

Japan's Trade with East and South Africa in the Inter-War Period: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports

著者	Kitagawa Katsuhiko
journal or publication title	Kansai University review of economics
volume	3
page range	1-41
year	2001-03
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10112/00017172

Japan's Trade with East and South Africa in the Inter-War Period: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports*

Katsuhiko Kitagawa

This article uses consular reports in order to examine Japan's trade with East and South Africa during the interwar period. Special attention was paid upon such issues as construction of informational infrastructure to collect and disseminate overseas commercial information and the trade strategy to promote Japanese manufactured goods into East and South African market. A number of large, medium and small trading firms were involved in import and export trade after the World War I. Export from Japan entailed serious trade frictions with South Africa and the colonies in East Africa, and Japan utilized fully economic diplomacy to edge herself into the regions which deemed to be lifeline of her national economy.

Keywords: Commercial Network, Informational Infrastructure, Trade Mission, Economic Diplomacy

1. Introduction

Rapid economic growth of East Asian economies in the 1970s and 1980s owed much to the export-oriented development strategies. Numerous scholars pay much attention to whether the development mode of East Asia would be appropriate to African countries where people are, to date, putting a great deal of efforts into democratization and economic structural adjustment projects.⁽¹⁾ It is necessary to understand that economic success in East Asia was built on commercial networks that linked together various regions of East and South East Asia.

The spatial development of commodity distribution has traditionally been thought as a matter of market system and market organization including the networks of transportation, information and finance. It has been discussed as a category of formal organizational structures. However, in fact, voluntary and informal network relations that link individual with individual, group with group and individuals with groups were created to facilitate trade in the absence of formal, institutional and legal systems of

protection.⁽²⁾

The economic history of Africa from the late 19th century to this century has been much discussed in terms of the penetration of the formal and informal colonial rule into this continent and the activities of foreign enterprises. The historical study of the commercial networks in intra-African continent and between Asia and Africa that were built for several centuries has been overlooked, because it was accepted uncritically that the pre-colonial commercial networks were cut into pieces under the process of colonization.⁽³⁾ From today's point of view it is particularly interesting to know whether or not the informal commercial networks can contribute to economic development in African economies. It is unfailingly thought that Japan's trade relation with Africa might be developed under such commercial networks.

Recently, Japan has been an elaborate and highly sophisticated system of international economic relations. However, the state of our knowledge of this international scheme suffers for a blind spot as far as Africa is concerned, presumably owing to the relatively low economic interaction between the continent and Japan. And so, to locate Africa in Japan's economic world-scale scenario, it is essential to investigate how and why Japan's economic relations with African continent developed in the past, and when and where they did, in order to consider what kind of relations Japan should construct with Africa in the foreseeable future.⁽⁴⁾ This paper is a part of a wider study whereby I attempt to synthesize researches on "Japan's Trade Relations with Africa in the Inter-War Period", mainly based on extensive examination of the pre-war Japanese consular reports regarding economic conditions in Africa.⁽⁵⁾

This paper focuses on the development of economic relations between Japan and East and South Africa before the World War II.⁽⁶⁾ The order of our discussion is as follows: (1) when Japan's economic interests in East and South Africa emerged, (2) how economic information was collected from East and South Africa and disseminated among Japanese middlemen and manufacturers, (3) the extent to which Japan's trade and commercial networks with East and South Africa developed, and (4) the kind of issues which arose out of its development.⁽⁷⁾

2. Japan's Economic Interests in East and South Africa

A detailed and positive description of the African continent as a Japanese commodity market was given in *A View of Economic Conditions in Africa* published in 1932.⁽⁸⁾ In this report, African markets were divided into four groups. From the Japanese perspective, Group A which included Egypt, Sudan, French and Spanish Morocco, and Group C which comprised the Union of South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia were regarded as the most important trading areas. In the 1930s more attention came to be focused on Group B, which was essentially the British East Africa.⁽⁹⁾

In the aftermath of the World War I, Japanese trade suffered severe setback as European powers regained their markets and took measures to keep up with increasingly popular ideas of imperial self-sufficiency. The newly-founded Republic of China also adopted a high tariff policy against its rivals, as did the British India. The British Empire as a whole moved towards stronger protection of its Commonwealth markets. At the same time, Japanese industrialists and merchants who manufactured or dealt with cotton textiles and other miscellaneous merchandise and who had increased in number during the war, now found the domestic market in Japan insufficient to absorb their surplus goods. Given this situation, it was inevitable that greater attention came to be paid to new markets which had received little attention previously. These included the Balkan States, the Middle East, South America and Africa. With the abolition of the gold standard in 1931, the value of the Japanese yen fell and set the stage for the promotion of Japanese exports.⁽¹⁰⁾

(1) Japan's Early Economic Interests in South Africa

There is a historical evidence which shows early Japanese economic interests in South Africa and a small amount of Japanese goods had already been traded in South Africa before 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed.

A. Hisamizu Mission: *Report of the Mission to South Africa*, 1902.⁽¹¹⁾

Saburo Hisamizu, Japanese consul in Singapore, and Kuniomi Katsube, part-time investigator for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, undertook investigation on economic conditions in Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State for two months from 3 August to 5 October in 1902.

This investigation was undertaken immediately after the end of Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), and since South Africa recovered peace, it was inevitable that foreign trade was on the inflow of goods for every day life.

After Hisamizu and Katsube observed South African mining industries, particularly De Beers mines, and agriculture, and also analysed its foreign trade, they stated:

“It can be safely said that trade between Japan and South Africa has not shown the slightest movement. Nevertheless, Japanese general merchandise are unfailingly found in several shops of almost every town. It can be presumed that those merchandise are mostly either re-exported from Britain or brought there by Indian merchants.”⁽¹²⁾

In their report, they showed that Japanese goods had already been brought into the South African market through the Indian commercial networks, and their recognition of the beginning of the 20th century as “the Age of Peaceful War”, in which Japan should attempt to be a unshakable “Commercial State”, and in which Japanese trade policy should aim at such a country that had much purchasing power without development of industrial productivity.

B. Nunokawa Mission: *Conditions of Foreign Trade in South Africa, 1917.*⁽¹³⁾

Japanese government and traders made concerted efforts to advance on South African markets. Magoichi Nunokawa, part-time investigator for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, left Japan in September 1916, and arrived at Cape Town on 23 October. After having engaged in researches on several districts in the Union of South Africa, he came back to Japan in January 1917.

The purpose of this mission was to investigate into the reality that in spite of rapid increase of Japanese trade with South Africa during the World War I, Japanese middlemen could not conduct their business activities freely under the 1913 Immigration Act which prohibited Asian immigrants. This investigation was undertaken in order to take some kind of measures by which Japanese merchants were guaranteed to immigrate to and reside in South Africa and develop Japanese trade with South Africa.

Nunokawa reported that during the World War I, South African imports from Japan substantially increased because of interrupted inflow of con-

sumer goods from European countries, which were sent their prices high up and consequently created demand for Japanese manufactured goods. At that time the Mikado & Co., which was opened by Komahei Furuya in Cape Town at the end of last century, was the oldest Japanese store which dealt in Japanese goods.⁽¹⁴⁾ Some of South African middlemen and merchant houses tried to deal with Japanese traders directly and to acquire Japanese goods through the hands of European merchants residing in Japan. Japanese exports were cotton piece goods, silk goods, knitwear and other general merchandise and her imports were wattle bark, oxhide, goatskin, wool and aloes.

