fast.

The next day, he was still hungry, of course, and went out to visit a company which his friend ran. On his way, he encountered a manager of a hardware store in front of it. He was invited to tea by the mistress. The mistress began to serve him breakfast, but he refused. The mistress asked what he wanted. He wanted

the rice in the bottom of the pan, to be washed away. Then it was served.

As he became full, he began to work around the house and knew the pleasure of labor. As the result, he spent several days at the hardware store. On the last day of his stay, March 31st, Soba was served for dinner, which was a custom of Nagahama area. The mistress began to talk, "Thank you, Mr. Nishida. The store was about to bankrupt because of debt, but you showed us how to live and the pleasure of labor, that all the employees began to work really hard."

There was a rumor that Mr. Nishida brought fortune through eating the garbage rice. And he was invited by several families to garbage rice dinner.

The stay at the hardware store was the start of his new life, life of service, being let work, life of giving, cleaning toilets. Unfortunately, his first wife could not understand him, so that they divorced. But, instead, he made others happy and was thanked, respected, given gifts of thank. At last, he warned himself not to be too rich. This is the origin of Ittō-En as was described above. Besides there are number of companies growing by taking advantage of his philosophy on running them.

#### V. Ways of Seeing and Thinking of Ittō-En

The ideal of Ittō-En's life, which Mr. Nishida pointed out, is completion of each individual and true peace on earth.

The way to true peace has to be begun with the first step however far away it may be. Accumulated sand does not make a river. Water is not the material of mountain. One should begin accumulating sand to make a mountain. This is what Mr. Nishida used to say.

The ideal of Ittō-En lies in listening to the both sides, for it cannot cause trouble. Selflessness is the basic principle of Ittō-En, because, whenever one evaluates things by his own point of view, he causes trouble. When one takes things as they are, he gets closer to the universal truth.

The system and life of Ittō-En is not based on any ideology or thought, but on Mr. Nishida's life of service for sixty years. His life created it. But the number of people who can understand and utilize his way of living is limited, for it is too unique and requires enthusiastic desire to serve.

#### VI. Sitting on Half of Tatami, Sleeping on One

Any person does not need more than half of tatami mat to sit on, and one to sleep on. Mr. Nishida was a good example of it. Though Gautama<sup>r</sup> was born a prince, he had no regular residence after the hard self training. Like Gautama Mr. Nishida, though not a prince but the second son of a rich merchant, was always thankful for one room of three tatami mats to live for him and his wife, thinking of poor comrade who had not even a house to live.

His attitude toward life is a severe warning to those who squeeze out of others, and are proud of it. Mr. Nishida had a discipline on clothes, too. He used to wear only black cotton jacket called hippari, even when going to the United States, meeting with the Emperor, attending the House of Councilors. This is his formal kimono, labor wear, just because it is cheap and convenient, Uniform of Ittō-En.

The food he'd have was not expensive either, but it is very delicious when eaten with thankful heart. The egg and milk they produce at Ittō-En covers the rest of nourishment. All the members of Ittō-En are

\* Buddha (possibly 6th century  
of Jōsei)

quite healthy. None dies of cancer or diabetes, which are the diseases of the rich.

## VII. Cleaning of Toilets

Mr. Nishida and those who were trained at Ittō-En can easily get allowed to clean the toilets of other families, but the beginners will find it hard, for people usually have doubts. While expecting to be admired or respected, people will not welcome the servers.

Mr. Nishida's true purpose is not, of course, cleaning of toilets, but peace on earth attained through the action of service.

All the members of Ittō-En gather in January and go out for service. In summer, together with the friends of light', a troop of toilet cleaning march along the streets, hanging buckets in their hands, with bare foot, visiting houses one after another. This big group of young people travel about a week or so every summer all over Japan. Of course it is free, but every year, quite a lot of money is donated to maintain Ittō-En. The number of houses of which toilets were cleaned reached a million and six hundred thousand. And there are no other work more pleasant and pleasing others than to clean the toilets. If this spirit of service circulates all over the world, true peace of human will be realized.

## VIII. Company Without Labor Union

### — The Case of ZiiKuraito Chemistry and Mining Company —

I think it is an urgent necessity to take up the economy of service and economy without distribution as economical system for the current society, since the ethicalization of enterprise is needed. However,



I know, it is impossible to take it in directly. Only by enlightening the managers of enterprises the merit of thought of Ittō-En will be utilized. Below is an example of a company which attained a good result of the thought of Ittō-En.

#### IX. Manager Yoshioka Was Impressed

With Mr. Nishida's "The Life of Penitence" Mr. Kakutaro Yoshioka read "The Life of Penitence" on his way from Manturia, and was deeply impressed with it. Mr. Yoshioka's father, Mr. Shinnosuke Yoshioka was called "King of kaolin in Kobe". He almost conquered the field of kaolin trade, and was proud of it. The second son Kakutaro did not like his father's 'conquest.' After reading the book, he stopped helping his father and went to Akita Prefecture to begin a joint operation of kaolin with his friend. Soon after he began the trade, the owner of the factory Mr. M. gave running of it totally in charge of him.

Mr. Yoshioka made up his mind to observe the following rules.

1. Tell everything as it is to the customers and depend on their judgements.
2. Be content with the minimum necessity of living and never increase personal possession.
3. Never trouble others and get resentful.
4. Totally devote himself to the enterprise.

Mr. Yoshioka says, "Observing these rules made me trusted by everybody."

It is not easy to carry out "The Life of Penitence," but Mr. Yoshioka, wisely enough, utilized it as much as possible.

## X. The Man Who Knew the Crucial Point of Enterprise

At first, he noticed that the salary of the employees was too little. It was quite natural for a factory that had been in the red figures for a long time. But terrible small amount of money was paid to the employees.

Mr. Yoshioka gathered everyone and said, "I've decided to raise your salary thirty percent from today. I have examined all over the factory for a week and found a lot of waste of time, fuel, medicine and so on. I would like you to do just as I will teach you, and the quality and quantity of the product will get far better. If we get more money, I will raise the salary again, making the capitalists waiting for a while." The employees were all surprised to hear that. But what he said was realized one by one and everybody was encouraged. Next year, the factory went into the black figures.

Such an episode still remains; The factory bought a thousand straw bags for package from Kobe every month, which costed 0.26 yen for each. Mr. Yoshioka thought that there must be straw bag makers near there, since Akita Prefecture produces a lot of rice. He asked Mr. K, who was one of the customers, to buy straw bags any cheaper. Mr. K. found a straw bag maker and sold bags to Mr. Yoshioka for 0.2 yen for each. But they make came not like to trade with Mr. K and wanted to trade with Mr. Yoshioka directly. The maker sold a bag for 0.18 yen. Mr. Yoshioka, then, sent 0.02 yen for each bag to Mr. K. and Mr. K. cooperated as much as possible in running the factory in many warp. Such is the "economy of service."

After thirty years, Mr. Yoshioka turned many factories in the red figures into the black. And now there

are more than a thousand employees, which is the largest in the field of Kaolin in Japan.

## XI. A Big Factory in the Mountain

Near the Sakaya station on Ohu line, there is a big factory in the mountain. This is the Sakaya factory of Ziikuraito Chemistry and Mining company. It is now thirty years old with more than a thousand people working there. It has no labor union because there is no confrontation between the employer and the employees, and even with the customers.

The company is run according to the thought of Mr. Nishida. Since there is no exploitation, there is no confrontation. They take the enterprise as trust from the society, and try to help each other.

The legal form of the company is a joint stock company, however, there has been no increase of capital or distribution of profit.

There is hardly difference of salary between manager and workmen. Everybody knows how the company is run, and that the profit is used to improve welfare system. In the case of disaster, everybody voluntarily decrease his bonus to repair the factory. Since all the people of the factory are thankful to each other, there is no trouble at all. The quality of the product is excellent that almost all the big paper-manufacturing companies are customers of this company. After the war, the factory had to be enlarged several times, and several hundred million yen was necessary. And big customers voluntarily invested, so that the company did not have to borrow any money. The "economy of service" is lively in this respect.

Above is an example of a company which is run according to Ittō En's way. It is said more than thirty

companies have already adopted this way.

The "economy of service" and "economy without distribution" is a good advice to the prevailing economic system.

In the States in the early part of the last century communities like the Monks, the Hutterites, Perfectionists + indeed the early Mormons practicing the sort of austere self-denying communities were able to open up lands thought by capitalists to be uneconomical.

When the job of primitive capitalist accumulation was done the private business men moved in + were able to make a profit. (There is an obvious parallel with Russia, China + Egypt.)

I argued with Avraham that the Israeli Kibbutzim performed this task. -19-

Seems that the Japanese do so even more

There is a sort of Church (something  
or other Bakui) which addresses a man  
(I don't know name) very much like  
Hos + preaches the sort of ethic.

The New Statesman published an article  
on it I remember a few back as  
1961.

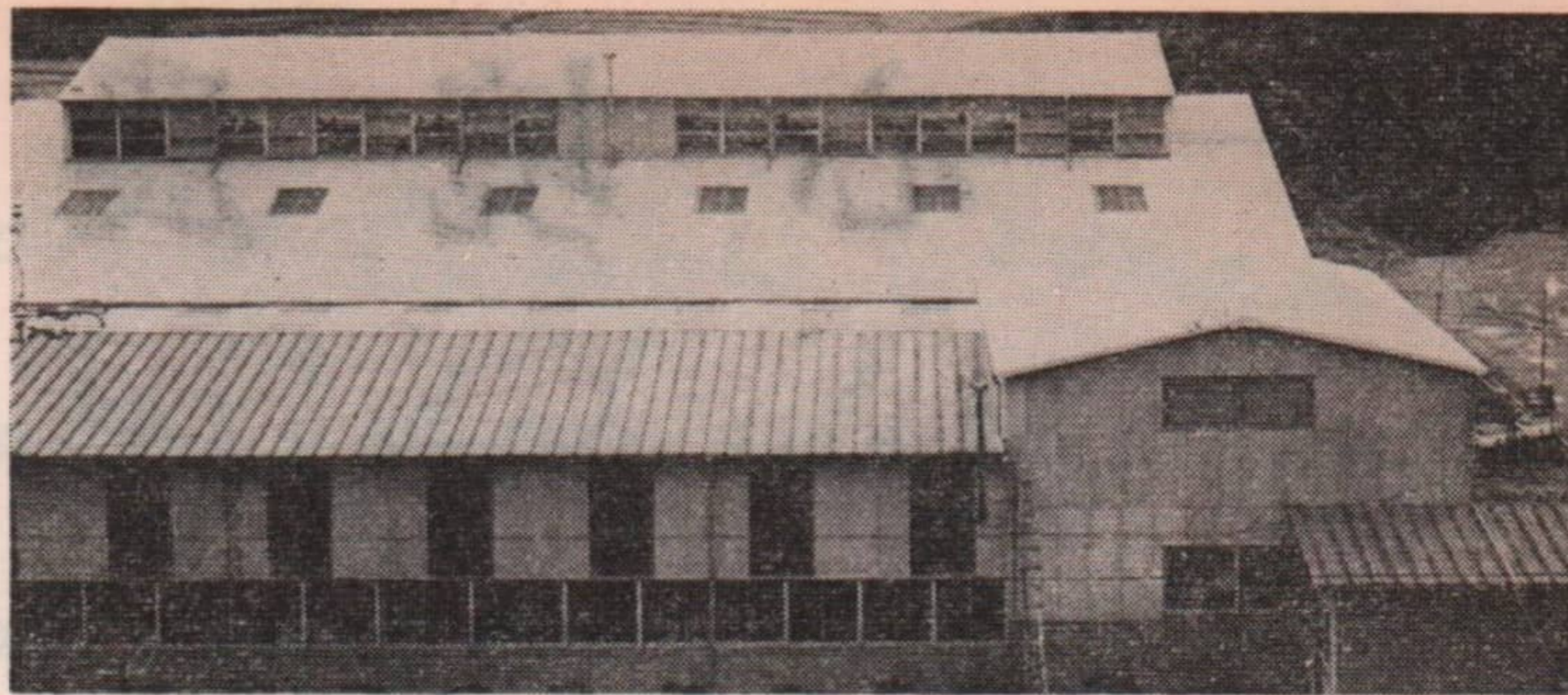
It has connections with MRH + sponsors  
a right wing "clean up pol. fire" party.

