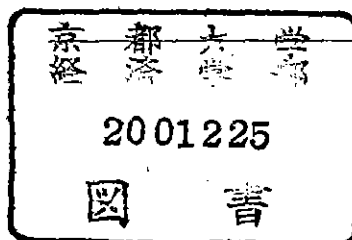


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AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION IN JAPAN

1. AN ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS.

The agricultural problems of contemporary Japan concern themselves with two groups of matters—first, those regarding the general affairs of agricultural industry, and secondly, those concerning the life of farmers. The first group is primarily economic in nature, but it also contains some social elements; while the latter has both social and cultural significations which make its content exceedingly complex. In other words, our agricultural problems may be arranged in three departments, economic, social and cultural.

I shall first take up those questions relating to the affairs of agriculture and then those of agricultural life. The questions relating to the affairs of agriculture are composed of two groups of matters: those relating to the organization of the business of agriculture, and those relating to the future of this industry. The former is a question within the agricultural industry while the latter is a question concerning the whole enterprise; and for this reason agriculture can constitute a question either by itself alone or in relation with other human activities such as industry or commerce.

Of the problems within the business of agriculture, those which are concerned with agricultural labour are by far the most important as well as difficult of solution; and the tenancy question comes at the top of those problems, when considered either from the standpoint of management or that of tenants. There is also the question of wage workers which is also difficult of settlement. Questions regarding the

price of rice and the reduction of agricultural taxes, especially the general question of the impoverishment of agricultural communities, are concerned with agricultural industry as a whole.

Thus, those which are known as agricultural problems spring from agriculture as an industry which is highly complicated. Moreover, problems concerning the life of farmers—their thought and cultural facilities and actual conditions—have added to the already complicated nature of agricultural problems in general. These difficult, complicated problems require a solution thorough and drastic; patch work is never satisfactory, and merely postpones the solution. It is easy to talk about uplifting the conditions in agricultural villages; it is difficult indeed to get any tangible results from any attempts at betterment.

2. SITUATION OF LABOUR SUPPLY AND WAGE RELATIONS.

In considering questions arising within the industry of agriculture, it will be found that those regarding labour and tenancy are the chief.

The question of agricultural labour will yield different answers according as it is viewed from the standpoint of the enterpriser and of the farm-labourer. For the enterprisers, the question will represent difficulty in the employment of labourer; for labourers the question resolves itself into that of higher wages.

Cases of difficulty experienced by agricultural enterprisers in continuing their business because of labour troubles are frequently found in European countries, but they are very rare in our country. Our agriculture has not yet advanced enough to give birth to such a phenomenon on a large scale, it being found only in a very limited way. This difficulty for the enterprisers arises chiefly from the following two causes: in the first place, because of the great exodus of labourers from agricultural villages, employers cannot find

enough labourers to run their farms; and secondly, the general dislike of agricultural labour has reduced the number of farm labourers who are sufficiently skilled to fill all requirements. Thus, the number of agricultural labourers has decreased and the quality of their skill has been lowered, so that the enterprisers are unable to get a sufficiency of skilled labourers.

I have discussed in detail the circumstances leading to this state of affairs in my book entitled "Agricultural Labour and the Tenant System", and I shall here only state that the question has not yet become urgent in our country and is not so difficult of solution as it is in Europe. We must not forget, however, that the quality of our agricultural labourers has deteriorated gradually in recent years, so that we must pay proper attention to this problem and proper steps should be taken to remedy the evil. Such steps should be taken before the evil gets uncontrollable or unredeemable, and the present is an opportune time for resorting to some suitable means.

I shall next consider the question of wages from the standpoint of the labourers. This question which is one of the problems of agriculture as an industry, is one of the most difficult outstanding problems both in the West and in our own country. There are numerous reasons why agricultural workers wish to leave the farms for cities in order to engage in commerce and industry, but the fact that they get lesser pay as farm labourers is one of the most powerful causes.

There is no disputing the fact that the standard of wages for farm workers is lower than that of city labourers. True, farm labourers are paid in kind beside the regular money payment, but their wages are lower than those in cities even when such payment in kind is taken into consideration. The comparison between the wages of farm and city workers in terms of money is natural in view of the fact that money is amply circulated throughout the country. When it is remembered that the difference between the wages of farm

hands and city workers is very great, the discontent of rural workers should be regarded as justifiable.

The discontent of workers in industry and mining is often based upon their realization that their wages are very low, when they are compared with the standard of prices. However, their main discontent which gives birth to industrial disputes comes from their realization that their shares of the whole income are very small compared with those of the enterprisers, the capitalist receiving the lion's share while the worker receives a weasel's share. A theoretical treatment of the unrest of workers regarding their wages must admit that the cause of the unrest is the injustice in the distribution of profit and wage. And the question of comparing the two is by far the most difficult of solution among questions concerning wages. In the case of agriculture the question does not concern itself with a comparison between the wages of agricultural labourers and the profit of agricultural enterprisers, but between the fieldlabourers' wages and the wages of industrial workers in cities; and does not concern itself with the question of injustice in distribution. This point should be borne in mind by those who undertake a study of agricultural labour problems.

The total income of agricultural enterprise is comparatively small, and for this reason, the income of both agricultural employers and workers is smaller than that of industrial employers and workers; and this is due to the general condition of agriculture. This difference between agriculture and other industries such as commerce and manufacture causes discontent and gives rise to serious difficulties within agriculture itself.

In considering a solution for this problem, one must note the nature of living expenses in general. Wages have close relations with living expenses. Just as the prices of commodities are determined by their production costs, the living costs of workers not only forms the basis of their wages but regulates them. Just also, as the living costs of workers can be taken, in one sense, as the production costs

of labour, the relations between the two bear analogy to the similar relations between the prices of commodities and their production costs. We must, therefore, go deeper into the question of living costs. It has been customary to regard the living costs of country folks as lower than that of city people. This has led to the conclusion that it is therefore only natural that the wages of agricultural labourers should be less than those of industrial workers in cities. If, therefore farm labourers are discontented on account of their comparatively cheap wages, the living standards of country and city should be equalised.

This, however, involves a serious difficulty. How can this equalisation take place? Should the wages of city labourers be reduced to the same level as those of farm hands, or vice versa? However, this much is certain that there is absolutely no reason why farm workers should be contented with the old stereotyped mode of living and with their cheap wages, specially when city labourers have made a great advance in their standard of living, enjoying culture more and more. However, there are still some people who hold the old feudal idea that farm hands should be satisfied with the old plain living, and that, once they have learned the more civilized ways of living, they will come to a deadlock in their social life. Such views will merely tend to increase the discontent of agricultural workers.

