On September 8, 1951, a peace treaty between Japan and 52 members of the United Nations was signed. The same year, the Mutual Security Treaty with the United States was concluded, to go into effect on April 28 of the following year. The Occupation, which had lasted for six years since the end of the war, was finally over, and a reborn Japan was restored to independence. However, the Atsugi airfield, the Yokosuka naval station, and other American military bases, as well as port facilities in Yokohama, were retained for American use by the terms of the security treaty, becoming the targets for protest by various groups of Japanese citizens.

The construction of a new industrial belt

As the postwar industrial recovery continued, expansion of Kanagawa's coastal industrial belt became a necessity. In 1957 the prefectural government began a seven-year, ¥9 billion project to reclaim 3,430,000 square meters of land along the shore at Kawasaki, to be divided up for use by 33 companies, chiefly in the petrochemical industry. In part, this was also a response to the revolutionary postwar shift from coal to petroleum as a primary energy source. Both the Nippon Petrochemical Company and Tōzai Petrochemicals built petrochemical complexes on the newly reclaimed land, and in 1969, the Nippon Petrochemical Company and Mitsui Petrochemical Industries teamed up to build the Ukishima Petrochemical Complex in Kawasaki. By the following year, Japan was producing 4.5 million tons of ethylene per annum, a level surpassed only by the United States.

These petrochemical complexes employ high temperatures and pressure to crack naphtha (crude gasoline) to produce ethylene. In addition, propylene, butane, butylene, and other aromatic hydrocarbons which form the raw materials for a wide range of other petrochemical compounds are derived from the gases released by the cracking of naphtha. Thus, the heart of a petrochemical complex is the naphtha-cracking facility, which is surrounded by a cluster of other plants and processing factories, drawing their raw materials by pipeline from the naptha cracker and using them to produce a wide variety of other petrochemical-based products.

Among the companies which established plants within these petrochemical complexes were Shōwa Denkō, which manufactured

polyethylene, Asahi-Dow (a subsidiary of Asahi Chemicals), Nippon Shokubai Kagaku Kōgyō, Furukawa Chemicals (later Nisseki Plastics), Nippon Zeon, and Asahi Glass. Products derived from petrochemicals are many and varied, and have now become a part of almost every aspect of daily life, either as consumer goods or industrial materials. Synthetic rubber, paints, detergents, artificial leather, synthetic textiles, and a variety of synthetic building materials are all made from petrochemical compounds.

The city of Yokohama also undertook the development of a new industrial belt in the area from Yokohama Bay to Negishi Bay. In 1961 an 800,000-square-meter landfill was completed in the vicinity of Daikoku-chō in Tsurumi Ward, and Tokyo Electric Power, Nittō Chemical Industry, Asia Petroleum, and Taiyō Fishery built facilities there. This was followed in 1971 by the completion of a 3,640,000-square-meter landfill in Negishi Bay, which was occupied by such major corporations as Nippon Petroleum Refining, Tokyo Gas, the Toshiba Corporation, and Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries, as well as 155 smaller firms.

As shoreline capable of being reclaimed from the sea was exhausted, factories began to locate themselves in Atsugi, Yamato, Sagamihara, Hadano, Zama, Ayase, Ebina, Aikawa, and other cities and towns in the interior of the prefecture. An inland industrial belt began to take shape. Taking into consideration pollution, transportation, and other factors, anarchic and unplanned industrial expansion was not permitted, and the concept of industrial parks was employed. The old military airfield occupying 2,350,000 square meters of land outside the city of Atsugi was selected as an ideal site, and an industrial park was created there for small and medium-sized firms, primarily metal-processing and machinery companies subcontracting to the major machine factories located in the coastal industrial belt.

Kanagawa's conversion into an industrial prefecture, which had begun in the Meiji era, was now complete. In the postwar period, the central government carried out a series of programs aimed at reviving rural areas through the structural reform of agriculture. But in Kanagawa, there was a pronounced and rapid trend toward the urbanization of the countryside.