There was also a film shown round  
the church circuit or ~~one or other~~,  
another man (I think a Ghendrac)  
who went in for the laboratory cleaning  
in a big way.

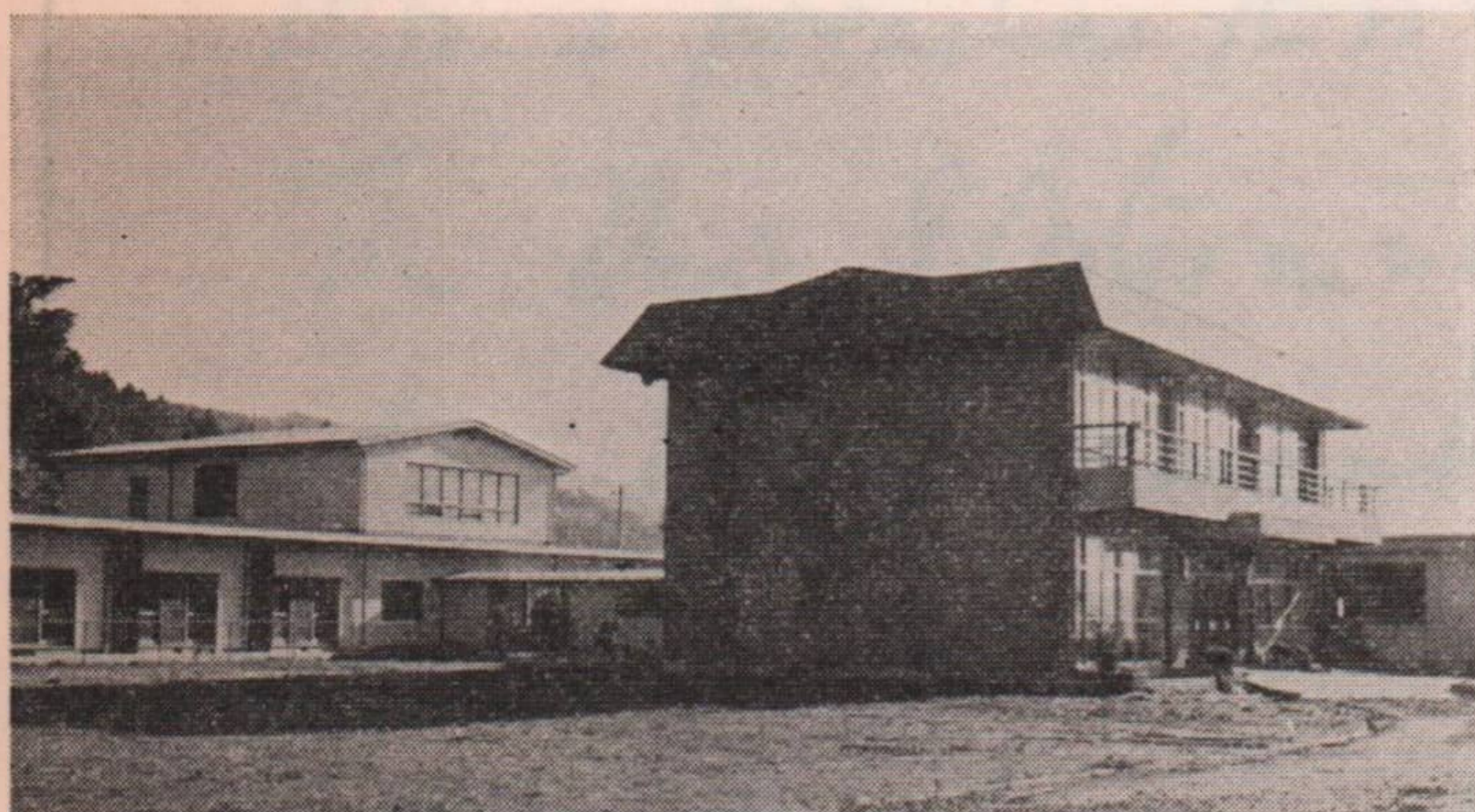
# 心 境 農 産

by Nobuyoshi Tezuka

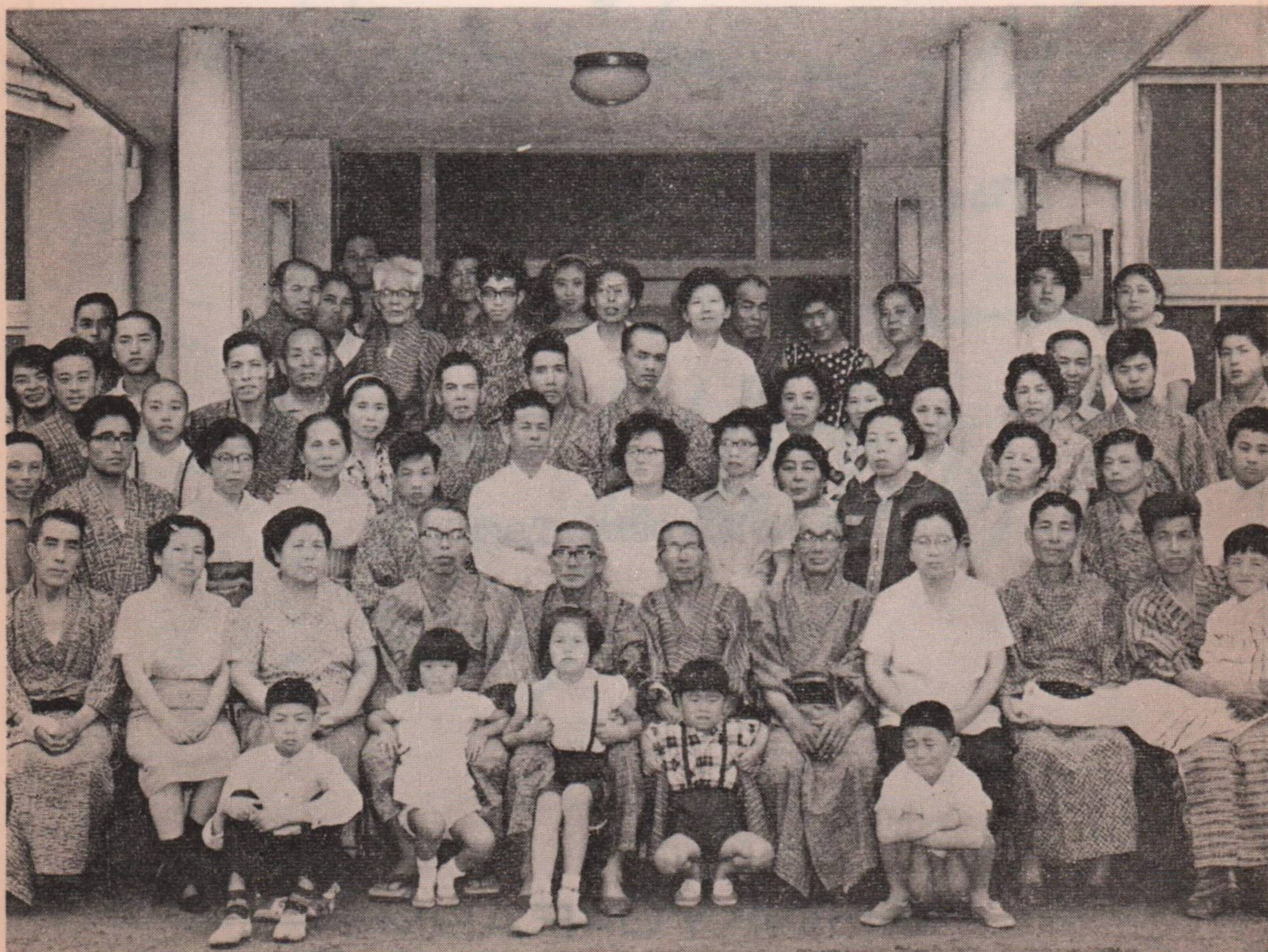
SHINKYŌ-FARM



factory of straw mat



home for the mentally retarded



members of the Shinkyō-Farm

## Shin-Kyo Farm

— A Japanese Kibbutz

by Nobuyoshi Tezuka

### (1) Introduction

In the Japanese agriculture, more than six thousand communities have partial co-operation system, and approximately 100 communities, including the large and the small, assume the form of full-scale co-operation. On the top of them all is Shin-Kyo Farm in Haibara-machi, Nara-pref. It has 32 years of history, and is a community of no exploitation, of liberty and equality, as well as of pure work-men. The population of some 120 enjoy a high, stable cultural life. It is a still progressing commune.

The farm is so widely known by T.V.'s, radios, and newspapers, as to have tens of visitors everyday, among whom are often seen noted people. Nevertheless, the reports have been, most of the time, superficial and have missed the essence and the epochal significance of it.

Since my first visit to the Shin-Kyo Farm, in June, 1964, I have had opportunities to know it better. The more I knew of it, I was the more astonished to find out its close similarity with Kibbutz, in Israel. However, no member in Shin-Kyo knew any more of Kibbutz than of other co-operate communities then coming to life in Japan. Shin-Kyo's communal rules were established after their own experiences in the collective life.

We can find quite a few enterprisers who started after the World War II with nothing in their hands, but such a case as Shin-Kyo is rare; whose members consist of emigraters to Manchuria, who came back after



the defeat of the war, of unemployed coal-miners, and of naked labourers; in which is attained a full-scale co-operative society where all members are worker-and-managers, and where in the day, they work in the dust, and after a clean bath, they enjoy a high cultural life.

Most of the contemporary people bow before the money, are userped by it, persue for it, and lose it after all. They are slaves to Mammon all their life. On the contrary, Shin-Kyo people have no need to worship wealth due to their co-operate system. The universal law reveals that the fortune comes for itself to such a place.

The Shin-Kyo Community, published in 1962, by Yoshie Sugihara, a member of the commune, (English translation by Prof. Plath of University of Ohio) is made up of a series of life documents whose facts, rather than the rhetorics, have a magnetic influence upon us. The beginning goes as follows:

"White Commune" is the name given by the T.V.'s, radios, and newspapers to our collective life. Whether the name suits us or not is of no interest to us, nor can we judge its validity. For we have no knowledge of what "communism" is. During the war in 1940, we performed a small religious reformation, which consequented our collective living and the collective work. It was not that we had a firm ideology or a belief. It was simply because we could not live otherwise. Also for the reason to bear the suppressions of the bosses of the village, it was necessary for us four families to live together and united. Or else we would have come to a miserable surrender. Such attitude of ours caused inconsiderate slanders to rain over us, such as "Reds" or "Communists". As we still hold the loathsome memories in the choking atmosphere at that time, we are not at ease to hear of us spoken of as

communistic so and so, though we do not exactly know what they mean.

However, if the world sees our collective life as a "white commune", we have no special intention to oppose it. Rather, to be honest, we feel surprised and awkward to hear many visitors and masscommunication medias saying that we are something of a special community in success.

As a matter of fact, we have been absorbed in the work for living for the last 20 years. Our co-workers are mostly of peasants, small merchants, and city labourers, and have had neither education nor position. We have nothing to do with such lofty sciences and ideologies. We worked, though. We really put to work. **This**, I dare boast. Work, work, or otherwise, perish. They were harsh and dark days. Should anything be with us, that could be the natural wisdom which was bestowed on us in those struggling days. We just recently came to have time for outer world.

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Our co-operate life in Shin-Kyo is never faltless, but is full of defects and weaknesses. We have never once been so conceited as to regard ourselves a model. That explains why we are awkward in the over-praises. At the same time, we are electrified at an advice or a criticism to the very point, and we seek measures for solution. But it is harder than expectation to mend the defect, for it matters with 80 people. Sometimes such is the case that the defect has its own inevitable sequences and reasons, that it can not be mended so easily as an electrical trouble.

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We are often questioned, "Whose idea is it to make such a modern house in a village like this?" We feel rather reluctant to answer, for we smell a faint, probably an unconscious, reproach that such a house is disproportionate to peasants. It is not quite un-

bearable, yet most of them ask as such. "To see such a fine house building, your business is making a lot of money, isn't it?" It is none of their business whether it is making money or not. Surely, as for "making money", it is reckoned we now earn a million yen every month. But it is the sweat profit, earned with 11 hour's work a day by all the members of our farm. We trouble no one, neither do we rely upon any benefactors.

It is naturally to our liberty to do whatever with the so made surplus. We are no capitalists, so we need no reserve funds, neither do we think of hiring labourers and assuming the profits. Whenever there is any surplus wealth, we can, according to the members' wishes, do anything with it, building houses, making a trip, or buying new clothes. Our first principle is that the profits out of co-operation may be returned entirety to the betterment and to the convenience of our community life.