The wages of agricultural workers will not be raised unless their standard of living is raised and they are enabled to get the benefits of cultural life. Unless their wages are raised to the same level as those of city workers, their dissatisfaction will not be eliminated, and they will leave the farms for city life, and thereby strain the labour shortage on the farms and add to the list of unemployed in the city!

On the other hand, it must be noted that the life of the urban population including all classes is becoming more and more luxurious, and its development has been marked by an unwholesome tendency, so that some way of check-

ing this unfortunate tendency has become necessary. If the standard of living of the agricultural population is raised and the unwholesome tendencies in urban life is corrected, the result will be most salutary for the whole of society and the simplification and rationalization of life in general will be possible. This levelling process of the standards of life will have the effect of equalizing wages for the workers in cities as well as on the farms.

The cheapness of wages in agricultural communities is also traceable to the fact that agriculture is a low-profit-paying enterprise compared with other industries. Farmers cannot pay higher wages to their employees because they themselves cannot get much profit. This matter is closely related to the question of the prices of agricultural products which must be studied as part of the whole question of agricultural industry.

3. THE TENANCY QUESTION AND ITS SOLUTION.

The tenancy question is another important question arising out of the management of agriculture. It is trite to stress the meaning and importance of this question in our country, but I fully realize the difficulty of proposing an effective method for its solution.

There are some who believe that the tenancy question can be solved by the cultivation of a spirit of harmony among the agricultural community, especially through the benevolence of landlords; but the effect of such benevolence is very limited and cannot solve the question effectively. The benevolence of landlords usually takes the form of reductions in rent, although it can be manifested variously. That the reduction in tenant rent on the initiative of the landlords is highly desirable goes without saying. But how far are the landlords willing to reduce their rents? Will our tenants be satisfied with the reduction of rent the landlords are willing to make? These questions must be answered.

Now what are the actual facts in our country? Are our landlords (excluding a few big landlords) economically in a position to make such reductions? The answer must be made in the negative. I have already pointed out that agriculture in our country is deriving a much smaller profit compared with other industries, so that the income from tenant rents, viewed from their standpoint, is comparatively small. It is apparent then that the majority of the landlords, who have to support their families with the income derived from rents, cannot reduce the rent beyond a certain limit. Moreover, the middle class of the agricultural communities shoulders a great portion of the public expenses, while the educational expenses it has to pay are also heavy. The decline of small landlords has been going on with increasing rapidity in our country. Thus the policy of benevolence cannot be carried out because of the sheer force of circumstances: landlords are not in a position to be charitable to tenants. The passing away of this class may be a desirable thing from the standpoint of the welfare of society. However that may be, this much is certain that the benevolence exercised by this class is far too limited as much to solve the tenant question.

On the other hand, tenants ask for reductions of rent not so much because of their demand for justice in the distribution of income, (as in the case of industrial workers) as because of their necessity to secure a greater income for their living expenses. The question of fairness in distribution and that of an actual share of income are interrelated but are not the same thing. However justly distribution may be made, if the tenants' shares do not allow them to make a decent living, they will not continue to pursue their vocation with ease. Unless landlords in our country make a drastic reductions in rent, the living of tenants will not be stabilized; but the former cannot make such a sacrificial cut, without placing themselves in financial difficulties.

In industry a just distribution of income largely solves

the question of labour wages, because industrial income is comparatively larger than agricultural income. In industry labourers demand higher pay because they are not satisfied with a mouse's share of income. However, this will not be the case with agriculture the income of which is very small. For this reason any just scheme of distribution in agriculture will not help either the landlord or tenant appreciably. Supposing a tenant becomes the owner of the land he now tills, he will be in no better position. He will be merely one of those small peasants who till their own fields and who are suffering from a financial stress. This matter of tenant rent also proves that agriculture is a poor business. This question which concerns itself with the internal affairs of agriculture becomes one with the question which is concerned with the fate of agriculture as a whole.

Thus, benevolence cannot solve the tenant question. Furthermore, since benevolence is a moral matter, it cannot be enforced by outside power—either by the public or the state. It can be exercised only through the consent of the landlord, who, however, is not in an economic position to exercise such a virtue.

There are some who favour a joint enterprise of a landlord and tenants for the purpose of a juster distribution, and this idea has been put into practice in some places. This, however, has not proved a successful solution of the problem, which fact could be expected as the scheme is nothing but a combination of the two factors, namely, the landlord and tenant, and which, in consequence, leaves the total income of agriculture unaltered. Moreover, a new and difficult problem of fixing the rate of distribution will be baffling. It is only the farm which will be changed, and the reality of the difficulty will persist in remaining.

Another scheme has been proposed for the purpose of solving the tenancy question. A landlord and tenants form an organization for a definite period of time and both setting aside for the organization a certain percentage of the annual income from the farm, the former paying in a greater ratio

than the latter. The money thus paid each year is accumulated until the interest thereof becomes sufficient to cover the rent, after which the tenants will not have to pay the rent out of their pockets, as the landlord will get it out of the organization's accumulated fund. Although the scheme is a very interesting one, it seems highly impracticable. In order that the interest of the fund be enough to cover the rent, the tenants will have to pay out of proportion to their annual income; and if their shares are so reduced as to be less burdensome to them, it will take too long a time to accumulate a fund large enough to pay the rent, and during the period of payment the situation may change making the maintenance of the organization extremely difficult. Furthermore, the interest rate tends to decrease with the general economic development and with the advance of society, whereas the exactly opposite tendency is shown by rent. For this reason, in carrying out the plan, both interest rate and rent must be fixed permanently at the time the organization is established; but this involves a serious difficulty. The organization will be forced to use the interest the rate of which tends to decrease to pay the rent which tends to increase. The second difficulty is a theoretical one but it will be experienced in actual practice; it is the greatest weakness of the whole scheme. Moreover, the following difficult questions remain unanswered: First, will the landlord consent to fixing the amount of rent for all times? Secondly, who shall bear the expense of improving the land in the future? Thirdly, will both the landlord and tenants agree to increase the fund when it has been found that the interest thereon no longer pays the rent? The scheme cannot be regarded as a fundamental attempt to solve the tenant question. Neither will such an organization be effective; it is highly probable that it will be disorganized before it becomes able to fulfil the purpose for which it was created. Why? Because until the time when the interest of the fund has become sufficient to pay the rent, the members of the organization will receive absolutely no benefit;

on the contrary, they will have to shoulder the additional burden of paying their shares to the fund. The difficulty of such a saving scheme is amply testified by the fact that so many holders of insurance policies fail to continue their payments.

