

Bijlage bij het hoorcollege *De industrialisatie van Japan*



DE INDUSTRIALISATIE VAN JAPAN

EEN HOORCOLLEGE OVER
DE JAPANESE ECONOMISCHE
EN POLITIEKE GESCHIEDENIS
TOT WOII

door Peer Vries

Inhoud

[Peer Vries](#)

[Bob Kommer](#)

Inhoudsopgave van het college

- H1. Inleiding en afbakening
- H2. De omstandigheden waarin Japan zich economisch kon ontwikkelen
- H3. De Japanse politiek gericht op een rijk land en sterk leger
- H4. De kracht van de Japanse staat en de verschillen met China
- H5. Een economische analyse van de Japanse staat
- H6. De creatie van een moderne staat en een kapitalistische economie
- H7. De veranderende structuur van de Japanse economie
- H8. Was de industrialisatie van Japan anders dan die in het Westen?
- H9. De these van de arbeidsintensieve industrialisatie
- H10. Het belang van arbeid voor de Japanse economische ontwikkeling
- H11. De positie van Japan in de wereldeconomie
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Peer Vries



Prof. dr. Peer Vries studeerde economische en sociale geschiedenis aan de Universiteit Leiden waar hij na zijn afstuderen ging werken en ook promoveerde. Tot september 2019 was hij Honorary Research Fellow aan het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis te Amsterdam. Van 2007 tot 2016 was hij professor voor economische wereldgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit Wenen. Van 2005 tot 2010 was hij gastprofessor aan de Nankai University School of Economics in Tianjin China. Voordien was hij onder andere visiting academic fellow van het Department of Economic History van de London

School of Economics and Political Science; L.J. Rogier Professor voor vergelijkende wereldgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit Nijmegen en Fellow van het Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the humanities and social sciences te Wassenaar. Hij is lid van de Academia Europaea en was mede-oprichter van het Journal of Global History en van het Global Economic History Network.

Naast onderwerpen als de 'Great Divergence', gaat zijn aandacht al geruime tijd uit naar de industrialisatie van Japan, waarover hij een aantal werken schreef:

- *The wealth and power of nations. Japan and the idea 'Rich nation, strong army', 1868-1937*, op zijn website op [ResearchGate](#).
- *Averting a great divergence, State and economy in Japan, 1868-1937* (Londen 2019)
- *An East Asian route of industrialization? The case of Japan* (Leiden /Boston 2022)

Opgenomen i.s.m. Bob Kommer Studio's

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The Charter Oath of 1868

The Oath outlined the main aims and the course of action to be followed during Emperor Meiji's reign. The text of the Oath consisted of five clauses:

By this oath, we set up as our aim the establishment of the national wealth on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

- Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established, and all matters decided by open discussion.
- All classes, high and low, shall be united in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
- The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall all be allowed to pursue their own calling so that there may be no discontent.
- Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
- Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule.

The Constitution of Japan of 1890

Chapter I. The Emperor

Article 1. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article 5. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article 6. The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

Article 7. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

Article 8. The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the place of law.

(2) Such Imperial Ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

Article 9. The Emperor issues or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

Article 10. The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws, shall be in accordance with the respective provisions (bearing thereon).

Article 11. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

Article 12. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

Article 13. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Article 14. The Emperor proclaims the law of siege.

(2) The conditions and effects of the law of siege shall be determined by law.

Article 15. The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders and other marks of honor.

Article 16. The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments and rehabilitation.

Article 17. A Regency shall be instituted in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

(2) The Regent shall exercise the powers appertaining to the Emperor in His name.

Chapter II. Rights and Duties of Subjects

Article 18. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

Article 19. Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined in laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military offices equally, and many fill any other public offices.

Article 20. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the Army or Navy, according to the provisions of law.

Article 21. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

Article 22. Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of the law.

Article 23. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

Article 24. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

Article 25. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

Article 26. Except in the cases mentioned in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

Article 27. The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

(2) Measures necessary to be taken for the public benefit shall be any provided for by law.

Article 28. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article 29. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

Article 30. Japanese subjects may present petitions, by observing the proper forms of respect, and by complying with the rules specially provided for the same.

Article 31. The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.

Article 32. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding Articles of the present Chapter, that are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the Army and Navy, shall apply to the officers and men of the Army and of the Navy.

Chapter III. The Imperial Diet

Article 33. The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives.

Article 34. The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the Ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, and of those persons, who have been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

Article 35. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the Law of Election.

Article 36. No one can at one and the same time be a Member of both Houses.

Article 37. Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article 38. Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law submitted to it by the Government and may respectively initiate projects of law.

Article 39. A Bill, which has been rejected by either the one or the other of the two Houses, shall not be again brought in during the same session.

Article 40. Both Houses can make representations to the Government, as to laws or upon any other subject. When, however, such representations are not accepted, they cannot be made a second time during the same session.

Article 41. The Imperial Diet shall be convoked every year.

Article 42. A session of the Imperial Diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, the duration of a session may be prolonged by the Imperial Order.

Article 43. When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one.

(2) The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by Imperial Order.

Article 44. The opening, closing, prolongation of session and prorogation of the Imperial Diet, shall be effected simultaneously for both Houses.

(2) In case the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

Article 45. When the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, Members shall be caused by Imperial Order to be newly elected, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

Article 46. No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either House of the Imperial Diet, unless not less than one third of the whole number of the Members thereof is present.

Article 47. Votes shall be taken in both Houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the President shall have the casting vote.

Article 48. The deliberations of both Houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the Government or by resolution of the House, be held in secret sitting.

Article 49. Both Houses of the Imperial Diet may respectively present addresses to the Emperor.

Article 50. Both Houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

Article 51. Both Houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present Constitution and in the Law of the Houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

Article 52. No Member of either House shall be held responsible outside the respective Houses, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. When, however, a Member himself has given publicity to his opinions by public speech, by documents in print or in writing, or by any other similar means, he shall, in the matter, be amenable to the general law.

Article 53. The Members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble.

Article 54. The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may, at any time, take seats and speak in either House.

Chapter IV. The Ministers of State and the Privy Council

Article 55. The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor, and be responsible for it.

(2) All Laws, Imperial Ordinances, and Imperial Rescripts of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the State, require the countersignature of a Minister of State.

Article 56. The Privy Councilors shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council, deliberate upon important matters of State, when they have been consulted by the Emperor.

Chronologie van de Japanse geschiedenis 1868-1945

Overgenomen uit Benson and Matsumura, *Japan 1868-1945*, pages 238-24

Main themes in each period	Year	Events
TOKUGAWA PERIOD 1600–1868		
1850s: The Opening of Japan	1853	United States naval squadron under Commodore Perry ends Japanese isolation.
	1854	Commodore Perry returns to Japan; conclusion of US–Japan Treaty of Friendship.
	1858	Unequal Treaties concluded with United States, Britain, Holland, France and Russia.
Early 1860s: New era in politics – Anti-Bakufu Movement gains strength	1861–64	Various plans to effect emperor-centred feudalism in which many advocate overthrow of the <i>bakufu</i> but not the social order. National isolation formally dismantled, acceptance of foreign representatives.
		Numerous altercations between Japanese domains and foreigners.
1865–68: Twilight of the Tokugawa shōgunate and the Transformation of Objectives – Development of notion of national strength and wealth based on the idea of ‘use the barbarian to subdue the barbarian’: strength through Western military technology and systems; reappraisal of the value of foreign trade. Emergence of new leadership including Ōkubo, Kido and Iwakura.	1866	<i>Satsuma</i> and <i>Chōshū</i> sign secret alliance dedicated to the overthrow of the <i>shōgun</i> , giving anti-Tokugawa movement a solid core of leadership.
	1867	Accession of Meiji emperor .
MEIJI PERIOD 1868–1912		
1868: Meiji Restoration – Tokugawa overthrown and assumption of power by new leadership of lower-ranked samurai. Demise of feudalism not necessarily foreseen. Japan was neither on the verge of social and political collapse nor were its leaders, in seeking to meet the Western challenge, intent on destroying pre-modern arrangements.	1868	Emperor made ruler of Japan; civil war near Kyoto ends in defeat of Tokugawa forces and capitulation of <i>shōgun</i> . Charter Oath issued. Edo renamed Tokyo and designated new capital.