There were two serious problems to overcome in order to promote Japanese trade relationship with South Africa. The first problem was a habit to settle accounts. The British merchants in South Africa had a firm financial base to do business at their discretion. When they imported Japanese goods, they usually ordered to Japanese traders through their interested concerns in Britain and gave them orders to send commodities directly to South Africa. When Japanese merchants received orders from South African traders, they instructed Japanese traders to offer them credit in longer terms. But unavailability of long-term credit to which South African traders had been given access by European traders was one of unfavorable conditions. The second problem was that Japanese traders had to find reliable counterpart agents in South Africa because Japanese businessmen were prohibited residing and doing business under the 1913 Act in South Africa.⁽¹⁵⁾ Nunokawa negotiated with South African government to reach agreement to exchange "Note of Understanding", but this negotiation was suspended by the British government's official notice to South African government.⁽¹⁶⁾

(2) Japan's Economic Interests in East Africa between the Wars

A. Oyama Mission (Japanese Government Mission to East Africa in 1927-28)

In 1927, the Japanese government wanted to encourage the development of trade with East Africa and sent an investigative mission headed by Ujiro Oyama. The Oyama team, which included two engineers from the Taiwan colonial government, Hakusai Yamada and Eitaro Kishimoto, and Kanae Irie of the Trade Association of Japanese Cotton Yarn and Cloth, conducted research in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Madagascar,

Abysinnia, and Portuguese East Africa from September 1927 to February 1928. Their three volume report, *Conditions in British East Africa and Conditions in Abysinnia, Madagascar and Portuguese East Africa* which were written by Oyama, and *A Research Report of the Economic Conditions in East Africa* written by Irie, were published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Bureau of Trade and Commerce. Irie argued that in order to encourage the development of Japan's trade with East Africa it was necessary to shorten the time of the voyage between Japan and East Africa, to establish a Japanese Consulate, and to open local branch offices of commercial banks for trading.⁽¹⁷⁾

B. The Osaka Merchants' Trade Mission to East Africa

In 1929 the industrial research division of the Osaka city government planned sending a trade mission to East Africa. Osaka city and various trade associations wanted to launch a sales campaign for cotton pieces and general merchandise manufactured in the Osaka district. The participants included Masaaki Oba (Industrial Research Division of Osaka City), Ryoichi Okuno (Hamaguchi & Co. Ltd.), Shinkichi Yamazoe (Kuwahara & Co.), Kozo Nikawa (Nikawa & Co.), Shizuo Miyaji (Fukushima Yoko & Co.), and Hikoza Sueoka (Shimada Glassware Co.). The places of inspection and the trade fair were to cover the whole of East Africa, notably Mombasa, Nairobi, Kisumu, Jinja, Kampala, Entebbe, Mwanza, Tobora, Kigoma, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and Beira. The Exhibitors were Hamaguchi & Co. (handkerchiefs), Nihon Paints Co. (paints), Yoshizaki & Co. (towels and sheets), Dai Nihon Jochugiku Co. (peppermint oil, insect powder and mosquito-repellent), Kuwahara & Co. (rubber shoes), Nikawa & Co. (umbrellas), Fukushima Yoko & Co. (knitwear), Shimada Glassware Co. (glassware), Suzuki & Co. (blankets, towels and sheets).⁽¹⁸⁾

C. "1930 Africa Exhibition" in Osaka

In December 1930 'Africa Exhibition' was held at the Osaka Commercial Museum under the cosponsorship of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. During the Exhibition people who were involved in trading activities in East Africa and who were experienced in making voyages to Africa met to hold a round-table talk about the promotion of Japanese trade with Africa, and also held lectures and film projections about general affairs in East Africa. The members at the round-

table talk were Ujiro Oyama, Satoru Nakame (president of Osaka Foreign Language School), Kunitatsu Oshima (Osaka Shipping Company), Enjiro Yamahigashi, Sengo Shibata, Keizo Fukui, Hiroshi Tsuge (Nihon Menka Co.), Junichi Tabuchi (Toyo Menka Co.), Shigeyoshi Takami (Gosho Co.), Shinkichi Yamazoe (Kuwahara & Co.), Ryoichi Okuno (Hamaguchi & Co.), Kozo Nikawa (Nikawa & Co.), and Shizuo Miyaji (Fukushima Yoko & Co.). Masao Tajima delivered a lecture on general affairs in Africa, Tabuchi on "the Story of the Kenya and Uganda", and Tsuge on "A Short history of Tanganyika".⁽¹⁹⁾

3. Informational Infrastructure⁽²⁰⁾ regarding East and South Africa

Japan's economic survival as a latecomer imperialist nation depended on the development of an institutionalized system for the collection and dissemination of commercial information. In order to collect overseas commercial information, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs founded the Consulate System and the Consular Reporting System, and also the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce opened the Overseas Commercial Museums and dispatched Overseas Business Trainees as well. Economic information regarding East and South Africa was collected through this international network of information collection which Japanese government had established at great cost and dedication. (See table 1)

(1) Collection System

The Japanese Consulate, Trade Correspondents, Trade Missions and Overseas Business Trainees played a vital role by collecting commercial information in East and South African market and encouraging real development of trade with these regions. The range of information collection was very wide: the names of local traders and commercial houses, indications of changing prices or demand for various goods, information about changes in consumer tastes, expected crop yields for agricultural products, import and export duties, foreign exchange rates, and so on.

The first Japanese government establishment had been opened in Cape Town in August 1918. A Consulate was then opened at Port Said in December 1919. In March 1926, a Consulate General was opened in Alexandria, after then the following were established in this order: a Consulate in Mombasa (1932), a Legation in Cairo (1936), a Consulate in

Addis Ababa (1936), a Consulate in Casablanca (1936), and a Legation in Cape Town (1937). The collection network of economic information regarding Africa continued to expand until 1939.

The commercial information regarding Africa was also sent by overseas business trainees, secretaries of Japanese Embassy, commercial and technical experts dispatched overseas, and by trade correspondents. Trade mediation centers were founded in Mombasa (1927), Nairobi (1933), and Casablanca (1934) to collect commercial information and to support the business activities of Japanese traders and industrialists. In addition, various kinds of market research provided by the trade missions of local governments, private companies and trade associations were useful sources of economic information regarding East and South Africa.⁽²¹⁾

Table 1 Japanese Diplomatic and Consular Offices in Africa, 1918-1942

Year	Diplomatic and Consular Offices	Trade Organization
August 1918	Consulate in Cape Town	
December 1919	Consulate in Port Said	
March 1926	Consulate General in Alexandria	
October 1927		Trade Correspondent in Mombasa
November 1927	Japanese Commercial Museum in Cairo	
February 1932	Consulate in Mombasa	
December 1933		Trade Correspondent in Nairobi
May 1934		Trade Correspondent in Casablanca
January 1936	Legation in Cairo Legation in Adis Ababa	
December 1936	Legation in Adis Ababa (closed) Legation in Casablanca	
October 1937	Legation in Cape Town	Trade Mediation Center in Alexandria
November 1938		Trade Mediation Center in Casablanca
December 1938		Trade Mediation Center in Nairobi
February 1939		Trade Mediation Center in Lagos
August 1942	Legation in Cairo and Cape Town (closed)	

Source: Terutaro Nishino, "On Economic Research in Africa Between the Wars (part 1) —an aspect of African Studies in Japan—", *African Studies* 1-1, 1963.

(2) Dissemination System

Commercial information regarding East and South Africa collected through diverse channels appeared in various kinds of trade periodicals. They were published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, local governments, trade associations and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and then circulated in the business world.

A. Consular reports (Table 2)

Japanese consular reports were printed and published to make their information available to merchants and businessmen by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The title of the periodicals in which these reports appeared changed frequently, and difficulties arose when one attempted to assemble a complete series for study. Although only a small number of early reports regarding Africa appeared initially in the *Journal of Commercial Reports* (1895-1913), it was after the World War I that a variety of reports based on field surveys were sent directly from Africa.

Table 2 Trade Journals included Japanese Consular Reports

Title	Period	Publishing House	Frequency
<i>Report of Commerce</i>	1881-1886	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	semiannually
<i>Commercial Reports</i>	1886/12-1889/12	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	every three month
<i>Official Gazette</i>	1890/1-1905/12	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	daily
<i>Journal of Commercial Reports</i>	1894/1-1913/3	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	monthly
<i>Official Commercial Reports</i>	1913/4-1924/12	Keiseisha Publishing Co. (first half) The Imperial Local Administration Society (second half)	twice a week
<i>Daily Overseas Commercial Reports</i>	1925/1-1928/3	The Imperial Local Government Administration	daily
<i>Weekly Overseas Economic Conditions</i>	1928/4-1934/12	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	every Monday
<i>Overseas Economic Conditions</i>	1935/1-1943/10	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	twice a month

Source: S.Tsunoyama ed., *A Study of Japanese Consular Reports*, Tokyo, Dobunkan, 1986.

In the period of the *Official Commercial Reports* (1913-1924), information regarding South Africa was sent from the honorary consul, Julius Jeppe, and then from Japanese consuls in the Cape Town Consulate: Yaoichi Shimizu and Ban Uehara. The information covered the general trend of foreign trade in South Africa, commercial agents in South Africa, sales conditions of cotton piece goods and general merchandise, port and harbor facilities, the tariff system, shipping in the Indian Ocean, and railway building in South Africa. Information regarding East Africa which included Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Ethiopia (Abbyssinia), and Italian Eritria was sent from the Port Said and Cape Town consulates. The information covered the general trend of foreign trade in each area, the cotton in Uganda, port and harbor facilities, the tariff system, shipping in the Indian Ocean, and railway building in British East Africa.

