



The Administration of Japan's Pacific Mandate

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The Administration of Japan's Pacific Mandate. The territory under Japanese mandate comprises the former German colonial possessions in the Pacific Ocean lying north of the equator. This region is made up of three main groups of islands, the Marshall, the Mariana, and the Caroline, having a total estimated land area of approximately 800 square miles. Included in these groups are more than 1,400 islets, reefs, and atolls stretching across the Pacific from 130 longitude east to 175 longitude east, and from the equator to 22 latitude north. Lying west of Hawaii, east of the Philippines, and south of Japan, many of these islands are near the steamship lanes running from the Hawaiian Islands to Guam and to the Philippines.

A recent census shows that there are more than 60,000 inhabitants in the territory under Japanese mandate, about four-fifths being natives.¹ More than 12,000 Japanese have gone to the islands, as well as a few Europeans and Americans. The Japanese, for the most part, are engaged in agricultural or commercial pursuits or are government officials, while the Occidental population is made up mostly of missionaries. Racially, it is believed that the natives come within the Micronesian or Polynesian classification, although in many instances the racial strain is not pure.

Prior to 1914, the Japanese had few interests of importance in these islands. Occasional tramp steamers, trading vessels, or fishing boats from Japan sometimes visited them, but no regular trade relations existed. When, however, the World War broke out, Japan lost no time in sending a naval squadron to the islands, and, with comparative ease, she obtained control of them in October, 1914. At the time, the Tokio government explained that the seizure of the islands was only temporary, for military purposes, and that Japan had no desire to keep them.² Later events indicate, however, that these mere dots in the Pacific took on an increased value in Japanese eyes; certainly, once having secured control of them, the conqueror was loath to give them up.

Before the entrance of the United States into the war, Japan had

¹ *Official Report of the Japanese Government to the League of Nations for 1928*, p. 117.

² *New York Times*, October 8, 1914.

already made attempts to conclude agreements with some of the Allied Powers which would guarantee to her certain territories at the time when a peace conference should be held. A series of communications with the governments of England, France, Italy, and Russia in the early part of 1917 secured the support of these powers for future Japanese claims, in return for certain minor concessions on the part of Japan. That Japan should seek territorial acquisitions in the Pacific area was but natural, and undoubtedly the idea of being rewarded for participation in the war by this means appealed strongly to the Japanese. In the writings of one who has been a spokesman for Japan in the western world in recent years, we find that he believed the reasons prompting the Japanese to seek annexation of the German islands in the north Pacific to have been based largely upon pride and economic considerations.³ Japan wanted more colonies for the sake of the prestige accompanying such expansion. Furthermore, these islands would permit of some settlement and thereby give a few Japanese an opportunity to escape the crowded conditions in Japan proper. Another reason for an annexationist sentiment was that the possession of the islands was regarded as necessary for strategic purposes. Wartime utterances in the Japanese press showed that a certain section of public opinion believed that they would afford "a series of excellent naval bases," inasmuch as they "intercept the American line of communication with their naval bases," and would be of untold value to Japan "in the struggle for the mastery of the Pacific."⁴ At the time of the peace conference, it undoubtedly was Japanese pride, together with the strategic importance of the islands, that caused Baron Makino to insist that Japan be given control over these former enemy possessions.

At Paris in 1919, Japan, along with the other powers, finally accepted President Wilson's proposal for a system of mandates under the jurisdiction of an agency of the League of Nations. It was at meetings of the Allied Supreme Council on May 6 and 7, 1919, that a decision was reached awarding the German possessions in the Pacific, north of the equator, to Japan. A misunderstanding between the United States and Japan grew out of these meetings, because President Wilson claimed to have asked that the island of Yap be excluded from the allotment to Japan, although the official minutes of the meetings con-

³ K. K. Kawakami, *Japan and World Peace* (New York, 1919), pp. 63-71.