Main themes in each period	Year	Events
MEIJI PERIOD 1868–1912		
1868–77: Abolition of Feudalism – centre gradually asserts its authority over the periphery, and by 1870 moves made to end feudalism. In addition to Ōkubo, Kido and Iwakura, a new generation of leaders emerges including Itō, Yamagata, Mori and Ōkuma.	1869	New governmental system established (until 1885) and dominated by domains of <i>Satsuma</i> , <i>Chōshū</i> , Tosa and Hizen. Gradual assertion of control over feudal domains.
	1871	Postal system established. <i>Burakumin</i> given legal equality although <i>de facto</i> discrimination remains. Domains abolished and replaced by prefectures.
1870s: ‘Civilisation and Enlightenment’ – period of reform and intellectual activity advocating widespread adoption of Western ideas and systems as the best means of modernisation. Prominent figures include Fukuzawa and Tokutomi.	1870–74	Great Promulgation Campaign.
	1871–73	Iwakura Mission.
	1872	Abolition of feudal status system replaced with simplified structure generally based on equality. Promulgation of Educational Ordinance (Fundamental Code of Education)
Early 1870s to mid-1880s: People’s Rights Movement – numerous groups around the nation emerge espousing constitutional parliamentary government. 1874 to 1878 seen as a period associated with disenfranchised samurai who agitate for the establishment of a national assembly. In the following three years, wealthy peasants and some business interests join the movement. The movement is radicalised in the early to mid-1880s with the inclusion of peasants suffering from government fiscal policy. Main leaders include Itagaki and Ōkuma.	1873	Opening of railway between Tokyo and Yokohama. Opening of government model silk factory at Tomioka. Conscription Law. Persecution against ‘hidden Christians’ ended and Christian missionaries allowed to enter Japan. Land tax introduced making land ownership legal.
	1874	Taiwan Expedition and assertion of Japanese control over Ryūkyū Islands.
	1874–75	Itagaki and others form organisations pressing for the establishment of constitutional, parliamentary government.
	1875	Japan receives Kurile islands in exchange for Sakhalin. Press and Libel laws introduced with penalties of imprisonment and fines.

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
MEIJI PERIOD 1868–1912		
<p>1880s: Growth of Meiji Conservatism – New ambivalence to West and more selective attitude to Westernisation/modernisation. Political groups opposing Meiji leadership coalesce into first political parties. Dominant leader is Itō.</p>	1876	Compulsory commutation of samurai stipends.
	1877	Satsuma Rebellion Tokyo University founded.
	1878	Ōkubo assassinated; Itō becomes pre-eminent leader. Prefectural assemblies established.
	1879	Ryūkyū Islands incorporated into Japan as Okinawa Prefecture.
	1879–80	Petitions made to emperor from private groups and individuals calling for establishment of national assembly.
	1881	Jiyūtō formed by Itagaki and others. Imperial Rescript promising establishment of national assembly by 1890. Inflation devalues yen; bankruptcies and tenancy soar following government deflationary policies.
	1882	Martial Law published. Imperial Rescript to Soldiers demanding absolute loyalty to emperor. Itō travels to Europe to study Western constitutions. Ōkuma and others form political party. Bank of Japan established.
	1882–85	Peasant insurrections.
	1884	Peerage system established.
	1885	Formation of Japan Shipping Company following merger of Mitsubishi and a rival. Western style cabinet introduced; Itō becomes first prime minister.

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
MEIJI PERIOD 1868–1912		
<p>1890–1905: 'Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Military' – with the consolidation of the Meiji polity, the leadership turned towards securing international respect, recognition and influence. Domestically, this period was characterised by experimentation with parliamentary politics by the 'oligarchs' and the political parties. Main figures include Itō, Yamagata, Katsura and other 'oligarchs', Itagaki and Ōkuma.</p>	1887	Foreign Minister Inoue resigns over treaty revision proposals. Peace Preservation Ordinance gives government arbitrary power over political opposition.
	1888	Privy Council established as consultative body.
	1889	Meiji Constitution promulgated. Assassination attempt on Ōkuma over treaty revision proposals.
	1890	First general election. Imperial Rescript on Education. Imperial Diet opened.
	1893	Introduction of systematic entrance examinations for bureaucracy.
	1894	Renegotiation of ' unequal treaty ' with Britain, concluded with Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation (implemented 1899).
	1894–95	Sino-Japanese War ; concluded with Shimonoseki Treaty.
	1895	Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France. Liaodong returned.
	1897	Japan adopts gold standard.
	1898	Civil Code . Society for the Study of Socialism established.
	1899	Ainu Protection Law.
	1900	Peace Police Law – workers' association and collective bargaining made illegal; and political activity severely restricted. Electoral reform: tax qualifications reduced from 15 to 10 yen. Boxer Rebellion in China. Rikken Seiyūkai formed by Itō .

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
MEIJI PERIOD 1868–1912		
<p>1905–12: Sense of Social Crisis – with accelerating industrialisation and urbanisation and the completion of the Meiji mission to secure international respect, it appeared to the authorities that modernisation was undermining the unity of society. The growth of the Seiyūkai, the rise of labour and the left, and greater intellectual and artistic pluralism all contributed to this sense of apprehension. The emperor system and <i>kokutai</i> ideology became more rigid. Main leaders included Katsura, Yamagata and Hara.</p>	1901	Government-sponsored Yawata Iron Works opened. Tanaka Shozō makes protest to emperor over Ashio Copper Mine pollution.
	1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded.
	1904–05	Russo-Japanese War ; concluded by Portsmouth Treaty.
	1905	Hibiya Park Riots . Korea becomes Japanese protectorate.
	1906	Japan Socialist Party formed. Railways nationalised.
	1907	Compulsory primary education extended to six years. Ashio Copper miners' riot.
	1909	Itō assassinated .
	1910	Great Treason Incident resulted in execution of prominent socialists and anarchists including Kōtoku and Kanno Sugako in 1911. Annexation of Korea.
	1911	Bluestocking women's group established by Hiratsuka Raichō . Japan achieves full tariff autonomy. Chinese Nationalist Revolution bringing Qing Dynasty to an end.
	1912	Meiji emperor dies.

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
TAISHŌ PERIOD 1912–26		
<p>1912–31: 'Taishō Democracy' – with the gradual extension of political party power and the decline of <i>genrō</i> power, attempts were made to introduce more popular participation and democracy. At the same time, a number of repressive measures were passed. These were aimed at limiting the flourishing of political, social and intellectual pluralism all of which were responses to social change born of modernisation and economic problems in the 1920s. Japan attempted to increase its influence in China through the pursuit of formal and informal imperialism. Main leaders included Yamagata, Hara, Katō, Wakatsuki and Hamaguchi.</p>	1912	Accession of Taishō emperor .
	1912–13	First Movement for the Protection of Constitutional Government
	1914–18	World War I – Japan declares war on Germany and seizes German possessions in the Pacific and East Asia. Wartime economic boom.
	1915	Twenty-One Demands issued to China which is compelled to accept most of them.
	1917	Russian Bolshevik Revolution.
	1918	Rice Riots .
	1919	Paris Peace Conference . Electoral reform – tax qualifications on voting reduced to 3 yen.
	1921	Prime Minister Hara assassinated. Washington Naval Conference ; Anglo-Japanese Alliance ended.
	1922	Nine-Power Treaty – includes China. Official end of 'spheres of influence' in favour of the Open Door Policy. Levelling Society formed, calling for equality for burakumin .
	1923	Great Kantō Earthquake ; Korean and Chinese residents massacred in aftermath; anarchists Ōsugi and Itō Noe murdered.
	1924	United States prohibits immigration from Japan.
	1925	Japan recognises USSR. Peace Preservation Law . Universal manhood suffrage promulgated. First radio stations in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya commence broadcasting.
	1926	Beijing Tariff Conference. Death of Taishō emperor.

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
SHŌWA PERIOD 1926–89		
<p>1926–31: Social and Economic Upheaval – domestic financial crises followed by the Great Depression helped stimulate various social movements. Foreign policy shifts between moderate, internationalist and hard-line, hawkish positions.</p>	1926	NHK (Japan Broadcasting Association) established following death of Taishō emperor.
	1927	Accession of Hirohito as Shōwa emperor . Tanaka becomes prime minister. Minseitō formed. Eastern Conference convened to discuss Japanese foreign policy and involvement in China.
	1928	First election held under universal manhood suffrage. Tanaka government clamps down on left and arrests communists. Assassination of Chinese warlord Zhang Zuolin .
	1929	Tanaka resigns; return to liberal cabinets with appointment of Hamaguchi as prime minister. Crash of Wall Street stock market and start of Depression.
	1930	Japan returns to gold standard (suspended since 1917). London Naval Conference pushed through by Hamaguchi; controversy over 'Right of Supreme Command'. Hamaguchi shot and later dies. Depression hits Japanese economy.

<i>Main themes in each period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
SHŌWA PERIOD 1926–89		
<p>1931–36: Domestic and Foreign Policy Crises – with the renegade actions of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, the increasing influence of the military in politics, economic problems in the first half of the period and increasingly violent acts of terrorism, Japan gradually rejected the international order, and fumbled for a coherent policy in regards to its involvement in China. Domestically, party cabinets were replaced by 'national unity cabinets' which sought to effect political unity among a variety of groups.</p> <p>1937–41: China War – at war with China, Japan threatens the interests of the Western powers. War with the West, especially the United States, becomes increasingly likely. Foreign policy and domestic politics geared more and more towards preparations for total war. Main leaders include Konoe.</p>	1931	Crop failure and famine in the Tōhoku region. Manchurian Incident (18 September).
	1932	Puppet state of Manchukuo established under rule of Pu Yi who is later installed as emperor. Prime Minister Inukai assassinated (May 15 Incident). End of party cabinets until 1946 and start of period of ' national unity cabinets '.
	1933	Japan withdraws from League of Nations following its condemnation of the Lytton Report.
	1934	Japan abandons Washington Naval Treaty.
	1935	Increasing army factionalism results in assassination by 'Imperial Way Faction' of a prominent 'Control Faction' major-general who was head of the Military Affairs Bureau.
	1936	February 26 Incident – insurrection led by 'Imperial Way' faction intent on effecting direct imperial rule.
	1937	Five-Year Plan introduced to co-ordinate main industries. Fundamental Principles of the National Polity published. Marco Polo Bridge Incident precipitates war with China.
	1937–38	Rape of Nanking .
	1938	National Mobilisation Act promulgated. Konoe introduces New Order in East Asia .
	1939	US repeals Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.
1940	Commencement of New Political Order including Tripartite Pact concluded with Germany and Italy. Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere established. Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the voluntary dissolution of the political parties. Greater Japan Industrial Patriotic Society founded.	