Urban Planning, a report released by the prefectural government

in 1970, anticipated that 36.7 percent of the total land area of the prefecture and 40.2 percent of the prefecture's arable land would be urbanized. These figures are eight times the national average for arable land converted to urban use, which is five percent, and four times that for the Kantō region, which is ten percent.

From the "Jimmu Boom" to the "Izanagi Boom"

In 1956, the government's annual Economic Survey of Japan reported that real personal income had reached the highest prewar levels in the previous year, and production indices for heavy industry had topped the 1944 wartime high. On the basis of such statistics, the survey proclaimed the end of the "postwar era," declaring Japan's recovery from the war complete. It added that the major task for the Japanese economy in the future would be to preserve stable growth through economic modernization. At least as far as the economy was concerned, the postwar era was indeed over.

The modernization called for in the survey primarily meant capital investment in heavy industry. Under the direction of the Economic Planning Agency, also created in 1956, a number of large-scale investment projects—the Second Steel Industry Rationalization Plan, the First-Phase Plan for Petrochemicals, and the Five-Year Plan for Electric Power—were initiated, stimulating the heavy and chemical industries to make steady progress.

Technological innovation in such central fields as steel manufacture and shipbuilding produced notable advances, and the revolutionary shift from coal to petroleum as a basic energy source gave a powerful impetus to the development of the petrochemical industry. This energy revolution was taking place all over the world, and orders for tankers to transport petroleum from the oil-producing regions of America, the Middle East, and North Africa came pouring in to Japan, triggering a shipbuilding boom. The Japanese economy as a whole surged forward. This was tagged the "Jimmu Boom," a reference to the legendary first ruler of Japan, Emperor Jimmu, the idea being that since his time, Japan had never enjoyed such economic prosperity.

The boom increased personal income overall, and farm families were already guaranteed a stable income by postwar legislation that

set the price of rice at double that of the international market to ensure adequate production and supplies of food domestically. As a result, Japanese consumers now had the financial resources to buy goods they had not been able to afford earlier. Home appliances headed the list of desirable commodities. The television, washing machine, and refrigerator were advertised as the "three sacred treasures" of any household, and 1955 was dubbed "Year One of the Electrification Era."

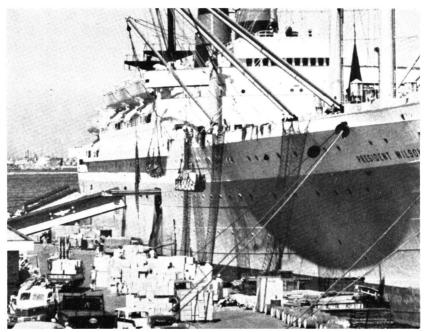
The Jimmu Boom was followed by a recession, but in 1958 investment in plant and equipment became active once again, and personal consumption, housing starts, and exports all grew dramatically in the recovery which followed. In 1965 Japan was visited by what was called the worst recession in postwar history, but full-scale committment of U.S. ground forces to Vietnam began the same year, and both American military procurement and an expansion of general exports to the United States helped to restore vigor to the Japanese economy.

The boom which followed was even more dramatic than earlier postwar economic surges, and lasted for five years without a break. Year after year economic growth topped ten percent, and this sustained period of tremendous economic expansion came to be called the "Izanagi Boom," after the god credited by Japanese mythology with the creation of the islands of Japan.

Yokohama regains its position as the king of foreign trade

In 1949 the Occupation permitted, albeit conditionally, the revival of private-sector foreign trade in Japan. Initially, however, imports stood at only 21.7 percent of their prewar level, and exports at a scant 4.5 percent. Even in 1952, the year Japan regained its autonomy, imports were still at only 75 percent of the prewar level, and exports at 50 percent.