⁴ For a more complete discussion, see G. H. Blakeslee, "Japan's New Island Possessions," *Journal of International Relations*, XII, pp. 173-191.

tained no such request. The award included Yap, and when this fact was brought officially to its attention, the government of the United States protested vigorously. The Yap controversy was finally settled in a treaty between the two powers, signed at Washington on February 11, 1922, which disposed of differences between the two governments in regard not only to Yap but to the mandate as a whole.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Japan's control over these islands as a mandatory power under the League forms a "sacred trust of civilization." The islands are a class "C" mandate, i.e., one of those, "which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory." On December 17, 1920, the Council of the League approved the official award of the mandate to Japan. In this draft mandate are found certain limitations upon Japan's freedom of action. The mandatory must "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory." Forced labor, except under certain conditions, and the slave trade are to be prohibited. Traffic in arms and ammunition must be controlled, as must be the sale of intoxicating liquors. "No military or naval bases shall be established or fortifications erected" in the mandated territories, and the "military training of the natives, otherwise than for the purpose of internal police and the local defense of the territory, shall be prohibited." Further, freedom of conscience and worship must be permitted, and missionaries must be allowed to carry on their work in the territory, provided public peace and morals are not disturbed thereby. Japan has agreed to "make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information with regard to the territory, and indicating the measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed under" provisions of the mandate.

When Japan gained control of these former German possessions, late in 1914, military government was immediately established. On December 28, a reorganization of the government of the islands took place, and they were put under the control of a provisional naval garrison. Headquarters were established on the island of Truk, with six subordinate offices located at Saipan, Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and

Jaluit.⁵ In July, 1918, a civil administrative department was established, although the commander of the naval garrison still remained in charge.⁶ The only important change brought about at this time was the substitution of civilian officers for naval officers in the six branch offices. In March, 1922, an imperial decree created a South Seas Bureau, which is the organization now in charge of the administration of the islands. This bureau has its main office in Korrör, one of the islands in the Caroline group; and the civil administrative stations which were established in 1918 have been replaced by branch bureaus in the same locations. The South Seas Bureau is divided into many different sections and sub-bureaus, each of which has its own particular functions.⁷ According to recent figures, the personnel necessary to carry out the work of the administrative system members over 600; and very few of the positions are held by natives.

The director of the South Seas Bureau is the chief official of the Japanese government in the mandated territory. He is responsible for the administration of the islands to the prime minister of Japan, who supervises the work through the Overseas Affairs Department. In exercising certain functions, the director is subject also to orders from the minister of communications, the minister for finance, and the minister for commerce and agriculture. The director may issue administrative regulations in the islands; and these orders carry penal clauses impos-

⁵ *Second Annual Report of Japanese Government to the League of Nations*, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The arrangement is as follows:

Director's Secretariat	Affiliated Offices
1. General Affairs Section	1. Branch Bureaus
2. Financial Affairs Section	2. Primary Schools and their Branches
3. Police Affairs Section	3. Public Schools
4. Economic Development Affairs Section	4. Apprentice-Woodworkers' Training School
5. Communications Affairs Section	5. Courts of Justice
6. Saipan Harbor Works Office	a. Higher Court
	Public Procurator's Office in Higher Court
	b. Lower Courts
	Public Procurator's Office in Lower Courts
	6. Industrial Experiment Station
	7. Mining Station
	8. Hospitals and their Branches
	9. Post Offices
	10. Meteorological Observatory

ing imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year or fines not exceeding 200 yen. In some cases of emergency, the director may issue orders with heavier penalties. But to remain effective such regulations require the approval of the prime minister.⁸ Legally, the director has the power to issue certain orders. But in practice these are of minor importance, all matters of major importance being dealt with by imperial ordinances.⁹ Although the terms of the "C" draft mandates provide that the territories in the "C" classification may be administered as portions of the territory of the mandatory, the Japanese government has usually applied special laws, apart from the general laws of Japan, in the mandated islands.¹⁰

Scattered through the islands are the six branch bureaus of the main office. These offices are concerned mostly with local administration, some of the functions falling within their jurisdiction being problems and duties in connection with the census, the police, the collection of taxes, and hygiene.¹¹ Each of the branch bureaus has a head who administers laws and regulations in the district under his jurisdiction. These heads come under the superintendence of the director of the main office at Korrora. Under certain circumstances, or when local conditions justify such action, the branch bureau heads may issue orders which have the force of law. These orders may not, however, have penal clauses attached to them. Regulations promulgated by the bureau heads may be suspended by the director if found in conflict with laws and regulations already in force, or if they are contrary to public welfare, or if they go beyond the authority of the person issuing them.¹² In certain civil disputes between individuals, the heads of the branch bureaus may act as arbitrators, which gives them some judicial power in addition to their other functions.