We do not expect to have 11 hours' work for long. If possible, we want to reduce the hours. We do not intend to stick to the present straw-mats manufacture for ever either.

After all, we are of peasant stocks, and adding to it, we have long survived various hardships, all of which have bestowed on us with the indomitable spirit. Even if the present prosperity comes to an end in a depression some years later, and our circumstances become suddenly bad, we are sure that we will never surrender.

She describes in this way the sequences from the expulsion and the followed cohabitation of the four families to the 25 years of life in Shin-Kyo, in 200 some pages with honesty and feminine sensibility. The facts speak for itself; in its simplicity, the truth

touches the reader. However, as is said you can't see Mt. Fuji on Mt. Fuji, it is impossible to see all of Shin-Kyo in Shin-Kyo. Shin-Kyo, therefore, has to leave its evaluation and criticism to the without. I have visited the farm ten times since my first visit in 1964, and have always observed it closely as a representative communal society in Japan. I'd like to have a try-out for evaluation with an eye of 50 years of management life.

(2) Expulsion from the village to Co-operate life of the four families

Although I have introduced Shin-Kyo Farm fragmentarily from time to time on the Monthly Kibbutz magazine, I dare do it here again. For, I think, the only way out for the contemporary small businesses is, more than anything else, to model after Shin-Kyo, or at least to take its advantages.

Mr. Ozaki, the leading character in Shin-Kyo, used to be a missionary of Tenri-religion, (a sect of Buddhism) in his twenties. Later, he says, he came to doubt its dogmas and practices, and finally made a secession. The religious reformers' destruction of family altars broke up the struggle with other Tenri believers. As a consequent all of Ozaki, Yamanaka, Imanishi, and Mitsuya families, 18 members in all, were expelled out of the Tenri believers' village. In order to maintain their lives and to forbear the persecutions, they were compelled to live together and work together. It was the feeble birth of Shin-Kyo Farm, October 1937.

Their common lands were 80 ares of paddy fields, 6 ares of general fields, and 25 ares of forests, which, at that time, belonged to the upper-middle class of land ownership. Work together and life together made them notorious before long. As it was a total

militaristic age, and also the age of anticommunism to such an extent that anything with the prefix "com-", such as "collective production" or "communal life" was considered detestable, the villagers maliciously slandered them saying, "lands together, life together, wives together, children together."

Once when they contributed unexpected sum of money to the construction funds for the sacred shelter of the Emperor's Image, they were defamed to have donated the money given by the Soviet Union, and as a matter of course, M.P.'s put them in the jail unquestioningly. But even more exhausting was the troubles with themselves. The collective life among only four families creates various new obstacles in the process of reforming the traditions and customs. It is not so easy as to say to abandon the long descended family-lands to the common use, in other words, to abandon egoism totally into harmony with others. The ordeals lay mainly in themselves rather than in the slanders of the villagers.

They had four working cows, which, after the expulsion, four families each in turns took the care. Egoism was such that a mere handful of better food insisted to be fed to the carer's. In reflection of this, Mr. Ozaki confessed the fact to the rest, "I am ashamed to say this, but such and such." At this, others responded. "To tell the truth, the same is with me ." And that ended in a big laughter. Like an ant's hole on the side of a dam, such a triviality could cause a total collapse of the commune, they stopped laughing. We might as well sell all the cows and buy new ones, even if it may be a loss, they thought, and actually sold four cows and bought other four. The new cows were nobody's property, which led to an equal breeding.

The situation was almost the same with the children.

Blind love of a mother on her children might be disastrous. The kitchen duty, which the four families took in turns, was in charge of the children. It happened that a mother would be liable to give a better half of the candy to her own child. The problem is that, in this case, you can not sell the children and buy other children instead. After much thinking, they devised a method. The children over 7 years old were accommodated in the children's house, to which they were delighted. Small children were put to sleep every night by one of the women in turns, to which, at first, some protested and wept at night, but after a while, they got accustomed to it, and after supper, they would go straight to the woman in her turn to hold her. That gave the solution once and for all.

The problems were ceaseless. As four families lived in one building, the rooms had unequal conditions. That was solved by changing rooms every month.

The expulsion from the village is a traditional form of punishment in agricultural villages in Japan. It forbids the villagers even to speak to the expelled. The grown-ups of Shin-Kyo were resolute, but they pitied their children for unreasonable seclusion. That made the firmer union among the four families.

They did not have any ideologies or beliefs, nevertheless, due to the naturally born co-operation, the work was performed effectively, and the house-chores became easy. The progress was remarkable. Above all, the union became the firmer at the insults and the slanders. Thus has appeared the naturally born communal society.

Suppression and persecution grew even heavier on their back, as the military government, spreading war-fires, called for a strong union of the Japanese people. They often had to bear unreasonable suspicions

from both the neighboring farmers and the M.P.'s. Such miserable days made them determine the migration to Manchuria. They joined in the pioneers' group with their children altogether.

Their experiences in Shin-Kyo worked out effectively, and made a remarkable success. However, after only a year and a half, as soon as the end of the defeated war, they had to flee back to their loathsome country with nothing in their hands, except for their lives.

When they came back home, they were with the comrades in Manchuria. The new land-laws scattered their former ownership of the lands and all that was left to them was only 40 ares of land, which was far short for the increased people of 40 to be fed upon. Their men were engaged in the illegal trades barely to feed the families. For all this, Ozaki-Philosophy, that the only humane way of living is the collective life, remained unshaken and grew still firmer.

### (3) Laymen's straw-mats manufacture

Illegal trades would not be able to hold the means of 40 people's living for long. They thought this and that, and came to realize that they could get considerable amount of straw from 40 ares of field. They could probably make straw-mats with it, and sell them out to Osaka, for it had been all burned to ashes during the war. The least necessary equipments could cost 100,000 yen while they had not a yen extra. Tolerating the extremely modest living for half a year, they finally could afford the equipments, and began to sell the straw-mats in Osaka.

There were technical difficulties for the laymen. The straw stock came short. Villagers would have nothing to do with them, let alone a loan from them. Fortunately for them, an old friend of Mr. Ozaki's, who

was in the board of the Union of Agricultural Co-operation, was sympathetic enough to loan them at the limit of 10,000 yen in the short term. To see the scrupulous repayments of the loans, the limit was widened so that they needed no worry with the funds any longer.

Instructed by the customers and by the work itself, their work was well competent with that of professional's a year later. But by the fifth year after the war, house reconstructions came to a standstill, and the number of the competents increased, so that the production became excessive and consequently the price dropped down as low as the cost.

It was no use struggling, for the larger production unfailingly invited the larger loses. It was a crisis to the lives of 40 people. Mr. Ozaki then spoke up: "Well, everyone, we are in trouble. But I don't think the straw-mats are not needed any longer in Osaka and Kyoto. I rather suspect, it is merely because of excessive production. No one dares continue producing with such a low price, so there will come a shortage of them and with it, the prices will be up again. It will be in a year at the longest, maybe in half a year. Our competitors are no exceptions. The most patient will win, like divers under the water. Let us have patience now, and let us not use any money on both the clothes and the shelter for the coming half a year. Although we can't stop eating, I suppose, we can somehow devise a means to furnish the same calories with one fifth of the former cost." No one would have had any opposition to the proposal.

It was at once put into practice, and lasted for half a year. As he had predicted, the prices began to recover after the long perseverance. The customers' orders came rushing in, there came so many that they



made a secret survey to find out half the straw-mats manufacturers around had bankrupted.

(4) Japan's Top Manufactory of straw-mats after three depressions

It is significant to note that they did not jam the way up to the top manufactory of straw-mats, but rather, were pushed up to that rank. This offers a proper model for other small industries. If they take after Shin-Kyo in any field of enterprise, I assure that they would succeed.

At their flight back from Manchuria, the four families could have relied upon the lands remained, if they had forsaken the comrades in Manchuria, who had neither lands nor property whatsoever. It is such love that made the way out for them, the love upon which the development of Shin-Kyo originates.

Thus, the orders rushed in, prices were stable, the Union of Agricultural Co-operation, seeing it secure, was generous for the loans, and the new machines made mass production possible. They experienced three depressions, but every depression reduced the competitors in favor of Shin-Kyo. At last, after 15 years, that small amateurish Shin-Kyo straw-mats manufactory found itself on the top of all others.

As was mentioned, they have quite a few visitors, among whom are enthusiastic people, staying at Shin-Kyo studying the methods. But no one goes beyond envy to a try-out. About three years ago, the National Union of Straw-mats Manufacturers held the general meeting at Shin-Kyo, and they were greatly impressed by the uniqueness, nevertheless, no one else is yet capable of realizing one.

Why is it that they can not realize the kind? It

is because they can not pull themselves out of the capitalists' nature of exploitation of others for the sake of himself. Exploitation of others renders upon himself. There can be no happiness nor stability in such a robbers' society, but to their folly, they can not see it. That is why the envy for Shin-Kyo does not lead them into actual creation of one.

(5) The Strained will disappear if they model after Shin-Kyo

As was already mentioned, the first four families brought their properties together and commenced a collective life. The accumulation, however, was soon lost away at their emigration and by the land laws. The new-comers were expected to come naked, and still are. It has been claimed that they should either donate the money, clothes and else for charity purposes, or do away with them for all before coming to Shin-Kyo.

Mr. Ozaki explains, "We shall be annoyed if one comes haughtily with only five or ten million yen. Two or three months work here can earn that much. There is no use sticking to five or ten million, which will be exhausted sooner or later, or which may be stolen or dropped. Wealth which can be neither stolen nor dropped is the collective life itself."

Shin-Kyo offers a proof. Some came not only naked but with debt upon them. The commune, whose members are of poor returns from Manchuria, of the unemployed, of the failed in businesses, of delinquents now owns several billion yen of collective property, although nobody stores any personal wealth. Those people who otherwise might have been trouble-makers in the society, are now enjoying the high living and are million yen tax-payers.

Mr. Ozaki explains the secrets as follows: "They

say Shin-Kyos straw-mats are making money, but it is not right. It is not the straw-mats making money. Ordinary labourers can do this much if they are united and decide on a collective life. The secret lies in the collective way of living. A single family with two children can barely live on 50,000 yen a month. In case such 30 or 50 families set on the co-operate living, the expenses will be cut down to the half. If they save the rest half, 50 families altogether, the savings will amount to two million yen a month, and after 30 years, they will well surpass ten billion yen with the interests. Only five hundred million we own is nothing but a shame." The biggest cause of poverty, then, lies in the seperate individual living.

(6) Equality, Justice & Generosity; Cornerstones of Shin-Kyo

As Shin-Kyo becomes famous, many people, including ministers, provincial chieives and some other important personels, come for a visit. Every visitor is warmly welcomes, but even the leader, Mr. Ozaki, does not take the advantage of this to reglect his work. At the same time, he doesn't treat the roted people for their favors either. It is easy to say but hard to do.

The leader as he is, Mr. Ozaki gets dressed up in working clothes by six o'clock in the morning. Whoever the visitor may be, he appears in this fashion at any time. Of course he has formal clothes, but they are only for some special occasions.

As they own five trucks and four cars running all over the western Japan, sometimes traffic accidents are inevitable. Usually the victim driver would swear, "Oh you damned fool! Have you got eyes!" but, "Didn't you get hurt!" is the first say of Mr. Ozaki to the apologizing driver. "You can get the car renewed but your indespensable body can't. Be careful young man."

As a young driver recollects, the tone was so full of generosity without reproach that he was the more shocked by it than a harsh scolding.

Shin-Kyo welcomes every deprived people. It is amazing how the delinquents or the trouble-makers completely change. But it is not without exceptions. Once in a while, it would happen that some money be snatched away. However, they would neither publicize it nor make a fuss among themselves. It is because they would not like to hurt the "victim". They would say, "Well, he would soon know what he had done." The absolute belief in the conscience of a person underlies the commune and gives life to it.

Mr. Ozaki used to be a Tenri-religion missionary. He helped innumerable deprived people up, himself in poverty. Such a missionary, however, would often be in discord with the center, and he, at this point, realized the frailty of a belief without practice. He looks at a first glance, a non-believer, but he respects the High Order and the harmony among men even more intently than the religious. He imposes whatsoever first to himself and thus making a model for equality, justice, and generosity, which supports the members up immeasurably.