4. SMALL FARM OWNERS AND NATIONALIZATION OF LAND.

There are other proposals for the solution of the tenant question, but all of them have been found inadequate. The only remedy seems to be a drastic revision of the existing tenant system itself. As long as some one must till the soil belonging to some other private person on some contract, evils will persist in remaining. There are two effective proposals which are likely to remove the evils bound up with the present tenant system. Let all tenants own the land they now cultivate, so that there will be no tenant in the present sense; or, nationalize the entire arable lands and let the tenants rent them from the State. Although those two proposals seem at first glance to be different from each other and even contradictory to each other, in reality they will have the same practical effects.

If our country should go back to the Era of Taikwa (middle of the seventh century) and carry out the policy of the nationalization of land, there would be no landlord to whom a tenant must pay rent, and all tenants would have no trouble over the land with private landlords. The charges, which the tenants would pay to the state for the use of the land, would include both rent and taxes on the land. At any rate the relations between the state and the farmers would be different from those between the landlord and tenants, and there will be no tenant dispute. Any trouble that might arise between the state and farmers will have a content and meaning different from the present tenant dispute. Mightn't they be equally troublesome and numerous?

There are several obvious conditions upon which the

success of the nationalization of land depends. Nationalized land should be rented out to persons who would use the land only for cultivation, and sub-letting or transfer of lease should be strictly forbidden. If these restrictive measures are adopted, nationalization ought to solve the present tenant question.

As to the other proposal, namely, the creation of small land-owning farmers, it must be noted that the mere granting of landownership is not sufficient. The right of disposing of the land acquired should be strictly circumscribed, and the one who has secured land should be forbidden to rent it out to somebody else. Unless this be done, some will rent out the land and thereby become landlords. Furthermore, people may come from another district or to that region where nationalization is put into effect, and they may become farm tenants the same as those that exist today.

However, those restrictions on the right of the possessor of land ought to assure the success of the scheme under consideration, and in consequence the present system of tenancy will be swept away. But ownership of land with such restrictions will in actuality amount to the same right which a farmer under nationalization would enjoy. Although the two schemes have different outward aspects, they have the same substance and the same economic effect.

5. SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE ADOPTION OF THE SCHEMES.

I shall consider some points involved in the process of carrying out the schemes.

In the scheme of creating small land-owning farmers, the most essential thing is to let tenants purchase their tenanted lands in course of time with the aim of becoming small landholders in the end. The purchase of the lands may be made through the British system of establishing small farms or the German method of internal colonization. An office should be established for the purchasing and then

the distributing of the land among the tenants. The area of the land should first be decided upon and large tracts of land should be divided into groups of this size. The office created with the purpose of executing the transference of the tenant land may deal with both general and financial affairs; or it may entrust the general affairs with some public body and the financial affairs with a special bank.

But what is more important than all this is the difficulty involved in the purchase of land, especially the estimation of its value.

Agricultural land has productive value and market value. The former is the normal value of agricultural land, while the latter is its market price. Theoretically both should coincide, but, as a matter of fact not only are they different, but greatly different. As might be expected, the market value is greater than the productive value. Now, which value should be taken when a government office purchases the tenant land? Each value will be supported by plausible arguments but each will also have its own shortcomings. Suppose productive value is adopted. The landlord will be naturally opposed to such a plan because he will receive less than he would have got if he had sold at market value. Suppose on the other hand, market value is adopted. Since it is higher than productive value, the tenant who purchases the land through the government office will suffer loss, and he may in the end become bankrupt because he became a landowner. Thus each value has its shortcomings.

It is evident then that a most rational as well as convenient method should be adopted. The normal exchange value should be first decided upon by such a body as a government committee, taking, for instance, the average of market values of a certain period. Then a certain percentage of this average should be taken as purchasing value. This method will leave no impression that the landlord was compelled to sell his land at a loss; and, at the same time, he will not secure any unjustifiable profit through the transaction. The payment of the business should be made either

in government bonds or in the certificates issued by the special bank executing the financial affairs of the land transfer, as in the case of Germany.

I shall now consider the question of selling the land to tenant farmers. Most of them are unwilling to purchase the land at market value. Nor are the majority of them rich enough to pay. Moreover, the object of the land transfer is not a commercial purpose on the part of tenants who must pay the price out of the products of the land. Because of these reasons, productive value should be adopted.

Thus the land is purchased at a comparatively high exchange value and sold at a comparatively low productive value, and this inevitably involves a loss. But such a loss is natural and inevitable in all public enterprises and can be regarded as a public expense. The state treasury should bear such a burden in fulfilling its highest mission. The state usually bears the expenses of various protective measures for labour in industry and mining, and it ought to bear the burden of expense for executing this social policy for the sake of tenant farmers. Again, just as employers bear some part of labour insurance, they must bear a similar burden when they sell the land at a price cheaper by some percentage of the average value of the land. Such a burden is inevitable from the standpoint of social policy.

It goes without saying that the tenants must be allowed to pay for the land by means of easy payments for a long term. A period between thirty and seventy years should not be regarded as too long. The longer the period the lighter will be the burden of tenant farmers, and the more will it suit the purpose of social policy. And the bank can do a signal service in this connection.

I shall next consider the scheme of nationalizing the land. First, we must decide the question: Shall the nationalization of land take place at once or gradually as the occasion seems to demand it? It is inconceivable that the nationalization by one stroke can take place by peaceful means; it will need means no less than a revolution; and that a revolution itself

is unable to bring about such a change completely is amply testified by the experience of Russia.

This leaves the only alternative, namely, the gradual nationalizing of the land. Land is to be nationalized wherever it is deemed advisable. If this method is adopted it is not hard to imagine that those lands which are the source of trouble for a landlord and for that reason are liable to become desolate, will be naturally nationalized. Nationalization in such cases is necessary from the standpoint of the food question of the country.

The question of how to compensate the landlord for his loss at the time of the nationalization must be studied. Henry George and his followers may contend that no compensation is needed. But it is evident that such an idea cannot be carried out without a revolution.