In the *Daily Overseas Commercial Reports* (1925-1928), the topics which covered were the trends of Japanese trade with East and South Africa, competition of commodity sales among Britain, Germany, and the United States in the East and South African market and their commercial policies, an investigative report on the commercial activities of Indian merchants and on the life of European people in East and South Africa, and reports on cotton cloth imports to Kenya, Zanzibar and South Africa, the cotton crop yield of Uganda and Tanganyika. The Japanese consuls who sent these information were Tadanao Imai and Yoshitaro Kato.

Thereafter in the age of the *Overseas Economic Conditions* (weekly in 1928-1934, twice a month in 1935-43), reports on South Africa increased substantially on such matters of grave concern as the South African industrial policy, anti-Japanese movement, the British commercial policy to the cotton cloth market, and the sales campaign of Japanese cotton cloth. These information was sent from successive Japanese consuls, deputy consuls or ministers in Cape Town whose names were Tadanao Imai, Chiaki Seki, Soju Yamasaki, Tatsuo Hongo, Naojiro Nishikida, Chosaku Mogaki, Nobuo Fujimura, Tomoyasu Ota, Kenichiro Zushi, Takeo Kinoshita, Kenkichi Yoshida, and Kenichi Okada.⁽²²⁾ Reports on East Africa increased substantially on such matters of grave concern as the closer union among the East African territories under Britain and the attitude of Indians to this movement, the British commercial policy regarding the cotton cloth market in East Africa, the amendment of the Congo Basin Treaty, and the opinions of British and East African people toward it, and the sales campaign of

Japanese cotton cloth merchants and their competition with merchants of the Netherlands.

B. Reports from Overseas Business Trainees and Trade Correspondents

Commercial information regarding East and South Africa which was collected by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (later the Ministry of Industry and Commerce) appeared in such journals as the *Trade News* and the *Home and External Current News of Industry and Trade*. These included reports of general conditions on annual trade of East and South Africa, tariffs and regulations of exports and imports, and research on the demand of Japanese cotton goods in the East and South African market. These were sent by the overseas business trainees, trade correspondents and trade missions.⁽²³⁾

C. Reports from Trade Missions dispatched by Local Government

In some trade journals published in such principal cities as Osaka, Yokohama and Kobe, there appeared commercially important information regarding economic conditions in East and South Africa. For example, in the *Commercial Reports (1915-1944)*, issued by the Osaka Commercial Museum, consular reports were sometimes reproduced, and exhibits and explanations on sample commodities sent from overseas countries were included in order to disseminate the knowledge to local merchants and industrialists. Since the middle of 1920s, the amount of economic information regarding East and South Africa increased substantially, and market research reports by the staff of commercial houses in Osaka about such commodities as towel, toothbrush, toys, cosmetics, cotton blanket and the like began to appear in this journal. In addition, in Osaka, the Trade Association for Exports to Africa was founded in 1929 and it dispatched researchers to obtain detailed information on market performance and structure in East and South Africa.⁽²⁴⁾

In the *Studies of East Asian Trade (1916-1944)* issued by the Industrial Research Division of Osaka City, much attention was paid on market research on cotton goods and general merchandise in South Africa. Particularly, much attention was paid on sales conditions of such manufactures as towel, brush, glass bottle, toys, cotton blanket and cotton piece goods which were produced in Osaka district. In addition, the *Bulletin* issued by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in principal cities,

played an important role in disseminating economic information. For example, the *Monthly Report (1909-1943)* issued by the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, whose title changed several times, provided the business world in Osaka with useful overseas economic information including East and South Africa. In particular, after the World War I, discussions of the commercial strategies to facilitate Japanese commodities break into South African market appeared occasionally. Moreover, the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry held a series of lectures on general economic conditions in East and South Africa and granted subsidies to concerned business firms to encourage the development of trade with East and South Africa.⁽²⁵⁾

4. Japan's Trade with East and South Africa, 1914-1939

(1) General Trend

Japanese exports to Africa increased after the dislocation of trade between Europe and Africa during the World War I, exceeding imports to Africa for the first time. Until 1923, Japan's imports from Africa had consistently exceeded her exports. Thereafter greater attention came to be paid to Africa as a new market, and Japanese government and traders made concerted efforts to advance into this African market, and African share of total Japanese exports rose remarkably from 2.3% in the 1920s to 6-7% in the 1930s. The African share of total Japanese imports also rose, but less spectacularly, from 1.8% in 1910s to 2% in the 1920s and to 3-4% in the 1930s.⁽²⁶⁾

Egypt and South Africa received the bulk of Japanese total exports to Africa. South African share of total Japanese exports to Africa was 34% in the 1910s, 25.3% in the 1920s and 22.5% in the 1930s. Her contribution to the total of Japanese imports from Africa was 23.9%, 17.2% and 12.7% in the three consecutive decades respectively. South African exports to Japan consisted of wattle bark, oxhide, goatskin, wool, aloes, maize and asbestos. East Africa took 16.2%, on the average in the 1930s. Japanese imports from East Africa in the same period averaged 16.7% of the total from Africa. However, import trade fluctuated greatly from its peak (29%) to its bottom (3%) depending on the cotton yields in Uganda. Between 1926 and 1939, the Japanese share of East Africa's exports peaked at 10% in 1936 and bot-

tomed at 1% in 1927-29, and averaged 5.1%. The Japanese share of East Africa's total imports was 17% at its peak in 1936, 5% on its bottom in 1927-29, and 9.5% on average. (see table 3 and 4)⁽²⁷⁾

(2) East and South Africa as a Market of Japanese Cotton Piece Goods

A. South Africa

South African imports from Japan consisted of rayon piece goods, cotton piece goods, silk piece goods, china and pottery ware, furnishing drapery, hosiery, artificial silk, toys, bicycle, women's outer garment, oak timber and enameled ware.

It is difficult to show to what extent Japanese cotton goods accounted for all of the cotton piece goods imported to South Africa from abroad. At least prior to 1914 the United Kingdom consistently supplied over 80% of the trade of this class, and this proportion was well maintained until 1923, when nearly 85% of South Africa's cotton piece goods imports were consisted of the United Kingdom manufacture. Since then, however, there has been a steady and serious loss of her trade, the percentage having fallen year by year. Japan has gained a large share of the trade since 1923, its

Table 3 Japanese Trade with South Africa, 1912-1939 (100,000 Yen)

Year	Export	Import	Year	Export	Import
1912	4.5	—	1926	107.4	9.2
1913	4.8	—	1927	116.4	10.8
1914	5.9	—	1928	116.9	13.1
1915	10	—	1929	131.8	14.5
1916	42.4	—	1930	141.9	16.2
1917	67.9	188.5	1931	192.8	13.3
1918	183.4	294.5	1932	164.2	26.4
1919	81.9	371.6	1933	267.4	43.1
1920	82.1	738.9	1934	295.4	82.3
1921	38.5	28.6	1935	327.7	47.6
1922	48.2	37.7	1936	415.3	225.6
1923	47.5	6.7	1937	537	888
1924	57.6	9.9	1938	352	95
1925	95.4	13.3	1939	468	92

Source: Cabinet Statistical Bureau ed., *Statistical Yearbook of Japanese Empire*, 1916, 1920, 1921, 1925, 1930, 1936, 1939.

Table 4 East African Trade toward Japan, 1926-1939 (1000 pound)

Year	Export	to Japan	Import	from Japan
1926	9,035	475	9,757	618
1927	8,692	632	10,532	553
1928	10,712	542	11,310	638
1929	11,009	869	12,135	693
1930	8,380	252	10,244	723
1931	6,212	143	7,036	754
1932	6,861	151	6,746	842
1933	8,254	450	6,844	1,049
1934	8,920	759	8,818	1,461
1935	10,709	141	10,604	1,791
1936	13,671	1,439	11,604	2,017
1937	15,289	1,239	15,986	2,692
1938	12,875	323	14,109	1,763
1939	13,397	960	12,864	1,655

Note: East Africa includes Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar

1926-1933: Total of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika

1934-1939: Total of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar

Source: Consular Reports regarding East Africa in *Overseas Economic Conditions*

increase having been recorded in each year.⁽²⁸⁾

What kind of cotton piece goods were imported into South African market? Japanese cotton piece goods imported to South Africa mostly consisted of unbleached gray cloth in terms of both volume and value. Unbleached drills manufactured by Toyo Boseki Co. were used as lining materials of women's clothes for African people residing in rural and urban areas. Jeans with Yorakucho or Building trademark imported from Japan was used as lining and pocket cloth. Sheeting was mostly imported from Japan and the United Kingdom. Japanese goods were 36 inch coarse cotton with Kyuryu trademark manufactured by Kanebo Co. These were used for making overall, dust coat, and clothes for African shop assistant. Sheeting with Rugby trademark and ducks were used for lining of shoes, sail and tent.