#### (7) Extraordinary rough accounting

The whole income to the commune will be estimated to several hundred million yen a year, nevertheless, they have neither any accounting books nor accountants or a secretary. The only book they have is the delivery-memo for the customers. Tax payment relies entirely upon the estimation of the bureau. Every year several officers come to Shin-Kyo for estimation, and as much as imposed, they pay off, to the surprise of the bureau.

The entire population of 120 includes 50 mentally retarded people, some old people and little children, so the working population is approximately 40, who, of course, receive no salaries. Everyone is at liberty to drinks, sweets, cigarettes and so on. Nobody has money, but in case of necessity, a lady at the kitchen duty will hand him the necessary amount. The only accountant is a lady in the kitchen duty, which all take in turns. Several hundred thousand yen is put on a shelf like knives and forks. Because of this rough accounting, sometimes double payment occurs, and neglect in collection also. They, in those cases, are repaid for the extra and are urged to collect the due from the customer.

As for the amateurish accountant lady, she only brings back the handy safe to her room at night. Sometimes she has to handle millions yen worth of checks. Accidents have never happened, even if it happened, they say, they would not change the 30 year-old tradition.

It is a miracle that such a system survives. On the top of it all, thousand million yen worth of facilities for the mentally retarded were newly built two years ago, whose original idea was applauded over the coffee after supper. "Well, all right. If it is necessary, we shall work the harder." And it was all over.

Even though a man may not be talented or wise, he could be powerful in co-operation with others. This is what Shin-Kyo shows us. I'd like stress again that they have nothing to do with ideologies or beliefs. They just got together, and directed by nature, came out as they are.

#### (8) Ozaki's Bath-Philosophy

Usually Mr. Ozaki himself serves as a host for visitors. We shall listen to him: "I'm Ozaki. You may be disappointed to see a shabby little man in dirty clothes. We all work in this fashion. You may be wearing gorgeous suits, gold watches and beautiful rings. But take a look at us after five o'clock in the evening. After a bath we are all clean and neat, and go to the dining hall. The supper is ready. We enjoy every little morsel of food and after that we go to the lounge, where we have all sorts of games, magazines, instruments and a color T.V. We have a tea-room and a bar. The tired people can go back to their own room to stay with the wife. Absolutely no work after five o'clock, except for the kitchen crews, untill seven o'clock next morning. No work on Sundays and holidays, so you can have a car tour to Kyoto, Nara, anywhere. Our toilets are as clean as anything. We get dirty in the day but we are aristocrats after the work. Do you enjoy life as we do here? I bet you don't. The secret is the co-operate life. No wealthy man can enjoy life as fully as we do. If he says he does, he is lying. Who works whole heartedly as our people here do for the pompous master? First, take a look at our facilities." He invites the visitors to the common bath, which is well compatible to that of a gorgeous resort-hotel's.

"Bath is ready at any time. Dirty clothes will be straightly conveyed to the washing room and will be back ironed. After a bath the exit leads us to the compartment of newly cleaned clothes. You put them on, take a look at yourself born afresh at the closet, and there you go in to the dining hall. See, the kitchen is no less than that of a first class hotel's. So are the meals. Then you are at liberty to eat or drink or talk. After the meal, no work whatever, except in the kitchen.

"In the morning, nobody wakes you up and put you

to work. We all work spontaneously. No bosses, and no supervisors. We work vigorously though. That's why we can maintain our high living no wealthy man can enjoy.

"If you want to have a rich life, get started for the co-operation. This is the only humane way of life you can ever do. Once you get into it, you don't want to quit. The same is true with the farmers. If a farmer gets sick, it is a big thing for the family. If he stays in bed for a couple of years, they are all done. But imagine, if 20 families get united, it affects little when a couple of them get sick. The collective work is, as you know, efficient because of the division of labour. House chores will be far easier to be taken in turns. You can read books, or make a trip, or anything you want. Individual, separate life may be likened to a man sleeping with a bomb.

"Just think, we are like a stream of water. We alone can only float a leaf, but once we get together we can make electricity, or float a ship. So the union makes strength. Co-operation is the safest and the surest way to human happiness. It's no use looking at me and admiring Shin-Kyo. Get started. You'll find for the first time the graciousness to be born a man. Otherwise one is pitiful even though he may be a millionaire.

#### (9) Support for the Mentally Retarded

Started as a group of unemployed, the delinquents, the bourgeois, Shin-Kyo men worked united through various disasters on the way, typhoon disasters, fires, etc. Finally they jumped up to the top of the straw-mats manufactories. This is amazing enough. In addition to this, they newly set on to the work for the rehabilitation of the mentally retarded people with the unpolluted weath.

It is nothing like an ordinary institution for such people. They aim at the whole social rehabilitation of the deserted people. Although Mr. Ozaki was resolute on any difficulties, I was anxious, for they are no straw-mats, but are the garbaged out of the society.

The facilities for 50 people were completed in the fall of 1967 at the cost of approximately ten million yen. An American psycho-physicist, Dr. Scheinbach, at the opening ceremony commended it as one of the best facilities not even Americans had. He spoke of only the facilities at that time, but today, observing the mentally retarded taken genuine care of and making miraculous rehabilitation, he would not hesitate to commend this the best in the world. They are planning yet another one for 50 people and it will be completed in a couple of years.

(10) Revolutionary treatment for the mentally retarded

Thousands of institutions for such people are mostly no more than accomodation camps of the forsaken. The fire accident at such an institution in Shikoku last year greatly shocked the related people. The superintendent there was on an official trip, the nurses were all out, and a crippled sewing lady was left all alone at the emergency. I recalled some other institutions I had visited, and could not help shuddering. A fine, seperate house for the superintendent, a shabby, filthy building making a contrast, officially hired nurses with little love and devotion, 158 yen's meals a day; such are the usual conditions for the deserted. Not all, I hope, are like this, but that which serves genuinely the mentally retarded people are very rare.

Mr. Ozaki recollects, "We decided to stretch our



hands on the mentally retarded with the level if we treated them as equal friends, they might be capable of recovery back to the society. We did not want to leave them in loveless institutions."

### (11) Incarnation of Truth

In July last year, I visited Shin-Kyo after some time's intermission. I saw Mr. Ozaki surrounded by several mentally retarded children. His stammering words sounded to me as if those of the incarnated of the truth. I'll borrow a couple of them in the following.

#### "Practice of the Bath-Phylosophy"

As is known, the Japanese do not change waters in the bathtub as one finishes, but instead they use water outside the tub to wash. The Bath-Phylosophy goes, the cleanness of the final water in the bathtub is the measure for the well-doing of the collective life. The commune does not come out well without such consideration for others. The mentally retarded take the first bath, then women, men, and last of all, Mr. Ozaki. Seeing the last water clean to the bottom, he would congratulate the day passed.

To put those who have little or no ideas of sanitation first in the common bath needs a great task beforehand to teach them to be clean till they get used to it. Mr. Ozaki himself imposes such a task.

"(Pointing to one of such girls.) See, she is a lovely girl now. She used to be a filthy, sniveling thing when she first came here. But after six months she is such a doll. When her mother came to see here, she first stared at the clean, pretty girl, unbelievably. She suddenly ran to her, held her, wept into tears. It has been such a big task to make her as she is now. You take a couple of such girls to the bath and wash

them from head to foot, or rather rub them all up and down. No exceptions even to the buttocks and the front, or rather they are the most necessary parts to wash. Well, the mental deficiency does not affect the growth of the body. Sixty-seven years old as I was, I hesitated nevertheless. But decided on washing on. Such parts as the parents loathed to touch, you wash up all clean everyday. That brings about a conversion. After a few weeks, she learned it herself and puts it into practice everyday. You see those people are excluded from reason, nonetheless they abide by instincts and habits. Today they keep themselves as clean as anybody.

#### "Treatment of sniveling by love"

"There's a 20 year-old lad, whose mentality is as low as four years old. He was running his nose all the year round and was disliked at the dining hall and the bath. We taught him to blow the nose, putting a finger on one side of the nose and making a puff, then the other side. He wouldn't learn the trick at all. For 20 long years, his parents did not even teach him to blow the nose. All you can do is to repeat it time after again patiently. Everyday you would take hold of the abominable lad, and make him puffs and puffs. After thousands of failures, he happened to know the trick, and the snivel came clear out. After this, it was not long to see him clean under the nose.

"His bad behavior was not only the nose-running, but also at the table. He would scatter everything around and refuse to eat the rest like a baby. When you say, don't waste, eat them up, he would respond, you eat. If you put away the mess you wouldn't expect him to change. Well, you can't help serving as the model, to eat the pig-meal all up. You might think a while, what in the world am I doing, washing the

filthy buttocks of a nobody's child, and eating snivel-  
ed pig-meals? No, it is not right to think. If I  
am a genuine superintendent to the mentally retarded  
people's institution, I shouldn't even think, let  
alone hesitate. So, you swallow the mess all in. The  
lad's attitude began to change as you went on. Love  
seems to be penetrable into the deficient mind."

Looked down upon as stupid or deficient even by  
their parents, they were made all the more so. We  
become human beings as we are brought up as such. To  
be paid a due respect as a man, absolute equality and  
justice, the satisfaction of being surrounded by  
genuine love and care; all these circumstances enable  
the deserted people to live comfortably and to en-  
courage sound rehabilitation.

Equality, Justice, and the ability to serve first  
as the model; those who are not capable of the above  
qualities have no rights to be educators for the res-  
trained. Mr. Ozaki would device water melons exactly  
the same size to pass among them. Then, he cuts his  
share contrastingly small. The children, at their  
ease, eat their shares pleasingly.

The rule is the same with the candies brought in  
by certain parents. He would not receive the candies,  
unless they are all the same and are exactly as many  
as the children. He might as well cast them away as  
cause inequality among them. This rule of absolute  
equality and justice exerts a deep influence upon the  
retarded. Half a year here bestows upon them something  
of a graceful air, for they would probably know by  
instincts the safety. They behave so freely and easily  
here that the parents are often surprised at the sight.

It is impossible to command them or even scare  
them to do a thing. Telling a lie to allure them is  
no more effective, for they seem to be endowed with

even deeper intuition into other's mind. The only way, then, is to make himself a model for them. Otherwise he should fail.

## (12) Conclusion

Started as a small agricultural commune of four families, or 18 people, it grew to have 80 members after the war manufacturing straw-mats, and just a few years ago, it constructed a fine institution for the mentally retarded people, and yet planning another of the kind. Its rapid development has been paid much attention, but its real cause is neglected. The visitors would not believe what Mr. Ozaki persuasively explains. Contemporary people are too egoistic to understand whole-heartedly the advantages of co-operate life. Primary theory of the capital tells us that the more, the money is pooled, the stronger, its power. So is with man. It is incredible how the so called capitalists would not understand this fact. No individual person can stand alone. Shin-Kyo's development owes neither to the straw-mats manufacture nor to the talented few, but to the power of co-operate life and work. Simple as it may seem, this is a truth Shin-Kyo reveals to us.



# 前森山集団農場

by Zenzo Kusakari

MAEMORIYAMA



departure to the work



cowshed for 100 cows.



common residence and cowshed

## MAEMORIYAMA, "THE STRUGGLING COLLECTIVE FARM"

Zenzo Kusakari

### FIFTEEN YEARS OF "WIND AND SNOW"

The collective farm is located at Noda, Matsuo-mura, Iwate-gun, Iwate-ken (prefecture) in the north-eastern section of Japan. Passing Morioka, you can see a fine mountain, Iwate, leftside through the window of your train, and will arrive at Kooma station (some 200 kilometres far northward from Sendai) of Tohoku line. There you have to change your train to Hanawa line and will reach the station of Iwatematsuo, the fifth one from Kooma. It is 9 kilometres from the station to the farm and you will get to the latter in the mountain side of Maemori in twenty minutes or more by car or school-bus, though I felt very inconvenient at my first visit (ten years ago) owing to taking more than two hours by a irregular horse-railway-traffic.

The traffic has become pretty convenient, but the physical conditions remains unfavorable, because the farm is situated at the halfway up Mount Maemori, 1,305 metres above the sea level, besides in Iwate prefecture where is called as a "Tibet in Japan." The lay of the land is a rolling slope toward the southeast and its angle of inclination is 5 - 15. The southern slope shows some marks of wind erosion and its surface-soil is thin.