The purchase of the land can be done through the same means which we have already dwelt upon in connection with the creation of small landowning farmers. That is to say the average of the market values of a definite period of time is first decided upon by a government body and then some percent of this average should be taken as the real value. The payment must be made by means of long term bonds.

There is a question common to both schemes. In estimating the value of land, shall the same ratio prevail in all cases without regard to the size of the land? Or shall a certain percentage be applied to lands whose areas are not more than say two *chobu*, while a smaller percentage is applied in case the area is more than two *chobu*? There may be various practical considerations. But in theory the larger the area, the smaller should be the percentage of value. This is because there is a limit to the efficient cultivation of land so that the larger the field the less will be the percentage of the product therefrom. Such a decrease is analogous to progression in taxation.

There is another question common to both schemes. The rate of interest for the bonds which are paid over for

the land should be lower than the ordinary rate and its rate should be decreased at fixed intervals. Because agriculture gets less return than other industries, and the rate of interest, as I have already seen, tends to decrease with economic development, and for this reason the interest rate of long term bonds must be lowered after certain definite periods. Moreover, land becomes sterile as years go by if no fertilizers are supplied and thus products from it decrease. This fact also necessitates the lowering of the interest rate.

There are many more practical questions but I shall for the present omit them.

Lastly, I shall consider the conditions on which the land is leased to farmers. The state should not lease the land to persons other than those who will cultivate it. They must be prohibited to re-lease to a third party. The size of the land should be no larger than that which a farmer and his family can cultivate. The period of a lease should be as long as possible wherever there are sufficient capital and labour. Sometimes a leasehold may be allowed to be inherited. The word of Arthur Young that ownership of land turns sand into gold should be pondered upon. To love and cultivate land means increasing its productivity. The leaser of nationalized land will acquire an attachment for the land he cultivates and the long term will enable him to get the benefit of the productivity of the soil; and he will use his utmost efforts to advance the happiness of his family and of the state. The risks of the present predatory management of the tenant system will thus be largely prevented.

The direct, large-scale management of the land by the state itself may also prove useful if technology and economy should allow such an undertaking. But in the present condition of our country, the best method seems to be to lend the land to private persons.

I believe that if the above fundamental policies be adopted the internal questions of agriculture in our country will be largely settled.

6. THE FATE OF AGRICULTURE IN GENERAL.

I have already pointed out the fact that side by side with the questions relating to the internal affairs of agriculture, there exists another question which deals with agriculture as a whole. It is difficult to decide which set of questions is the more important; each has an inseparable connection with the other and the tendency to overthrow the present system of agriculture and agricultural communities.

The question of the fate of agriculture as a whole arises because of the fact that agriculture as an industry cannot exist side by side with capitalist economy or profit-deriving economy, because of its very nature. Agriculture cannot compete with either commerce or industry and is bound to decline with the progress of society, unless some steps be taken to check this fatal tendency. The important question is how to assist agriculture in order to enable it to catch up with the general progress of the capitalism. The need of developing agricultural communities which has been greatly advertized in recent years will have no meaning unless it means the development of agriculture in general.

I have no intention of explaining in full why agriculture under the capitalist economy is unable to compete successfully with other industries, because such a task must be based upon an analysis of the nature of the capitalist economy which requires a vast deal of time and space. However, it must be noted that agriculture is essentially an industry under an economy of necessity, not that having profit as its object. Its production cannot fully utilize the power of machines for of technical and business reasons; nor can it use the power of capital to full advantage. It must depend upon human power now as in the past. These things are the principal reasons why agriculture cannot prosper under the capitalist economy. Agriculture has not yet lost its

characteristics as a natural economy. It is in the nature of a handicraft industry, especially in our country, and technical and economic reasons do not allow it to become a modernized form of industry whose production is based upon capital and whose distribution, on markets. Unless products and the method of production be completely changed, it will be almost impossible to make any great improvement upon the present form of agriculture. Japanese agriculture is now in a position in which no effective machines can be used to aid its production and for this reason is on the way to a steady decline. (See my "Agricultural Economics") (農業經濟學).

Moreover, agriculture has a disadvantage in that the farmer lives in the country and for this reason cannot properly avail himself of modern economic institutions, especially of urban markets, in the distribution of his farm products. The farmer usually lacks the qualities of a successful business man or enterpriser, and cannot develop agriculture into a prosperous industry. This fact has been one of the principal causes for the stagnation of agriculture in modern times.

These two main defects of agriculture have been disastrous in their effects upon this industry, causing great alarm not only to agriculturists but also to the state as well. This state of affairs has also given rise to various economic and social questions of great importance. The cries for the development of agricultural villages which have been very loud in recent years are also an indication of the seriousness of the defects under consideration.

Of the important questions which arise because of the present state of agriculture, the food problem is the most important. Another problem is that which is concerned with the effects of agriculture upon the social, political and economic structures of a state. The food problem is most keenly felt in Great Britain. In our own country it is at present largely a matter for future discussion and is full of significance. The importance of the present tendency in agricul-

ture will become apparent if one considers its possible effects upon the political power now held by the agricultural communities, the middle class questions, the characteristics of the nation and other factors of national life.

7. FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

If the decline of agriculture is natural and inevitable, farmers must either await its ultimate destruction or start a movement to save it. He will naturally select the latter policy, and there are many things which should be taken into consideration.

Since the sad plight of agriculture is due mainly to the fact that it cannot fit in the present economy, those who would save agriculture must attempt not only to improve agricultural system but also ameliorate the general economy as well. This latter amelioration, too, should create a tendency which shall regard necessity as more important than profit-making. Lucrative economy must be replaced by an economy based upon necessity. If this be done, agriculture, which is based upon human needs, will be revived. This is immensely difficult to accomplish but its realization is a *sine qua non* for the uplifting of agriculture. As long as the capitalist economy, which regards money-making as the chief object, remains, agriculture will not be saved. However, discussion over the reformation of general economy lies outside the question of agriculture. For this reason I shall here only point out the fact that its reconstruction is necessary for the redemption of agriculture.