Economische cijfers, tabellen en grafieken

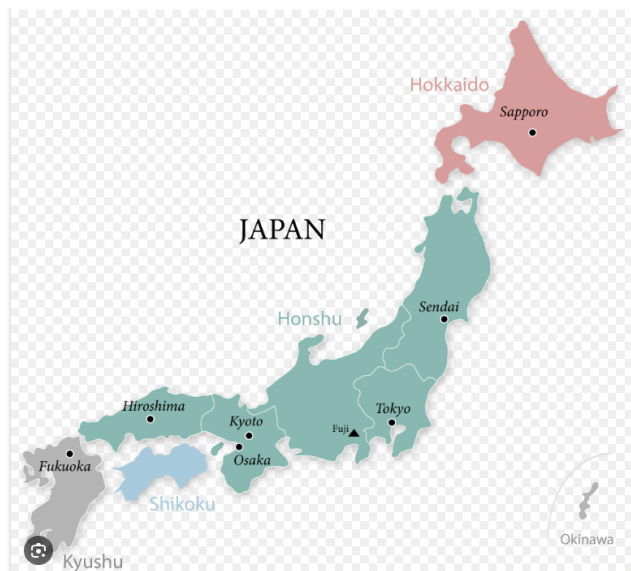
Schattingen van de omvang van Japan's economie

Top 20 grootste economieën ter wereld in 2023, bruto binnenlands product in dollars, cijfers van het IMF

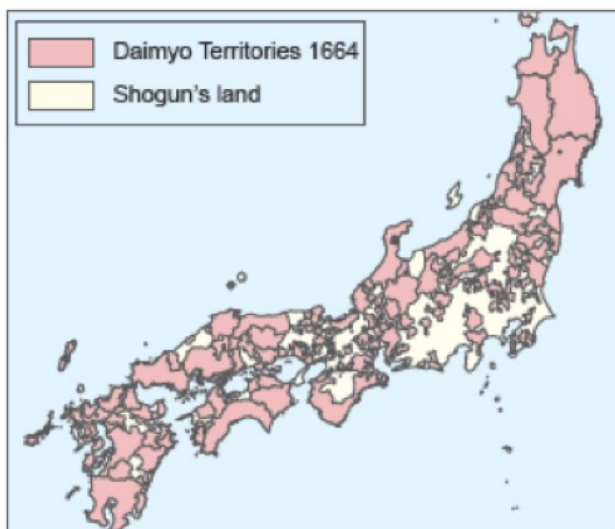
Verenigde Staten	26,850 miljard dollar
China	19,370 miljard dollar
Japan	4,410 miljard dollar
Duitsland	4,310 miljard dollar
India	3,740 miljard dollar
Verenigd Koninkrijk	3,160 miljard dollar
Frankrijk	2,920 miljard dollar
Italië	2,170 miljard dollar
Canada	2,090 miljard dollar
Brazilië	2,080 miljard dollar
Russische Federatie	2,060 miljard dollar
Zuid-Korea	1,720 miljard dollar
Australië	1,710 miljard dollar
Mexico	1,660 miljard dollar
Spanje	1,490 miljard dollar
Indonesië	1,390 miljard dollar
Nederland	1,080 miljard dollar
Saoedi-Arabië	1,060 miljard dollar
Turkije	1,030 miljard dollar
Zwitserland	869 miljard dollar

GEOGRAPHY

Japan: the four most important islands



Tokugawa Japan: the land of the *Shogun* and the lands of the *daimyo*



The population of Japan, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom and of their empires (*including* their motherlands) in 1880 and at eve of World War Two, in millions, rounded figures.

	Population 1880	Population 1940	Population Empire 1880	Population Empire 1937
Japan	36	70	36	100 (140 including Manchukuo)
France	38	40	45	110
Germany	45	68	45	68
United Kingdom	35	49	306	546

SIZE

Japan Proper, including Ryukyu Islands	378,000 km ²
France (1914)	537,000 km ²
Germany (1910)	541,000 km ²
United Kingdom (1914)	314,000 km ²

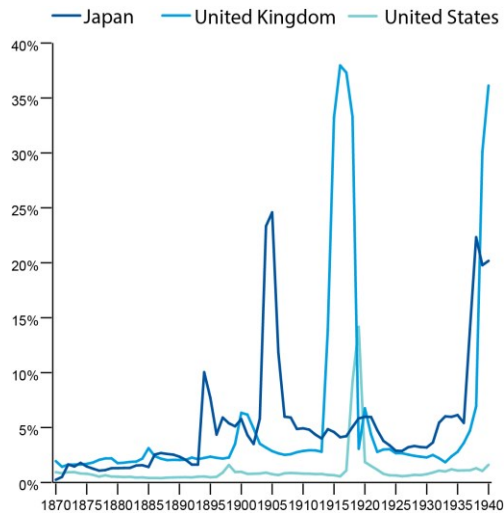
EMPIRE BUILDING

Wars in which Japan's military was actively involved, 1868-1937

Boshin War	1868-1869
Southwestern War	1877
First War with China	1894-1895
Invasion of Taiwan	1895
Boxer Rebellion	1899-1901
War with Russia	1904-1905

World War One	1914-1918
Siberian Intervention	1918-1922
Invasion of Manchuria	1931-1932
Second War with China	1937-1941

Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP in Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, in current prices, 1870-1940



Mark Roser, Our world in data, under 'Military spending'.

Military personnel as a percentage of total population, for the years 1870-1910. The figures refer only to the indicated years

	Japan	France	Germany	Great Britain
1870		1.66	0.98	1.14
1880		1.44	1.07	0.96
1890	0.21	1.55	1.12	0.96
1900	0.41	1.59	1.05	1.51
1910	0.57	1.65	1.05	1.04

Based on information from Michael Mann, *The sources of social power, Vol. II, The rise of classes and nation states, 1760-1914* (Cambridge 1993) 806-810, and Charles Schencking, *Making waves. Politics, propaganda and the emergence of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1868-1922* (Stanford 2005) 104, 186 and 217.

Japan's geographical expansion up to 1937

	Incorporated	Until	How?
Hokkaido	1869	Present	Annexed
Ryukyu Islands	1872-1879	Present	Annexed
Kurile Islands	1875	1945	Exchanged with Russia for Sakhalin
Bonin Islands/Ogasawara	1876	Present	Annexed
Volcano Islands	1891	Present	Annexed

Taiwan	1895	1945	Turned into a colony after the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the end of the war with China
Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin)	1905-1910	1945	Ceded to Japan by Russia after the Russo-Japanese War and turned into a colony
Korea	1905-1910	1945	Turned into a protectorate in 1905 and into a colony in 1910
Kwantung Leased Territory plus the ownership of the South Manchurian Railway Company and rights to land adjacent to its railways	1905-1910	1945	Ceded to Japan by Russia after the Russo-Japanese War. The Kwantung Leased Territory continued to be a separate administrative entity until 1945. The Japanese Kwantung Army played a major role in its administration. The possessions of the South Manchurian Railway Company became part of Manchukuo in 1932
Manchuria	1905-1932	1945	Turned into a dependent state in stages. Conquered in 1931, turned into a Japanese 'puppet state' called Manchukuo in 1932, <i>de facto</i> governed by the Japanese Kwantung Army
Shandong, China	1914	1922	German territories annexed by Japan when it entered World War One
Mariana, Palau, Caroline Marshall Island Group	1914	1945	Seized from Germany in World War One, then given as a protectorate by the League of Nations and not 'returned' after Japan left that League.
Northern Sakhalin	1920	1924	Seized during the Russian Civil War
Jehol province in China	1933	1945	Conquered and annexed to Manchukuo

Arthur Alexander, *The arc of Japan's economic development* (Abingdon, Oxon 2008) 42 and Yuzo Yamamoto, 'Japanese empire and colonial management' in: Nakamura and Odaka, *Economic history of Japan, 1600-1990, Vol. 3, 1914-1955* (Oxford 2003) 223-246, pages 224-225.

The empire in 1933



Population and size of the empires of the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Germany and the Netherlands, including the mother country, and of the Soviet Union and the USA, rounded to the next million, late 1930s

	Inhabitants in millions	Size in million km ²
British Empire	550	34
Japanese Empire*	140	2
French Empire	110	13
German Empire in 1913	80	3.5
Dutch Empire	76	2
USA	130	10
Soviet Union	160	20

*Including Manchukuo i.e., about forty million people and almost 1.2 million km²

Japan Proper as a percentage of the entire Japanese Empire, including Manchukuo, 1937

Industrial income	80 per cent.
GDP	71 per cent
Agricultural income	51 per cent
Population	49 per cent

Yamamoto, 'Japanese Empire', 224 and 228. GDP per capita in Taiwan was fifty-five to sixty per cent of that of Japan Proper. For Korea the figure was thirty-five to forty per cent and for Manchukuo, in a rough estimate, thirty per cent. See Yamamoto, 'Japanese Empire', 227.