Village governments have been created under each branch bureau, the head officers in such units being village chiefs; and the positions are usually filled by natives. These officers are appointed and dismissed by the head of the branch bureau for the district, with the sanction of the director of the South Seas Bureau. The village chiefs aid in the

⁸ *Official Report of the Japanese Government to the League of Nations for 1927*, p. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 12*, p. 46.

¹¹ *Report for 1927*, p. 12.

¹² *Official Report of the Japanese Government to the League of Nations for 1925*, p. 26.

execution of laws and regulations by disseminating knowledge of them among the natives. They are required to submit reports and opinions concerning the administration of their local units to the head of the branch bureau over them. On the whole, it has been found that the use of these native officers has been an asset in carrying on the administration of the islands. Their prestige in the local community makes the problem of law enforcement easier for Japanese officials.

With the withdrawal of the naval forces from the islands in 1922, it became necessary to organize an efficient police system. No uniform or detailed police regulations have been drawn up to be enforced in all of the islands, because the varying customs of the many different tribes made it seem best to deal with minor local disturbances as the situation demanded. Regulations to apply to major disturbances, and to the more important problems of law enforcement, have been promulgated, and apply uniformly in all of the islands. Native policemen aid in the work of the police force and have jurisdiction over Japanese and foreigners as well as over fellow natives.

Prior to 1922, the administrative officials representing the Japanese government also served as the judiciary; but with the creation of the South Seas Bureau, a higher court and three lower courts have been established. In accordance with regulations issued in January, 1923, the civil code, commercial code, criminal code, code of civil procedure, and code of criminal procedure of Japan have been applied *mutatis mutandis* in the islands.¹³ Not all portions of the Japanese legal codes can be strictly applied, and the principal matters for which special provisions are enacted as exceptions to the legal codes of the Empire relate to certain civil cases in which natives alone are involved. In many such cases, it has been deemed best to take into consideration native practices and native customs. In criminal cases, however, the criminal code of Japan is applied regardless of the race or status of the persons concerned.

The lower courts operate on a single judge system, there being no jury trial in the islands, and give decisions on civil and criminal cases in the first instance. These courts are located at Palau, Saipan, and Ponape. The court of second instance, or the higher court, reviews cases on appeal from the judgments of the courts of first instance. The three judges constituting the bench in the higher court render final decisions. Judges appointed to this court are selected from among persons having

¹³ *Report for 1923*, p. 23.

qualifications to hold similar offices in Japan proper. Attached to each of the courts is a public procurator's office which "directs and superintends the detection of offenders, brings judicial proceedings before the courts, and directs and superintends the execution of judgments rendered."¹⁴ Police inspectors and police sergeants aid the public procurators in carrying out their duties. Branch bureau heads, it will be remembered, have judicial functions in addition to their administrative work. In certain civil cases, they may hear statements of the litigants and may take evidence, pronouncing judgment without bringing up the case for a formal trial. These decisions are known as "summary judgments," and if the accused is dissatisfied with the decision he may apply for a formal trial before the courts of first instance. Branch bureau heads may also delegate a portion of their judicial authority to the village chiefs. The vesting of some judicial power in these officers is in accordance with native tradition, for in many villages it is still the custom to regard the chief as the highest governing authority.¹⁵

When the complex problems constantly arising in the attempt to apply a new system of government to a population of backward and primitive people are taken into consideration, it may be said that the number of legal cases arising in the islands is very small. Individuals may be punished only for violation of a definite legal provision. Penalties, of course, vary with the nature of the offense, but they may be a death sentence, penal servitude for life, penal servitude, imprisonment, detention, or fine. By far the most common offenses dealt with by the courts and administrative officials are in connection with gambling, larceny, battery, liquor violations, and violations of the fishing regulations.¹⁶

In connection with the public finances of the mandate, we find that the excess of the total revenue derived from the islands each year over the total expenditures made in the islands is greater than the subsidy which is granted to the South Seas Bureau annually by the Japanese government. The government of Japan continues to grant subsidies to the islands, although the amounts have been reduced from what they were in the early days of the bureau. Recently, the Permanent Mandates Commission has become interested in knowing what the Japanese government intends to do with the surplus occurring in the budget each