At any rate, it seems inevitable that farmers should undertake a movement for the improvement of their condition; such an action is both natural and necessary not only for the sake of agriculture but also in order to reconstruct the general economy. In the past the farmer was too passive and inactive: he was apparently content with, or perhaps resigned to—the destiny which was dealt out to him. This is due mainly to the fact that agriculture is

largely dependent upon the powers of Nature and very little upon human efforts—which fact naturally brought about that lack of initiative on the part of the farmer. But it is evident that the farmer should outgrow such an idiocracy. He may not have room to make a signal improvement in his relations with the powers of Nature, but he certainly needs to use his energy in improving his position in the economic relation which is one of his social relations—relationship between man and man. He should be more active and try to make his general relations more congenial to his vocation. At least he should demand of society that agriculture be not discriminated against. Unless he help himself, society will not help him. Depending on others is not a way of social regeneration. If a farmer does not mean to face starvation, he should boldly set out to undertake the means of his own relief.

Nor can the state help him appreciably. In the past the farmer depended too greatly upon the state, and he is continuing to do so at present. But the state has not been able to help him in the least; this is why the farmer is now in a deplorable condition. Farmers should attempt to uplift their own condition instead of expecting the state to do so.

Most of the efforts of farmers at ameliorating their own condition took the form of co-operative societies. Although such a movement is necessary, they should also extend their activity into more fruitful fields. Movements full of social significance should be especially recommended.

8. HOW TO MAINTAIN THE PRICE OF RICE.

Of various ways of relieving farmers of our country, the most necessary one at present is to maintain the price of rice at a certain point. In the old times, when farmers produced everything they needed, there was no question of the validity of prices of agricultural products, their concern being over the quantity and quality of their products. But at present the prices of agricultural products also are

important. The prices of agricultural products are significant for agriculture as an enterprise. Farmers get greater profit if the prices of farm products can be maintained as high as possible. But they cannot disregard the interests of consumers in general. Farmers should be contented with the prices of farm products which allow them to derive a just profit over and above the production costs. And these prices should be maintained, as they will be acceptable to society at large. Farmers are entitled to resort to all conceivable lawful means in order to maintain these prices.

Theoretically the maintenance of the price of rice can be effected by the regulation of a state, but there is no hope of doing this by such a policy as the one which has been adopted by our Government. Such regulations as the suppression of profiteering, hoarding and speculative buying and the purchase by the Government of a negligible quantity of rice will not be effective in maintaining the price at a just level. On the other hand, the combined effort of farmers to maintain the price of rice by refusing to put rice on the market is far more effective, provided they keep up their solidarity.

As to our Rice Law, the authorities claim that its purpose is to regulate the supply of rice, but is not intended to regulate prices. However, since the regulation of supply largely determines the prices in the market, an effective regulation of supply ought to operate upon the prices. But no such result can be seen in the case of our law. Our farmers cannot expect much from such an ineffective regulation. Even supposing it is somewhat effective in regulating the price of rice, farmers should not depend upon it. If they do, the ultimate decline of agriculture in our country will be inevitable.

Nothing less than their own cooperative efforts will save them from an otherwise inevitable fate. They should surely resort to organized efforts calculated to maintain the price of their chief agricultural product within a reasonable bound.

In my own opinion the maintenance of the price of rice

can never be really and permanently effected unless a government monopoly of rice be established. Farmers should concentrate their efforts at reaching this goal. They should also start a movement for popular education with the purpose of making preparations for the effective administration of the state monopoly system.

Such a monopoly system must be the one resembling the salt monopoly which is now adopted. The State should prohibit business transactions in rice by all private citizens and establish government organs which shall be entrusted with the distribution of rice. At present the number of farmers and their families constitutes nearly one half of the whole population, the amount of agricultural products is greater than those of any other products, and agriculture is the greatest industry in the country. Rice is the chief food of Japanese consumers and consequently it is the greatest concern for both its producers and consumers. But its price is not regulated and is left to the natural law of supply and demand and to the speculation of mercenary merchants. It is necessary that the will of the State having the desire to promote the welfare of both producers and consumers should function in fixing the price of rice, and this can be effectively done only through the establishment of a rice monopoly.

The first thing that should be done in purchasing rice from farmers is to investigate the production costs in different localities for the purpose of fixing the prices at which it is purchased by the Government. If the prices give rice farmers a certain percentage of profit over and above the costs of production, enabling them to make a decent living, their present unrest will largely vanish, stability will be secured in their enterprise, and they will be enabled to pursue their vocation with confidence and happiness, and have leisure for their chosen avocations!

There are some people who, while believing in the advisability of adopting a government rice monopoly, nevertheless entertain a fear that such a system will be too burdensome for such an impecunious country as ours. If

the State is to purchase at once the whole amount of rice put on the market throughout the country which is estimated at something like 40,000,000 *koku*, surely the Government will be unable to bear the financial burden involved. Supposing the price of one *koku* to be thirty five *yen*, the Government will need 1,400,000,000 *yen*. It is obvious that our National Treasury cannot stand such an enormous expenditure. It should be remembered, however, that under a monopoly system, the Government sells and buys, and it will have to pay for the purchasing transaction only. For this reason the expenditure will not be exceedingly great.

Moreover, the Government does not need to pay cash to the farmers, but rice notes may be used instead. If the notes are accepted by the Government in the payment of taxes, the farmers will find the system very convenient. If the post office or special banks are to cash the notes, there will be no inconvenience at all, either for the State or for the farmers.

More detailed discussion of a rice monopoly apparently is needed, but I shall here only point out to its efficacy in solving agricultural problems, especially that of regulating the price of rice.

9. MOVEMENT FOR REDUCING TAXES AND OTHER PUBLIC BURDENS.

The agricultural movement should also take the form of reducing taxes and other public burdens which farmers are now shouldering. The present movement for the reduction of taxes should be regarded in this light. Superficial critics may regard it as a selfish attempt on the part of farmers to lessen their public duty, but they are ignorant of the extent, the farmers are suffering from the heavy tax burdens which are much greater than those of other people. The reduction of the taxes imposed on farmers will be of not a little help to them.

It is a well known fact that the farmers' taxes imposed

by the local government is much heavier than those by the Central Government. Of the various local government taxes, the educational rate is greater than any other item. Those small landowning farmers and those who constitute the middle class of the agricultural population are forced to pay the greatest share of the educational burden, because they send their children to secondary schools and other higher schools. A national educational subsidy to local governments which has been discussed in recent times should be regarded as desirable. Farmers are justified in demanding a reduction in some taxes, and in other cases abolition.

A movement for the abolition of the business tax has been recently going on among the commercial people of the country. Their contention is that the business tax is a bad tax as it cannot be levied with an assurance of justice to all concerned. But the farmers' contention is more important. They are not criticizing the nature of taxes. They simply cannot endure some of the taxes. Moreover, the taxes on farmers are much heavier than those on commercial and other folk, and the equality of taxation been utterly disregarded. It is easy to see that the farmers' movement is based on sheer necessity and that therefore they are earnest in their contention.

