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**The 45th Annual Meeting of the IWC  
in Kyoto, Japan**

**1993**



## HOW DIFFERENT ARE SMALL-TYPE AND LARGE-TYPE COASTAL WHALING?

The Government of Japan  
1993

During discussion at IWC44 more than one delegation stated that it was unable to see a distinction between Japanese small-type coastal whaling (STCW) and large-type coastal whaling (LTCW). This continuing inability to make a satisfactory distinction, especially in regard to distribution of the whale product, was given as the basis for not supporting an interim relief quota for Japanese STCW on that occasion.

This short paper will review important distinctions between the Japanese STCW and LTCW fisheries (before the latter was totally disbanded in 1987). There is an extensive scientific literature on this topic, so only a summary is presented here, though references to the more detailed reports are also provided.

The rationalization occurring in Japanese STCW and LTCW operations following WWII have been presented in Ohsumi 1975, and the various differences between Japanese STCW and LTCW are explicitly addressed in IWC documents TC/41/STW2 [subsequently published as Takahashi et al. 1989], TC/42/SEST3, and Kalland and Moeran 1990 [distributed to delegations at IWC42 by the Government of Japan, and subsequently published as: Kalland and Moeran 1992, see pp. 79-133].

Detailed relevant information on Japanese STCW is provided in IWC documents, e.g. IWC/40/23, TC/41/STW1, and TC/42/SEST9.

### THE ADMINISTRATIVE DISTINCTIONS

According to the Schedule of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW), no definition of LTCW is provided. However, small-type whaling is defined as:

“Catching operations using powered vessels with mounted harpoon guns hunting exclusively for minke, bottlenose, beaked, pilot or killer whales.”

Government of Japan regulations strictly control this fishery within Japanese nearshore waters. STCW constitutes a limited-access fishery with no more than ten STCW licences issued since 1968, though at the present time only nine STCW licences are issued annually. The catching of sperm whales and baleen whales (except minke) is forbidden.

Additional operational regulations, e.g. limit the calibre of the harpoon gun, specify that only government-licensed whaling stations may process whales, prohibit killing females with calves, limit the whaling season to a six-month period defined by species and areas, prohibit towing a carcass caught by another catcher boat, and require that all whales caught must be completely utilised.

Monthly and annual reports on whaling operations must be submitted to the Government of Japan; such reports shall specify, e.g., date and location of whales caught; whale sightings; name of catcher boat and harpooner; time leaving and returning to port; prevailing sea conditions; species, sex, length, stomach content of whales caught, whether a foetus is present, etc. Additional operational data required to be submitted annually includes quantity and value of catch (as meat, oil, other products), payments to crew, and revenues and expenditures from each whaling operation.

Under Japanese government regulations LTCW boats were prohibited from hunting minke whales (or pilot and beaked whales), which are species exclusively reserved for STCW operations in Japan's coastal waters.

### THE SCALE AND NATURE OF JAPANESE COASTAL WHALING OPERATIONS

Principal differences between STCW and LTCW relate to the scale of operations in each of these two forms of fishery, reflected in the technology and manpower requirements, as well as the quite different ownership, financial and management dimensions of the operations and distribution patterns for the harvested product.

**Technology.** Given the size difference between the sperm and baleen whales caught in the former LTCW fishery, compared to the pilot, beaked and minke whales taken in the STCW fishery, it is to be expected that catcher boats will be markedly different in size. Thus STCW boats average 36 tons (range: 15-49 tons), compared to LTCW catcher boats ranging from 600 to >750 tons.

The STCW boats have a maximum range of ca. 150 miles and for safety reasons return to port each night; LTCW vessels are oceangoing, capable of transoceanic voyages and operating at sea for more than one month without refuelling or returning to port.

Consequent to these size differences, there are significant operational distinctions between the STCW and LTCW fisheries. The distance from shore whales are caught in these two fisheries are significantly different: whereas >95% of STCW takes occur within 40 miles of shore, fewer than 23% of LTCW catches occurs within that range, with the majority taken twice as far offshore as STCW boats can operate (TC/42/SEST3: Table 5).

These differences between STCW and LTCW catching practices, expressed both as mean distances from shore of whale harvested and as harvest-distance frequency distributions, are statistically different at >0.0001 probability levels in each case (i.e. there is a >99.99%

probability that differences in these harvesting patterns could not have occurred by chance).

The slow speed (9 knots) of STCW boats compared to LTCW boats (16 knots) precludes the use of sonar (to detect whales) by the slower STCW boats: sonar emissions cause the whale to flee at too great a distance to allow the STCW boats to catch up with the whale. Consequently visual sighting is carried out by crew members from the masthead or wheelhouse roof on STCW boats, though an acoustic transmitter (without a receiver) is used to cause whales to surface. This non-locating device is necessary to ensure that female-calf pairs are not inadvertently hunted and to greatly reduce the time between sighting and harpooning of the whales.

Despite the skill of the whalers once whales have been sighted, about 37% of minke whale hunts are unsuccessful due to limited sighting range under frequently prevailing sea conditions (TC/42/SEST3: Figure 5). On the other hand, LTCW vessels can remain at sea and hunt effectively with sonar under weather conditions that will keep STCW boats in port.

**Manpower.** The eight Japanese STCW companies are mostly small family-owned businesses that employ few workers; before lay-offs caused by the zero-catch quotas, the average number of paid workers per STCW operation [in 1987] was 10, which includes the boat owners' wives, sons and their spouses (TC/42/SEST3: Table 1). In most cases these workers are residents of the same whaling village as the boat owner (*ibid*: 6).

The LTCW operations were markedly different: LTCW operations formed part of large national (as opposed to small local community-based) companies, and LTCW workers were recruited from locations throughout Japan (*ibid*: Table 2). The last season LTCW operated [1987], and despite the progressive shrinkage of LTCW operations in the immediately preceding years, the average number of salaried workers was still about 100 fulltime and 25 part-time per LTCW company (*ibid*: 8).

The qualifications of crew members are also markedly different. Crew members on STCW boats do not require formal training (except for the captain), and they are generally recruited locally and obtain their skills on the boat itself.

In the case of LTCW operations, crew members were recruited through national advertising or through the colleges where they received their formal training. The large-sized LTCW crews (22-25 men) include many specialized positions due to the need to service these ocean-going ships and their complex electronic and mechanical equipment whilst on extended voyages. Whereas on STCW boats most crew members can fill most positions (except harpooner and engineer), this is not the case on the LTCW boats where distinct and highly specialized roles (requiring specialized training) exist for most functions and are strictly maintained at all times.