¹⁴ *Report for 1927*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 5*, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Report for 1927*, p. 22.

year.¹⁷ The accredited representative of the Japanese government has explained to the members of the commission that this surplus might be only a temporary thing and that, in the future, larger subsidies might have to be granted again. At the present time, the surplus is carried forward each year and placed in the revenue side of the budget for the following year. The Japanese authorities usually try to have the expenditures equal the revenue, but in recent years they have been conservative, both in estimating the revenue and in planning the expenditures. The Permanent Mandates Commission has taken the position that any surplus occurring in the administration of the islands should be used for the welfare of the natives, and the Japanese representative to the meetings of the Commission has agreed.

The total expenditures in the islands were over 6,000,000 yen in 1922, a sum that has not been equalled since that time. The average annual expenditure in the past few years has been almost 4,000,000 yen. The largest subsidy granted to the islands was in 1922, and amounted to 5,239,960 yen. Since 1924, the annual subsidy has been 1,800,000 yen. The total revenue from the islands each year has been increasing since 1923, the latest figures showing that the income derived from them is about 8,000,000 yen. The budget for the mandate must be approved by the Imperial Japanese Diet, even though the finances for the islands are separate from the budget of the Japanese government. By far the greatest sums are being spent for salaries of the many officials, office expenses, mining projects, communications, and industrial experiments. The main sources of revenue are the taxes of various kinds and the profits derived from the sale of phosphate. There are four different kinds of taxes—a poll tax, a mining tax, port clearance dues, and customs duties, the first two being direct taxes, while the last two affect the people indirectly. The order of tax income from the greatest to the smallest in amount is port clearance dues, revenue from the poll tax, customs, and, of very small consequence, the mining tax. These taxes are collected by the heads of the branch bureaus. Port clearance dues are levied on certain articles exported from the islands to Japan; while the poll tax is placed upon both natives and non-natives, with very few exceptions.

Japan has set about the economic and social development of her mandate with considerable vigor. The authorities have undertaken to develop the resources of the islands, not only by making use of the

¹⁷ *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 14, p. 273.*

products found there heretofore, but by conducting investigations in order to determine what new commodities might be produced. An industrial experiment station has been established under the direction of the South Seas Bureau, and its investigations have given satisfactory results. For example, it has been found that forest woods suitable for planting in the islands are teak, Ceylon, cinnamon, ironwood, rosewood, and mahogany.¹⁸ None of these woods has been of any commercial value in the islands in the past; but with scientific planting and care, valuable sources of supply for the future may be built up. Investigation has revealed also that coffee may be grown in certain of the archipelagoes, and since 1927 the Japanese government, through the South Seas Bureau, has been giving grants-in-aid to encourage planting it. In addition to itself conducting investigations for the purpose of learning what additional resources may be developed, the government has actively encouraged both Japanese and natives along these lines by the grant of subsidies. Considerable money has been spent to aid in the growing of sugar cane, cotton, tobacco, hemp, and palm trees.

Only about one-third of the land area of the mandate, or approximately 70,000 hectares, is regarded as being suitable for cultivation, and not all of this has as yet been put into use. Of agricultural products, sugar is by far the most important.¹⁹ The industry is under private management, and is growing rapidly, due largely to the generous grants-in-aid given by the government. From the molasses of the sugar cane, considerable alcohol also is produced.

In the development of mineral resources, as in the encouragement of agriculture, the Germans had made a start; but real strides were not taken until the Japanese obtained control. The minerals found are sulphur, manganese, and phosphate, the latter being of much the greatest importance. The operation of the phosphate mines is a government enterprise, and a mining station has been established under the control of the South Seas Bureau to carry out this work. Since 1917, an annual average of about 60,000 tons of refined phosphate has been exported from the archipelagoes.²⁰

Along with the development of the natural resources of the mandated territory has gone the establishment of regular steamship service

¹⁸ *Report for 1925*, p. 60.