In this connection it must be noted that there are various other imposts such as the fees of various civic organizations and contributions to various enterprises. In many cases these benevolences are arbitrarily assessed among the farmers of a community by the headman of the village or county. The burden of these exactions is no less heavy than the regular taxes. The reduction of these semi-public burdens is imperative. Local governments can bring about this reduction by using discretion. Otherwise farmers may use the power of the boycott against such burdens.

I shall next consider the political movement of farmers. They are perfectly justified in organizing a political party in order to realize their ideals, such as the extension of suffrage, the protection of their own interests, etc. A political party

has been established by the commercial and industrial people whose interests are so heterogeneous and whose aims and purposes cannot be unified. There is no reason then that a political body cannot be established by farmers whose interests are homogeneous in nature. We shall not be surprised if a farmer party is established in the near future.

It is not difficult to imagine that the power of such a party in the national political world will be great, as can be seen from the experience of Prussia.

Of course, it may be said that competition between different classes of society within a body politic through their respective political parties is not the ideal system of society. However, as long as the present political system is accepted—a system in which people having common aims and interests form a group and political action of the state represents the diffusion of the wills of several groups—then the farmers are justified in forming a party of their own to protect their own interests and to advance their common welfare. Parliamentary government may be out of time. However, in our country farmers should use their political power in order to get a mastery over the parliamentary regime. Business men, industrialists and labourers are attempting to form their own respective political parties. There is no reason therefore that our farmers should refrain from participating in this general movement. Political action is necessary for the reform of the present condition of farmers in Japan.

10. THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISES.

Another way of rescuing agriculture from its apparent doom is so to adjust the labour time of farmers that they can find work throughout the year without that intermission which in the existing circumstances is inevitable. Farmers are intensely busy during certain seasons, and are idle in other seasons. One way of relieving this state of affairs in the past was to provide farmers with by-industries. The

meanings of actual work and by-industries are various. In the past by-industries were understood to be all industries other than the main business of agriculture. For this reason some of those which were regarded as by-industries really belonged to agriculture, while others, to the manufacture.

However, the by-works which are intended to revive the otherwise-doomed agriculture must be of an industrial nature. This should have the same effect which the revival of small industries in a rural district would have. The small industries which once existed in the country should be revived, while new small industries should also be established among the rural population, so that farmers will be able to devote their time both to agricultural and to industrial undertakings as the occasion might demand throughout the whole year. The work of the rural district will then not be limited to agriculture pure and simple; it will be a mixture of agriculture and industry and the wealth of the rural people will be greatly increased. The farmer thus having many irons in the fire will find employment for all his time.

In old times there were many rural industries but they were all taken over into the cities with the growth of modern large-scale industry. Now there remains agriculture as the only industry in the country, chiefly because it cannot be transferred to cities on account of its very nature. This may be regarded as a desirable thing from the standpoint of the capitalistic prosperity of a nation, but it has had a disastrous effect upon the economy of the country. Farmers not only engage in agriculture which gives them very low economic returns, but also they can work only during one half or one third of the year. It is no wonder they are confronted by serious economic difficulties.

The revival of small industries in the country is very significant for the relief of agriculture. It is not only significant economically; it is also desirable from the standpoint of rural community in general as it will create for farmers a vocation which is a combination of agriculture and handicraft.

But the revival of small-scale industries in the country must mean the industrialization of the country which in turn must mean, in the final analysis, the extension of large-scale industries into the country. At present commerce and industry are undertaken for lucrative purposes. For this reason commerce inevitably is concentrated in cities, and industry also centers around cities chiefly because they can offer convenience for the sale of products. All this has the effect of transferring all industries except agriculture from the country to cities as I have already pointed out. If industries can be extended into the country, it will have the effect of relieving the farmers and of dealing a blow to the commercialism of the present economy.

If large-scale industry is extended into the country, farmers will receive numerous economic benefits therefrom. On the other hand, labourers engaged in industries will also get benefits, for instance, better sanitary condition. At present, capital, men, the convenience of communication, and transportation and the opportunity of deriving profits are all concentrated in cities; and this makes the concentration of industries in and near cities inevitable. If all these factors are altered the necessity of concentrating industries in and near cities will largely disappear. Thus the extension of large-scale industry into the country will prove beneficial both to agriculture and to industry; and at the same time will decrease the difference between cities and the country with regard to matters of productive economy as well as the difference of opportunity.

Another thing which is necessary for the development of agriculture is to do away with extreme individualism and to substitute for it co-operative enterprises of various kinds.

In old times an extensive co-operative enterprise was found in agriculture. The history of economy shows that in ancient times land was owned in common by the clans and villages and its cultivation was also carried out in common. Even after land was transferred from the clan to the private possession of families, the cultivation of soil was

done partly in common, and a remnant of this custom is still to be seen even at present. However, a long period has elapsed since individual ownership and cultivation of soil became universal, and in modern times in particular agriculture has become individualized. This tendency has given birth to a serious difficulty. The individualization of agriculture in our country the population of which is very dense has tended to decrease the area of individual holdings, intensive cultivation has also tended to make the area smaller and smaller. This tendency is in direct opposition to the ever-increasing expansion of industry. This tendency is not limited to our country but is also true of European countries, as was proved by Bernstein.

However, the superiority of large-scale industry over small-scale industry is becoming more and more pronounced as the years pass by, placing agriculture in a more and more disadvantageous position in its competition against other industries.

In order to enable our agriculture to compete against other industries, it will be necessary to make it a large-scale industry. Since the organization of companies is possible only in certain fields of agricultural manufacture, the only alternative is the organization of farmers' co-operative unions.

If the distribution and manufacture of farm products and the purchase of fertilizers and farm implements are carried out by the collective efforts of farmers and the cultivation of the soil is also done by their common effort, great progress will be made in developing the existing small-scale farming into a large-scale agricultural enterprise. If it becomes large-scale, the use of machinery will be more and more possible as capital could be secured through credit. Not only that, but the division of labour will be also possible and the economic advantage of management will be greatly increased.

Collective farming by co-operation also will give birth to a spirit of self-government. The spirit of self-government

is necessary for collective undertakings in co-operations, but the co-operative principle tends to create such a spirit among the participants of the undertaking. Every opportunity should be utilized to cultivate this spirit and discipline among the members of farmers' co-operative unions. Where mutual aid and self-government exist the agricultural community will certainly prosper.