In the case of bleached cloth, this line formed 10% of Japanese cotton piece goods imported in South Africa. 70% of this class was sheeting. High quality goods of drills were imported from the United Kingdom and low

quality goods were imported from Italy, which were demanded for clothes materials. Japanese khaki drills with Cat and Goldfish trademark and jeans with trademarks of Wild Boar, Public Hall and Kindergarten also advanced upon South African market. The majority of sheeting was made up of the United Kingdom manufactures with trademarks of Horrocks, Fish and Tiger, which were used as clothes materials and cloth for bag. Kaffir sheeting was usually used for making African women's clothes.

In the case of processed cotton cloth imported from Japan, printed cloth accounted for 10% and jeans and poplin accounted for 30% of total import value of these classes. They were used for shirts and lining materials of suits and dresses. Striped drills (yarn dyed) was usually used for cotton clothes and Japanese goods were used as shuka for African people. Drills dyed were mostly demanded for manufacturing clothes and shirts, most of which were the United Kingdom manufactures with Spinners trademark. Japanese gabardines (printed) with trademarks of Cat and Goldfish and Kanebo-3460 advanced upon South African market as well.⁽²⁹⁾

B. East Africa

East Africa's (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar) main imports from overseas countries were cotton piece goods, motor cars and lorries, gasoline, machinery (agricultural, electrical and industrial machines) and iron and steel manufactures. Imports from Japan consisted of beer, pottery and chinaware, glassware (bottles, jars, tumblers and other domestic ware, lighting glassware, tableware, plates and mirrors), cement, tin plate, enameled holloware, iron and steel manufactures (cutler's wares, implements and tools, locks, knives), cotton piece goods, cotton blankets, knitware, clothes and matches. Japan's exports to East Africa consisted mostly of cotton piece goods and miscellaneous merchandize. In contrast with exports from Europe and the US, Japan exported necessities of life for the Africans, Indians, and Arabians.

The value of the Japanese goods in East Africa's cotton piece goods imports increased rapidly from 1931, and in 1936 her share rose to 80%. Considering that cotton piece goods from Britain, India and the Netherlands held the substantial share in 1920s, it is impressive that in 1930s, on the average, Japanese goods accounted for 65% of East Africa's imports of cotton piece goods. (See table 5)

What kind of cotton piece goods were imported into the East African

Table 5 Imports of Cotton Cloth to East Africa by Countries, 1926-1939 (1000 pound)

Year	Total Import	Japan	United Kingdom	India	Netherlands
1926	1,797 (31,475)	438 (-)	543 (-)	335 (-)	375 (-)
1927	1,958 (41,054)	436 (-)	592 (-)	335 (-)	462 (-)
1928	1,050*(41,920)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
1929	1,176*(50,041)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
1930	1,436 (38,322)	253*(-)	227*(-)	81*(-)	178*(-)
1931	1,183 (75,288)	503 (15,523)	237 (3,548)	196 (8,000)	204 (2,848)
1932	1,151 (77,180)	527 (21,884)	258 (4,616)	116 (4,621)	114 (1,558)
1933	1,188 (87,744)	675 (28,551)	220 (3,299)	77 (2,010)	114 (1,208)
1934	1,258 (90,543)	891 (74,978)	240 (9,125)	60 (1,558)	45 (1,238)
1935	1,478 (110,159)	1,109 (93,445)	263 (11,121)	57 (2,285)	38 (2,121)
1936	1,530 (120,731)	1,225 (107,597)	190 (7,538)	57 (2,930)	32 (2,027)
1937	2,026 (134,281)	1,612 (115,543)	195 (7,005)	103 (5,733)	78 (4,660)
1938	1,562 (109,620)	1,168 (919,790)	186 (6,462)	81 (4,138)	99 (5,944)
1939	1,457 (117,999)	1,087 (92,612)	146 (5,004)	63 (3,163)	63 (3,877)

Note: East Africa includes Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar

1926-33: Total of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika

1934-39: Total of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar

() : square yard

* : not include Tanganyika

Source: Consular Reports in *Overseas Economic Conditions*

market? Japanese cotton goods imported into East Africa mostly consisted of unbleached grey cloth in terms of both volume and value between 1926 and 1939, but starting from 1932 imports of printed cloth, dyed cloth and yarn dyed cloth also increased steadily.

Firstly, in the case of unbleached grey cloth, Japanese share made up 90% in the latter half of 1930s in spite of the sharp decline in the period of the Great Depression of 1930-33; in the years between 1926 and 1939, on the average, the Japanese share of this category was 67%. This grey cloth was manufactured in such companies as Toyo Boseki Co., Nihon Boseki Co., Senshu Textile Co., and Naigai Cotton Co. Demands depended on and fluctuated according to the income of the indigenous consumers, and the fluctuation periods in the seasonal harvest of cotton and other agricultural crops. Japanese grey cloth was mainly used for making such African clothes as kanzu and shuka.

Secondly, in the case of bleached cloth, from the latter half of the 1920s to the early 1930s, British and Dutch goods were overwhelming, and the Japanese share of imported bleached cloth was around 20%. In the middle of the 1930s owing to the innovations in bleaching technology in Japan, her share rose to about 80%. From 1926 to 1939 the Japanese share of bleached cloth was, on the average, 41%, and these were used for kanzu, shuka and the underwear of Africans.

Thirdly, in the case of printed cloth, British goods occupied the substantial share in the East African market and after 1934 Japanese goods were gradually imported. Japanese goods mostly consisted of printed jeans and Japan was no match for Britain in khanga. Imports of Japanese dyed cloth increased in the 1930s. So that in the latter half of the 1930s the Japanese share of dyed-in-the-piece exceeded 75%. This reversion of position in colour manufactures market between Japan and Britain in East African market bred a trade conflict. These dyed-in-the-piece goods were kaniki, black cloth for female hoods (buibui) and shuka, hodorunk (dyed dark brown cloth, kanzu for male), bleached calicos, khaki coloured drill (clothes for Africans living in urban areas), and crepe (kanzu for middle-class Africans, clothes for European children).

Finally, in the case of yarn dyed cloth, Japan accounted for over 70% of the total value of imports. Yarn dyed cloth included striped cloth (underwear for Africans, Indians, and Arabians), striped drills, kikoi for African men, kunguru (checked underwear for Africans), kisuwa (headkerchief for African women and turbans for Arab men). (See table 6)

These Japanese cotton piece goods were transported to the East African market via Bombay and Aden before 1926. Thereafter, such ships on the OSK's East African Line as the Kanada Maru, the Mekishiko Maru, the Shikago Maru, and the Panama Maru transported Japanese goods from Kobe to Mombasa. From there these goods were dealt and distributed into the hinterland by Nihon Menka Co. or Indian commercial houses. Japanese cotton piece goods penetrated into African areas along the Kenyan coast and into the urban areas of Nairobi, Kisumu, Kampala and Jinja and their rural vicinities along Ugandan railway line. It should be added that these goods were manufactured not only in large-scale cotton factories like those of Toyo Boseki Co., Kanebo Co., Dai-Nihon Boseki Co., Hattori Co., but also by small scale local weavers. Large-scale producers exported their goods through large-scale commercial houses. On the con-

Table 6 Import of Cotton Cloth to East Africa by Kinds, 1926-1939 (1000 pound)

Year	unbleached	bleached	khanga	printed	dyed in piece	yarn dyed
1926	669 (403)	149 (11)	–	233 (5)	397 (6)	349 (37)
1927	669 (390)	881 (20)	–	261 (16)	431 (9)	427 (78)
1928	265 (143)	96 (10)	–	135 (51)	266 (10)	288 (15)
1929	390 (346)	78 (17)	–	157 (61)	248 (11)	303 (87)
1930	423 (142)	93 (16)	–	124 (44)	181 (9)	186 (54)
1931	393 (163)	100 (22)	–	143 (65)*	282 (14)	143 (68)
1932	272 (96)	86 (18)	–	150 (30)*	269 (54)	213 (21)
1933	295 (86)	76 (22)	–	133 (39)*	303 (112)	229 (32)
1934	284 (261)	90 (59)	102 (6)	184 (163)	339 (207)	253 (187)
1935	362 (343)	115 (87)	141 (6)	245 (215)	376 (270)	241 (184)
1936	393 (374)	149 (124)	106 (13)	254 (233)	379 (285)	240 (188)
1937	426 (395)	195 (168)	155 (21)	284 (254)	581 (464)	376 (302)
1938	393 (384)	108 (82)	191 (51)	226 (196)	371 (262)	267 (193)
1939	374 (275)	121 (92)	112 (22)	225 (196)	452 (359)	191 (137)

Note: East Africa includes Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar

1926-33: Total of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika

1934-39: Total of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar

() : Import of Japanese Goods

* : Include khanga

Source: Consular Report in *Overseas Economic Conditions*

trary, the smaller ones exported their goods through small commercial houses supported by the financial aid from the Federated Association of the Japanese Cotton Manufacturers and the Federated Association of Japanese Cotton Exporters.⁽³⁰⁾ In Osaka, the Osaka Trade Association of Exporters for Africa was founded to promote trade with Africa.