¹⁹ *Report for 1927*, p. 82.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

between the islands and Japan. This has been accomplished by granting subsidies to steamship companies. Improvement in communication facilities has been marked; several powerful wireless stations have been built, a telegraph service links certain of the islands, some highways have been built, and a postal system has been established.²¹ There are no railways for general public use, although rail transportation is used for products from the phosphate mines. To aid in navigation, lighthouses have been erected, navigation buoys have been placed, and some of the harbors are being deepened and otherwise improved. In brief, the energy which has characterized other phases of the Japanese administration has found its way into the development of navigation and communication as well.

In June, 1922, the customs barrier which had previously existed between the islands and Japan was eliminated, and trade between the two was made free of duty except for port clearance dues which are charged on certain exports to Japan.²² It must be remembered that, although Japan favored economic equality among all powers in dealing with the mandated regions, the "open door" does not exist in class "C" mandates, Great Britain and her Dominions having prevented its application in territories of that classification. Japan, therefore, has succeeded in monopolizing the trade of the islands awarded her, foreign countries having but very few and extremely irregular commercial relations with them. The chief imports are cloth goods, tinned foods, rice, cereals, metal ware, machinery, and alcoholic beverages; while the chief exports from the islands are phosphate, sugar, alcohol, copra, hemp, and shells. Down through 1920, the annual value of the imports exceeded the value of the exports, but since that date the situation has been the reverse. The value of imports has ranged from 938,456 yen in 1917 to a high of 4,301,827 yen in 1926; while the value of exports has varied from 597,898 yen in 1917 to a top figure of 7,860,000 yen in 1927.

No definite regulations regarding land ownership have been enacted, although titles in land acquired in accordance with the old German laws and with native custom have been recognized by the Japanese. Almost the only regulatory measures in regard to the land system which have been made by the administrative officials have been those to

²¹ *Official Report of the Japanese Government to the League of Nations for 1926*, pp. 79-80.

²² *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 10*, p. 41.

safeguard the rights of natives. The German authorities found that because of the ignorance of the natives, most of them had little conception of land ownership and might easily be cheated. Steps were taken, therefore, to safeguard the native landowners. The Japanese have followed this same policy, having prohibited private persons from "entering into agreements aimed at purchase or sale, transference or mortgage, of lands owned by natives."²³ Transactions between Japanese and natives, or foreigners and natives, in regard to land transfers are not valid unless approved by the administrative authorities. The Japanese government has taken the position that land purchased outright by the government at its own expense is the property of the government in its own name. Lands held by the government in its capacity as a mandatory power are those obtained in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article 257 of the Treaty of Versailles. Some of the lands taken over from the German government were sold to private individuals, and German nationals had an equal opportunity to buy these lands if they desired.²⁴ A classification of government land has been made which divides it into that which is for public use, that which is for government use, that which is for forestation, and that which is for miscellaneous purposes.

The question of slavery is one that the Japanese have escaped; for slavery and the slave traffic are non-existent in the mandate. The Japanese have been fortunate, too, in not having serious labor difficulties. There is no organized labor in the islands, though with the further development of the sugar and mining industries, the problem of regulating labor may present itself. The regulations in force at the present time appear to be adequate to govern labor conditions, for it has not been deemed necessary to apply in the islands any of the conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization in regard to labor and slavery in mandated territories. Although the terms of the "C" mandate give the mandatory power the right to enforce compulsory labor for improvement in public works, should such steps become necessary, there has been no instance in the Japanese mandate where that right was exercised. It is difficult to get a good supply of labor in the islands, for the natives are very shiftless and lazy. For that reason it is permissible to import laborers on contract, although strict supervision is kept over the employers who follow this practice. Individuals or busi-

²³ *Report for 1925*, p. 98.

²⁴ *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 7*, p. 86.

ness firms importing contract labor are required to submit a written report to government authorities, together with a copy of the terms of the contract. Administrative officials of the South Seas Bureau have the power to declare these contracts null and void, and also may fine employers if they do not observe the terms of the agreement.²⁵ Should employees violate the terms of the contract, the employer may bring the case before one of the courts of justice.

In the realm of public health and sanitation, the Japanese have been faced with a real problem; for the natives are ignorant of even the primary essentials for maintaining health. The Japanese administrative authorities have attacked the situation with their customary vigor, and at present the facilities for carrying on this work are more widespread and adequate than they were under German rule. A problem remains, however; for the coöperation necessary to educate the natives to a healthy state of living is lacking, because most of them are reluctant to assume any initiative in the matter. Natives are treated free of charge, or at very small expense, at the medical centers, in order to encourage their coming in for treatment. Doctors go into the outlying districts to bring relief to those who will not go to any of the several hospitals for attention. The most frequent ailments among natives and Japanese alike are pulmonary diseases, skin diseases, and venereal diseases, all of which are being combatted by the medical staff in the islands.