Thus the revival of small-scale industries and collective ownership and the cultivation of the soil will save agriculture from its imminent doom.

I have pointed out the chief factors involved in the fate of agriculture. In our country the decline of agriculture has been especially pronounced, and it must be noted that the solution of the internal questions in agriculture will be impossible unless the fate of agriculture itself is decided upon. Although the tenancy dispute is important in almost every respect, it is not the most important question confronting agriculture as a whole. If the tenancy dispute is dragged long unsettled, it will surely aggravate the existing condition of the agricultural community. But the solution of this problem will not be sufficient to save agriculture from its doom; its only salvation lies in the attempt to make it a profitable enterprise which can exist side by side with commerce and industry.

The most important question regarding our agricultural population then is how to save agriculture as an industry. There is another set of questions which I shall presently discuss.

11. THE DESOLATION OF AGRICULTURAL LIFE.

I have already pointed out that there are two groups of agricultural problems, namely, those concerning agriculture as an industry and those which deal with the life of farmers; and I have explained the nature of the first set of problems. I shall now take up the latter group.

The scope of the questions relating to the life of farmers

is wide indeed, and the study of those questions is primarily the function of rural sociology. Agricultural life is different from urban life not only in respect of the density of population and of the nature of industry, but also in respect of the psychology of the inhabitants and their attitudes towards life. Each kind of life has a culture of its own, and although they are two parts of the same society, they may be regarded as forming two distinct societies. In consequence rural life has various questions of its own in contradistinction to those of urban life, and those questions go to make up the so-called agricultural problems pregnant with social significance of great magnitude. If one is to enquire into the nature of each of those questions, he will have to study the language, customs, population, economy, religious beliefs, education, etc., of the rural community; hence, a synthetic study of these must be entrusted to rural sociology.

I shall therefore delimit my investigation to those common to all questions and which have social significance.

There is one fact in the life of farmers upon which all questions concentrate. That is the dissatisfaction of farmers with rural life. They are aware of the fact that the most of the blessings and benefits of culture and civilization are enjoyed by the inhabitants of cities only, and farmers themselves are denied those blessings and benefits. Their dissatisfaction with their own daily life consequently is so intense that some of them entertain a great hatred against it. This state of affairs is the potent cause of a great many problems, and is a serious menace to social life as a whole.

Undoubtedly, the development of cities was one of the essential factors of the creation of modern civilization. Upon the growth of cities was predicated that of politics, economy, art, and education and other factors of modern culture. The development of those factors assisted the growth of cities, so that the relations between the two were reciprocal. Modern culture is therefore essentially urban in nature, both in its spiritual and in its material aspects. It is urban not only in respect of production, communication, transportation,

education, amusement, but also of thought, learning, art, technology, and cultural activities, all of which are functioning with the city as their stage.

Rural districts can never compare with cities in point of cultural facilities, and they must be contented with the crumbs of the bread which have fallen from the table of cities. Not that cities are monopolizing cultural facilities selfishly or wilfully, but the latter can only be established in cities because of the very nature of modern culture. Rural districts cannot have them because of technical and economic reasons. Spiritual culture in rural districts is also far below that of urban life; it is perhaps 100 years behind the latter.

While cities are making a great cultural advance, rural districts are making a very slow progress, so that the gap between the two is becoming greater and greater every year. The cultural equipoise between the two is becoming unbalanced. But what is more serious is the fact that the development of cities has been made at the expense of rural districts, when considered from the standpoint of population, economy, technology, and intelligence. Population statistics show that the country supplies able-bodied persons to cities, and then receives back feeble ones. It is both a nursery and a sanitarium, as it were. The money deposited by farmers is used in the commerce and industry of cities, but very little money flows from cities to rural districts. Farm products are taken to cities and sold by city tradesmen, and the greatest portion of the proceeds go into the pockets of city people. Rural districts lack persons with intelligence, because promising and ambitious young men leave for cities and do not return to their homes, because it is in cities that they can display their abilities. Thus the advance of cities is made at the expense of rural districts so that while cities become more and more prosperous, rural districts become more and more desolate.

The rural exodus which is common to civilized countries is an inevitable result of the times, and the rural decadence

is only too natural. It is only too natural for the youth on farms to seek a new and more comfortable life in cities. Rural districts lose both man-power and capital and are bound to become devastated as the years pass by; and this phenomenon has far-reaching effects upon the community as a whole.

12. MODERN IDEAS AND RURAL LIFE.

The rural decadence at present then is traceable to two causes: the desolation of rural economy and the mental state of farmers. In considering the solution of the rural problems, therefore, the psychological phases of the problem should be studied. Modern ideas are closely connected with the rural decadence and the proper guidance and cultivation of those ideas are necessary for the solution of the problem.

When the material phases of human existence are over-valued to the exclusion of other phases, as is the case at present, and money is regarded as everything, it is only too natural that farming should be disliked by ordinary persons. Agriculture which is not a very profitable enterprise cannot give farmers enough income to enjoy that material comfort which people engaged in other enterprises are enjoying. Modern people prize economic value almost to the exclusion of other values such as ethical or artistic, and as long as this tendency continues there will be little hope of ending the dissatisfaction of rural people. One way of fundamentally solving the rural problem then is to bring about a proper change in the modern conception of human life and human valuation, to teach people that there are many things which are more valuable and nobler than money-making.

Moreover, men in modern times are taken by the fever of material success. The modern conception of life in which man is regarded as the principal factor and which aims at human perfection through the exertion of man's faculties—affirming human life and regarding happiness as

the spring of man's endeavours—that conception which was born at the time of the Renaissance and developed through the period of enlightenment (*Aufklaerung*), is not itself to be regarded as undesirable, for it is based upon a significant ethical basis. However, this conception has produced a tendency in the present generation to enthrone material success as the ultimate goal of human existence. This tendency is strongest in the urban population, but has also found its way among the people of rural districts, due mainly to the influence of the popular press and the extension of national education. The youth who has once come under the influence of this tendency dislikes rural life which, he realizes, does not offer him much opportunity to satisfy his worldly ambitions, and he seeks the city as the first step to his own material emancipation. This tendency then is the foremost cause of the rural exodus to the cities. It is desirable that this conception of human life and purposes should be modified so as to make it more spiritual and nobler.