Harder was the social circumstances of their settlement than the physical one. Those who went over to China (mainly Manchuria) as soldiers, army civilian employees, pioneers and members of youth pioneering volunteer during the War, came home from new China later than usually after the defeat (in 1953) and had to be confronted with difficulties of the land-libera-



tion-movement for acquiring their settling place. Owing to the terrible bad condition of the soil in Tochigi prefecture (Nasuno field), polite rejection with the reason of coming back from Communist China by the Imperial Household Agency (Sanrizuka Imperial pasture in Chiba-ken) and so on, they had to wander from one place to another and at last could settle down here after one and a half year.

The advanced group (eleven members) settled there October 23, 1954 and the main group (thirty five members) arrived April 10, 1955. Their native places ranged from Kyushu, the southern part of Japan to Hokkaido, the northern one (or 17 prefectures) and they consisted of 30 families. Most of them had lived in new China, which had been founding the huge socialistic society or establishing the early Peoples' Communes (Gassaku-sha), and were moved by the latter's reconstruction-movement. Especially Akira Terada, the leader, experienced his life in its national collective farm. These experiences let them feel deeply the necessity of struggling in union, and thus the latter became the fundamental motive of founding the farm and the firm belief of their collective life.

They believed they would be able to reclaim the land anyway, while the climatic condition was actually as severe as a so-called "Hokkaido of Iwate-ken": the average temperature is 7.4 degree C, the first frost of the season falls about the middle of September and the last one in the beginning of June (no frost-term is only three months or so), and the snow stays from the beginning of December to the middle of April, being 1.3 metres deep; thus the land is covered with snow for some half a year and the west wind is strong too. The soil of volcaic ashes has the strong acidity of pH 4 - 4.5 and the coefficient of phosphoric acid-absorption is 1,200 (less than usually).

Therefore, the cold climate and the barren soil prevented them from reaping a normal harvest of soy bean and buckwheat as foods at the beginning of settling. They were obliged to choose the complete dairy farming like Hokkaido, which they at first planned to run, in 1956. As I will tell you later, their milk products have gradually increased and the population has been doubled from 46 to 105 with the growth of children; nevertheless, the great wave of urbanization (the cityward-tendency of rural population) has also washed this small settlement without exception and 7 families already left the farm. The stern reality of the situation does not warrant optimism.

#### AN OUTLINE OF THE FARM

Since their settlement they have adopted the collective system of production-branch and also have communal buildings (houses), communal dining-room and bath, nursery-school, educational expences in primary school and middle school, and medical services, except private clothes and laundry. Thus, the density of collectivization is under Israeli Kibbutzim, but it is far over Russian Kolkhozes which have individual system of consumption and private small farms, and even higher than Israeli Moshav-Shitufi (complete collective of production). Accordingly, it seems to resemble closely to the only one communist Kibbutz Yad Chanan in Israel, judging from the following points of view: most of them are communist, all of members are pioneering settlers, and the population is also the same scale (or one hundred and more).

A. Terada, a secretary of the farm told me that their collectivization rationalizes its management and operation, affords some hours for studying, and can advance their political movement also, though small holders are driven away with the burdens of heavy works and poor conditions of production and thus their energy

of social activities are exhausted out, while some communists adversely criticize that the collectivization taking advantage of the government's policy of agriculture will gradually become petit-bourgeois with the rich conditions of economy, losing their active volitions of social revolution lastly.

Among seven small holders, who are sons of the existing farmers and have settled here as members of the same cooperative association, four already left their land and other three remain; but the latter also is behind the collective in a marked contrast. Apart from the discussion whether or not the collectives will be able to defend farmers or villages as "breakwaters" against the huge surges of capitalistic urbanization, this farm clearly shows us the strength of collectivism.

They have now 153 hectares of cultivated fields, which mean pasture land, and 250 cows (including 160 milking ones) give two tons of milk a day; they also raise 120 pigs.

The hour of work averagely is ten, depending upon the season, and they have a system of small different allowance according to the kind of labour; more than 70% of allotment are shared communally as living expenses (one family's income a year is \$1,700 on the average, and the loan from the government and other financial systems amounts some \$4,640 per one family.

The communal dining room with large kitchen, which has a bakery, serves three times meals a day according to the menu, and also special foods for infants, expectant mothers and invalids. You will find many nice tables for each family (its location is changed every some interval) and joyful scenes of mealtime. Rice, soup, milk and pickles except some side dishes are provided in large vessels on several common tables,

being self-services as well as washing each dish. Besides, we can see some happy circles around the television. When I visited the farm for the first time, I was impressed by many young fathers who were taking their own meals and were washing their own tablewares, while they were shouldering their own babies instead of their wives. It was a kind of Japanese customs that a mother carries her own baby on her back, especially during working time. But she is really tired with his weight; thus members of the farm emancipated their women from the overworks (laundry is a task of each family's wife here). Now I saw only two of the scene, because many babies have grown up.

You also can take a bath filled with full, clean, warm-water like a hot spring in the common bath-room next to the dining room. They take bath four times a week and further more during the harvest season of grass. One apartment consists of eight families' rooms, which do not look fine externally, but inside we may find pianos, electric organs, and other fine furnitures or beautiful ornaments as well as in the 2 - 3D.K. house in a city.

The nursery has had two permanent nurses since settling and in 1963 was approved as a rural nursery-school, being assisted one part of its expenses by the authorities. In case of high school (senior) and university children, charges for board are communally paid by the farm but other educational expenses are repaid with their working on the farm for the same years as well as their schooling ones after graduation.

They rest two days a month and other special holidays are New Year day, Mayday, sowing-completion day, the Feast of Lanterns, and the memorial day of the Settlement etc.; they have movie, trip and other events in these days. Their cultural activities are not so vigorous because of a few of time and expense to spare,

but they try to make their best; generally speaking we can feel clean atmosphere.

They have the following democratic organization of management:

1. The General Assembly: The suprem institution of the collective, which is held in January regularly and many times in case of necessity irregularly.

2. The Farm General Committee: It is composed of two branches.

- (i) Management council:
- a. farming section
  - b. stockraising section
  - c. undertaking section
  - d. secretariat section  
(meal, nursing, shop, business and medical care)

Note: all members belong to some of four sections

- (ii) cultural branch:
- a. propaganda or publishing section
  - b. woman section
  - c. Japan-China and-U.S.S.R. friendship section
  - d. Michulin section

Every committee, council, branch and section has a regular meeting once a month and sometimes in case of need, and other joint meetings of related sections are also held as occasion calls; the meeting is the most important point of management. All opinions are proposed and exchanged each other, finding out some problems and analysing, examining, synthesizing them democratically. The discussion of a grave subject are continued untill they can reach an unanimity; for example, they had about one-month-lasting-talk upon the problem of the place of cowshed.

GOING ON ITS WAY BEYOND THE MOUNTAIN TO ITS VISION

In the general program of Maemoriyama Collective Farm, they note down the following basic targets:

"We aim at establishing a prosperous collective of dairy through overcoming all difficulties, while we will combat against the unprofitable conditions of the land and the government's poor policy of agriculture.

For the purpose, we will advance our collectivization with the common means of production and the joint system of labour, which are based upon the spirit of mutual-aid; thus we will promote our productivity and fight our way to get a happy life in union.

1. We seriously work, and highly value our common profit and undertaking.
2. We strive to improve ourselves together, and learn high-level techniques of agriculture.
3. We treat with care for our common property, and endeavour to develop our production-means.
4. By those new methods of thinking and practicing, we proceed to our final goal in union of all members."

In the short course of fifteen years after foundation, the settlement has steadily progressed toward its ideals mentioned above. The increase of milk products, the expansion of establishments and equipments, the welfare of children, oldmen, women and patients, and so on, have marked a clear improvement in comparison with the early days, when they had nothing because of starting from the bottom; and it has had many visitors or many trainees from outside (high school and university). On the road I met two girls of primary school, asking them the reasons why they like to remain there; they answered me cheerfully, "Because our farm has gradually become better," and "We all can live friendly and helpfully together."

The collective have, however, many problems still apart from the repayment of much loan; the shortages

of cow, cow-houses, silos and arable land have to be solved, and they also point the necessity of improving their own farming technical skill and administrative structure, while the government policy is also criticised by them to be deficient. In order to correct the lack of the policy, they have demanded the perfect change of political system and have spread out their movement. I could see some posters of anti-the Government and-U.S.A. or pro-North Korea and-North Vietnam (including South Vietnam Communist). Terada, the secretary, is active as a member of town agriculture committee elected from Communist Party.

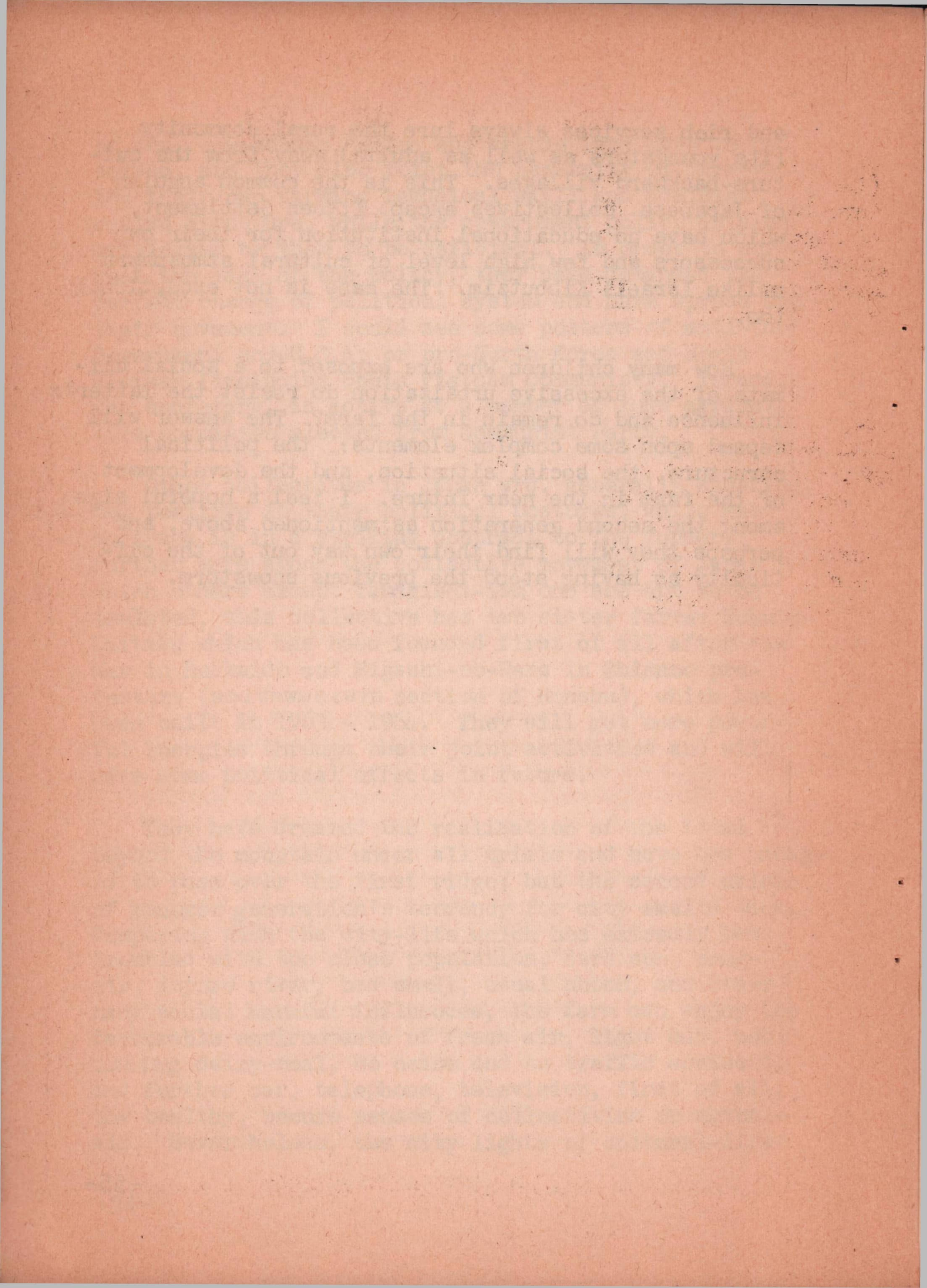
Other collectives in Japan are, generally speaking, not positive in their political postures, while Mae-moriyama is in a striking contrast to the former. Further more among the collective movement of Japan which others except Yamagishi-ism one are apt to be isolated, this collective has two sister farms: Hokuto-Kaitaku which has been founded first of all after the War in Hokkaido and Higashi-no-Hara in Shimane prefecture (southwestern section of Honshu), which has been built in 1963 - 1964. They will get more powerful energies through their joint activities and will have some political effects in future.