**Ownership and Management.** Six of the eight STCW companies are owner operated; one company is a wholly owned subsidiary of a now-disbanded LTCW company

(though all management decisions are made by the local boat operator); the eighth STCW operation is managed by a local fisheries cooperative. Seven of the eight companies own a single STCW boat, and one company operates two boats.

Since the imposition of a minke whale zero-catch quota in 1988, these local operators have attempted to diversify their local businesses, including e.g. fish-farming, set-net operations, etc. (TC/42/SEST2). In contrast, large-scale diversification was a normal part of the LTCW parent companies operations. These national diversified companies, with head offices in Tokyo, were engaged in various national and overseas fisheries, as well as fish product processing and marketing, fish-farming, fertilizer and pharmaceutical manufacture, and various overseas joint venture operations.

The LTCW companies were public companies, with elected boards, publicly traded shares, and large numbers of shareholders' financial interests to consider. The STCW operations, on the other hand, are family run, without public boards, annual meetings or shareholders to satisfy (except in the single, small-scale case of the community-based fishery cooperative-managed STCW operation).

**Distribution of Whalemeat.** The critical differences between distribution of whale product in STCW and LTCW was also addressed last year (in IWC/44/SEST3).

The principal reasons for the critical distinctions existing between STCW and LTCW whale product distribution systems are:

- (1) differing production scale of the two fisheries,
- (2) differing consumer needs being served,
- (3) differing ownership and decision-making structures.

In brief, due to the small and irregular supply of whale meat landed at the designated STCW landing ports, only local buyers (serving local/prefectural customers) were ordinarily present to undertake commercial distribution. STCW consumers preferred fresh meat and this was quickly distributed through an efficient network of buyers as well as through a widespread gifting network within and adjacent to the producing community (see below).

This STCW distribution system is in contrast to the LTCW situation which operated in some of these same communities, where the large quantities of meat produced on a daily basis by the LTCW operation was too great for local consumption needs. To handle the large volume of product, LTCW landing stations could freeze, cook and can, salt, and otherwise process the edible whale products, which in that form could be marketed nationally in areas not served by the STCW fresh minke meat market.

The principal difference between STCW and LTCW product distribution however, results from the manner by which this commercial distribution was controlled. LTCW companies undertake capture, processing, distributing and wholesale marketing of the whale product and control each phase of the operation thus excluding various local and non-local middlemen. In order to control market forces

affecting the profitability of the operation, all decisions were made at corporate headquarters at a distance from the landing or processing site (IWC/44/SEST3).

In contrast, the STCW operators merely produce the meat (and in some cases may flense the whale); however, they do not engage in processing, distributing or marketing the products, phases of the operation carried out by local processors and distributors who have their own networks leading to the local consumers. The STCW producers have no direct influence over factors affecting market prices (see, e.g. IWC/40/23: 89, where for the beaked whale STCW fishery, the selling price was set by the producer at the very start of the whaling season and did not change during the season).

### FURTHER CRITICAL ASPECTS OF STCW AND LTCW DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS

Additional features of the distinctive STCW distribution system, including important gifting and exchange institutions, have been fully described in earlier reports, e.g., IWC/40/23: 32-51; IWC/41/SE1; IWC/41/SE3; TC/41/STW1; TC/42/SEST7; TC/42/SEST8; TC/42/SEST9; see also Kalland and Moeran 1992: 141-45.

The important socio-cultural distinctions flowing from the *localized* distribution of whale products in the STCW case in contrast to the *centralized* distribution in the LTCW case are summarized below.

**The Local Food Culture.** In the STCW case, the local food culture in the vicinity of the whaling communities is significantly based upon the STCW fresh-meat fishery for a large part of the year. Indeed, despite the seasonal consumption of other types of whale meat, the exacting requirements of the local food culture provide one of the most important reasons why STCW continued to co-exist in some of the same communities as LTCW fisheries. For whereas LTCW operations provided cheaper and more plentiful supplies of whale meat, this meat did not provide suitable ingredients for the locally valued traditional food culture based upon STCW production.

The relationship between the availability of culturally appropriate whale meat and this locally centred distribution system has been emphasized elsewhere (Takahashi et al. 1989: 128). The reasons for linking the availability of the appropriate foods to the social and religious wellbeing of the STCW communities has been documented by social scientists at successive IWC meetings (e.g. IWC/40/23: 66-74; IWC/41/SE3: 14-25, 27-31, 38-39; TC/41/STW1: 8-9, 21-27; TC/42/SEST8: 6-7, 25-33); see also Glass and England 1988; Kalland and Moeran 1992: 145-49; Ashkenazi and Jacob 1992.

In TC/43/SEST1 and IWC/44/SEST2, social scientists' understanding of the critical role of everyday (whale meat) food use [documented quantitatively for one STCW community in TC/42/SEST8], is thoroughly presented. It is apparent that everyday food use critically influences such important aspects of social development, family life and community solidarity as, e.g. socialization and role differentiation, moral ordering and cultural identity (TC/

43/SEST1; IWC/44/SEST4).

**Cultural Identity.** Culturally appropriate means of using local food resources over time provides one of the most enduring means of fashioning a distinctive local or regional identity.

The historic movement of Japanese whalers from western Japan to eastern and northern Japan (particularly during this century) has enabled individuals to continue their family occupations as whalers (IWC/40/23: 16), and has allowed the spread and ensured the continuity of whale-based cuisines having considerable antiquity yet local distinctiveness (*ibid*: 66-73). The relationship between this locally based distinctiveness and cultural identity has been emphasized in several studies (e.g. IWC/42/SE3: 29-36; Kalland and Moeran 1992: 156).

**Gift Exchange in Whaling Communities.** Whale meat, being a traditionally valued food item is used extensively in gift giving and occurs in both the STCW and LTCW context. However, it is particularly instructive to note the significant differences occurring between the STCW and LTCW situation.

As has been stated elsewhere (e.g. TC/42/SEST3: 22) the *quantity* of meat gifted is not the most important consideration when trying to understand the significance of the gift. Nor does it matter if items are purchased for the purpose of being given as a gift.

What is significant however, is the *community-wide extent* of the exchanges that occur between STCW boat owners and crew members to their relatives, neighbors, friends and associates, and then from these gift receivers out further to yet others in the community. This extensive community-wide activity occurs not just occasionally, but *every time* a whale is landed in the STCW community, and frequently involves exchanges between local residents and shrines and temples, consequently having enormous social, religious and cultural importance (e.g. IWC/41/SE1: 10-14; IWC/43/SE3: 21-24; Takahashi et al. 1989: 128).

