

## CHAPTER XVIII

### INDUSTRY AND POLITICS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

During the European War, Japan effected expansion in every field. Newspapers also expanded. Their circulations doubled and tripled. The position of newspapermen was elevated. Income from advertisements enormously increased.

In 1877 there were 225 papers with a total yearly circulation of 37,683, 830. Ten years later, namely in 1887, there were 470 papers with a total circulation of 95,932,270 a year. In 1897, 745 papers and a yearly circulation of 431,810,000 are recorded. There were in 1916, the year after the great war broke out, 88 papers with a total circulation of 4,300,000 a day. Of these figures, 15 were Tokyo, 6 Osaka and 67 provincial papers. The daily circulation of Tokyo papers was 1,588,278, and that of Osaka papers was 765,554. This shows a large increase over the daily circulation in 1896 of Tokyo papers at 70,000, that in 1905 at 850,000, and that in November of 1912 at 510,000. The circulation of papers jumped to higher figures up to the Spring of 1918. The following is a table of the circulations of leading papers in March, 1918.

Osaka Mainichi .....	500,000
Osaka Asahi .....	500,000
Tokyo Nichi-Nichi .....	335,000
Hochi .....	280,000
Kokumin .....	200,000
Tokyo Asahi .....	190,000
Tokyo Mainichi .....	125,000
Yorozu Choho .....	120,000
Yamato .....	120,000
Jiji Shimpō .....	100,000
Miyako .....	60,000
Chu-wo .....	55,000
Yomiuri .....	45,000
Chugai Shogyo .....	35,000
Tokyo Mainichi .....	20,000
Niroku .....	20,000

Japan's expansion during the great war was remarkable. She accumulated wealth. The effort toward economic progress took its place at the head of all aspirations of the Japanese nation. All the people concentrated their efforts on an economic ascendancy. As a result, Japan's wealth increased so much that it was said that the monetary power was passing from Europeans to the peoples of America and Japan. M. A. Demangeon, Professor of Geography at the Sorbonne, says in his work, "Le Declin De L'Europe":

"Depopulated and impoverished, will Europe be likely to hold the economic ties that have been the foundation of her wealth? Will she continue to be the great bank furnishing the capital, now the Powers Japan and, above all, the United States, have become her rivals. Will the equipment that transports from sea to sea the men and the products of the earth remain in her hands? Other merchant marines are being built to dispute the profitable monopoly. Will she be always the great factory selling to young peoples the manufactured articles? In the United States and Japan great industries are organizing and developing in menacing opposition. Will she always be the great economic force? No longer is she alone in exploring, colonizing and financing."

Professor Demangeon points out the vitality and power of "certain nations outside Europe, some,

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like the United States, nourished by the blood of Europe, others, like Japan, modelled on Europe's advice."

He says in the same book, "In the Far East, Japan was soaring in full economic flight when the war broke out. Beginning with 17,000 tons in 1868, her steam merchant fleet amounted to 1,514,000 tons in 1913, giving her the sixth place among the nations. It controlled nearly half her foreign trade. With the war a new field opened; the ships of Europe had to be replaced. Soon Japanese industry reaped huge profits."

To comprehend the extent of this evolution it is necessary to study a brief analysis of Japan's foreign trade for the years 1904, 1914, and 1917:

### Japanese Exports

Value, in millions of yen, of goods exported by Japan to various countries:

	1904	%	1914	%	1917	%
Asia ...	184	42	277	47	704	44
Europe ...	72.8	23	91.7	15	335.1	21
America ..	104	33	202	34	503	32
Others ...	7	2	18	4	54	13

### Japanese Imports

Value, in millions of yen, of goods imported into Japan from various countries:

	1904	%	1914	%	1917	%
Asia .....	132	49	304	52	475	47
Europe ...	120	32	158	27	82	8
America ...	53.9	16	100	17	376.7	38
Others ...	7	3	22	4	63	7

The above figures show how great Japan's economic development was during the war. Noticing the steady pre-war growth, amounting to an increase of ten times in the twenty-three years 1890-1913 and remembering Japan's nearness to the huge markets of the Asiatic mainland, the vice-president of the Federal Export Corporation of New York

may well say: "Japan, commercially, hasn't even started yet." Japan sells her products to the Asiatic countries in the monsoon zone which stretches from Siberia to India, while she buys rice from China and Indo-China, and India. Demangeon says there is a rice civilization and a rice sympathy. It is a law of nature that is urging Japan to the domination of the yellow races. From 1914 to 1917 Japanese exports to India multiplied four times; to the Dutch East Indies seven times; to the Philippines three times; and to Australia almost three times.