Even though the Japanese have done very good work in carrying out an ambitious public health program, there is still need for drastic measures of some kind to preserve the dwindling native population. In some of the islands, there is a steady decrease from year to year, the net result being that the latest population figures show that between October, 1925, when the last census was taken, and June, 1928, there has been a decrease of 253 natives.²⁶ During this same period, the Japanese portion of the population increased by 5,030, almost doubling in number.

To combat the liquor traffic, the Japanese as early as 1921 promulgated regulations designed to keep the natives from obtaining liquor other than for medicinal purposes and for religious ceremonies. Natives are not allowed to consume liquors containing more than three

²⁵ *Official Report of the Japanese Government to the League of Nations for 1924*, p. 46.

²⁶ *Report for 1928*, p. 117.

per cent alcohol, and they are prohibited "from manufacturing, selling, or purchasing and possessing them." In spite of the regulations, the natives manage to obtain liquor, and it is interesting to note that among the legal cases in which convictions have been secured, forty per cent of the crimes committed have resulted from liquor consumption and the liquor traffic.²⁷ The liquor problem has not been accompanied by a traffic in drugs; but the natives have discovered that a drink called "sakawo," made from plants found in certain of the islands, creates results much the same as those obtained from smoking opium. The Germans tried to suppress the consumption of this drink, and the Japanese are continuing the effort.

The work that the Japanese have done in carrying out their educational program has repeatedly drawn favorable comments from members of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Germans left educational matters largely to the missionaries. There still are missionary schools in the islands, but the Japanese have established a number of government schools as well, and as a result a larger number of children now have an opportunity to receive some schooling. Separate schools, known as primary schools, have been established for the Japanese children. The course in these schools is usually of six years' duration, and is followed by a higher course lasting two years. In June, 1928, there were seven of these schools, and more were being established.

More numerous are the public schools for native children, which have been established in important centers where they are easily available for a large number of pupils. The native children from outlying districts are brought into these schools, where they are boarded and lodged. Instruction is free, and is conducted in the Japanese language in all except the lowest grades, where the native tongue is used. Natives as well as Japanese teach in these schools. In 1928, there were over 2,000 native children attending the public schools, and new buildings were being erected with a view to caring for the increasing enrollment. A few of the natives attend mission schools, both Protestant and Catholic. In addition to the regular public schools, the government has established a woodworker's apprentice training school to give native boys some technical training. In what are known as "short term classes," the various branch bureaus give technical instruction to youths and adults alike in agriculture, forging, and woodwork.

In conclusion, it may be justifiable to attempt certain generalizations

²⁷ *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Session 16, p. 54.*

for the purpose of placing some evaluation upon the work that the Japanese have done in their mandated territory. It is difficult to get other than a general idea of what constitutes public opinion in Japan in regard to the areas under mandate. As far as the average Japanese is concerned, he is probably as interested in these regions as is the average citizen of the United States in Midway Island. The South Sea Islands are not rich enough or near enough to interest a large number of Japanese. At times of diplomatic stress, or when jingoistic publications proclaim a war in the offing, the press is active in discussing the area, the majority of the articles usually speaking of the islands, not as being a "sacred trust of civilization," but as "colonies" or "dependencies" of Japan. Whether the incorrect use of terms in such cases is intentional or due to ignorance is open to question.

In government circles, two points of view in regard to the island mandates are found. One is reflected in the statement of Viscount Uchida, foreign minister, who said to the Diet in the early part of 1921:²⁸ ". . . it is the determination of the Japanese government to spare no efforts in the discharge of this noble mission of civilization, in promoting the welfare and development of the people of these territories, thus fully to deserve the trust that the League members have placed in Japan." Another point of view is found among certain members of the House of Peers, who feel that Japan's share of the former enemy territories which were placed under mandate is "shamefully inadequate." This group feels that the attitude of the government toward the islands is entirely too reserved. If the islands could be administered as integral portions of the territory of Japan, why were they not incorporated into the Japanese Empire and governed accordingly?