(3) East Africa as a Source of Raw Cotton

East African exports consisted mostly of cotton, coffee, maize, sisal and carbonate of soda. Japan imported carbonate of natural soda, cotton and wattle bark; of these three cotton was by far the major commodity; almost all of the cotton was exported from Uganda. It is difficult to comprehend precisely the fluctuations in time sequence of quantity and value of cotton import in Japanese consular reports. But it is observable that Japan's cotton imports considerably fluctuated depending on whether the harvest of Ugandan cotton was good or bad. In spite of the sharp decline of trade in

Ugandan cotton during the 1930s Great Depression, value of Japanese cotton imports rose from 614,000 pounds in 1934, to 1,241,000 pounds in 1936 and then fell to 802,000 pounds in 1938.

It was significant that consular reports researching the conditions of cotton cropping and its price fluctuation in Uganda were sent one after another to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Bureau of Trade and Commerce. On the one hand, good and poor harvests of raw cotton had a profound effect on steadying the supply of raw materials for cotton cloth weavers in Japan, and on the other hand, the income and purchasing power of the African peasants who were much involved in cotton growing in the East African colonial economy also affected the sales of Japanese cotton textiles and general merchandise goods among the African people in East Africa. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the daily life of Ugandan cotton cultivators was linked to the life of the ordinary people who were working every day in large-scale spinning and weaving combined factories near large cities and the small scale local weavers in the country side of Japan.

In Uganda, cotton cultivation developed because the colonial government allocated cotton seeds to Ugandan peasants and forced them to cultivate cotton under leadership of the chiefs who mobilized the traditional and personal networkings. In the latter half of the 1920s, there were 176 cotton ginneries: two-thirds of them were owned and managed by Europeans and the rest by the Indian people. Under the supervision of the colonial government the time and place of cotton buying was limited within either the cotton ginneries or the 32 specified local stores where African cotton growers could sell their crop directly.

In East Africa Nihon Menka Co. bought some Indian cotton ginneries and began direct buying. Toyo Menka Co. and Gosho bought cotton through the hands of Indian cotton dealers. The main cotton-growing areas were Buganda which was situated in the basin of Lakes Victoria and Kyoga, and the East Province on both sides of the Nile, and the Busoga province.⁽³¹⁾

5. The Opening and Development of Shipping to East and South Africa⁽³²⁾

The first factor encouraging Japan's trade with East and South Africa was the opening and development of shipping lines from Japan to East and South Africa. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) opened a shipping line

to South America via South Africa in December 1916 during the World War I and sent the *Kasado-Maru* on the first run. Ships on this route made calls along the way in Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town in South Africa. Even after the World War I, exports to East and South Africa from Japan were being re-exported via Bombay or Aden, and the traders were eager to have a direct Japan-East and South African shipping route established.

The traders' requests and the growing economic interests in East and South Africa as a new market helped the OSK convince to investigate the Eastern coast market area of Africa. The OSK ordered Masao Tajima of the Ocean-Line Section to investigate this market area and particular attention was paid, in the OSK's investigative report, to agriculture and industry, to commercial structures and to port facilities and inland transport systems of Eastern and Southern Africa. According to *A History of African Line* published by the OSK, opening this line was aimed at exploiting South African market and promoting South African trade. The OSK reasoned that the accounts would be balanced by transporting Japanese goods on the way to East and South Africa, and South African wool and Ugandan cotton on the way back to Japan. They also paid much attention to the various kinds of freight at several ports on the way back; petroleum at Singapore, rice at Rangoon, sugar at Java, tea at Colombo and clove from Zanzibar to the Strait Colonies.

Finally the OSK decided to open the East-South Africa line on 23 March 1926 and the *Kanada-Maru* (5780 t) was sent on the first run. This African line was authorized by the Ministry of Communication and the *Mekishiko-Maru* (5800 t) which departed from Kobe was the first authorized ship. Thus, regular service once a month to East Africa was opened. In addition, the *Panama-Maru* (5800 t) and the *Shikago-Maru* (5850 t) were allocated to this line.

These ships departed from Kobe and turned around in South Africa, making calls along the way in Moji, Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo, Kilindini or Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Beira, Delagoa Bay, and Durban. On the way to Japan, they departed from Durban and made calls in Kilindini or Mombasa, Singapore, Moji and Kobe.

The number of navigation days was limited to 110 days, and in those days the OSK's shipping line between Japan and various East African ports had to compete with the Japan Steamship Company (NYK) which man-

aged the Eastern Coastal line to South America (ten services a year), and also fierce competition occurred with experienced European shipping companies which allocated ships on India-Africa line, such as the Bank Line, Andrew Weir & Co., the British India Steamship Navigation Co., Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij, Messagerie Maritime and the Norddeutch Lloyd.

The authorization to the OSK's East Africa line by the Japanese Government ended in March 1929 and was immediately extended to March 1932 again. In the meantime the NYK allocated six ships on the South American line and increased regular service to 12 a year. As the countermeasure the OSK made a special contract with Magadi Soda & Co. for exclusive carriage of its freight and also secured exclusive transportation rights to the Ugandan cotton which hitherto had been shipped by the British Indian Steamship Navigation Co.

In April 1931 by arrangement between the OSK and the NYK, the former monopolized the Japan-Africa route, thus fundamentally changing the situation. With the NYK's withdrawal of its ships from the line to the eastern coast of South America, the OSK decided to allocate the 10,000 ton class ships such as the Manira-Mar, the Hawaii-Mar, the Arabia-Mar and the Arizona-Mar to East Africa line to make brief stops at various ports on the eastern coast of South Africa once a month on the way to South America.⁽³³⁾

6. Activities of Japanese Trading Companies in East and South Africa

The World War I provided a good opportunity for the Japanese textile industry to make great strides and thus become competitive in the world market. The textile industry's sudden rise was made possible by the existence of cheap and good quality labour, a neighboring Asian market, the development of maritime transport and the activity of trading companies. There were also many innovations in the domestic machinery industry, in the rationalization of management practice, in the effective combination of technology, capital and labour, and in the founding associations of textile industrialists and traders. It was critically important for these industries to be able to secure cheap labour, to import sufficient quantities of high quality materials and to find favourable outlets for its manufactured goods.

To get a total and precise picture of the hectic activities of the Japanese commercial houses that were involved in trading with South African mar-

ket, a lot of work need to be done to collect the historical sources not only from the fragmental information found in the Japanese consular reports on the companies but also from the various kinds of documents. At any rate, Japanese consular reports showed that South African imports of Japanese manufactured goods suddenly increased because of the dislocating inflow of consumer goods from European countries. And also in 1916 when Australian wool was bought exclusively by Britain, Japanese commercial houses that were rejected access to Australian wool became much more interested in South African wool. Thus in 1917 such influential trading companies as Kanematsu, Mitsui, and Takashimaya played an active role in purchasing in South Africa. In addition, Okuragumi, Hara Exporting Co., Japan Wool Spinning, Nihon Menka, Tokyo Wool, Nozawagumi, and Mikado sent experts to investigate conditions in South African wool market.⁽³⁴⁾

In the latter half of 1920s, Mikado & Co., which was the first in starting trade with South Africa, cooperated with Morimura Trading Co. to set up a branch office at Kobe. Yokohama Silk House, a branch of Japan-Africa Trading House in Yokohama, was established in Cape Town. In the middle of 1930s influential trading houses engaged in South African trade, being notably Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Kanematsu, Sekiya Trading House, Iwai Shoten and Hattori Shoten.⁽³⁵⁾

In addition to these large trading companies, the activities of small and middle-sized Japanese commercial houses should not be overlooked. Office agents of small trading companies in Osaka and Kobe were stationed in South Africa engaged in selling Japanese general merchandise. Those goods were also brought into South African markets by the Indian merchant houses there, and by Indian and British traders residing in Japan.⁽³⁶⁾

Progress in the technology for mixing cottons made it possible to employ almost any kind of cotton from abroad to produce high-quality cotton yarn. This is one reason why increasing attention was paid to East African cotton as well as to American and Indian cotton. Particularly in Uganda, cotton cultivation developed extensively since it had been introduced in 1903. By the mid-1920s, the number of Indian cotton ginneries increased to the point that the colonial government tried to enforce a Cotton Ordinance aimed at regulating their number. Ugandan cotton was originally imported to Japan through the Bombay cotton market via Indian and British commercial houses. Therefore, it was inevitable that the

Japanese industrialists, in their efforts to reduce costs, would attempt to purchase cotton directly from East Africa, especially since the opening of shipping routes to this area.