JAPAN AS A DENSELY POPULATED COUNTRY

Hectares of arable available per inhabitant in various countries, 1936

Japan	0.09
England/ Wales	0.09
Netherlands	0.12
China	0.20
Germany	0.29
France	0.50
USA	1.02

Calculated on the basis of E.B. Schumpeter, 'The population of the Japanese Empire' in: E.B. Schumpeter, ed., with G.C. Allen, M.S. Gordon and E.F. Penrose, *The industrialization of Japan and Manchukuo, 1930-1940. Population, raw materials and industry* (New York 1940) 62. Sidney Xu Lu, *The making of Japanese settler colonialism: Malthusianism and transpacific migration, 1868-1961* (Cambridge, Mass 2019) 188 provides similar information for the year 1924. Already in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan (in 1850 and 1879) there was only 0.10 hectare of arable land available in Japan per capita. See Matao Miyamoto, 'Quantitative aspects of Tokugawa economy' in: Akira Hayami, Osamu Saito and Ronald P. Toby, eds., *Emergence of economic society in Japan, 1600-1859* (Oxford 2004) 38.

Hectares of land on average cultivated by one agricultural family in various countries, 1892-1929

United States	1925	31.4
England	1895-1923	12.2
France	1892-1913	4.2
Soviet Union	beginning 1930s	3.6
Ireland	1895-1932	2.9
China	beginning 1930s	1.2
Japan	1929	1.05

Henry Rosovsky, *Capital formation in Japan* (New York 1961) 82. It is important to realize that the cultivation of rice, that was so important in Japanese, and Chinese, agriculture required much less land than other cereal crops.

Proportion of land forested, in percentages, from the early modern era until the late twentieth century

	Japan	Lingnan China	England	France
Early modern era	73	47	9	15
Mid-nineteenth century	69	25	4	14
Early twentieth century	65	7	-	19
Late twentieth century	67	-	7	27

Osamu Saito, 'Forest history and the Great Divergence: China, Japan, and the West compared', *Journal of Global History* 4, 3 (2009) 379-404, 386.

The number of Japanese living overseas, 1930

Asia	1,054,000
Korea	500,000
Taiwan	228,000
Manchuria	233,000*
China Proper	54,000
Philippines	20,000
Rest	19,000
Americas	278,000
Pacific	168,000
Europe	3,700
Africa	104
* including the South Manchuria Railway Zone and the Kwantung Leased Territory	

Louise Young, *Japan's total empire. Manchuria and the culture of wartime imperialism* (Berkeley /Los Angeles 1999) 314-315.

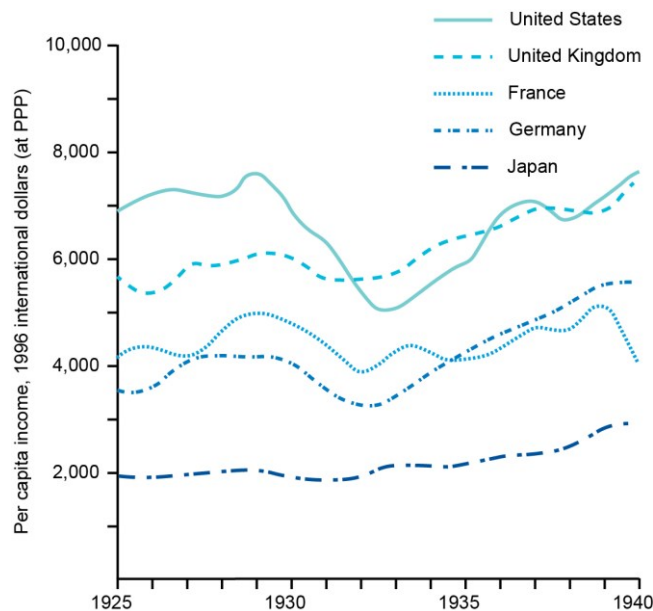
JAPAN AND THE GLOBAL GREAT DEPRESSION

Unemployment rates in Japan, the USA, the UK, and Germany, rounded to the next percentage, 1929-1935

	Japan	USA	UK	Germany
1929		12	8	13
1930	5	21	12	15
1931	6	26	17	23
1932	7	32	18	30
1933	6	31	16	26
1934	5	26	14	15
1935	5	23	13	12

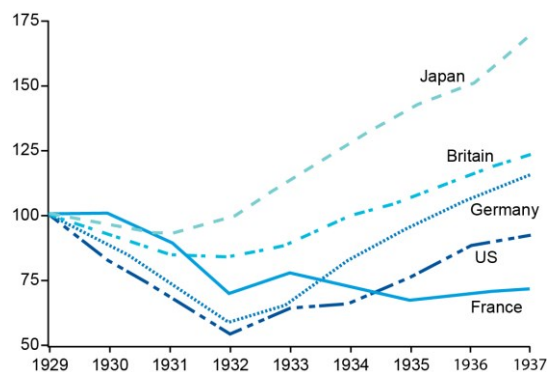
Tuvia Blumenthal, 'Japan's Great Depression', Center Discussion Paper, No. 295, Yale University, Economic Growth Center, New Haven, CT 1978, Table 3 and for Germany 1929-1930 on personal information given by Professor Mark Spoerer, Regensburg University.

Per capita income, in 1996 international dollars at purchasing power parity, in five industrial countries, 1925-1940



Based on information in Angus Maddison, *The world economy. Historical statistics* (Paris 2003).

Volume of industrial production in five industrial countries, 1929-1937 (1929=100)



Barry Eichengreen, 'The origins and nature of the Great Slump revisited', *Economic History Review* XLV, 2 (1992) 233.

Total volume of exports of Japan, several Western countries, and the world, 1929-1933 (1929 = 100)

	Japan	UK	Germany	France	World
1929	100	100	100	100	100
1930	97	81	94	90	94
1931	100	62	86	77	85
1932	123	63	60	59	74
1933	133	64	55	60	74

Based on Blumenthal, 'Japan's Great Depression', Table 4.

Shares in the world's exports of cotton piece goods by the main producers, 1882-1938

	UK	Europe	USA	India	Japan
1882-1884	82.0	14.3	2.8	0.9	-
1910-1913	70.0	20.0	4.2	1.0	2.1
1926-1928	46.1	27.1	6.3	2.0	16.3
1936-1938	26.9	21.5	3.9	3.1	38.9

Robert Robson, *The cotton industry of Great Britain* (London 1955) 4 and 22.

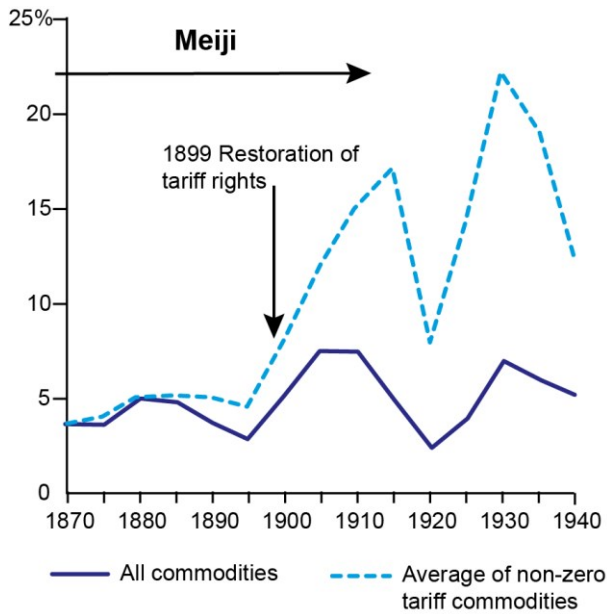
Country shares in world exports of manufactured commodities, in percentages, 1899-1937.

	1899	1913	1929	1937
UK	32.5	29.9	23.6	22.4
Germany	22.2	26.4	21.0	22.4
France	15.8	12.9	11.2	6.4
USA	11.2	12.6	20.7	19.6
Japan	1.5	2.4	3.9	7.2

H. Tyszynski, 'World trade in manufactured commodities, 1899-1950', *The Manchester School* 19, 3 (1951) 286. Tyszynski's figures are rough estimates. His 'total' world trade only covers eighty to eighty-five per cent of world trade in manufactured commodities. But the general message of his figures is certainly correct.