As for the system of government that has been established, it undoubtedly is well-fitted to meet the requirements of the service for which it has been provided. In most respects it is similar to the systems in use in the colonies administered by Japan, and is consistent with the Japanese theories of colonial government. Chief responsibility is centered in the director of the South Seas Bureau, who in turn, of course, is responsible to the prime minister through the Overseas Affairs Department. Subordinate officials in the islands carry on the administration in the regions under their jurisdiction. The natives are not being forced to contribute too heavily to the support of the government in

²⁸ *Japan Chronicle*, February 3, 1921.

the way of taxes or exactions of any kind. Since it is hoped that some day they will be able to govern themselves, it might be better if the Japanese would give them more opportunity to learn about the problems they must eventually meet. The number of Japanese officials in the administrative service seems to be out of proportion to the population of the islands; but perhaps a large personnel is required because of the wide geographical area covered by the territory.

There has been a fear in some quarters that the Japanese government has been blinded to all else in its desire to make the islands a paying proposition. If that be true, it is only partly so; for along with economic development have come social improvements of one kind or another. The work that the Japanese have done, in the fields of public health and education particularly, is admirable. The number of natives who now have opportunities to receive some education is greater than ever before, and facilities to make possible the education of still larger numbers are being provided each year. In the matter of public health and sanitation, the same general statement can be made. Native inhabitants of even the most remote islands are now being brought under the scrutiny of medical authorities. In these two fields, the Japanese administration has been of the highest order.

But in spite of the good work that has been done, the native population is decreasing. This may be only temporary; but thus far the efforts made to prevent a further decrease have been unsuccessful. It may be just another case of a primitive civilization giving away before the onslaught of a more vigorous culture. The Japanese are exploiting the islands with considerable energy, and will no doubt get from them everything possible. Pressure of population will make them use every bit of available land for cultivation, and will cause them to cultivate this land intensively. There will be no room for those who cannot keep up with the pace that comes from crowded quarters. And that the Japanese intend to make use of the islands to an even greater degree for the benefit of their own citizens is shown in a report recently made by the director of the South Seas Bureau. He stated that there is room for 50,000 Japanese farmers in the islands under mandate, and urged that they be encouraged to settle there.²⁹ There might be an even greater influx if the experiments conducted by the government in regard to the raising of rice result as successfully as indications have promised. Such an immigration of Japanese would mean that the popu-

²⁹ *Japan Chronicle*, May 3, 1926.

lation of the islands would be almost doubled, with the natives in a distinct minority. Under present conditions, with the natives not quite four times as numerous as the Japanese, their numbers have begun to decrease. That conditions might easily be worse when the natives were outnumbered can be imagined without much difficulty.

When it is remembered that one of the primary essentials in the system of mandates is that the well-being of the native populations be safeguarded morally and materially, one questions the wisdom of "civilizing" these peoples. What good is accomplished if more natives live in frame dwellings than heretofore, and if more of them wear clothing than previously, if these "civilizing" influences result in their being driven from the territory they have inhabited for centuries? Or is it a natural and desirable sequence that a primitive and unproductive group give way to a vigorous people who are contributing something to present-day life?

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The Feetham Report: A New Plan for Shanghai. Shall the International Settlement of Shanghai be returned to China to become the prey of Chinese politics and civil disruption, or shall it be held in trust through a plan of Sino-foreign partnership until such time as China shall be able to preserve and protect its wealth and trade? This is the question now brought to the attention of Chinese and foreigners by the recently published report of Judge Richard Feetham, of South Africa, after eighteen months of intensive study of the problem. The report represents the most significant step yet taken toward solving the question of the future status of the International Settlement, the most important of all foreign concessions and settlements in China. For the first time in the history of the Settlement, China and the foreign powers have before them an adequate study of its development, and a definite plan upon which to base an agreement for future action.

The International Settlement is a foreign controlled and governed area on Chinese soil, located on the Whangpoo River and serving as the chief center for the vast trade and commerce of the Yangtze valley. Together with the French Settlement and the Chinese Municipality, it forms a part of the modern city of Shanghai. The International Settlement is an outgrowth of the British Settlement established in 1843 when Shanghai was first opened to foreign trade. Other foreigners