In the pre-war period, 80% of Japan's raw cotton was imported by three large trading companies: Nihon Menka (Nichimen), Toyo Menka (Tomen) and Goshu. Nichimen opened a branch office in Mombasa in 1919 and in Dar es Salaam in 1927. Tomen opened an office in Jinja in 1920 and Goshu opened an office in Kampala in 1926. These Japanese trading houses, together with British and Indian merchant houses such as Baili Brothers and the Liverpool Uganda Company, played an active role in expanding the export of Ugandan cotton to China, Europe and Japan. Japanese trading companies not only offered financial credit to small and middle-sized Indian cotton ginneries but also entered into direct management of cotton ginneries themselves.

Of the three companies buying cotton, Nichimen was the most involved in the cotton trade in East Africa. As early as 1917, Nichimen sent a team of investigators from their Bombay branch office to East Africa in order to survey general economic conditions in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, and Italian Somaliland. In 1926, as soon as the OSK line from Japan to East Africa was opened, Nichimen not only bought six cotton ginneries in Uganda (in Kamuli, Namaganda, Namirumba, Naminaga, Namwendwa and Irapa) but also expanded the cotton-buying area to Mikese in Tanganyika.

However, the colonial government prohibited Japanese management of local cotton ginneries and the sale of their ginned cotton abroad in 1933, after that Nichimen limited its activities in this region to buying cotton alone. On the other hand, Nichimen made great efforts to sell cotton piece goods, artificial silk, and general merchandise in East African markets. Thus, these trading companies played a significant role in the pre-war period in developing the Japanese cotton industry as well as in helping to promote Japan's trade with East Africa.⁽³⁷⁾

7. Trade Issues in East and South Africa in the 1930s

(1) Wool Buying Strategy in South African Market

Since the time of Union, South Africa had realized a high level of new

development, but because of market conditions, transport difficulties and other handicaps, none of projects was on a very large scale, with the exception of the development in gold mining. The Union's advances in agriculture and mining were of importance to Japanese manufacturers by reason of the extent to which they enhanced the country's purchasing capacity. The expansion in overseas trade during the twenty five years after the unification had not been great. The failure of overseas trade to expand was an evidence of the degree to which the Union was becoming self-supporting; more domestic products were used and fewer manufactured goods were being imported from abroad. This progress had been made to such direction that South Africa came to face the serious problem of the disposal of large and still-increasing surpluses and its particular concern was the embarrassing surplus of many agricultural products.

Consequently the expansion of the internal market for such products was drawing the attention of the Government. At first to find a new outlet for employment the Government hoped to develop base metal resources. Next, secondary industry was expected to use agricultural products and forest products of the Union origin. And finally a related circumstance concerned was the policy of tariff protection. The first Customs Tariff Act was primarily designed to encourage industrial development in 1925 following the submission of a report on the subject by the Board of Trade and Industry (BTI). In the 1925 Tariff the assistance offered to the manufacturing industries was of four kinds: increased duties; suspended duties; rebate of the whole duties on a large number of raw materials and the power to impose dumping duties of five kinds: ordinary, sales or consignment, freight, exchanges and bounties.⁽³⁸⁾

The policy of protecting secondary industries by means of the Custom Tariff had been maintained and many import duties had been increased since 1925. There is little doubt that, following 1925 the manufacturing industries gained in importance as consumers of products of the Union. Although the value of South Africa's overseas trade showed an increase, the basis of that trade broadened considerably, since more countries were competing with some success for the import trade and the Union found many more markets for its produce. The outstanding change in the import trade was the appearance of Japanese competition.

Japan supplied 4.9% of the imported merchandise in 1931. Its importance as a competitor was declining but it was offering a far wider range of

goods than ever before, and the apparent decline was almost entirely due to a loss of ground in piece goods only. In 1932 Japan supplied 186 items out of total of 1002 items, and in 1934 she appeared as a supplier of 336 items. These items accounted for less than 100 pounds, but these small imports indicated the way in which Japanese exporters were continually sampling the market.

Piece goods were still by far the most important lines of merchandise although their relative importance was not so great as it had been. In 1931 the value of imports of piece goods represented nearly two-thirds of the total imports from Japan. Since 1932 the imports of Japanese cottons and rayons had been severely restricted by the minimum specific duties. While imports of Japanese silks suffered from the decline in demand, other Japanese goods that were seriously affected by import duties or by the exchange dumping duties which were imposed on practically all Japanese goods competing with local manufactures, included men's outer garments, knitted underclothing, felt hats, handkerchiefs, and canvas and rubber footwear. By the establishment of branches of Japanese houses in the Union and by buying offices of the Union market in Japan, the trade connection between the two countries were considerably strengthened with the result that samples and countersamples were continually passing and new lines being offered experimentally.⁽³⁹⁾

Japan appeared to be increasing in importance as a customer of the Union. Wool formed nearly two thirds of the shipment to Japan in 1934, but she also imported fairly large quantity of wattle bark and extract, asbestos, and smaller quantity of chrome ore and manganese ore. During the Great Depression 1929-34, South African farmers undoubtedly suffered poor harvest of virtually all crops. Their misfortunes were further compounded by a series of natural calamities during that period. Because of the intensity of their privation, which was unnecessarily exacerbated by the government's unwillingness to forsake the gold standard, the agricultural sector was particularly vociferous in its criticism of the government's acts concerning the gold standard issue. The South African farmers' struggle to contain the drastic decline of prices during the Depression, was complicated by the surpluses of their various primary products. The expectations of high fixed prices had led to such overproduction that the local market was unable to absorb further surpluses. Sections of agriculture demanded additional restrictions and this overproduction caused South African farm-

ers to look for export markets. This resulted in the forced export of surpluses on a subsidized basis, so as to create artificial shortages on the local market to keep domestic prices high. This helped those farmers who had produced for the local market, but created serious problems for those farmers who had no internal market. The sectors particularly affected in this regard were wool, mohair, wattle bark and extract, and hide and skins.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Given this background, Japan, on the one hand, had to create favourable conditions in order to advance Japanese manufactures into the South African market, and, on the other hand, had to pay more attention to suppress an anti-Japanese sentiment. This means the Japanese encountered with a highly delicate situation. To facilitate matters, the Japanese government decided to make a strategic purchase of South African wool. In December 1933, Chosaku Mogaki, Japanese consul in Cape Town, sent the following telegram to Koki Hirota of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

“As it is thought that at present anti-Japanese sentiment in South Africa is seriously high, to let the situation take its course is unfavourable for Japan. This situation involves racist prejudice. The result has caused unrest apparent in the Japanese-South African Notes of Understanding which is the basis of the development between the two countries. Therefore the Japanese government should buy South African wool even at the expense of Japanese concerned traders and industrialists in order to win the South African wool farmer over to the Japanese side and stabilize the basis of the South African political power and further drive a wedge into the block economy of the British Empire.”⁽⁴¹⁾

According to the recommendation of Nobuo Fujimura, the Japanese consul in Cape Town, on the South African wool-buying strategy, a conference for the promotion of Japanese-South African trade was organized under the leadership of the Japanese government and the business world which had been much involved in South African trade. The first committee was held in Osaka on 23 July 1935 and made the following resolutions:

- (1) The suffering loss between Australian and South African wool is compensated by raising the freight rate to South African ports.
- (2) The upper limit of loss is 30 yen per bale.

- (3) Wool-buying should start from the beginning of the harvest season.
- (4) The total amount of collecting extra freight will not be announced.
- (5) If necessary, further committee meeting will be held.