They have dreamed the realization of the ideal beyond the mountain under all trials and have now managed to pass over the first ridge; but the second crisis of younger generation's tendency for city awaits them. Comparing with the city-life which has extremely been troubled with too close population, dark sun, smog-air, impure river, bad smell, usual shock, and other many social harmful influences, the farm can enjoy the favourable environments of fresh air, light sun, nourishing dairy-meal, no noise and no traffic accident, and further car, telephone, television, first of all, the healthy, secure senses of collectivism or mutual-aid. Nevertheless, the city lights of cultural-life

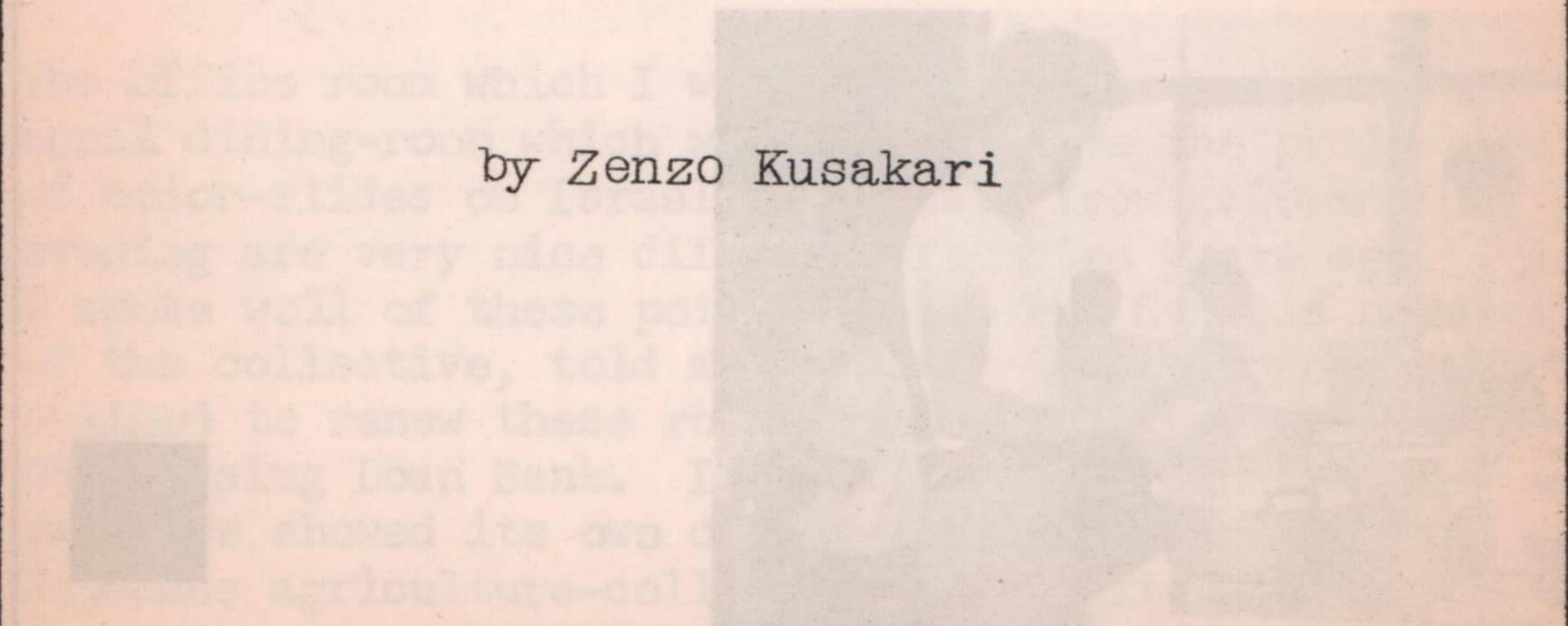
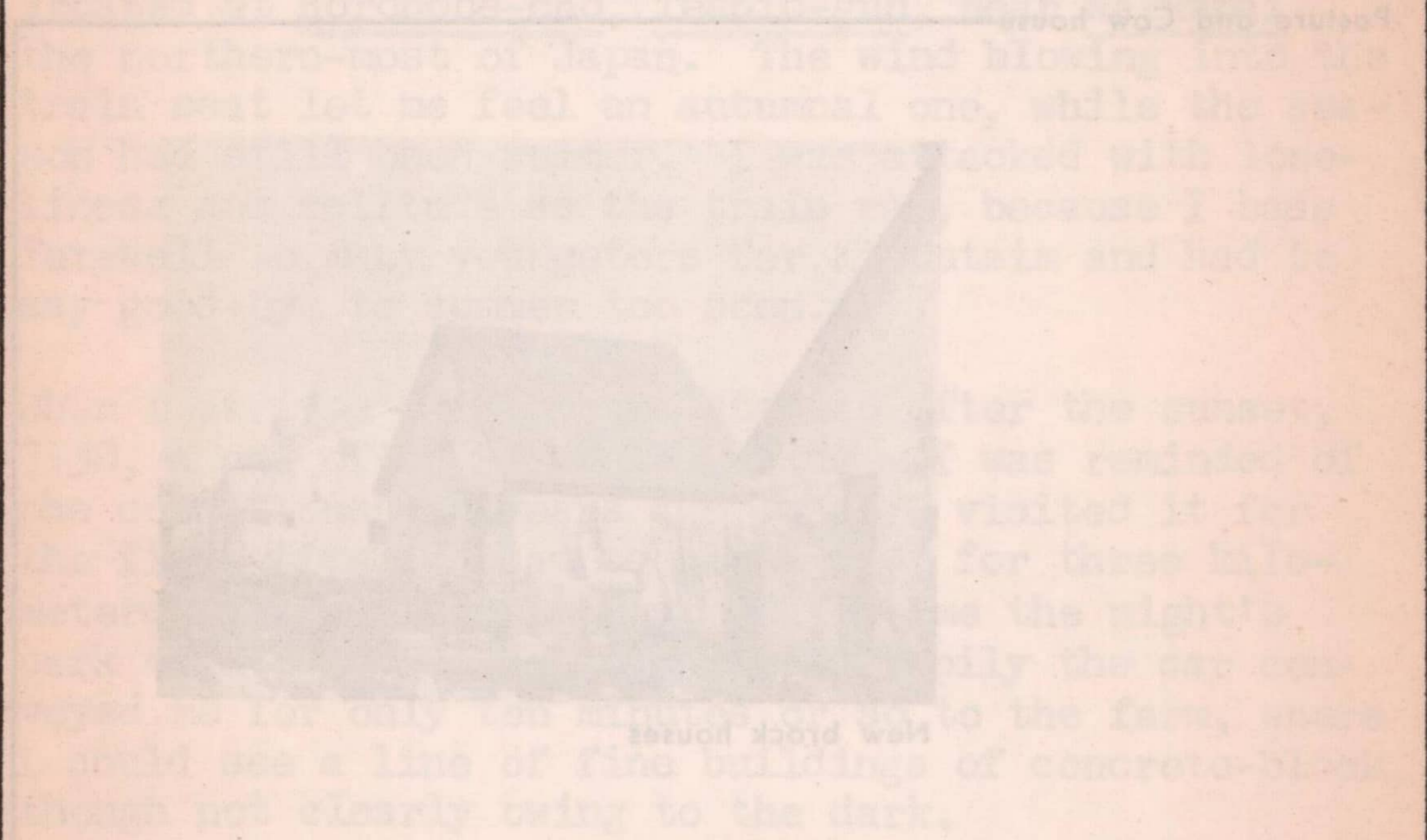
and rich services always lure the rural community (its youngsters as well as adults) away from the culture-backward villages. This is the common anguish of Japanese collectives except Ittoen Settlement, which have no educational institution for their own successors and few high level of cultural atmosphere unlike Israeli Kibbutzim. The case is not exceptional too.

How many children who are exposed to a social climate of the excessive urbaization do resist the latter's influence and do remain in the farm? The answer will depend upon some complex elements: the political structure, the social situation, and the development of the farm in the near future. I feel a hopeful sign among the second generation as mentioned above, and perhaps they will find their own way out of the difficulty as having stood the previous snowstorm.





# 北 斗 農 場



by Zenzo Kusakari

HOKUTO-FARM



Pasture and Cow house



New brock houses



Cmmunal dining room

HOKUTO FARM  
"Japanese Kolkhoz"

Zenzo Kusakari

A PIONEER OF AGRICULTURE-COLLECTIVIZATION IN JAPAN

As soon as I finished the training meeting for the Kibbutzim (Gal-Ed and Givat Hayim - Ichud -) trainees at the Youth Center on August 18th, 1968, I started by train via Asahikawa for Hokuto Farm, where is located at Horonobe-cho, Teshio-gun, near Wakkanai the northern-most of Japan. The wind blowing into the train seat let me feel an autumnal one, while the season had still been summer. I was attacked with loneliness and solitude as the train ran, because I bade farewell to many youngsters for Kibbutzim and had to say good-bye to summer too soon.

When I arrived at Horonobe station after the sunset, 7:30, a car of the farm waited me. I was reminded of the conditions ten years ago, when I visited it for the first time and had to go on foot for three kilometers with asking the way. This time the night's dark might prevent me to do so. Happily the car conveyed me for only ten minutes or so to the farm, where I could see a line of fine buildings of concrete-block, though not clearly owing to the dark.

The office room which I was received into and the communal dining-room which was used to have the projection of color-slides on Israeli Kibbutzim from 8:00 in the evening are very nice different from ten years ago. I spoke well of these points, while Mr. Sumi, a head of the collective, told me modestly that they had been obliged to renew these rooms by the debt borrowed from the Housing Loan Bank. I think, however, the settlement has showed its own dignity of the forerunner in Japanese agriculture-collectivization after they with-

stood against severe snow and wind for these twenty years and rooted their strong basis deeply into the earth of Sarobetsu waste land in Tenpoku region (the far northern part of Hokkaido).

Excluding Ittoen, Atarashiki-mura, and Shinkyō which have been founded before the 2nd War, we have some 400 collectives and 5,000 branch-collectives in Japanese agriculture after the War and have two heralds of those many collectives as follow: one was Shintone-kaikyo which was built in Ibaragi prefecture on April, 1948 and the other was Hokutonojo which was founded on April, 1947. These two settlements have the following two common characters: they were not existing villages but new reclaiming places, and they had to cut their ways through the circumstances of prejudice and misunderstanding which the very collectivisation had been looked upon as Sovietian Communism.

At present they have only eight families and 35 population, but 120 hectares of grass lands have already been cultivated and they have 120 cows; thus they have gone into the black of balance-sheet, getting some 5,600 rough income per family. They managed to reach a stabilizing stage of management after the bitter struggles of such a long years as twenty, for example, their fights against severe winter and the coldest climate, deep peatbeds which their laps were buried during their works, and appearance in succession of those persons who left the farm. The wonderful results, which they achieved with collective power even in the most unfavourable conditions, have encouraged many young collectives and became a find model for those successors, for instance, Maemoriyama Farm, one of them.

LET'S BUILD NEW(TRUE) JAPAN  
UNDER THE TWINKLING GREAT BEAR

Retrospecting the history of the settlement, we have to come back to the period when Japanese were in a state of disorder just after the War. Many villages were filled up with those who wished to return to the farming from overseas services (or soldiers and repatriates). Even the eldest son could not anticipate the secure management of farming in small and narrow cultivated lands, much less the other sons. The case of Nisshin village, suburb of city Nayoro, was of course without exception.

Some youths or persons at the prime of life, who played the leading parts in the area, studied and discussed day by day about the great problems of agricultural revolution in new Japan, for example, modernization of agriculture and democratization of farmers' family life. They showed a strong tendency to start for dairy collective, because they had been stimulated by Matoba's article of agriculture-collective and the example of Kolkhoz appeared in the farming magazine; they also realized no other way except finding out a new reclaiming land and settling down there so as to carry their aim out.