This *extensive* and *frequent* system in STCW is in marked contrast to the quite *limited* and *infrequent* gift giving occurring in the LTCW fishery. In the LTCW situation only certain people (ordinarily the flensing station owner and a few neighboring households) receive gifts of meat from the boat operator, and these gifts do not occur each time a whale is landed, but rather, about once a month while the station operates (TC/42/SEST3: 22).

### WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE OPERATIONAL DIFFERENCES?

Clearly, from a whale-fishery management perspective these significant differences between STCW and LTCW operations indicate that quite different management regimes may be appropriate in each case.

The difference of scale is significant, because small boats and small crews mean smaller capital and operating costs, no shareholders' dividends or directors' fees to be paid, and therefore the likelihood that economic viability can be assured with a relatively small catch quota as was

the case in the immediate past. For example, STCW companies landed an average 106 tons of edible whale product annually (1982-87 data) in comparison with 1,489 tons annually for one LTCW company (1983-87 data; TC/42/SEST3: 10).

Second, the small range of the STCW boats ties them closely to designated landing ports. The slow speed of the boat and the requirement that the whale be quickly processed to ensure a high quality product reaches market (STCW minke whale consumers expect fresh, not frozen meat, to be available) results, in most cases, in a single whale being taken per trip (TC/42/SEST3: Table 6). Under these circumstances, given the public nature of the flensing operations (open shed or slipway flensing), inspection of the catch and enforcement of catch limits is easily insured.

Third, given the irregular availability and relatively small quantities of whale meat available on any given day at the designated STCW landing ports, distribution of the edible products could be restricted to traditional whale meat-dependent communities, in most cases within the prefecture of the landing port.

Indeed, a STCW Management Plan which anticipates cooperation between IWC, national and local management bodies has already been tabled at IWC by the Government of Japan (TC/42/SEST7). This plan aims to:

- maximize the efficient and humane catching of whales for human consumption and community wellbeing on a sustained basis;
- minimize loss of whales and product quality;
- ensure that the social and cultural benefits of consuming whale meat are maximized in STCW communities (by restricting distribution of edible products to distant urban centers);
- ensure administrative efficiency, responsible local involvement and independent inspection of STCW operations;
- ensure optimal collection of scientific information concerning the stock and the whaling operations for management purposes.

A quantitative assessment of the cultural need for minke whale meat in the Ayukawa-based STCW fishery has also been completed (TC/42/SEST8) based upon a methodology accepted by IWC for the Alaskan bowhead fishery and appropriately adapted to the cultural circumstances prevailing in Ayukawa.

The above text summarizes five years research and considerable subsequent discussion of these tabled research reports at Technical Committee Sub-Committee and Working Group meetings.

It is hoped this present review of the extensive relevant documentation will provide an accepted basis at this time for a just decision to be made in respect to meeting the documented cultural and community needs in the STCW communities.

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- TC/42/SEST8. Quantification of Local Need for Minke Whale for the Ayukawa-Based Minke Whale Fishery (by S.R. Braund et al.)
- TC/42/SEST9. Japan's Answers to Questions on Japanese STW (by Government of Japan)
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# LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELATED TO JAPANESE SMALL-TYPE COASTAL WHALING AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF A ZERO-CATCH LIMIT

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## **Small-Type Whaling in Japan's Coastal Seas**

Government of Japan, 1986 (TC/38/AS2)

The localized and small-scale nature of Japanese STCW, together with the socio-economic and cultural importance of whalemeat production and consumption in these small coastal communities is described. The report emphasizes the similarity, in social and cultural terms, of this local dependence upon whaling to that found in various aboriginal/subsistence whaling communities, and warns that the cessation of whaling will similarly undermine the solidarity and integrity of these traditional Japanese coastal communities.

## **History of the Consideration of Aboriginal/ Subsistence Whaling**

Government of Japan, 1987 (IWC/39/26)

The history of IWC use of the aboriginal exemption in setting catch quotas indicates that the emphasis has changed from earlier concerns with capture technology to recent emphasis upon exclusive local consumption of the products of the hunt (irrespective of who does the catching and the type of gear used) in order to meet whaling communities' nutritional, subsistence and cultural needs.

The report concludes that these changes in understanding have been necessary to account, for example, for changes taking place in modern whaling technology, hunting by non-aboriginal whalers to reduce efficiency of food capture, and the limited commercial exchanges now an essential part of modern aboriginal societies. It is suggested that as these traditional societies continue to change it will become increasingly difficult to distinguish between 'aboriginal' and other traditional coastal whaling societies.

## **Japan's Small-Type Subsistence Whaling**

Government of Japan 1987, (IWC/39/25)

This report provides a summary of Japan's position that several important similarities exist between small-type coastal whaling (STCW) and subsistence whaling carried out elsewhere by various aboriginal groups. An important common element existing in both categories of whaling is the local dependence upon whale meat production and consumption, and the part these activities play in maintaining a distinctive traditional cultural identity. The small amount of whale meat required to maintain these local cultural traditions in the case of the four Japanese STCW communities is made quite explicit in the report,

which also includes a proposed amendment to Schedule Paragraph 13(b).

## **Small-Type Coastal Whaling in Japan: Report of an International Workshop.**

T. Akimichi, P.J. Asquith, H. Befu, T.C. Bestor, S.R. Braund, M.M.R. Freeman, H. Hardacre, M. Iwasaki, A. Kalland, L. Manderson, B.D. Moeran and J. Takahashi 1988. (IWC/40/23)

To provide a factual assessment of the historical and socio-cultural significance of Japanese STCW, an international workshop was held in April 1988 attended by twelve social scientists from six countries (Australia, Canada, England, Japan, Norway and the U.S.). The workshop report (published in English as Occasional Paper No. 27, Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, Canada, 1988 and in Japanese as *Kujira no bunka jinruigaku: Nihon no kogata engan Hoge*, by Kaimeisha, Tokyo, 1989) is based upon intensive fieldwork in the four STCW communities and a thorough review of the relevant literature.

With its roots in 17th century net whaling, STCW is the most recent expression of the Japanese whaling culture complex. In its contemporary form, STCW is a small-scale stable fishery, based in four whaling communities close to the principal nearshore whaling grounds.

The distribution of whale products from these operations involves both monetized and non-monetized systems of exchange. Complete utilization of the whale carcass as food is characteristic of Japanese STCW. The customary whale-based cuisine maintained in the whaling communities serves important symbolic, ceremonial, and social needs within these societies.

Important aspects of the religious life of these small whaling communities are associated with whaling, including rites practised by whalers, their families and other members of the community. Such observances are the means by which peaceful repose of whale souls is assured and the spiritual soundness of the community maintained.

The report concludes that the distinctive history, means of production and distribution, food culture, ceremonial and religious characteristics of STCW when considered together, constitute a form of whaling that whilst sharing certain elements with both commercial and aboriginal/subsistence whaling, nevertheless is clearly distinguishable from both.