However, Japan's expansion during and after the war caused suspicion on the part of other nations, especially the Americans. The bogey of an American-Japanese war obsessed the minds of many Americans before the Washington Conference was opened in 1921. Regarding this question, Okuma, then Premier in 1916, said "The population of Japan, it is quite true, is increasing at a high rate, but this is only a welcome sign that there is a bright future for the Japanese race. For the moment a nation ceases to increase in population, it falls back from the first rank of progressive peoples. Why, then, should our American friends worry over the future of our expanding race? Why indeed? They evidently believe that territorial aggrandizement is necessary to efficient colonization. But I am myself fully convinced that the end is rapidly drawing near of that diplomacy which regards territorial inroads as the necessary prelude to efficient colonization. If I am mistaken in this conviction of mine, permanent peace among nations will never come."

America, like other countries,

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came to fear Japan's expansion and development. She tried everything possible to check the development of the Japanese race. She proposed the internationalization of the South Manchuria Railway. She enacted various anti-Japanese legislatures in California. America came forward with a huge Naval programme.

In a series of articles entitled "The Tendency of the American Navy," which appeared in the columns of the Kokumin, a militarist paper, in June 1916, a Naval writer concluded by saying, "the statement often made by responsible men on both sides of the Pacific that America has no intention of entering into armed conflict with Japan, should not be taken to imply that the United States Navy will never be in a position to challenge our Navy to a trial of strength."

In the year 1916 the Kenseikai, the party which secured an overwhelming victory in the election carried out on May 10 this year, was organized by the amalgamation of the Doshikai with two other parties which supported the Okuma Ministry. It was the occasion of an interesting editorial in the Tokyo Asahi describing the kaleidoscopic changes in Japanese political circles during the past five years. "Baron Goto [now Viscount], and Mr. Kiyoshi Nakashoji, who assisted Prince Katsura in organizing the Doshikai, have long since returned to the 'transcendental' or non-party group, and have now joined the 'transcendental' cabinet, in power at the expense of the Doshikai," says the Asahi. "Mr. Oishi, one of the five Kokuminto leaders who rallied to the banner of Prince Katsura, at present appears to be more sympathetic to

the Seiyukai than to the Doshikai, while Mr. Ozaki, who five years ago denounced Prince Katsura and his party in the most critical terms, is to-day one of the pillars of the Kenseikai party. Marquis Okuma, at one time so closely identified with the Kokuminto, is now the virtual leader of the men who but a short time ago deserted that party to shake hands with the Choshu clansmen under the banner of the Doshikai. Many of the politicians, especially the former followers of Viscount Oura, who have now united themselves under the name of the Kenseikai, were 'transcendentalists', but the wheel of Time has wrought wonders, and to-day they are in sympathy with the Constitution defence movement by Mr. Inukai, who was looked up to before as one of the guardian gods of constitutionalism. And finally there is the Seiyukai, which with Mr. Inukai and his followers, took the leading part in the attack on the clan ministry five years ago, but which one now suspects of carrying favour with the clansmen in the hope of finding its way back to power under their protection. All these changes have taken place in the short space of five years since the formation of the Doshikai".

How changeable is the political situation in Japan can further be realized when one knows a little of the current outlook. Oishi is now retired, although he has dominant power in the political field. Ozaki is now a member of the Kakushin Club, which was organized by Ki Inukai in 1922 after dissolving the Kokuminto party. The Seiyukai, which seemed to control the political situation permanently, was split after Takashi Hara was assassinated by a political fanatic just on the eve of the Washington Con-

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ference. The party was divided into two in 1924. One retains the name of the Seiyukai and the other calls itself the Seiyu Honto. The former has Korekiyo Takahashi as President and consists of the "old guard" of the party, while the Seiyu Honto has as leaders Takejiro Tokonami, Tokugoro Nakahashi, Tatsuo Yamamoto and Hajime Motoda. The most striking feature of the 1924 election was that Korekiyo Takahashi was returned in Morioka with a very close margin and that Tokugoro Nakahashi was defeated in Osaka.

The failure of Nakahashi, one of the leaders of the Seiyu Honto, in the election, proves the ever growing influence of the press. The Osaka Mainichi, the largest journal in Japan, on May 10, the day of the election, addressed its readers as follows:

The day has arrived when the

Japanese people must come to their senses and beware of being caught in the traps laid by so-called politicians, the majority of whom possess no interest in the nation but are merely blood-suckers of the people.

This is especially the case of the supporters of the Kiyoura Cabinet consisting exclusively of members of the so-called 'privileged class', such as the Seiyu Honto Party and disguised supporters of the present Government styling themselves 'Independents' but the majority of whom are in reality intent on aiding the present Government.

"If the Japanese people really have the interest of the nation at heart this is the day when they should all unite in upholding the formation of a constitutional form of government by flatly refusing to cast their lots with such political foes of the nation as either the Seiyu Honto or Neutrals".