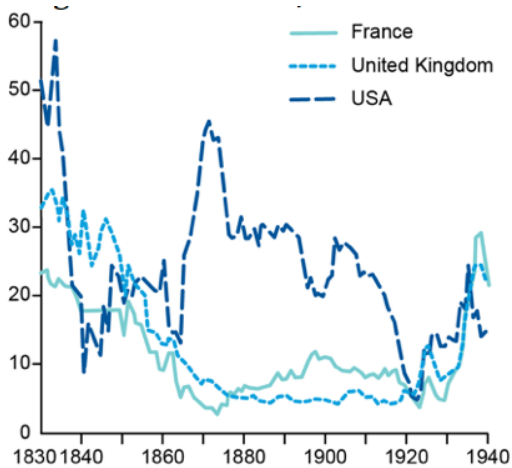
PROTECTIONISM AND TARIFFS

Average tariff rates, in percentages, in Japan 1870-1940



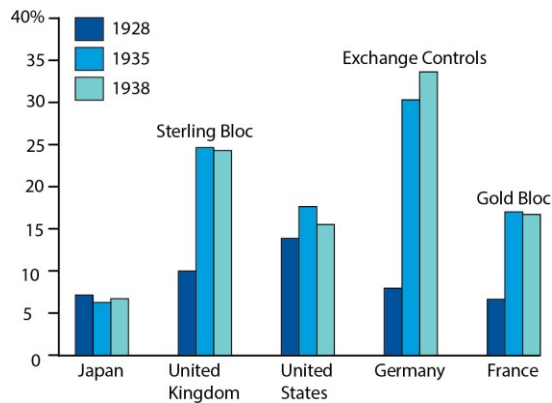
Ryoshin Minami, *Economic development of Japan. A quantitative study* (second edition; New York 1994) Table 7.5.

Average tariff rates, in percentages of total imports, for France, the United Kingdom and the USA, 1870-1940



Based on Albert Imlah, *Economic elements in the Pax Britannica. Studies in British foreign trade in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge Mass. 1958) and on data from US Department of Commerce from 2020.

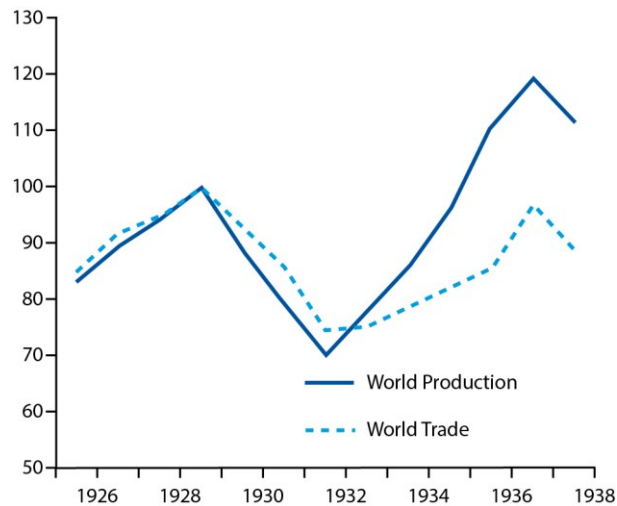
Average percentage tariff rates on imports in various countries, 1928, 1935 and 1938



Based on Barry Eichengreen and Douglas Irwin, 'The slide to protectionism in the Great Depression: Who succumbed and why?', *The Journal of Economic History*, 70, 4 (2010) 871-897, Figure 1.

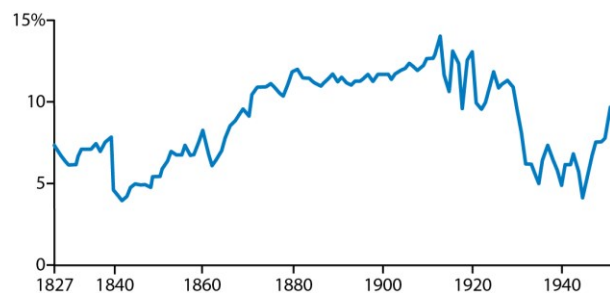
THE IMPORTANCE OF EMPIRE

World trade and world production, in volume, 1926-1938 (1929 = 100)



Barry Eichengreen and Douglas Irwin, 'The protectionist temptation: Lesson from the Great Depression for today', VOXeu CEPR 17-03-2009, Figure 1.

Value of exported goods as a share of world GDP, 1827-1950



Michel Fouquin and Jules Hugot, 'Trade globalization in the last two centuries', VOXeu CEPR, 17-09-2016, Figure 1.

Share of formal and informal empires in trade, 1929-1938

Trade of	Share of	In imports			In exports		
		1929	1932	1938	1929	1932	1938
United Kingdom	British Commonwealth, colonies, protectorates, etc.	30.2	36.4	41.9	44.4	45.4	49.9
United States	Philippines	2.9	6.1	4.8	1.6	2.8	2.8
France	French colonies, protectorates and mandated territories	12	20.9	25.8	18.8	31.5	27.5
Belgium	Belgian Congo	3.9	3.8	8.3	2.6	1.3	1.9
Netherlands	Netherlands overseas territories	5.5	5	8.8	9.4	5.9	10.7
Italy	Italian colonies and Ethiopia	1.5	1.1	1.8	2.1	3.6	23.3
Portugal	Portuguese overseas territories	7.9	10.4	10.2	12.7	13.9	12.2
Japan	Korea and Formosa	12.3	26.2	40	16.8	21.6	32.9
	Kwantung	6	4	1.6	4.8	6.8	13.7
	Manchuria	1.9	2.7	9	2.5	1.5	8.1
	Rest of China	5.8	4	4.4	10.9	7.3	8
	Total Japanese sphere of influence	26	36.9	45	35	37.2	62.7
Germany	Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia	4.5	5.5	12	5	3.9	13.2
	Latin America	12.2	11.2	15.6	7.8	4.3	11.5
	Total German sphere of influence	16.7	16.7	27.6	12.8	8.2	24.7

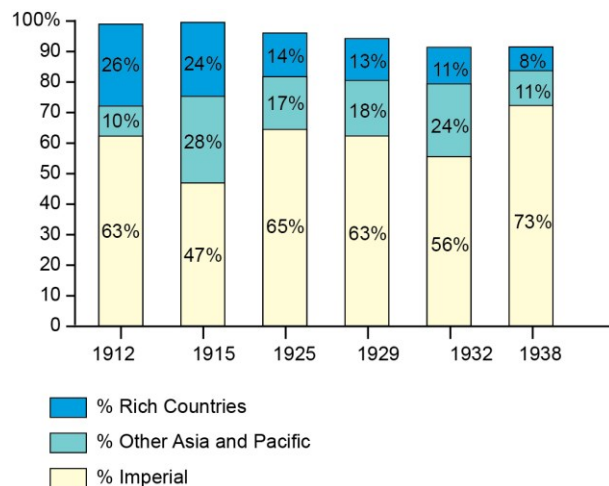
Alan de Bromhead and others, 'When Britain turned inward. The impact of interwar British protectionism', *American Economic Review* 109, 2 (2019) 325-352, Table 1.

The share of empire in Japan's trade

	In imports			In exports		
	1929	1932	1938	1929	1932	1938
Korea and Taiwan	12.3	26.2	30.0	16.8	21.6	32.9
Kwantung Leased Territory	6.0	4.0	1.6	4.8	6.8	13.7
Manchuria/ Manchukuo	1.9	2.7	9.0	2.5	1.5	8.1
Rest of China	5.8	4.0	4.4	10.9	7.3	8.0
Entire Japanese sphere of influence	26.0	36.9	45.0	35.0	37.2	62.7

De Bromhead and others, 'When Britain turned inward', Table 1.

Japanese manufacturing exports by region, in percentages, 1912-1938



The remaining share of 100 per cent corresponds to poor countries outside Asia.

Ayuso-Díaz and Tena-Junguito, 'Trade in the shadow of power', Figure 3. The authors define the 'Japanese Empire' as including already occupied 'colonies' and 'future conquests', i.e., those countries or polities in the region that were of strategic interest for Japan, as proven by their occupation between 1941 and 1945.¹

Balance of payments of Japan Proper with other countries of the yen-bloc and with third-party nations, in million yen, 1932-1941

	<i>Visible trade account</i>		<i>Invisible trade account</i>			<i>Capital account</i>		
	Yen-bloc	Third party	Yen-bloc	*	Third party	Yen bloc	*	Third party
1932	0	-67		102			-100	
1933	121	-205		109			-20	
1934	199	-345		144			-183	
1935	197	-214		178			-371	
1936	221	-349	23		209	-267		-3
1937	326	-963	-119		99	-547		-19
1938	597	-537	-767		-31	-175		134
1939	1,110	-307	-841		-136	-1,028		-121
1940	1,111	-908		-789			-1,300	
1941	804	-1051		-1,342			-1,444	

Yamamoto, 'Japanese empire, 245. * Indicates yen-bloc plus third-party nations

¹ Formal colonies include Taiwan, Korea, Kwantung Leased Territory, Manchuria (1932) and China (1938). The 'future conquests' are Manchuria (1912-1929), China (1912-1932), Thailand, Burma, French Indochina, Hong Kong, Dutch East Indies, British Borneo and Sarawak, New Guinea, British Malaya (including Singapore), the Philippine Islands, and the Solomon, Gilbert, and Marshall Islands in the Pacific.