**Women's Tales of Whaling: Life Stories of 11 Japanese Women who Live with Whaling**

J. Takahashi, Japan Whaling Association, 1988 (Report distributed for information by the Government of Japan at the 41st IWC Annual Meeting)

Although whale production is traditionally an exclusively male-based activity, women play an indispensable supportive role as the wives of whalers, and as flensers, distributors of whale products and consumers. This report introduces eleven women whose lives in one way or another are or were involved with whaling. These women's role in the production phase center upon their important family-based supporting responsibilities. When considering the consumption phase however, their roles become even greater.

These accounts express a wide range of concerns, including worries about the psychological and social stress experienced by their children and husbands occasioned by the loss of security and the need to move to cities in search of work, of bewildering attacks on their respected traditions, and their assessment of international politics as it has come to affect their lives in these peripheral coastal communities.

**Report to the IWC Working Group on Socio-Economic Implications of a Zero-Catch Limit**  
Government of Japan, 1989 (IWC/41/21)

This report examines the socio-economic implications of the zero-catch quota which was imposed on pelagic and large-type coastal whaling operations in 1987 and upon the STCW minke whale operation in 1988. These zero-catch quotas, in addition to causing a series of socio-economic impacts have affected the spiritual, psychological, physical and cultural wellbeing of many people who are dependent upon the products of whaling. The report characterizes the socio-economic dislocations at four levels: the individual, the family, the community, and beyond.

The zero-catch limit has affected individuals economically, socially, culturally and, in some cases, in respect to health. Effects have been manifested in the failures of small family businesses in the whaling villages, job losses, the lack of suitable re-employment options and the consequent need to accept unsatisfactory low-paying seasonal or temporary positions which in some cases involve family separation or relocation. The difficulties faced by laid-off whalers, resident in small and remote communities, when seeking new jobs result from the specialized nature of their occupational skills, their age, and the particularities of Japanese employment and fishery practices which, *inter alia*, severely restricts opportunities for self-employment.

As whalers enjoyed prestige in their communities, job loss invokes especially acute social and psychological stresses for both the workers and their families. Within the family, newly-created interpersonal stresses occur, which are having harmful effects on children. Apart from financial losses to families and to local businesses (including those unconnected with whaling), the survival of such critical village institutions as local Fishery Cooperative

Associations is seriously undermined.

Tourism, as a source of revenue for these remote communities, is highly dependent upon the local availability of whale meat, which also plays an important role in various religious and community celebrations vital to the maintenance of social solidarity. These socio-economic and cultural impacts in their various forms pose a serious threat to the continued survival of these small traditional communities.

**Socio-Economic Implications of a Zero-Catch Limit on Distribution Channels and Related Activities in Hokkaido and Miyagi Prefectures, Japan**

T.C. Bestor, 1989 (IWC/41/SE1)

Anthropological field research on the lives of people directly involved in STCW operations, as well as in the distribution of its products and related activities, was undertaken in Hokkaido and Miyagi prefectures in 1988, the first year when the taking of coastal minke whales was totally banned. The imposition of the zero-catch limit has had a noticeable impact on whaling communities in these two prefectures in such areas as employment, the viability of family enterprises, customary social relations, social rituals, the viability of key local institutions in the general maritime economy in Ayukawa (i.e. the local Fishery Cooperative Association), the economic foundation of community life, and strongly held customary patterns of whale meat consumption. Problems associated with attempts to mitigate these serious negative impacts are also discussed.

**Small-Type Coastal Whaling in Ayukawa: Draft Report of Research**

L. Manderson and H. Hardacre, 1989 (IWC/41/SE3)

This report is based upon fieldwork undertaken by the authors in the period December 1988 - January 1989. The period of fieldwork allowed the researchers the opportunity to participate in the New Year-associated religious and ceremonial life of Ayukawa village. The report contains extensive descriptions of public and domestic ritual and everyday celebrations, whilst drawing especially upon data obtained through 250 hours of interviewing some seventy local informants. The report focuses attention upon a number of significant areas of village life: e.g., gift exchange (in which whale products are essential), the local whale-based cuisine, the effects of greatly reduced employment in socio-culturally and economically important whaling-related occupations. The report concludes that the severe reduction in whaling is creating serious hardships, both to individual families and to various community-wide institutions, such that these impacts together threaten the continued existence of the village as a viable community.

**Contemporary Socio-Cultural Characteristics of Japanese Small-Type Coastal Whaling**

S.R. Braund, M.M.R. Freeman and M. Iwasaki-Goodman, 1989 (TC/41/STW1)

Based on a variety of documentary sources and fieldwork in the four Japanese STCW communities, this report summarizes the socio-cultural importance of STCW

in contemporary Japan. This form of whaling represents the most recent manifestation of the historical whaling tradition in Japan, meets important contemporary needs associated with, e.g., the high symbolic value of whales and whaling, the high dietary value placed on whale products, the high value of whale meat in gift exchanges and for various other ceremonial purposes, the maintenance of distinctive regional cuisines and identity, occupational prestige, the importance of transferring traditional skills, values and attitudes intergenerationally, and in maintaining the spiritual bonds that have long been celebrated between whales and whalers.

#### **Japanese Whaling Culture: Continuities and Diversities**

J. Takahashi, A. Kalland, B. Moeran and T.C. Bestor, 1989 (TC/41/STW2)

This report (subsequently published in *Maritime Anthropological Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2: 105-133, 1989) details the historical background of pre-modern and modern whaling in Japan and describes the three main types of whaling practised there in recent decades: large-type coastal whaling, pelagic whaling, and STCW. By comparing these three forms of whaling, the report demonstrates that there are distinct sets of production-related activities that exhibit a high degree of continuity within both the catching and processing phases of whaling. At the same time, various distinctive social and cultural institutions serve to bridge the differences that do exist between these different forms of whaling. The continuities and similarities between the different forms of whaling, together with the distinctive bridging institutions, provide the rationale for recognizing that an integrated whaling culture exists in Japan.

#### **The Spread of Whaling Culture in Japan**

A. Kalland, 1989 (TC/41/STW3)

This report analyses the ways in which whaling operations and the associated culture was transmitted from southern to northern regions of Japan through the centuries-long history of Japanese whaling. The widespread diffusion of the Japanese whaling culture is a direct consequence of the mobility of the whaling operations. Transmission of specialized skills and the recruitment patterns for skilled workers have been important elements in this diffusion process, together with the mobility of whaling fleets, technological expansion and group exclusivity. Thus despite the geographical expansion of whaling, the continuity and coherence of the Japanese whaling culture has been successfully maintained over several centuries.