They decided the present place as the fittest after their long journey of seeking for it all over Hokkaido on September, 1946, and made a field investigation November in the same year. On April 27th, 1947, an advance party, the group of seven youngmen settled there, shouldering heavy rucksacks and making their way through the unmelted snow while they were full of hope in the bright future. The development work of the waste land was far more heavier than they expected, nevertheless every night they had vivid discussions pleasantly sitting around the fire of stove till midnight in the thatched hut of triangle style. This

scene reminds us of the foundation period of Israeli Kibbutz Degania.

When they finished hot discussion and looked up at the sky outside the hut, the beautiful Great Bear twinkled as if it had suggested them to start for the hopeful future in spite of present bitter struggles and to become a herald of new Japan. They named the farm "Hokuto" (this Japanese word means the Great Bear) taking after its seven stars as the group also consisted of seven members. It is called "Light from the North" and I dare say the name of the farm also suggested the Struggle in the North (hoku means north and to has another meaning of struggle), when they cut their own way of collectivization through intense cold of the northernmost of Japan, in the depths of poverty and decadence for several years after the War.

The second group (six families) settled on January, 1948 and the farm totalled 13 families. But the communal hut was entirely destroyed by fire in the beginning of April, and unfortunately one was killed and several persons wounded; all of them were dazed so much that they discussed the problem of quitting the farm and of dispersing the group.

All the members recovered their fighting spirits by the encouragement and assistance of all other peoples concerned. In 1949 they built ten dwelling houses and one cow-shed; one tractor was introduced and the works of earth mixed in top soil, drainage, and farm-road building were in progress. The collective was animated with the birth of some babies after several couples were arranged, while a newspaper reported an article headlined "The Red (Communist) Far cannot take a bride."

From 1950 to 1955, the settlement had the two untimely dead and besides four families left the farm owing

to the poor crop brought by cool summers or unseasonable climates, the rising cost of farming materials resulted from Korean Battle, and the poor score of cultivation.

From 1955 to 1965, the farm developed smoothly except the separation of one person (family), who played the main role of foundation and had the leadership, and the reason why he left the farm was to avoid oversettlement. They bought a new large farming machine after another and completed both a large cowshed and silo in addition to them the works of underdrainage and grass-field betterment progressed rapidly. Their way of life improved more than before because of constructing village telephone, electricity, and waterworks.

They won the Living Culture Prize of Hokkaido in 1958, and masscommunications, such as, television, radio, newspaper etc. reported the collective actively, increasing visitors; thus they had to make a booklet "The Record of Hokuto-Nojo" so as to attain the following two aims: to offer convenience for visitors and to save member's work for guide. They also had often social activities, for instance, communication with Maemoriyama Farm, sending a member of town assembly, and participating in the demonstration of milk-cost-up and the World Conference of Prohibitting Atomic-Hydrogen Bomb etc. The balance sheet of 1965 showed some \$3,400 in the black and this figure was most high since the foundation. Those achievements seem to be dreamlike comparing with the beginning several years, when they were distressed by deeper loan.

#### THE OUTLOOK OF THE SETTLEMENT IN THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY

They ran only dairy (cow and grass) since 1962. Their cow won the highest prize of cattle competitive show



in Horonobe region 1966 and their intensive grass land was given recognition for the most excellent one in the competitive exhibition too. The new communal dining room which had been desired for building for a long time was completed in the end of the same year, and the new dwelling houses of eight family also were built in the end of 1967; a series of productive facilities, such as, a tower-style silo of 200 tons grass, cowshed, cow-urine sink, and barnyard-manure place, also were completed. Thus they took place the 20th anniversary festival splendidly in last December.

Some problems in the future are as follow: to cultivate 30 hectares of grass land, to sell superfluous grass, and to improve the quality of collective work (sometimes their works are apt to be irresponsible due to the system of time wages). On the other hand, they have two problems; to beautify their environment, campus including communal dining room and family-house, and to ensure their successors of the collective. Especially the latter problem is most important. Three youths who finished school have got employment in cities of Hokkaido. But the head of the farm told me, that they are not pessimistic about the future of their children because the latter have positive attitude to remain there as the productivity and the level of life have improved, and also they planned the opportunity which their children could consider about their own ways of the future through free discussion.

As you see by the rules of Kolkhoz and the agriculture-policy of Japanese Communist party, which they referred to at the beginning of the foundation, they adopted the joint control of not only farming-work but also dining, bathing, and infant rearing. However, now they quitted the communal bathroom and infant-room, because they need not to have those rooms, that is, each new dwelling house has a bathroom and almost infants have grown up to go to school. Also the communal

dining room is not used during winter, for each family can take three meals by the stove at their own house. Nutritious foods are prepared in menus. Besides, they have a processing mill of wheat flour, bread, and potatoes' starch and this is very convenient for cooking.

They have the following management-organization: general meeting, board of directors, inspector's meeting, special committee, and managerial conference; the board of directors has the following five sections: farming, stock raising, special work, women, and secretariat. All sections and meetings are operated by the democratic method, that is, every problem is solved by the discussion of all members concerned. They have the managerial conference once a month and also each part meeting of men and women thrice a month, in which they talk mainly on the managerial problem and its point of view etc. The general meeting takes place once a year, and last year they had an earnest talking on the following problems for the total eight days: the site for dwelling houses, electricity work, cowshed building, the problem of their successor, and a long-range plan of farm management.

We know through the farm's rules and the booklet "The Record of Hokuto-Nojo" that they aim to enjoy the healthy and cultural standard of farmers' life as well as townsmen by its collective system.

They will, however, be able to have neither medical facilities or cultural and recreation ones by the collective of only eight families, while the prompt advance of city-life level is enough to attract their younger generation to city. The next task of Hokuto settlement is to solve these difficult problems on the basis of the first stage success for past twenty years.

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# ヤマギシズム 北 試

by Zenzo Kusakari

YAMAGISHI-ISM SHIKENJŌ



stock farm and cowshed



after the work



dinner in festival

YAMAGISHI-ISM SHIKENJO IN HOKKAIDO,  
"THE COLLECTIVE EXTENDING VISION"

Zenzo Kusakari

TO PILOT FARM

When you visit the eastern part of Hokkaido, you will hear the sea roar of Okhotsk Sea from the north and the distant roar of the Pacific from the south, getting a distant view of the peaks of Mt. Akan towards the northwest beyond the green horizon, which spreads out endlessly and has a hidden rich future. This great plain is closed with a heavy fog in spring and is changed into a kind of "tundra" in winter; the vast field (or a waste land) extends the longitudinal length of 50 kilometers and the sidelong breadth of 60 kilometers, has been mixed with volcanic ashes and peatmoss, and once was the typical barren soil of "Cold Hokkaido", from where human beings had been kept off.

The period of one hundred has, however, gradually altered the "Kon-Sen" fields; and Branden, a poet of England, who visited Hokkaido after the War, predicted that the land would produce a new type of Japanese. It had still the uncultivated land (possibility of reclamation) of 300,000 hectares and was in 1956 embarked on the enterprise of machine-cultivation with the loan of the World Bank, which had surveyed the land in 1954. More than ten years passed since then, and the Kon-Sen Pilot Farm (P.F.) of some 7,000 hectares has at last been changed into a grand dairy community.

During these years one group of six youngsters came here from Kansai (the western section of Honshu) in order to establish a base for the purpose of founding an ideal society. Being shaken on a wagon with a lot

of household articles, the group arrived in the new land June 8, 1959. Thus, has Yamagishi-ism Hokkaido Shiken-jo (Test-Farm) taken its root in Tokotan No.1, Betsukai-mura, Notsuke-gun, Hokkaido. (tel. Nakashunbetsu 8357) They had a grand ceremony and festival of harvest as a memory of the tenth anniversary this summer.

You can reach the farm through the following two courses: If you take the train for Nemuro, the final station of Nemuro line, from Kushiro and change at Attoko after two hours, you will see, through both side of the train's window, beautiful woods of white birch on the extensive fields till you arrive at Shunbetsu station of Shibetsu line (in 40 - 50 minutes). After you get off the train, you will probably take a car sent to meet from the farm and in 15 minutes will get to its office just after finding a glitter roof of large cowshed\* (100 cows) on your right side. You may take another course from Kushiro to Shunbetsu, via Shibeche of Senmo line and Nakashibetsu of Shibetsu line (two times changes).

#### YAMAGISHI-ISM MOVEMENT

Formally this farm is one of some collective (only in the dairy production) groups in P.F., but as a matter of fact it is charged with a mission as the Branch of Yamagishi-ism Centre and forms a link in the chain of the Yamagishi-ism Movement for building an ideal world. Therefore we have to survey the Movement (or Yamagishi-kai) in the first place.

Yamagishi-kai has been organized with the 1st Special Training Meeting (Tokubetsu-Koshu-Kensan-kai) as a turning point by those members, who participated in the Meeting (one week) January, 1956 and sympathized with the thought and its methodological principle of Miyozo Yamagishi, the suggester; afterwards its sym-

pathizers rapidly increased in the districts of Kansai.

July in 1958, the Yamagishi-method-Chicken Farm (Yamagishi-kai-shi-ki Hyakumanba Kagaku-Kogyo Yokei K.K.) planned by Yamagishi started: more than 300 participants and its capital of some \$84,000. The headquarters of Yamagishi-kai also was moved to the place (Kawahigashi 555, Iga-cho, Ayama-gun, Mie-ken, tel. Kasuga 154) June, 1959, and thus the movement had a close contact with the farm, organically being operated. The event which occurred there after one month (so-called "Yamagishi-kai Jiken") brought many seceders from both the movement and the farm, because they were oppressed by the local authorities and were also misunderstood with some journalistic false-reports. Of course it influenced the branch in Hokkaido and the latter's members were exposed to many severe trials.

The main members' liberation from the prison and the recommencement of the leader's (Yamagishi's) open activity resumed its previous liveliness. Yamagishi-ism Chuoo-Shikenjo (Central Test Farm) was set up at the same place with the headquarters, while more than 30 Show-Stations (Yamagishi-ism Seikatsu-Jikkenchi) were founded all over the country. Concerning the show-stations, the government's policy of agriculture-reconstruction after 1960 seems to have given favourable conditions for establishing many agricultural collectives and also for the former. But Yamagishi died at his staying place on a journey for the movement May 4th, 1961. On the other hand, the wave of agricultural collectivization calmed down, while the times of urbanization appeared as the industry remarkably advanced. These circumstances prevented the extension of Yamagishi-ism show-stations and some of them resolved one after another; at present some fifteen have remained.

Among the Yamagishi-ism collectives, the center



test farm adopts a complete collective way of life (ittai-seikatsu in Yamagishistic term) and has the largest scale, and Hokkaido branch represents its small one. In the center farm, about 60 families (200 population) live on the income of chicken and pigs, cultivating some 20 hectares woods; most of its members hold additional posts of the movement' organizations (i.e. Central Institution of Co-ordination, Kansan School, Construction Institute of Show Station, etc.) Like Israeli Kibbutz all their properties belong to the farm; (strictly speaking, according to their doctrine, they have no property) there are communal dining room, houses, clothing room, and a kindergarten (including a nursery), but no school. Infants sleep with their parents and children of primary school and secondary one live in the separate house (Gakuiku branch).

The preoccupations of members mostly were farmers, and others, in descending order of frequency (the data in 1963), were: students, marchants and craftsmen, public servants, members of companies, and teachers. Most of them belonged to the middle class and we seldom found those who joined it as the results of poverty. The aims of their participation were as follow: nearly half of them intend to establish an ideal collective settlement, and other, in the same order, to spread an industrial chicken-raising, to ensure the future welfare of their children, to inquire the unknown world, to obey their husbands' will, to follow their sons, and to marry.

The purpose or character of the farm is "to inquire (kansan suru) fundamentally, to test and study, without being trapped by all subjectivity or stereotypes, all the matters which extend from testing the method of radical and pacific revolution to change the modern society rapidly into the Yamagishi-ism one, . . . ." by the data of the farm. They offer, there-

fore, themselves as guinea pigs to the aim of this test. It is, however, next to impossible for them to accomplish the purpose, with too limited members, systems, mechanism, and financial circumstances in the present time; they are always too busy and tired owing to the shortage of manpower, or overwork.