JAPAN'S TRADE

Exports and imports as percentages of GDP

	Exports	Imports
1885	5	5
1895	10	11
1905	13	24
1915	20	16
1920	19	20
1930	17	17
1938	20	23

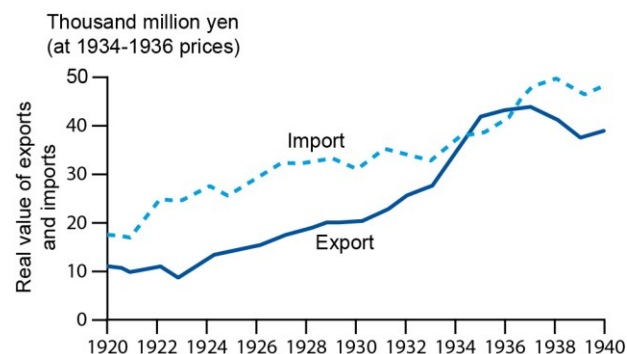
Based on Ohkawa, Shinohara and Meissner, *Patterns of Japanese economic development*, 251-255.

Foreign trade, i.e., imports plus exports as a percentage of GDP

	Period	%	Period	%
United Kingdom	1837-1845	26	1909-1913	52
France	1845-1854	22	1908-1910	35
Germany	1872-1879	37	1910-1913	38
USA	1834-1843	15	1904-1913	12
China	1880s	5	1933	10
Japan	1885	10	1937	52

Sources. The figures for Japan are based on Ohkawa, Shinohara and Meissner, *Patterns of Japanese economic development*, 251 and 253. Those for China on Philip Richardson, *Economic change in China, c.1800-1950* (Cambridge 1999) 44-45. For the rest see Simon Kuznets, 'Quantitative aspects of the economic growth of nations. Level and structure of foreign trade: Long-term trends', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 15, 2, part 2 (1967) 1-140, pages 19-20.

Value of Japan's imports and exports in 1934-1936 prices, in thousand million yen, 1920-1940



Takafusa Nakamura, 'Depression, recovery, and war, 1920-1945' in: Peter Duus, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 6* (Cambridge 1988) 463.

The main export products of Japan as percentages of total exports in five-year averages, 1876-1927

	Raw silk	Silk tissues / Manufactures	Cotton Textiles	Clothing	Total
1876-1880	40.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	41.0
1886-1890	40.0	4.4	0.3	0.2	44.9
1896-1900	29.4	10.3	12.6	0.8	53.1
1906-1910	30.0	8.8	12.7	2.6	54.1
1916-1920	24.6	6.8	20.1	4.7	56.2
1924-1927	39.6	6.8	24.8	3.2	74.4

John Orchard and Dorothy Orchard, *Japan's economic position. The progress of industrialization* (New York 1930) 427.

The main imports of Japan as percentages of total imports in five-year averages

	Raw cotton	Cotton textiles	Wool/Wool manufactures	Food	Total
1876-1880	0.9	35.7	16.5	12.2	65.3
1886-1890	5.1	24.0	9.7	18.3	57.1
1896-1900	20.8	8.7	6.9	19.5	55.9
1906-1910	25.2	4.2	6.3	14.5	50.2
1916-1920	31.6	0.6	5.0	10.7	47.9
1924-1927	30.0	0.5	8.0	15.1	53.6

Orchard and Orchard, *Japan's economic position*, 424.

JAPAN'S DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS AND ENERGY

Production of iron ore, pig iron, steel, and coal, and the consumption of coal, in millions of tons, and coal reserves per capita, in tons, in 1929 or the early 1930s

	iron ore	pig iron	steel	coal	coal con- sumption	coal reserves per capita in tons
France	50	10	10	53	89	
Germany	6	15	18	163	124	6,225
UK	13	8	10	262	173	4,070
USA	73	43	56	552	528	34,274
Japan	1*	2*	2	40	35*	115

Production of iron ore and steel and consumption of coal is in long tons. Production of pig iron and coal in metric tons. All figures are rounded to the next million, except for those for coal reserves per capita. All figures are rough estimates and only serve to show how poor Japan was in resources according to contemporary sources. All figures are for 1929. For figures with * Utley refers to figures for years *after* 1929. In those cases, Japan's actual figures for 1929 would have been even lower. Japan

means Japan Proper for the figures on steel and coal consumption and Japan and Korea for the figures for iron ore, pig iron and coal reserves.

Utley, *Japan's feet of clay*, 39-44.

Percentage of its demand for certain goods that Japan met abroad, in the 1930s

Bauxite, nickel, rubber, raw cotton	100
Iron ore, crude oil, lead, sulfuric acid, phosphates	>80
Scrap metal, tin, zinc, aluminium, salts	>50
Copper and steel	>33
Coal, pig iron	10

Jerome Cohen, *Japan's economy in war and reconstruction* (Minneapolis 1949) 111. See also Michael Barnhart, *Japan prepares for total war. The search for economic security, 1919-1941* (Ithaca and London 1987). For contemporary descriptions see Guenther Stein, *Made in Japan* (London 1935) 147-166 and Freda Utley, *Japan's feet of clay* (London 1937) chapter two.

Japan's import dependency ratio and its imports from non-yen bloc countries, in percentages, 1936

	Import dependency ratio	Import from non-yen bloc countries
Bauxite	100	100
Magnesite	100	0.70
Raw Cotton	100	99.04
Wool	100	99.82
Iron ore	89	84.01
Petroleum	82	99.09
Salt	75	62.70
Scrap iron	72	97.05
Pulp	68	100
Machinery	46	46.00
Coal	10	42.69
Food		
Sugar	88	15.71
Soybeans	75	0.00
Wheat	30	90.33
Rice	15	1.89

Ryohei Nakagawa, 'Japan-U.S. trade and rethinking the point of no return toward the Pearl Harbor', *Ritsumeikan Annual Review of International Studies*, 9 (2010) 101-123, Figure 5.

THE IMPORANCE OF THE STATE

Taxes (national and local) as a percentage of net domestic product

1888	11.0
1900	9.7
1920	9.6
1938	10.7

Minami, *Economic development*, 256.

The importance of the land tax

	Land tax as percentage of central government tax	direct taxes on agriculture as percentage of net agricultural income*
1868-1872	87	
1873-1878	88	
1879-1883	64	17 (8)
1884-1888	62	22 (12)
1889-1893	56	16 (9)
1894-1898	40	12 (8)
1899-1903	32	12 (8)
1909-1911	27	13 (9)

Richard Bird, 'Land taxation and economic development. The model of Meiji Japan', *Journal of Development Studies* 13, 2 (1977) 162-174, 163. *Figures without parentheses are from Gustav Ranis, 'The financing of Japanese economic development', *Economic History Review* 11, 3 (1959) 440-454. The figures in parentheses represent Nakamura's correction for the undervaluation of agricultural production in the official statistics. See James Nakamura, *Agricultural production and the economic development of Japan 1873-1922* (Princeton 1966) 161.

Tax revenue of government and total government revenue - i.e., revenue including securities, and revenue from government enterprises and other non-tax revenue - as a percentage of net domestic product.

	Tax Revenue of Government	Total Government Revenue
1888	11.0	15
1900	9.7	13
1920	9.6	16
1938	10.7	32

Approximation based on information in Minami, *Economic development*, 256-258. The figures give seven-years moving averages apart from the figures for 1938 that are five-year averages.

Government expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic expenditure in average annual value

1875-1913	11.9
1914-1918	10.9
1919-1930	15.1
1931-1940	22.2

Based on Kyoji Fukao and Tokihiko Settsu, 'Japan. Modern economic growth in Asia' in: Stephen Broadberry and Kyoji Fukao, eds., *Cambridge Economic History of the Modern World. Volume Two 1870 to the present* (Cambridge 2021) 100-128. Government expenditure is here taken to be the sum of government consumption (excluding military expenditure), military expenditure and public investment.

The purchase of goods and services by government as a percentage of GNP

1890	10
1900	15
1910	18
1920	17
1928	20
1933	20
1938	28

Koichi Emi, *Government fiscal activity and economic growth in Japan, 1868-1960* (Tokyo 1963) 43. Emi in his text refers to purchase of government in its entirety.

Social transfers as a percentage of GDP in Japan, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, 1880-1930

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Japan	0.05	0.11	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.21
France	0.46	0.54	0.57	0.81	0.64	1.05
Germany	0.50	0.53	0.59			4.82
United Kingdom	0.86	0.83	1.00	1.38	1.39	2.24

* Social transfers are defined as transfers for welfare, unemployment, pensions, health and housing subsidies

Peter Lindert, *Growing public. Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century* (Cambridge 2004) 12-13.

Government's share of gross domestic capital formation.

1887-1896	31.7
1892-1901	46.7
1897-1906	51.6
1902-1911	50.2
1907-1916	49.5
1912-1921	42.3
1917-1926	43.7
1922-1931	47.1
1927-1936	48.4
1931-1940	48.3

Emi, *Government fiscal activity*, 55.