#### **Socio-Economic Countermeasure in the Four Japanese STCW Communities**

Government of Japan, 1990 (TC/42/SEST2)

This report sets out to answer questions concerning the degree to which countermeasures have been implemented in order to minimize or offset the various impacts associated with the zero-catch quotas imposed in 1988 on minke whaling in Japan's coastal waters. Numerous counter-

measures have been put into effect at three distinct levels in the four STCW communities: (1) individual initiatives (e.g. salmon farming), (2) community initiatives (e.g. tourism development) and (3) national government initiatives (e.g. economic transfers, and distribution of by-product from the Antarctic research operation).

An evaluation of the numerous attempted countermeasures indicates that quite limited benefits have resulted, other efforts are clearly unsustainable, and the prognosis for future benefits are poor for a number of geographical and ecological reasons. The zero-catch quota for minke whales continues to seriously undermine the sustainability of the formerly stable and small-scale coastal whaling operations which, by means of radical restructuring, have instituted a sort-term adaptation to the current reduced whale catch quotas.

#### **Distinguishing between Japanese STCW and LTCW in Relation to Coastal Whale Fishery Management**

Government of Japan, 1990 (TC/42/SEST3)

By reference to a variety of sociological, operational and management-related characteristics of Japanese large- and small-type coastal whaling operations, the distinguishing features of these two quite distinct fisheries are made explicit. The paper sets out a sufficient number of definitional and operational criteria, relating more especially to the significantly different scale of operations, enabling a rational formulation of a management plan exclusively applicable to small-scale STCW operations. The exclusivity of such a management plan would, through detailed regulatory requirements, maintain effective separation between the industrial-scale nationally-centred LTCW operations and the small-scale community-based STW operations.

#### **Operational Plan for Japanese Small-Type Whaling**

Government of Japan, 1990 (TC/42/SEST7)

This paper details a community-based management plan for small-type whaling (STW) developed by community leaders in Ayukawa (Miyagi Prefecture) and Abashiri (Hokkaido Prefecture). The plan, conforming to national and IWC directives, is designed to ensure that STW remains small-scale and locally centred so as to be unambiguously distinct from all other forms of coastal and pelagic whaling. The management plan proposes ways to maximize whale conservation as well as ensuring maximum cultural and socio-economic benefits derived from whaling remain within the local whaling communities. These particular benefits are considered necessary for the continued survival of these threatened local societies, and consequently the operational plan has resulted from the cooperation of a number of relevant community associations and local government departments.

#### **Quantification of Local Need for Minke Whale for the Ayukawa-Based Minke Whale Fishery**

Government of Japan, 1990 (TC/42/SEST8)

A questionnaire survey was designed and carried out (by S.R. Braund and Associates, Anchorage, Alaska) in

Oshika, Onagawa and Ishinomaki (communities within the traditional whale meat consumption area supplied by Ayukawa-based whaling operations). The survey was based on methods successfully developed to quantify culturally important uses of whale meat in Alaska. Modifications in survey design and delivery, deemed necessary to suit the particular cultural and practical circumstances existing in Japan, were incorporated and validated through a pre-test survey in the communities.

Occasions when whale meat has cultural importance outside of customary, everyday, use include 15 classes of occasion with Buddhist and Shinto significance, nine predominantly secular events having minor religious significance, three events celebrating kin-based reunions, and two events when formal hospitality is provided non-kin guests. There were some further locally important culturally significant uses involving, e.g., whale-boat owners' gifting obligations and community institutions' need for whalemeat for particular occasions. Based upon the results of this survey, the total number of minke whale consumed for culturally and socially significant purposes (in an appropriately selected sample year) was 40 in Oshika, 30 in Onagawa and 146 in Ishinomaki, for a total of 216 minke whale, or about 250 tonnes of whale meat.

#### **Japan's Answers to Questions on Japanese STCW**

Government of Japan, 1990 (TC/42/SEST9)

This paper provides answers to ten questions asked by the United Kingdom through the IWC Secretariat in 1989 related to: catch records, quantity of edible meat produced, quantity of edible meat used for human consumption, amount of meat used for non-commercial purposes (e.g. gifting or domestic use), proportion of meat entering direct sale or via an intermediary, the monetary value of the commercial exchange, quantity of edible meat discarded, annual per capita consumption of whale meat, length of time cold-storage supplies of whale meat remains useable, the non-whaling economic activities of the small-type coastal whalers.

#### **Whaling Towns and Tourism: Possibilities for Development of Tourism at the Former Whaling Towns — Taiji, Wada and Ayukawa**

N.H.H. Graburn, 1990 (Report distributed for information purposes by the Government of Japan at 42nd IWC Meeting)

The potential for tourism development at the former [sic] whaling towns was assessed in the light of the recent boom in rural tourism occurring in Japan. The symbolic and practical considerations associated with successful tourism development in Japan were reviewed. The study concludes that Taiji stands as a test case for the other two whaling towns which lack the necessary attractions for successful tourism development as well as requiring very costly improvements in transportation infrastructure and promotion as tourist destinations.

However, even if such developments were to be successfully implemented, they will provide very limited

relief for those recently laid off from whaling. The development of successful tourism appears to depend upon continued whaling in these otherwise non-noteworthy villages. In the absence of continued whaling as a marketable unique local cultural highlight, attempts to base tourism upon historic connections to whaling puts the communities into competition with each other for tourism-development resources.

#### **Endangered Culture: Japanese Whaling in Cultural Perspective**

A. Kalland and B. Moeran, 1990 (Monograph distributed by the Government of Japan for information purposes at 42nd IWC Meeting)

This report (subsequently published as a book, *Japanese Whaling: End of an Era?*, by Curzon Press, London 1992) provides an anthropological account of the Japanese whaling culture and discusses what happens when that culture is threatened. The historical development of whaling in Japan and the work organization of those employed in the different forms of Japanese whaling are described, together with the role of the whaling companies in the local and national economy.

Attention is given to the role of whales in establishing and maintaining local community identity, through such important cultural institutions as the food culture, ritual and ceremonial observances, and gift-giving (all of which retain great significance in contemporary Japan). The book also explains the basis of recent growth of non-Japanese cultural attachment to the whale and how this has been transformed into political action affecting management decisions that have culminated in the IWC whaling moratorium.

#### **The Cultural Significance of Everyday Food Use**

Government of Japan, 1991 (TC/43/SEST1)

This report is in two parts. Part I provides the current scientific understanding of the social and cultural importance of everyday food use in human societies, based upon an extensive review of the most pertinent research in this area. Part II provides a detailed account of the use of whale meat and blubber in Japanese small-type whaling communities within the appropriate context, namely the distinctive structure of the Japanese meal.