Yokohama's share of Japan's total foreign trade dropped to eight percent immediately after the war, and it was not until the middle of the 1970s that it returned to 20 to 30 percent of the national total. This was because a large part of the port facilities had been requisitioned for use by the Occupation forces, and because the major trading companies had concentrated in Tokyo for convenience in dealing with the government's Foreign Trade Board.



The bustling port of Yokohama, around 1960.

At first, the most important export was raw silk, but in the United States, which was one of the principal markets for Japanese silk exports, the invention of nylon during the war had eaten considerably into the demand for silk, making exports surprisingly sluggish. It was already too late for the silk market to serve as the engine for the restoration of prosperity to the Yokohama trade. Raw silk, which had accounted for 50 percent of the exports moving through Yokohama in 1947 and 1948, dropped to 9.6 percent by 1955, and was replaced by steel as the leading export item at 12.5 percent.

In this way, raw silk was replaced as the leading export item by the products of heavy industry, whose rapid growth had been spurred by the recovery and expansion of the Keihin industrial belt. By this time, many of the major factories in the area were located along the coastline, and had their own wharves, allowing them to unload imported raw materials and load export goods directly onto ships without having to pass through the port of Yokohama.

Yokohama, Kawasaki, and Yokosuka bays became the center for foreign trade in the prefecture, and by 1970 the volume of exports passing through Kanagawa had increased to \times 1,840,400 million, 12.2 times the figure for 1955, the year steel became the top export item, when exports had stood at \times 150.6 billion. Imports, in the meantime, had grown to \times 1,453 billion, seven times the 1955 figures of \times 264 billion.

In this fashion, Yokohama gradually recovered its role as a major port. Around 1950, when trade was normalized, it ranked second to Kobe in both exports and imports, but afterwards it vied with Kobe for first place. By 1960 it ranked first in imports, and by 1970 had come to command first place in exports as well, restoring its position as Japan's most important trade port.

The miracle of Japan's rebirth as an economic superpower

The "Izanagi Boom" literally transformed Japan into one of the world's economic superpowers. In 1965, Japan ranked fifth among the major capitalist countries after the United States, West Germany, Great Britain, and France in terms of GNP, but by 1968 it was second only to America.

Moreover, since Japanese industry had recovered by continually introducing the latest technology, in every field its industrial plant and equipment stood at the highest international levels. As an industrial nation, its total production ranked third in the world after the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The products of heavy industry-steel, ships, automobiles, and metal goods—came to form the core of Japanese exports. During the "Izanagi Boom," the expansion of personal income was reflected by consumer demand for what were called "the three Cs"-color televisions, air conditioners ("coolers"), and cars—all big-ticket consumer durables considerably more expensive than the "three sacred treasures" of the "Jimmu Boom" of a decade before. Japan grew to be second only to the United States in the production of automobiles, and the world leader in their export primarily to the American and European markets. This rebirth of Japan as an economic power was seen by many in the world as nothing short of a miracle:

This image of a reborn Japan was mirrored by Kanagawa Prefecture. In fact, Kanagawa's Keihin industrial belt played a major role

in the economic recovery and growth of the nation as a whole. Kanagawa developed into one of the most important industrial prefectures in Japan, and a major economic power in its own right, one of the pillars of Japan's postwar economic miracle. Yet for Kanagawa, which from the ancient Jōmon period down through medieval and modern times, had risen phoenix-like from the ashes of natural disasters, this was really not a miracle at all.

Kanagawa today

According to *Kanagawa 80*, a 1980 report on the state of the prefecture, Kanagawa ranked 43rd among all of Japan's prefectures in total land area with 239,708 hectares, or 0.63 percent of Japan's total land area. Of this, 40 percent is still forest land.

All of Kanagawa's 19 cities and 17 townships have been designated as urban planning areas. Their combined area—1,983 square kilometers—corresponds to 83 percent of the total land area of the



Fujisawa City in 1982.

prefecture. Of this, urbanized areas account for 90,788 hectares, while land under cultivation accounts for 26,632 hectares.