Private and public gross capital formation in percentages of total real investment from 1913-1015 to 1937-1939, in 1934-1936 prices

	Private			Local Government	Central Government	
	Electricity	Railroads	Other		Non-military	Military
1913-15	5.8	6.9	38.5	19.3	15.8	13.7
1916-18	10.3	0.6	62.0	9.7	9.0	8.4
1919-21	13.5	2.0	42.8	9.1	11.1	21.5
1922-24	12.7	5.6	30.7	16.2	16.8	18.0
1925-27	25.6	3.8	21.8	19.0	16.9	12.9
1928-30	14.7	11.7	17.3	25.3	19.2	11.8
1931-33	10.8	3.0	30.2	23.0	15.8	17.3
1934-36	9.4	0.4	47.6	16.8	15.3	9.3
1937-39	10.2	0.2	48.4	6.6	4.9	29.1

Nakamura and Odaka, 'Inter-war period', 33. Investment increased in yearly averages from 607 million yen in 1913-1915 to 7,791 million yen in 1937-1939, in current prices. In yen of 1934-1936, the increase over the period was from 893 million yen to 6,746 million yen.

Length of operating railroads in kilometres

Year	National Railroads	Private Railroads	Total
1872	29.0		29.0
1882	274.9	(1883) 101.4	
1892	983.5	2,124.4	3,107.9
1902	2,071.5	4,843.1	6,914.6
1912	7,153.2	3,029.2	11,425.1
1922	11,274.6	5,965.3	17,239.9
1932	15,372.1	9,678.7	25,050.8
1942	18,581.4	8,999.8	27,501.2

Source: The article on railroads in Yuzo Yamamoto, ed., *Technological innovation and the development of transportation in Japan* (Tokyo 1993) 57.

Gross Public Debt 1870-1937, as a percentage of GDP

	Around 1870	1913	1920	1937
Japan	0.6	53.6	25.6	57.0
France	51.4	66.5	136.8	137.2
Germany	26.9	47.1		>40
United Kingdom	40.2	30.4	132.0	188.1

Vito Tanzi and Ludger Schuknecht, *Public spending in the twentieth century. A global perspective* (Cambridge 2000) 65 and for Germany, for which the figures by Tanzi and Schuknecht strike me as improbable and that I could not trace to any concrete source, Mark Spoerer. 'Öffentliche Finanzen' in: Thomas Ralhf, *Deutschland in Daten. Zeitreihen der historischen Statistik* (Bonn 2015) 106, where he refers total public debt.

The ten largest factories in Japan by employment in 1902

Ranking	Factory	Number of workers	Ownership
1	Kure Naval Factory	12,378	State
2	Yokosuka Naval Factory	6,761	State

3	Tokyo Military Factory	6,452	State
4	Mitsubishi Shipbuilding	5,058	Private
5	Sasebo Naval Factory	3,612	State
6	Osaka Military Factory	3,120	State
7	Kawasaki Shipbuilding	3,060	Private
8	Shimbashi Factory (railroad cars)	1,721	State
9	Japan Railroad Omiya Factory	1,700	Private
10	Osaka Steel	1,623	Private

Kenichi Ohno, *The economic development of Japan. The path travelled by Japan as a developing country* (Tokyo 2006; originally 2005) 79.

The ten largest enterprises in Japan by employment in 1907.

Ranking	Enterprise	Employees	Ownership
1	Ministry of communication	152,869	State-run
2	Railroad Agency	88,266	State-run
3	Furukawa Mining	30,125	Private
4	Mitsubishi Mining	24,245	Private
5	Kure Naval Factory	21,056	State-run
6	Monopoly Bureau, Ministry of Finance	20,563	State-run
7	Tokyo Army Weapons Factory	19,688	State-run
8	Mitsui Mining	17,472	Private
9	Mie Spinning	13,393	Private
10	Kanegafuchi Spinning	12,204	Private

Ohno, *The economic development of Japan*, 67. The numbers are exclusive of office personnel.

The labour force of private manufacturing industry in Japan Proper, by size of establishment, 1930.

Size of establishment	Number of establishments	Persons engaged, principal occupation	
		Number	Percent
Total	1,240,038	4,759,921	100
Independents	665,533	655,533	14.0
1-4 operatives	512,271	2,106,650	44.3
5-99 operatives	59,643	988,465	20.8
100-499 operatives	2,178	504,512	10.6
500 or more operatives	413	494,761	10.4

Lockwood, *Economic development*, 204.

Employees working for central government, *excluding* members of the armed forces and people working for local government.

	Number of employees in 000s	Ratio of employees to total gainfully occupied population
1880	37	0.19
1890	75	0.33
1900	89	0.35
1910	185	0.71
1920	308	1.13
1930	705	2.38
1940	1,043	3.21

Emi, Government fiscal activity, 5.

EDUCATION

School attainment levels of the population of working age (15-64), 1900-1940

	1900	1920	1940
% completed primary education	14.3	44.8	62.9
% completed post-primary education	0.2	2.9	4.5
% undertaken supplementary continuation of education	0	4.5	10.9
Absolute number of students in secondary and higher education specialising in science and education	3,021	48,089	148,515

Howe, Origins of Japanese trade supremacy, 255.

Elementary school enrolment, share of six- to twelve-year-olds, 1875-1920

Year	Male	Female
1875	50.8%	18.7%
1880	58.7%	21.9%
1885	65.8%	32.1%
1890	65.1%	31.1%
1895	76.7%	43.9%
1900	90.4%	71.7%
1905	97.7%	93.3%
1910	98.8%	97.4%
1915	98.9%	98.0%
1920	99.2%	98.8%

Alexander, 'Japan's economy in the twentieth century', Table 1. See

<http://www.jei.org/Restricted/JEIR00/0003f.html>

Children enrolled in primary schools, per 1,000 children of ages 5-14

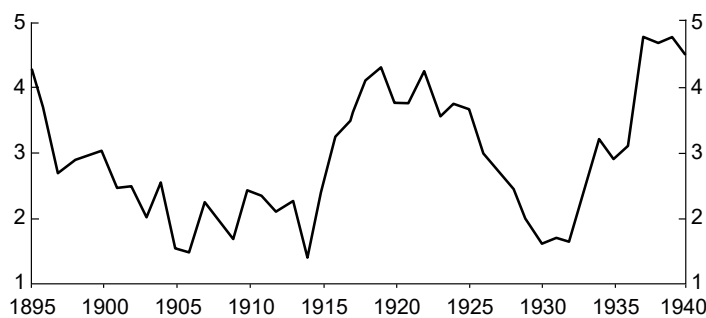
	1900	1930	
Japan	507	609	
France	859	803	public and private
Germany	732	699	public only
UK	720	745	mostly public
Belgium	592	701	public and private

Denmark	717	674	
Italy	382	594	public and private
Netherlands	663	780	public and private
Portugal	194	300	only public
Russia	149		
Spain	475	717	
Sweden	689	779	Public
Switzerland	727	701	only public
Outside Europe:			
British India	47	113	
Egypt	7	178	

Lindert, *Growing public*, 91-93. A blank space behind a country name means that the source used does not indicate whether it includes private schools.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1868-1937

The growth rate of Japan's real gross national product, 1895-1940 in ten-year moving averages



Alexander, 'Japan's economy in the twentieth century', Figure 1.

Average growth rates in percentages per annum of real GNP, population, and GNP per capita, 1888-1938. Growth rates for GNP and GNP per capita are calculated based on 1934-1936 prices.

	GNP	Population	GNP per capita
1889-1890	3.53	0.85	2.68
1891-1895	3.12	0.92	2.19
1896-1900	2.25	1.10	1.15
1901-1905	1.84	1.18	0.66
1906-1910	2.29	1.14	1.16
1911-1915	3.35	1.36	1.99
1916-1920	4.77	1.11	3.66
1921-1925	1.93	1.26	0.67
1926-1930	2.53	1.50	1.03
1931-1935	4.98	1.36	3.62
1936-1938	5.07	0.95	4.12

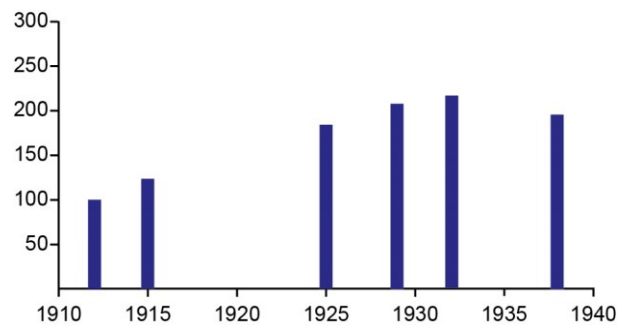
Francks, *Japanese economic development*, 42 and 76.

Sectoral growth rates of Japan's economy. Annual average rates are calculated based on 1934-1936 prices, 1887-1938

	Manufacturing	Transport, Communication and Utilities
1887-1897	5.92	9.00
1897-1904	4.95	8.94
1905-1919	6.80	9.31
1919-1930	4.58	7.26
1930-1938	8.88	9.47

Francks, *Japanese economic development*, 42 and 76.

Industrial real wages in Japan, 1912=100, 1912-1938



Based on Alejandro Ayuso-Díaz and Antonio Tena-Junguito, 'Trade in the shadow of power: Japanese industrial exports in the interwar years', Working Papers in Economic History 2019-02, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Figure 2.

Annual *aggregate* GDP growth rates in real terms in percentages: Japan as compared to France, Germany, and the United Kingdom

	1870-1913
Japan	2.44
France	1.63
Germany	2.81
United Kingdom	1.90

Maddison, *Contours of the world economy*, 380.