The report concludes that the social and cultural value accorded a fundamental core-food item in a complex traditional cuisine is of far greater significance to that society than the nutritional importance of that particular food. The high values in question are rooted in a variety of historical, symbolic, aesthetic, social and locational considerations that when unfulfilled represent a profoundly damaging loss to the communities in question.

#### **Socio-Economic Implications of Zero-Catch Limit: Some Examples of Small-type Whaling**

Government of Japan, 1991 (TC/43/SEST2)

This report comments on the several negative impacts continuing to be experienced at the level of small-type whaling (STW) boat owner, crew member and community

as the zero-catch quota on minke whales is prolonged. Despite various efforts undertaken to mitigate these impacts, these have not improved the progressively deteriorating situation in the communities. Apart from the distress caused to the eight STW boat owners and crew members involved in small-scale coastal whaling, the future of the associated local non-whale fisheries in some of these communities is equally imperilled. The important difference between this situation and that occurring in other countries due to collapse of various fish stocks is noted.

#### **Summaries of Documents on Socio-Economic Implications and Small-type Whaling**

Government of Japan 1991, (TC/43/SEST3)

This report consists of an annotated list of some of the reports submitted by the Government of Japan over the past six years to the Technical Committee Working Group on Socio-economic Implications and Small-Type Whaling (STW).

The reports variously provide information on the historical role, geographical distribution and contemporary socio-cultural significance of STW in Japan, the differences between STW and large-type whaling in Japan, and a proposed operational plan for STW that whilst conforming to national and IWC directives is designed to ensure that STW can be defined and managed so as to maintain its unambiguous distinction from large-scale commercial whaling. Also included in the fifteen official IWC reports briefly described and identified in this paper are a number that detail the various implications (at individual, family and community level) caused by the minke whale zero-catch quota.

#### **Age Difference in Food Preference with regard to Whale meat: Report of a Questionnaire Survey in Oshika Township**

Government of Japan, 1991 (TC/43/SEST4)

This report provides analysis of a survey conducted in one small-type whaling district during 1988. A three-page questionnaire was administered to a randomly selected sample of 500 adult community members and to the entire (N=94) 14-year-old student population in local schools. A series of 13 questions allowed a quantitative assessment of the extent of whale meat use in the everyday diet, the preference people in different age groups expressed toward whale meat, the effect of the whaling ban upon their dietary habits, and the acceptability of substitutes for whale meat. The report illustrates the important attachment to whale meat that continues to exist in these traditional whaling districts, and the extent to which youth, as well as adults, share these views.

#### **Summary of Whale Meat as a Component of the Changing Japanese Diet**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/44/SEST2)

This report summarizes the results of a detailed investigation, made available as Whale Meat as a Component of the Changing Japanese Diet in Hokkaido,

M. Ashkenazi and J. Jacobs, Ben Gurion University, 1992). This research was based upon extensive interviews and household questionnaires administered in six Japanese cities in 1990-91.

The study provides an anthropological understanding of the role of whale meat in the contemporary Japanese food culture, and concludes that the Japanese people favor whale meat for particular stated reasons. Eating whale meat is undeniably a part of Japanese culture and has special significance at the regional and local level. This report also discusses the relationship currently existing between the customary whale-based cuisine and local peoples' identity as members of small-type whaling communities.

#### **Commercial Distribution of Whale Meat: An Overview**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/44/SEST3)

This paper provides answers to a number of questions about Japanese small-type whaling (STW) asked at the 43rd IWC meeting. Answers to each of these questions provides references to earlier IWC documents where more empirical detail is provided.

Answers to the following questions are provided: (1) Why are some parts of the meat from STW operations sold in distant markets, and what is the recent estimation of the quantity of meat sold outside the (producing) region? (2) What is the difference between the commercial distribution resulting from STW and other types of whaling? (3) What is the nature of commercial distribution of whale meat from STW? (4) What is the noncommercial distribution of whale meat in the STW communities?

The paper concludes by commenting critically on the usefulness of continuing to pursue this line of questioning, and suggests that the approach pursued by social scientists in dealing with these and similar questions has more validity and usefulness in seeking a complete understanding of STW.

#### **The Importance of Everyday Food Use**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/44/SEST4)

The whalemeat dependence of various coastal communities in Japan is only in small part derived from the high nutritional value of whalemeat as a dietary staple. Far greater dependence derives from the distinctive cultural values associated with harvesting, processing, distributing, preparing and consuming this customary foodstuff.

This report considers only the cultural importance of consuming whalemeat. Reference is made to the extensive social science literature supporting theory that relates the fundamental social and cultural importance of everyday food patterns to the maintenance of harmonious human group life. This relationship is particularly marked in hierarchical societies (where social rank is formally recognized) a notable example of which is Japan.

The difficulty certain Japanese communities experience in maintaining their social vitality during protracted interruptions in supplies of fresh whalemeat customary in the local diet becomes understandable in relation to the

explanations provided in this paper.

**A Critical Evaluation of the Relationship between Cash Economies and Subsistence Activities**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/44/SEST5)

Controversy and confusion surrounding the term 'subsistence' results from its widespread misuse in everyday speech as well as in many jurisdictional (including IWC) situations, where the term is applied in the absence of an appropriate definition. Despite this confusion, the term subsistence is usually well-defined and unambiguously used in the recent (specialist) scientific literature.

This paper provides a full explanation of how the term is currently defined and used in recent scientific studies, and makes clear the relationship existing between subsistence and those monetized economic systems with which it is integrated in varying degree.

In view of the common belief that 'subsistence' and 'commercial' categories provide a sound basis for whale management, this paper indicates the erroneous and untenable nature of that particular belief in relation to current scientific understandings.

**Similarities and Diversity in Coastal Whaling Operations: A Comparison of Small-Scale Whaling Activities in Greenland, Iceland, Japan and Norway**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/44/SEST6)

This report (published as Volume II, Report of the Symposium on Utilization of Marine Living Resources for Subsistence, Institute of Cetacean Research, Tokyo, 1992) results from the deliberations of an International Study Group (chaired by Professor Brian Moeran, University of London) that met in January 1992.

The relevance of recent sustainable development strategies for achieving a moderated ecological relationship between human societies and their needed local resources was the starting point for considering improved ways of providing a sound (i.e. sustainable and equitable) whale management regime.

The group considered the relationship between technology, resources, personnel organization, product distribution patterns, local cultural practices, and community identity as found in small-scale whaling operations carried out in Greenland, Iceland, Japan and Norway.

In light of recent criticism that IWC does not employ current, enlightened, thinking concerning living resource management, the working group recommended re-examination of current practice, according to four specific criteria that would address the most glaring inadequacies.