The organizations which were presented at the first meeting were the following: the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consul, Association of Exporting Wool Clothes and Yarns, Osaka Export Union of Cotton Cloth and Artificial Silk Goods, Kobe Export Union of Cotton Cloth and Artificial Silk Goods, Association of Exporting Traders in Kobe, Japanese Association for Exporting Hosiery, Federal Association of Exporting Pottery and China Ware, Trade Association of Importing Wool, Kanematsu, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Osaka Shosen Kaisha, Japanese Association of Wool Industries, Association for Exporting Silk and Artificial Silk Goods in Yokohama.⁽⁴²⁾

(2) Anti-Asian Movement in East Africa and Japan

There were various difficulties in Japan's advance into the East African market. The most grave was the Anti-Asian Movement. Japanese being Asians (coloured people) were among its victims.

In East Africa, Indians immigrated from the North-Western coast of the Indian subcontinent and from generation to generation had lived in such urban areas as Mombasa, Nairobi, Kampala, and Dar es Salaam and spread their commercial influence to the people in all strata of society. In particular they formed a firm commercial network system all over East Africa as middlemen who sold cotton cloth, daily necessities and general merchandise to Africans and bought cotton from African peasant cultivators.

"The Indian problems" in Kenya dated from the introduction of a discrimination policy between Europeans and Non-Europeans in African colonies under the British rule. Specifically after the World War I the British Imperial government encouraged its ex-servicemen to immigrate to the Kenya Highlands as settler farmers and farm managers. At the same time many European middlemen and businessmen flowed into this area. These white invasions brought about commercial conflicts with Indian merchants who had hitherto enjoyed a dominant commercial position there. In 1908 the British had already attempted to evict Indians to make room for white settlers to occupy the Kenya Highlands and in 1913 segregated Indians

from European areas.⁽⁴³⁾

Given this historical background, a compromise agreement among them was hard to reach. In addition, after the World War I, plans for the "Union of East Africa" were brewing among the British settlers. Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika had a close economic relation with each other and by the January 1924 Agreement, the tariff rates in Tanganyika conformed to the rates in Kenya and Uganda, and the East African shilling became the official currency of the whole region.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The time was ripe for the closer union of the East African territories because Germany had become a member of the League of Nations as a result of the Locarno Pact in 1925; Germans began to resettle in Tanganyika where equal opportunity was assured as a mandate territory of the League of Nations. As a result the British settlers became restive. The British settlers who wanted to possess this area exclusively appealed for the closer union of East Africa in tandem with their movement for the return of the Mt. Kilimanjaro area to Kenya under British rule. This movement brought acute anxiety to the Indians in East Africa and made them worry about their position, should the plans for the Union of East Africa materialise. They were only to aware of what was likely to happen in the light of the fundamental change of their constitutional position after the formation of the Union of South Africa.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The Japanese, as Asians, also were faced with various kinds of discrimination in East Africa. Several cases can be found in diplomatic documents. For example, when Consul Imai of Cape Town started to investigate into economic conditions in East Africa, he was also confronted with discrimination. Arriving at Mombasa, he asked the manager of Magadi Soda Company to reserve a room for him in the Metropole Hotel, but this hotel refused to accommodate him. The manager of Magadi Soda Co. negotiated with the Commissioner of this province. Regrettably the Commissioner replied that the authorities could not intervene directly in the business of privately-managed hotels. Therefore, Imai had to stay overnight in the Company's house, thanks to the kind offer of the company's manager. The Manor Hotel in Mombasa also refused to take in the Japanese Consul. On his way back to Cape Town, Imai was treated in the same manner by the Savoy Hotel in Portuguese Beira. This case had come to light because a correspondent of an Indian newspaper reported it to his Bombay office and the news got to an Indian merchant residing in Japan, who appealed to the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take measures to cope with this situation.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Yoshiaki Yamanobe, the head of an agricultural experimental station, several times sent letters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Bureau of Trade and Commerce which reported the discriminations toward Japanese in Zanzibar. Those who lived in Zanzibar included Yomosaku Yamasaka (a Hotel Manager), Sueharu Sakai (owner of Liquor Shop), Tome (owner of Coffee Shop), and Kimi. In the letter of 10 September 1920, Yamanobe appealed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Bureau of Trade and Commerce to take proper measures toward the British Government to enable him to obtain permission to buy land in Zanzibar and Uganda in order to open farms. In the letter of 27 November 1920, Tanaka, the head of the Bureau of Trade and Commerce, replied to Yamanobe that the Japanese Embassy in London was in continuous negotiation with the British Government, and added that the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty was applicable in the Ugandan case but might not be applicable in Zanzibar for acquiring land for farming.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Because of this kind of experiences, the Japanese in East Africa were justifiably wary of any moves by the British to restrict Asians in immigration and trade. This determined their attitude toward the movement for the Union of East Africa. Immediately after the formation of the Union of South Africa Japanese immigration and trading activities were curtailed by the Immigration Act of 1913. Japanese traders faced many difficulties when dealing with their South African counterparts because the 1913 Act handicapped Japanese immigration and therefore Japanese businessmen inconveniently had to settle their accounts through confirming houses in London instead of the usual payment by a letter of credit. The Japanese therefore had misgivings about the Union of East Africa fearing that the same treatment would be meted to them in East Africa as had previously happened in South Africa. Moreover, because Japanese cotton piece goods flowed into East African market usually through the hands of Indian middlemen, the Japanese were in a very delicate position. On the one hand, the Japanese wanted to be treated more favourably than other Non-Europeans in East Africa, and yet had to act in concert with Indian middlemen in order to strengthen the marketing of Japanese goods.⁽⁴⁸⁾

(3) Amendment of the Congo Basin Treaty and Japan

The penetration of Japanese cotton piece goods into the East African

market generated fear and discontent in the British traders. W.H.Franklin, H.M.Senior Trade Commissioner in East Africa, reported,

“The most notable feature of competition generally during the period under review has been the rise in the importance of Japan as a supplier to East Africa; consideration of price margins has the tendency to make the observer extremely pessimistic as to the possibilities of competition with that source of supply.”⁽⁴⁹⁾

Before the 1932 Ottawa conference when Britain shifted her policy from free trade to protectionism, in East Africa, debate on either alteration or abolition of the Congo Basin Treaty came to boil. On 14 June 1932, the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce decided to abolish the Treaty. But the Mombasa Chamber of Commerce had resolved earlier on 11 May to support the continuation of the Treaty. The British traders wanted to pose a preferential tariff in order to protect their trade in East Africa. The British East African Settler Conference and the Annual Session of the Association of Chamber of Commerce of East Africa campaigned for preferential tariffs as part of their overall strategy for the formation of the Union of East Africa.

However, S.H.Sayer, the president of the Mombasa Chamber of Commerce was not in sympathy with this movement. In October 1933 he came to Japan and on 21 October, visited the Osaka Chamber of Commerce. During the reception party in his honour, he appealed to Japanese traders to promote Japanese trade with East Africa and to encourage Japanese imports from East Africa in terms of free trade. On the other hand contradictory statements in Britain worried about the advancement of Japanese cotton piece goods and general merchandize to the East African market and the Joint East African Board of Communication Organization sent John Seidman Allen to investigate into market performance there. In 1934, C.Kemp, the Trade Commissioner in East Africa reported.

“The steps taken by Japanese manufacturers to create and establish new lines against the competitions of goods which, over a period of years, had obtained a goodwill in the market, the continuous care taken to improve the qualities of goods which first shipments were poor, and the margins of possible price differentials even when the benefits of

currency depreciation are lost, show that, technically speaking, Japan is now fully organized to meet the competition of the older manufacturing nations. Moreover, if Japanese goods with relatively considerable rises in prices can still be produced and sold within the limits of native purchasing power, they start with a heavy advantage in the race for markets."⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Congo Basin Treaty originated in the general protocol of the Berlin Conference in 1885. And in September 1919 when the Peace Treaty in Saint German en Laye was signed, Britain, the United States, Japan, France, Italy, Portugal and Belgium assigned an amendment act to the Berlin protocol. Essentially this Act gave free and equal opportunity of development, residence and trade in tropical Africa, mainly in the Congo Basin area to the signatories, and prohibited even to the countries who possessed colonies in Africa from setting preferential or discriminatory favourable tariffs for their own products within their colonies. Thus in East Africa, countries that did not possess colonies would not be discriminated in terms of free trade, the guarantee of body and possessions, and the acquisition and transfer of movable and immovable property.