Annual *per capita* GDP growth rates in real terms in percentages: Japan as compared to France, Germany, and the United Kingdom

	1870-1913
Japan	1.48
France	1.45
Germany	1.61
United Kingdom	1.01

Angus Maddison, *Contours of the world economy, 1-2030 A.D. Essays in macro-economic history* (Oxford 2007) 383.

People employed in agriculture, 1870-1950, in percentages of total labour force

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	70	49	49	23
1913	60	41	35	12
1930	49	36	29	6
1950	48	28	22	5

Robert Millward, *The state and business in the major powers. An economic history 1815-1939* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York 2014) 248. The absolute number of people working in agriculture in Japan was about a high just after World War Two as it had been in the 1870s.

Sub-industry groups' share of manufacturing output, in percentages 1877-1938

	1877	1900	1920	1938
Textiles	10.1	25.5	27.8	23.6
Foods	58.5	47.2	30.6	14.5
Metals/metal products	1.4	1.4	7.8	14.4
Machinery	1.1	2.9	13.7	20.4
Chemicals	11.1	9.0	8.9	16.6
Ceramics	2.1	1.5	2.2	2.6
Wood and wood products	6.6	4.1	2.3	2.6
Miscellaneous	9.1	8.4	6.7	5.3
Light industries ^a	68.6	72.7	58.4	38.1
Heavy and chemical industries ^b	13.6	13.3	30.4	51.4
All manufacturing	100	100	100	100

a textiles and foods

b metals and metal products, machinery and chemicals

MINAMI, *ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*, 100. THE FIGURES PRESENTED HERE ARE A COMPOSITION OF REAL OUTPUT BASED ON SEVEN-YEARS MOVING AVERAGES, EXCEPT FOR THE FIGURES FOR 1938, THAT GIVE A FIVE-YEAR AVERAGE.

Gross domestic fixed capital formation as a percentage of Gross Domestic Expenditure in Japan, 1886-1940

1886-1890	9.0
1890-1895	9.4
1896-1900	12.1
1901-1905	10.6
1906-1910	13.5
1911-1915	15.6
1916-1920	17.9
1921-1925	18.8
1926-1930	17.8
1931-1935	16.5
1936-1940	25.7

Mosk, *Japanese Economic development*, 364. Based on Ohkawa, Shinohara and Meissner, *Patterns of Japanese economic development*, 256-260.

SOME FIGURES FOR THE ECONOMY OF THE TOKUGAWA ERA

Average annual growth rates of GDP per capita, 1500-1870

	Japan	England	Holland	Northern Italy	Spain	India	China
1500-1700		0.15	0.19	-0.02	-0.02	-0.08	0.00
1600-1700	0.00						
1700-1800	0.24	0.36	0.21	-0.08	0.12	-0.12	-0.07

The figures for Japan cover the periods 1600-1720 and 1720-1874, those for China the period 1700-1870.

Osamu Saito, 'Japan' in Joerg Baten, ed., *A history of the global economy, 1500 to the present* (Cambridge 2016) 167-184, 176.

Estimates of real GDP per capita in several countries in 1850, expressed in 1990 US dollars

	Japan	GB	Netherlands	Italy	Spain	China	India
1850	933	2,997	2,397	1,350	1,144	594	566

Stephen Broadberry, 'Accounting for the Great Divergence', many different versions on the internet, page 23.

Estimates of real GDP per capita in several countries around the beginning of Meiji rule, expressed in 1990 US dollars

	Japan	GB	Netherlands	Italy	Spain	Poland	China	India
1850	800	2,997	2,397				594	556
1870	737	3,190	2,755	1,542	1,207	946	530	533
1874	1,013							

For the figures for 1850 see Jean-Pascal a.o., 'Japan and the Great Divergence', published in several versions on the internet, Table 9. For the figures for 1870 see Jan Luiten van Zanden a.o., *How was life. Global well-being since 1820* (Paris 2014) 67. For the figure for 1874, see Fukao and Settsu, 'Japan. Modern economic growth in Asia', Table 2. The figures, especially those for Japan, China and India are approximations, which may also explain the fairly big difference between the figure for Japan for 1870 and that for 1874.

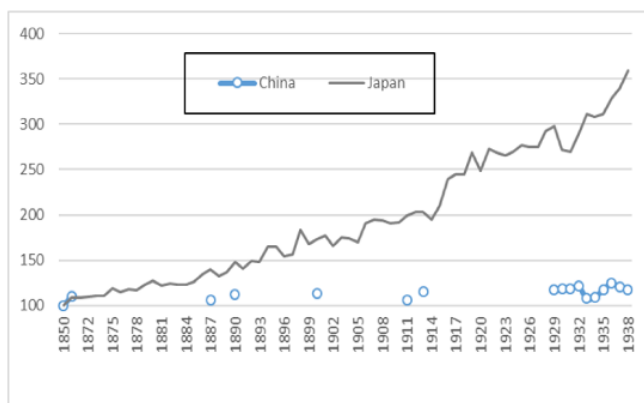
JAPAN IN COMPARISON TO OTHER COUNTRIES

Per capital levels of industrialization, relative to the United Kingdom in, 1750-1900 (1900 =100)

	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
Europe as a whole	8	8	11	16	24	35
United Kingdom	10	16	25	64	87	[100]
France	9	9	12	20	28	39
Italian States / Italy	8	8	8	10	12	17
German States / Germany	8	8	9	15	25	52
Habsburg Empire	7	7	8	11	15	23
Russia	6	6	7	8	10	15
Japan	7	7	7	7	9	12
United States	4	9	14	21	38	69
China	8	6	6	4	4	3
India / Pakistan	7	6	6	3	2	1

Paul Kennedy, *The rise and fall of the great powers Economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London 1988) 190, and Paul Bairoch, 'International industrialization levels from 1750 to 1980', *Journal of European Economic History* 11, 2 (1982) 269-333, page 294.

Real GDP per capita in Japan and China, 1850=100



Debin Ma, 'Ideology and the contours of economic change' in: Debin Ma and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of China. Volume II, 1800 to the present* (Cambridge 2022) 19.

Japan in comparison to France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. All the references to countries are to contemporary borders. Source Millward, *State and business*, 248-257

Output of coal, 1870-1953, in million metric tons

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	0.2	13.3	32.0	112.1
1913	21.3	40.8	277.3	292.0
1929	34.4	55.0	337.9	262.0
1951	44.7	55.0	358.3	225.8

Output of iron ore and pig iron 1870-1951, in 000 metric tons

		Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	iron ore	n.a	2,614	2,918	14,602
	pig iron	n.a	1,178	1,261	6,059
1913	iron ore	17	21,918	26,608	16,254
	pig iron	243	5,207	16,761	10,425
1929	iron ore	88	50,728	6,374	13,427
	pig iron	1,112	10,300	13,240	7,711
1951	iron ore	600	35,207	12,923	15,014
	pig iron	3,227	8,750	11,039	9,824

Electricity supply in net gigawatt hours, 1913-1951

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1913	1.14	1.80	8.0	2.5
1929	15.12	15.60	30.66	16.98
1951	47.86	38.15	75.19	69.37

Electricity supply and population, net kilowatt hours per 100 population in net gigawatt hours

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1913	2	5	12	6
1929	24	38	47	37
1951	57	90	109	137

Merchant fleets, 1870-1951, net registered weight in '000 metric tons

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	16	1,072	939	5,691
1913	1,528	1,582	3,320	12,120
1929	3,862	2,007	2,402	11,369
1951	2,182	3,367	1,099	10,955

Length of open railway track, in miles

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	18	9658	11,728	13,395
1913	6568	25,332	39,380	20,270
1929	12,840	26,283	36,152	20,281
1951	17,124	25,600	30,955	19,356

Railway track spread, rail track miles per 1,000 square miles of territory

	Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	0.1	45	59	149
1913	41	122	193	226
1929	79	123	209	226
1951	94	121	226	216

Density of telecommunication, 1870-1951, telegrams per 100 population and telephones in use per 100 population

		Japan	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1870	Telegrams	0.03	14.9	22.1	27.4
1913	Telegrams	63.6	131.2	78.1	191.0
	Telephones	0.5	0.78	2.1	n.a.
1929	Telegrams	102.5	117.5	47.8	155.4
	Telephones	1.0	2.5	4.9	n.a.
1951	Telegrams	117.8	58.7	49.1	122.5
	Telephones	2.1	6.0	4.5	11.3

THE SITUATION AT THE END OF THE 1930s

GDP of the Great Powers, in 1990 USA dollars, in billions, 1938-1945

	1938	1941
Japan	169	196
United Kingdom	284	344
Germany	351	412
USSR	359	359
USA	800	1,094

Mark Harrison, 'The economics of World War II: an overview' in: Mark Harrison, ed., *The economics of World War II: Six great powers in international comparison* (Cambridge 2000) 10.

GDP per capita in 1990 USA dollars, the averages for the 1930s

Japan	1,850
United Kingdom	5,441
Germany	3,973
USSR	1,448
USA	6,213

Van Zanden a. o., *How was life*, 67.

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- Zeer veel informatie is te vinden in de delen 4, 5 en 6 van de *Cambridge History of Japan* en deel 3 van de *New Cambridge History of Japan*

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