**Proposal for Definition of Small-Type Whaling**

Government of Japan, 1992 (IWC/SEST/WP1)

In view of the considerable time and effort expended in discussing the extensive documentation made available on Japanese small-type whaling (STW) over the past seven years, this paper provides a working definition as follows: STW operations are small-scale, locally managed

and operated, with the distribution of whale products being locally centralized. The STW fishery sustains customs and institutions which are socially, culturally, economically and nutritionally important to the local whaling communities.

The paper suggests a number of future objectives for the Technical Committee Working Group on Socio-Economic Implications and Small-Type Whaling (IWC/SEST) following reinstatement of a minke whale harvest.

**APPENDIX:  
RESEARCHERS INVOLVED WITH  
GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN STUDIES ON  
STCW & SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT  
STUDIES**

- Dr. T. Akimichi, Professor of Anthropology, National Museum of Ethnology, Japan
- Dr. R.R. Andersen, Professor of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada
- Dr. M. Ashkenazi, Lecturer in Anthropology, Department of Behavioral Sciences, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel
- Dr. P.J. Asquith, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Calgary, Canada
- Mr. S.R. Braund, President, S.R. Braund & Associates, Anchorage, U.S.A.
- Dr. H. Befu, Professor of Anthropology, Stanford University, U.S.A.
- Dr. T.C. Bestor, Associate Professor of Anthropology & East Asian Studies, Columbia University, U.S.A.
- Dr. M.M.R. Freeman, Henry M. Tory Professor of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Canada
- Dr. N.H.H. Graburn, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.
- Dr. H. Hardacre, Professor of Modern Asian Studies, Griffith University, Australia
- Ms. M. Iwasaki-Goodman, Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology, University of Alberta, Canada
- Ms. Jeanne Jacob, Scientific Editor, Faculty of Health Sciences, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
- Dr. A. Kalland, Senior Research Fellow, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Denmark
- Dr. J.A. Kruse, Professor of Public Policy, University of Alaska, Anchorage, U.S.A.
- Dr. L. Manderson, Professor of Tropical Health (Anthropology), University of Queensland, Australia
- Dr. B.D. Moeran, Professor of Japanese Anthropology, University of London, United Kingdom
- Mr. C.W. Nicol, Special Advisor, Ministry of Environment, Japan
- Ms. K. Ohmagari, Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Canada
- Dr. J. Takahashi, Associate Professor of International Studies, Obirin University, Japan

**SMALL-TYPE WHALING AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF A ZERO CATCH LIMIT**

**Documents Submitted by Japan to the IWC 1986-92**

			Based Minke Whale Fishery
		TC/42/SEST9	Japan's Answers to Questions on Japanese STCW
		No number	Whaling Towns and Tourism: Possibilities for Development of Tourism at the Former Whaling Towns — Taiji, Wada and Ayukawa
1986	TC/38/AS2		
1987	IWC/39/25		
	IWC/39/26	No number	Endangered Culture: Japanese Whaling in Cultural Perspective
1988	IWC/40/23	1991	TC/43/SEST1
	No number		TC/43/SEST2
1989	IWC/41/21		TC/43/SEST3
	IWC/41/SE1		TC/43/SEST4
	IWC/41/SE3	1992	IWC/44/SEST2
	TC/41/STW1		IWC/44/SEST3
	TC/41/STW2		IWC/44/SEST4
	TC/41/STW3		IWC/44/SEST5
1990	TC/42/SEST2		IWC/44/SEST6
	TC/42/SEST3		IWC/44/SEST/WPI
	TC/42/SEST7		No number
	TC/42/SEST8		



# ACTION PLAN FOR JAPANESE COMMUNITY-BASED WHALING (CBW)

The Government of Japan  
1993

## 1. DEFINITION:

Community-based whaling is small scale yet having significant socio-economic, cultural and dietary importance within local communities. This community-based whaling shares to a large degree socio-cultural characteristics found in many subsistence-based societies. These characteristics include, e.g. local residence of boat owners and crew members, the widespread gift and ritual exchanges of whale products within the community, and gifts to kin members and friends residing outside the community, and the transmission of whaling lore and skills from generation to generation within the community. As with other hunting societies practicing subsistence, profound social and cultural significance is associated with catching, processing, distributing, consuming and celebrating the catch in conformity with local tradition (IWC/44/SEST5) to the extent that interference with these practices seriously endangers the viability and vitality of these traditional societies (e.g. IWC/41/SE1; IWC/41/SE3).

The products of community-based whaling are primarily to be consumed in these existing whaling communities. The sizes of the vessels used by the community-based whaling are not more than 26 metres in length, less than 50 tons in weight. The area in which the community-based whaling operates does not exceed 50 nautical miles off the Japanese coasts.

## 2. IDENTIFICATION OF THE COMMUNITY-BASED WHALING COMMUNITIES:

The following four coastal communities are identified as the community-based whaling communities. The whale products taken by the community-based whaling are exclusively for local consumption by the four communities identified below.

- 1) Abashiri in north-eastern Hokkaido
- 2) Ayukawa on the north-eastern tip of Oshika Peninsula in Miyagi Prefecture, Honshu
- 3) Wada on the Pacific coast of Chiba Prefecture, Honshu
- 4) Taiji on the Pacific coast of Kii Peninsula, Wakayama Prefecture, Honshu

## 3. SPECIFICATION FOR OPERATIONS OF COMMUNITY-BASED WHALING:

### (1) The port of landing the whaling products:

- 1) Abashiri City on the north-east coast of Hokkaido in the Sea of Okhotsk in the Sub-Area 11 specified by the North Pacific minke whale trial by IWC Scientific Committee (IWC/45/4)
- 2) Akkeshi-cho off south-east coast of Hokkaido, provided the products landed there are immediately transferred to Ayukawa, Taiji and Wada in the Sub-Area 7
- 3) Ayukawa off Sanriku, on the Pacific Coast of Oshika Peninsula in the Sub-Area 7

### (2) Areas of Operation

Areas of operation are generally identified as shaded area in the Annex to this paper. They are all within 50 miles off the coastal line of Japan.

## 4. DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION OF MINKE WHALES TAKEN BY THE CBW

The minke whales caught by the CBW shall be exclusively distributed and consumed in the local communities specified in the Paragraph 2 above. The term and the conditions for such distribution and consumption shall be as follows:

- 1) 80% of the whalemeat should be consumed in the respective community identified in the Paragraph 2 above for the exclusive use by the community.
- 2) 20% of the whalemeat may be distributed and consumed in the adjacent areas of the respective community identified in the Paragraph 2 above by the relatives and the related facilities and locations which have historical adherence to the CBW communities.