In order to modify this way of thinking the extension of philosophy and other branches of learning is of course necessary, and this extension of general knowledge should not be superficial and ephemeral. Then national education, especially universal education, should be reformed. At present our national education only aims to teach technical knowledge to pupils and students, and the formation of character is utterly neglected, the result being that an intense ambition for material success is implanted in the plastic minds of pupils.

Even teachers are the victims of the fever of material success and many of them place money above all other things, so that school education has become degraded and without a guiding principle. Although this tendency is not limited to our own country, its disastrous effect should be fully recognized.

It is only natural that the more the youth of the rural districts receive education the more insistent they become to leave the farm for cities.

In order to relieve rural districts, it is necessary to base national education on a more spiritual basis, for without such a reform the final solution of rural problems will be impossible. The improvement of normal education will be highly necessary in order to create more efficient teachers upon whose shoulders is placed the task of creating future citizens with blameless characters and personalities.

In the past this necessity has been neglected, and the reform of outward forms has been unduly emphasized. The establishment of facilities for amusement in rural districts and the increase in the material wealth of farmers—these have been strenuously advocated by many people. But it is evident that farmers can never get the same material wealth or comfort as the urban inhabitants. The true remedy of the existing situation in rural districts is to effect a more fundamental change in the ideas of the whole nation.

13. LACK OF CULTURAL FACILITIES IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

If then the inhabitants of rural districts seek city life because of spiritual as well as material reasons, it is necessary that various facilities for material welfare should also be established in rural districts so that the inhabitants of agricultural community shall enjoy about the same material comfort as those in cities. This must mean an attempt to extend culture into the rural districts, and to break down the traditional policy of centralization.

The extension of cultural facilities into the rural district can be done by solving various questions arising from the concentration of those facilities in cities. There are very many of those problems but I shall here take up a few of them.

What farmers at present lack most in matters of cultural facilities are those concerned with medicine and education. The development of medicine in modern times has enabled the nation to derive innumerable benefits, but it is mostly

the people of cities that enjoy those benefits. Cities have many hospitals and good medical experts, but rural districts have very few of them. It often happens that patients in rural districts die because they cannot get treatment by good physicians. Furthermore, since hospitals are mostly located in cities farmers must incur a great expense whenever they make use of them. It is only too natural then that some farmers move to cities because of this inconvenience.

As to educational facilities, secondary schools, colleges, and universities are located mostly in cities, so that the youth of rural districts must leave their homes if they want to attend these institutions. This of course means greater expense compared with the people of cities. It is customary among the inhabitants of our rural districts that the people of the middle and upper classes in rural communities send their children to secondary schools or colleges, while even the people of the lower classes are also striving to give a good education to their children. The whole population of the country therefore is experiencing much difficulty because of the lack of proper educational facilities. There is a tendency among middle class farmers to move to cities because of educational reasons.

Another way of letting farmers, especially the day labourers, obtain the benefits of modern cultural facilities is to carry out various social policies and to assist the extension of social enterprises in rural communities. The most important of those policies is the enactment of tenant legislations. With the exception of a very few countries, modern nations have adopted labour legislations with regards to industrial labourers, miners and transportation labourers, but almost nothing has been done by way of relieving the sufferings of farmers, although this question is now challenging the attention of civilized countries. Attempts have been made for the conclusion of an international agreement regarding a minimum age for agricultural labourers, woman labour, working hours and wages of farm hands, etc.; and individual nations have also been paying much attention to those mat-

ters. Various social insurances for injury, sickness, unemployment, disability, and old age, have also been adopted for agricultural labourers as in the case of industrial and mining labourers, either independently or extending those of the industrial and mining labourers.

In our country health insurance is the only social insurance which has been established for labourers but it has not yet been put into practice. Needless to say that we must follow the example of western nations in the matter of social insurances. What is most important is that our agricultural labourers should enjoy the same benefits as other labourers. Unless this be done a great injustice will be done to farmers, and their tendency to forsake their farms will be intensified.

The adoption of social policies is also important. In Germany and other European countries welfare enterprises are carried out in rural communities. Various enterprises to extend medical aid, libraries, amusement facilities and relief works are undertaken. In the past those facilities were only established for the sake of city people but the injustice of such discrimination is easy to comprehend. Farmers must also get the benefit of those cultural enterprises.

14. SUMMERY: (THE URGENT NEED OF EQUALIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES OF CITIES AND RURAL DISTRICTS.)

I have already elucidated the general significance of rural questions. The matters taken up in my discussion are those which can be regarded as common to all nations, and are not confined to our country, although they particularly refer to our own agricultural condition. What should be remembered is the fact that our rural questions are common to the old European nations and are also found in the United States almost in the same forms as in our country as well as in the old European countries. In other words, agricultural problems are common to all civilized

nations to-day. The general conditions of present-day civilization and those of the social and economic systems tend to give birth to those problems, and the advance of those conditions is bound to intensify those problems. The existence of those problems is not accidental but is traceable to the nature of the present civilization and economy.

As a consequence, the solution of rural questions is possible only through change in the tendency of present-day civilization and in the economic status, so that agriculture shall be a paying business and can exist side by side with commerce and industry. The chief aim of this change should be the equalization of the conditions of cities and rural districts. Equalization in industrial matters between cities and the country should result in the extension of industrial establishments into rural districts, in a closer relation between agriculture and industry and in the development of new conditions favourable to an economy based upon human necessities rather than desire to derive profits. Equalization in cultural opportunities should result in the creation of a condition in which the inhabitants of rural districts will be able to enjoy the same cultural facilities which are enjoyed by the people of cities. Efforts should also be directed toward a breakdown of the present condition in which the city and the country have distinct cultures so that there exist two societies within the same society.

Since those things are necessary for the fundamental solution of the rural questions, it is apparent that the recommendations which have been made to the Imperial Diet for the development of rural communities will not be sufficient for the realization of the purpose.

If the fundamental solution of the problems is not effected, agricultural economy will come to the final doom, and the food problem will become aggravated, the consequence of which will be especially disastrous for a country such as Japan. But the disastrous consequence of the matter will also extend to other fields such as the production of raw materials and of domestic markets. National life and social

psychology will also be affected. In fact, it will be difficult to imagine the desolation which will characterize our social condition after agriculture has died down.

It is now high time that something effective should be done in order to prevent the general decay in agriculture. I have no ulterior motive in pointing to the seriousness of these rural questions.

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