Kanagawa's population of 6,924,258 ranked third in the nation after Tokyo and Osaka. Population density also ranked third, with an average of 2,889 persons per square kilometer. Moreover, the urban areas of Yokohama and Kawasaki contained 55.1 percent of the prefecture's total population.

As recently as 1955, the population of the prefecture was only 2,919,497. This means that Kanagawa's population more than doubled in 25 years. This increase was largely caused by influx of population from the Tokyo area and other prefectures, particularly in the era of high economic growth, when increased employment opportunities in Kanagawa drawing new workers into the prefecture sometimes accounted for more than 75 percent of population growth.

In 1980, the number of persons employed in Kanagawa reached 2,533,000. Of these, 678,777 were employed in Kanagawa's 23,444 factories, and the value of goods they produced amounted to some \times 16,972.3 billion. Per capita income for residents of the prefecture was \times 1,798,017, nearly three times the per capita income of a decade earlier, in 1970, when it had stood at \times 673,630.

Automobile ownership has gone from 810,000 vehicles in 1970 to 1,610,000 in 1980, and is still rising. Revenues taken in by the prefectural government amounted to more than \$772,693 million in 1980. All of this certainly presents the picture of Kanagawa as an economic superpower among Japan's prefectures.

However, this economic prosperity, and particularly Kanagawa's development into an industrial prefecture, also has its serious negative aspects—largely born of ignoring the human environment and placing too much faith in the almighty power of the economy. Kanagawa faces such problems as the destruction of the environment in the process of urbanization, a decline in the quality of urban life due to overcrowding, the release of potentially life-threatening wastes and pollutant gases from the prefecture's factories, and the destruction of both natural beauty and historical and cultural sites by the construction of new housing and highways.

In addition, Kanagawa faces a unique problem because of the



A newly landscaped factory in Kawasaki.

presence of a large number of American military bases in the prefecture and the various nuisances they cause to surrounding residents. In opposition to these negative aspects of contemporary life, a number of citizens' movements have arisen in many parts of the prefecture, and continue their activities today.

As early as 1964, before any other prefecture, Kanagawa responded to the concerns of these citizens' movements by establishing an Ordinance for the Prevention of Pollution. This prefectural law, the first of its kind in Japan, established standards for eight types of pollution—noise, vibration, sewage, effluents, smoke and soot, dust, gases, and noxious odors—and set up a board of review to administer and enforce them. Yokohama also launched a campaign to improve the living environment of the city, and created a pollution department within the City Board of Health.

In addition, the innovative step of concluding contracts for the prevention of pollution with new factories locating in the area was adopted, giving priority to the preservation of the health of the area's residents. In the 1970 session of the prefectural assembly,

debate centered on antipollution legislation, and the session was dubbed the "antipollution assembly."

Kanagawa's future lies in rising phoenix-like out of these problems of contemporary life and restoring the humanity and the natural environment lost in the earlier overemphasis on economic development at the expense of such precious values.



Postscript

Various Japanese prefectures, cities, towns and villages are in the process of compiling detailed and voluminous histories. In 1967, the authors and the editorial staff began compiling a history of Kanagawa, a work of some 40,000 pages which took seventeen years to complete. *The History of Kanagawa Prefecture* is a translated summary of this work.

To facilitate understanding of the prefecture, as many illustrations and photographs as space would permit have been used.

The cover of this volume was designed to represent Japanese culture. The material is silk pongee, which has been widely used in Japan since ancient times and is woven by hand even today. The color selected, purple, was favored by the nobles of old, particularly for ceremonial robes. The dyestuff was obtained from the root of the gromwell (*Lithospermum erythrorhizon*). The plant was found in the ancient provinces of Sagami and Musashi, which comprise the present-day prefecture.

It is hoped that this volume will give the reader a measure of familiarity with Japan and Kanagawa Prefecture, thereby contributing to true international understanding.