## 5. ESTABLISHMENT OF CATCH LIMITS:

- 1) Catch Limit shall be established, in principle, by calculation using the Catch Limit Algorithm specified in the Revised Annex H (RMP) of the Report of the Scientific Committee (IWC/45/4). However, until such time as the catch limits are

established according to the above method, catch limits of the Interim Relief Allocation (IRA) shall be established according to the best available scientific evidence obtained by the IWC/SC Comprehensive Assessment and the Report of the North Pacific minke whale stock trial Working Group under the RMP.

- 2) Catch Limits to be established for the Interim Relief Allocation as specified above are as follows:
  - (1) Sub-Area 11..... 13 animals (July-September)
  - (2) Sub-Area 7.....37 animals (April-September)

Those catch limits are set fully taking into account of stock identification and fishing season in which no mixing occur from the Sea of Japan stock to Sub-Area 11 and Sub-Area 7.

**6. SUPERVISION AND CONTROL:**

Each land station shall accept a national inspector and an international observer to fully make sure the operations comply with the Revised Management System. Such an inspector shall collect the data specified in RMS.

**7. SURVEY AND MONITORING:**

Japanese Government shall continuously conduct research on the stock abundance and monitoring in accordance with the Guideline for Conducting Survey of RMS.

**8. NUMBER OF VESSELS:**

A maximum of 9 vessels only belonging to the CBW communities identified in the foregoing Paragraph 2 and licenced since 1954 shall be used.

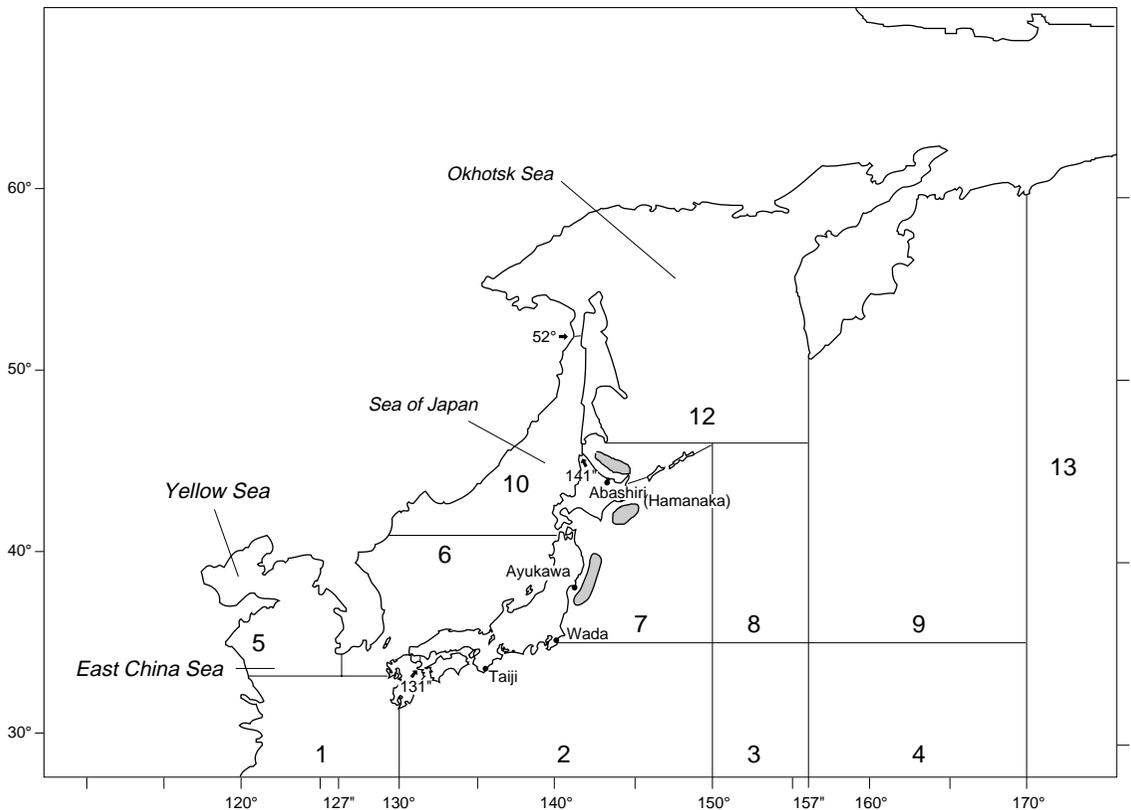
**9. VERIFICATION:**

Each vessel shall be equipped with the Global Positioning System (GPS) to identify the location of the operating vessel on real-time basis and the location shall be monitored by a national inspector at all times.

**10. REPORTING:**

A national inspector shall report catch data and other data collected from each vessel required by the minimum data standard under RMS to IWC Secretariat.

Figure 1 Map showing location of past whaling grounds and the 13 sub-areas chosen for the implementation trials (see text)



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**STATEMENT FROM YOJIRO TOBA**  
**CHAIRMAN, JAPAN SMALL-TYPE WHALING ASSOCIATION**  
**FOR THE WORKING GROUP ON**  
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATION AND SMALL-TYPE WHALING**

The Government of Japan  
1993

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Thank you, Mr. Chairman. People who do not want us to go whaling are saying that Japan does not need to go whaling because Japan is a modern developed country, and Japanese do not need to eat whale meat.

Yes, of course, Japan is a major economic power in the world today. The economic might of Japan's cities is one symbol of our country. But the cities are just one symbol. Another is the small communities like mine, one in which the local fishermen are dependent for their livelihoods on the resources of the sea near our homes. Our lives are culturally simpler, economically simpler than the lives of those in Japan's cities. But we too are part of the history and the modern life of Japan.

Those of you here from many countries have important jobs for the national and international responsibilities of your countries. I respect that. We respect that. We recognise that IWC is one of those important responsibilities of your work.

But we in simpler communities also have responsibilities. We provide food for the people who share our lives. In this way we make our contribution to society. And we are proud that we make this contribution.

It is also our responsibility, our duty, and our wish, to pass on to the next generations this way of living, of contributing.

And those who have nothing to do with our way of life in local communities have no right to try to deny us this responsibility. They must not use international conferences about the environment to deprive us of our way of life.

Ladies and gentleman, we have tried hard for many years to work with IWC. I have been coming to meetings of IWC for several years. So have many other Japanese whalers. But if IWC refuses to understand how important it is to us and for us to ensure the continuity of our communities' way of life, if IWC refuses — again — to grant our reasonable interim request for only 50 minke whales, then, I promise you, we shall do all we can to see that Japan finally withdraws from IWC. Our lives, and those of our children and grandchildren will depend on it. Please understand.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