Comparing with the farm, the show-stations aim to show or realise the result of kensan (a kind of Group Dynamics, I will explain later) as some true matters (not only as an idea), and thus they should be model settlements or demonstration-farms which are prosperous both physically and spiritually. But most of them have not yet reached the stage of real show-stations and only a few of them has been opened to public. Referring to 13 ones which responses I could get to my questionnaires, they have dottedly been established in the midst of existing villages or towns over the country, from 1961 to 1964, by the local members of the movement. All the population is about 700 (80 families) and each collective has 2 - 10 families (less than 5 families and 22 persons per one on the average); each has only 3 hectares on its average areas and they run mainly chicken, pig, orange and rice. Their rough incomes are classified from more than \$11,000 per family to less than \$3,000, having pretty loan from government and other financial system.

In order to build those collectives, all responses reported that, they had kensan (Tokko of one week, Kensan-gakko of two weeks, and other several kinds of kensan) for a long time (more than one month at least) before their starting, and afterwards have continued kensan for improving their managements; those preparations might be unavoidable for Japanese farmers who were extremely conversative and individualistic. However, at present they are probably considering that their small "islands" will not be able to prevent

themselves from the huge waves of individualistic, capitalistic tendency toward city-private way of life; thus they need more members, more farm-areas, and more financial supports from government, while these elements are correlative with each other.

### YAMAGISHI-ISM AND THE KENSAN

When we consider the achievements of many collectives and their federation in the movement which can find few of Japanese settlements, we need to know an outline of the idea (or ism) and its methodological principle (or kensan) at this point.

What is Yamagishi-ism? It is not so easy for us to get a general idea of the ism. There are several viewpoints as follow: a primitive democracy, an ism-less ism, a faith without faith, and scientific Zen. The thought-contents or-systems of Yamagishi himself seemed to be pretty complex; they say he studied Anarchism, marxism, Zen, and other (for instance, Tenri-ism, Ittoenism etc.), but it was not always sure. Anyway his ideas, I think, was so unique that he himself called no fit name except Yamagishi-ism, and besides as the last words he uttered, "I am extremely sorry I have to pass away without any person to understand the very essence of my true thought!"

He described the following words in his unpublished books: "Most strictly and clearly speaking, Yamagishi-ism world is the world of truth and sincerity . . ." and ". . . I desire, from the bottom of my heart, to realize a socialistic society with love, which is rich both materially and morally, together." Through these words, I suppose his thought belonged to the stream of idealism and was the Buberian's "human" socialism. We believe, through his other words "brain change which replaces violence with intelligence and harmony", it stressed human remaking as well as social reconst-

ruction.

At any rate its character is never fixed but exceedingly dynamic, and always flexible and progressive toward the truth. We should especially note that it tries to avoid as much as possible the risk which many ordinary ideologies and conventional religions have been apt to fall into dogmatism or stereotyped ideas and to degrade. They say the essence of the ism is to view the world as one body, which has no fixation, no boundary, and no ownership (communal use, joint life and to make the best of all together).

I suppose, however, this idea is not necessarily unique only in Yamagishi-ism but it is "kensan" as its methodological principle for realization that we have to pay attention to. In the kensan, "life" (the soul) of Yamagishi-ism pulses vividly, and we can closely approach the reality of Yamagishi-ism through it, I believe.

What is the kensan? It is extremely difficult for us to represent it objectively, though it is not impossible. We cannot at least understand it without our experience of participation; nevertheless we will be unable to objectify it if we should really participate in it. This is a dilemma not to be solved, but we will be able to tell you about our impressions and only its outline. I will write them by an example of the special training meeting (one week) for introduction, which is called "tokko".

aaa All participants have the same board and room and hold group-free talkings on the same ground (none of special person, such as so-called "leader", teacher, speaker or lecturer, except some persons in charge of taking care); as the meeting\*\* goes day by day, their intimate feelings are gradually moved into a kind of united one. These functions and styles do exceeding-

ly resemble the process of the non-directive counselling by C. Rogers and the group counselling, that is, rapport (intimate relation) - liberation - insight (personality-change). They also look like "rogotherapy" by V.E. Franckle, because all participants examine themselves thoroughly according to some theme presented by kakari (person in charge) and try to bore the bottom of human existence deeply (or existence-analysis).

Yamagishi, the suggester, mentioned in his materials of Kensan, "We had better mutually search the truth and the method for grasping it rather really and philosophically than to be instructed; thus the kensan is a kind of practical philosophy for the peoples, who have had few opportunity of thinking and no method how they consider, and it is called as a Socratic method in the popular level. By my first impression it was received as a Japanese edition of "Group Dynamics" by K. Levin or a modern style of "Imokoji" (discussion in Hotoku) by Sontoku Ninomiya.

Kensan is, however, not only a method or a methodological principle but also means a aim-principle. The contents of kensan are generally changeable, depending upon the time, the place and the participant. Tokko-kensan has already gone through more than 5,000th times, and, extremely speaking, each kensan is different from another. But the base, rule and goal of kensan are at least as follows.

1. To become a person of no-anger under any and every situation.
2. To stand at the Zero Point.

To not be trapped by subjectivity or stereotypes - such as knowledge, experience, emotion (including anger), ideology, custom, morality, common sense, faith, property, position, fame, family, education, occupation, ego, etc. - but

to understand all things by observing, reflecting, and by practising kensan.

3. To know that Kensan is the way to bring true happiness and to practice it.
4. To know the truth that self and others are one, and to realize that this is the fundamental principle of the true society filled with happiness and love.
5. To vow to prosper together with all men.  
To examine whether or not our thoughts and deeds will finally contribute to the eternal happiness and prosperity of that community which includes all of us and to be not trapped by results valid only for our age and our circumstances.

(note: I owe these English translation to Professor D. W. Plath.)

No positive research on the results of kensan has yet been done. But I recognized the following facts by my participant-observations of some dozen times. Some 80 - 90% of participants seemed to feel a certain degree of their ownself's mental change. At least they fully realised the necessity of real conversation based upon the true listening to each other (liberation from clinging to his ownself's opinion), while an ordinary conversation is apt to conflict with a rival view, in spite of the dialogue, which means the fundamental element for good human relation, and they became sorts of person who do not quarrel with others at the time of dialogue.

However, for the purpose of liberating both matter and mind for the complete collective (hanashi-ai - dialogue - means "liberating oneself from restriction mutually" in Japanese), they need furthermore higher level of kensan. I have had no follow-up-study strict-

ly about the rate of real change in kensan, but I will be able to estimate that the latter is 5%, if the total participants since the 1st tokko are supposed some 10,000 and the real members of collectives are some 500. Concerning the universal validity of kensan for foreigners except South Korean, it is not yet unknown owing to the obstacle of language, but we cannot deny some influence to Japanese, at least, Japanese farmers and students. I like to confirm the results of kensan or Yamagishi-ism movement through a general view of the reality of Hokkaido Farm as the representative of both character of test-and-show-farm among the Yamagishi-ism collectives which have been built by the kensan-method.

UNDER THE NORTH STAR TWINKLING  
IN THE FREEZING NIGHT SKY

Hokkaido Test Farm has just ten years' history and is the youngest complete collective among the Japanese ones, but the story of bitter struggle concealed in the short career was very dramatic.

As the farm was founded with the help of government's funds and its plan, the Yamagishikai event in the headquarters, which occurred only one month after its settlement, continued to have given heavy blows to the farm for a long time afterwards. Their struggles against physical circumstances, especially keen coldness, rather more than the social ones mentioned above, might be compare with those of some Kibbutzim of Negev (in Israel) which have fought against the intense heat of the desert for their settling.

An Israeli ambassador in Japan, who once visited the Kosen plain (including Pilot Farm), humourously told us, "I like to exchange Negev for this plain!" In addition to pretty better conditions of land than Negev, the farm is never exposed to the Arabic attack

too. In this meaning, the settlements is more favourable than Kibbutzim in Negev, but the governmental or public supports, which have been invested in the former for establishing its basis and its buildings, have been very poor out of comparison with the case of the latter.

Five families who settled at the beginning had came from Kansai and Shikoku, where all of them had lived under the bright sun of the southern region. Afterwards, many Yamagishists, who were Kansai by origin, came in and out as its population increased, but finally they could not settle down and came back to their native land except only one family (who settled at first), though there were other reasons besides the coldest climate. Accordingly, the absolute majority of the present population (total: 63, 12 families and 5 bachelors) have come from the northern section of Japan (north of Tokyo, especially Hokkaido) and they have strong wills and bodies, which were trained right in the midst of the severest winter. It was not so easy for Yamagishists of kensan-training to be able to endure enough throughout the hard settling of such the coldest region.

The authorities' misunderstanding and pressure originated from the Yamagishi-kai "event" actually menaced the very operation of the farm, by the means of stopping \$20,000 loan for the introduction of cows in 1962, when the third year passed after settling. This meant for them to give up the collective, for they could live only on milk-cows. Successively in the next year, they were again attacked by the communicable disease of cows (brucellosis) as well as other farmers in the same district (P.F.); particularly the farm suffered heavily on account of the collective raising of cows, and they killed 28 cows of genuine cases, clearing all of the remaining 42 cows and 1,500 chicken.



The farm, which completely lost the running means of agriculture, could not find out any other way except disorganization. As a matter of fact, the Central Co-ordination Institute of the movement-headquarters was forced in the kensan to admit that its dissolution would not be able to be helped. The farm-members were temporarily discouraged in spite of themselves; however, they regained their former spirits they had started from non-property (zero-point) as their kensan was going. They made their fresh start with the following concrete labours: the packing and selling of remaining grasses, all men's working at Ashibetsu coal away from home, and most of women's working at other shops or houses away from home. They had not got used to the mine work especially and the work was very dangerous too; but all of them safely came home in April.

Afterwards, the grass-packing factory's destruction by fire and other troubles have they suffered, but these difficulties were no matter for those who cut through all bitter trials of life. Of those days a dozen collectives were established by taking advantage of the times in P. F. too, and they were supported by the authorities in a marked contrast with the farm-case and were splendidly reported by journalism; nevertheless, all of them dissolved or collapsed today. It was a miracle that the farm has survived while they had the desperate circumstances to break up first of all. At present all the members are strongly united in mind and the authorities' reliance on them has risen; the psychological atmosphere around the farm has turned in their favor and many inspectors or trainees in and out visit the farm in search of vision extending over the plain.

They have 336 hectares (cultivated areas 195 hectares), 250 hectares which is expected to be cultivated, in the separate place, and 188 hectares of them - fodder\*\*\*and 5 hectares -beets and 1 hectares -vegetables.

They also have more than 200 cows (120 milking one) and some 500 tons a year, ranking the first class in Nemuro district. Their rough income is some \$75,000 and agricultural income is some \$28,000; their level of life becomes better comparatively.

We need not to tell you that the farm has a communal dining room,\*\*\*laundry, bathroom and nursery, but their sizes are small and their equipments are extremely simple in comparison with those of deluxe Kibbutzim, being called as "early day's kibbutz" by some visitors from Israel. There are few cultural-institutes and-activities except the kensan-room and-meetings; but monthly mimeograph-papers and a harvest-festival in summer, which have been inaugurated this year, may be developed as unique culture-activities hereafter.

The kensan takes place as occasion calls and its regular system for management is the following seven sections:

1. the good friends kensan: all members are divided in three groups and each group selects three management-committees.
2. the management kensan: nine management-committees and five general managers (who are elected at the general assembly, basing on the recommendation of the formers) decide some fundamental policies for management.
3. the general managers (five members) kensan: they try to realize those matters which the management kensan has decided.
4. the personnel general managers (three members) kensan: they cover the ceremony of grown-up, marriage, funeral and ancestral worship, and all the other human affairs.
5. the financial general managers (two members) kensan: they cover all the efficient use of property.
6. the each branch kensan: it studies and makes

practical uses of the function, which is committed.

7. the general assembly kensan: all members attend, and examine and approve some plans which are proposed by the management committees and general managers; this kensan (meeting) also is to inquire and realize all the conditions of human welfare.

The organisation of management is the following: all members belong to some of these branches; the personnel section has five branches (kensan, movement, education, work-arrangement and general affairs) and economical section has six branches (treasurer, cow, farming, machine, grass-packing and living). except the entrusted matters of general managers (public relations, medical care, marriage and death).

Every half a year term of these services automatically expires and thus none of them can hold any authority or prestige, while they have another safety valve of non-wage or non-property in order to defend their equality or democratic way of life. In addition to these systems, all of managements are decided by the kensan method that all members have to agree, different from a majority vote, and are operated in accordance with common will of all members, which respects an individual opinion at the same time.

The real effects of its movement and kensan, which has got over many difficulties, will finally be tested by the present social climate (the excessive urbanization) concerning its power of resistance and development.