Japan which had no sphere of influence in the region was gravely concerned and wary of the motives behind the issue of the amendment of the Congo Basin Treaty. In May 1935, Britain imposed Import Quotas in her colonies in order to protect British trade interests. On 19 March 1934, the Cabinet organized the Committee on Japanese Trade Competition according to the advice of the Board of Trade. In the first meeting, on 27 March, the introduction of import quotas was discussed and on 11 April, in the second meeting, the imposition of import quotas on Japanese goods in West Africa and the amendment or abolition of the Congo Basin Treaty and the abolition of Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty were considered. East Africa was reluctantly excluded from this enforcement and Japanese cotton piece goods were not shut out of this market. Japan was saved by the Congo Basin Treaty. July 1935 was the time limit for the amendment of the Congo Basin Treaty. Japan had already withdrawn from the League of Nations in March 1935, and this put her in a precarious position regarding the East African market and was particularly worried about the development in the League of Nations mandatory territory of Tanganyika.⁽⁵¹⁾

8. Concluding Remarks

The period of this study was a time when European metropolitan countries were consolidating their economic positions within their sphere of influence. Viewed through the Japanese Consular Reports, the Inter-War period in Africa was a time when Japan tried to edge itself into a region, where she was not wanted but in which she felt she deserved a place as lifeline of her national economy. In the 1930s the term "Economic Diplomacy" was used within the government documents and mass media in Japan. In the international economy of this period, the idea of trade liberalism shifted toward bilateralism, reciprocity and compensationism. Export from Japan made serious trade frictions with advanced industrial economies in the market of their spheres. In this regard, several commercial negotiations followed like these: Anglo-Japanese Trade Negotiation in 1934, Japanese-Dutch Trade Negotiation, Japanese-American Trade Negotiation, Japanese-Canadian Trade Negotiation, Japanese-Egyptian Trade Negotiation in 1935, and Japanese-Australian Trade Negotiation in 1935.⁽⁵²⁾

This study is mainly based on the pre-war Japanese Consular Reports which shed light on the activities of Japanese in East and South Africa in the Inter-War period. The aim of this study is both ambitious and modest; ambitious in the sense that trying to fill the gap in the historical study of Japan's relations with Africa on the basis of the review of the vast amount of scattered literature must be regarded as a premature venture, and modest in the sense that it has attempted to provide only an aspect of the broad trends of commercial relations between these countries and to start to bring them into historical perspective.

A study of the Japanese Consular Reports opens a path to a methodology for incorporating Japanese-African economic relations into African economic history while simultaneously connecting an aspect of African history with an aspect of Japanese history. However, much more remains to be done, on Japanese commercial activities with other African colonies before anything like a comprehensive picture can be attempted, and a complete history of economic relations can be written. Nevertheless one has to take a first step in order to start a journey, and that is what I would like to believe I have done here.

Views of African History and images of African people written on the basis of not only Consular Reports but also on colonial records have vari-

ous defects. To start with, African people are never referred to as the main actors in them but, at most, as consumers of foreign manufactures or as a demand factor for outside suppliers.

It is of critical importance to know that African historians (economic, political and social) have tried to construct an alternative view of African history in order to regain their self-reliance or inner-self. To offer a modest proposal Africa or African scholars could begin by trying to review the conventional conception of Africa, exposing its fallacies and offering alternative interpretations of the history and development of the continent. Because the conventional views distorted the historical, economic, and political realities toward the definition of Africa as we know it today, African scholars must seek to redefine Africa and African history in terms of the African struggle, its quest for the recovery of African history and the dignity of the African people. The merit of this study should be assessed by the extent to which it contributes to such movement in the African continent.

(Professor of Economic History and African Studies)

* I am grateful for Kansai University which allowed me to do research overseas for the whole year of 1999 and wish to express my sincere gratitude to helpful and critical comments by Professor Gordon Mwangi, Shikoku Gakuin University, Professor Bill Freund, University of Natal and Professor Luise White, University of Florida.

Notes

- (1) Sakae Tsunoyama, *Asian Renaissance: Emerging New Urban-Type Civilization*, PHP Insitute, 1995. Katsuhiko Kitagawa, 'On "the Transition to Market Economy and the Transition of Market Economy" in Africa' in T.Iida and T.Kashioka eds., *The Transition to Market Economy and the Transition of Market Economy*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1995, pp.167-172. "Lesson from the Asian Crisis", *West Africa*, 19 Oct. – 1 Nov., 1998, pp.749-750. Yash Tandon, "Africa and the East Asian Crisis", *SAPEM*, Feb. 1998.
- (2) Kaoru Sugihara, *The Emergence of Intra-Asian Trade and its Structure*, Minerve, 1996. Shinya Sugiyama & Linda Grove eds., *Commercial Networks in Modern Asia*, Sobunsha, 1999.
- (3) See Tiyaambe Zeleza, *A Modern Economic History of Africa, Vol.1: the Nineteenth Century*, Codesria, 1993. On the Indian Rim Stirrings, see Richard Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon, a history of the Indian Ocean and its invaders*, Harper Collins, 1996. On the

local suppliers of the commercial credit, see Gareth Austin and Kaoru Sugihara eds., *Local Suppliers of Credit in the Third World*, St. Martin's Press, 1993.

- (4) Japanese government considers to take initiative on the Tokyo International Conference of African Development (TICAD I and TICAD II). Jun Morikawa, *Japan and Africa: Big Business and Diplomacy*, Hurst & Co., 1997, pp.234-241. On the analysis of the political, economic and diplomatic factors forming Japan's relations with Sub-Saharan Africa since 1970s, see Kweku Ampiah, *The Dynamics of Japan's Relations with Africa: South Africa, Tanzania and Nigeria*, Routledge, 1997.
- (5) About Japanese Consular Reports in regard to Africa, see the following studies; K.Kitagawa, 'A Study of Japan's Pre-War Economic Research on Africa: A Preliminary Investigation', Kansai University of Foreign Studies, *Kenkyu Ronshu*, No.48, 1988, K.Kitagawa, 'A Study of Economic Conditions in Africa in the Pre-War Period seen through Japanese Consular Reports: An Analysis of *The Journal of Commercial Reports*', Kansai University of Foreign Studies, *Kenkyu Ronshu*, No.50, 1989, K.Kitagawa, 'A Study of Economic Conditions in Africa in the Pre-War Period seen through Japanese Consular Reports: An Analysis of *The Official Commercial Reports*', Japanese Association for African Studies, *Journal of African Studies*, No.35, 1989, K.Kitagawa, 'Japan's Economic Relations with Africa between the Wars: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports', *African Study Monograph*, Kyoto University, Vol.11, No.3, 1990. K.Kitagawa, 'Japan's Economic Interests in South Africa in the Pre-War Period', Ryukoku University, *Annual Report of Social Science*, No.22, March 1992. K.Kitagawa, 'Japan's Economic Relations with South Africa in the Post-War Period: Determinants of Japanese Perceptions and Policies towards South Africa' Shikoku Gakuin University, *Ronshu*, No.86, 1994. K.Kitagawa, 'Pre-War Japan's Economic Relations with East Africa', in Takashi Okakura & Katsuhiko Kitagawa, *A Short History of Japan-Africa Exchange: From Meiji Period to the World War II*, Dobunkan, 1993, pp.97-136. Katsuhiko Kitagawa, *A Study in the History of Japanese Commercial Relations with South Africa*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, 1997.
- (6) The aim of this study is to clarify the role of information and commercial networks in the economic relations between Japan and Africa, trade disputes in Sub-Saharan African markets, and significance and limitation of the Japanese Consular Reports as a historical material. Professor Tsunoyama, an editor of *A Study of Japanese Consular Reports* made the following suggestions with regard to consular reports: there should be (1) a general evaluation of consular reports as a historical source; (2) biographical studies of consuls themselves; (3) a concrete analysis of consular reports focusing on geographical areas, on commodities, on commercial museums, on exhibitions and on immigration; and, finally, (4) comparative studies at the international levels of consular reports to fill an important gap in historical studies. This study of pre-war consular reports and the findings of economic investigations of Africa by Japanese in the pre-war period is a step in that direction. (S.Tsunoyama ed., *A Study of Japanese Consular Reports*, Dobunkan, 1986, p.v.) On the services by consuls of Great Britain and the United States, see D.C.M.Platt, *The Cinderella Service: British Consuls since 1825*, London, 1971 and C.S.Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States*

- Consular Service, 1776-1914*, New York, 1990.
- (7) Japan's advance to South East Asian market gave rise to serious trade disputes in the inter-war period. See Shunya Sugiyama & Ian Brown eds., *Economic Conflicts in South East Asia in the Inter-War Period: Japan's Southward Movement, Europe and the U.S.*, Dobunkan, 1990. However, trade competition between Western Powers and Japan and Anglo-Japanese trade rivalry on the scene of African continent have not been investigated fully. See Kweku Ampiah, 'British Commercial Policies Against Japanese Expansionism in East and West Africa, 1932-1935', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.23, No.4, 1990 and R.A.Bradshaw, 'Japan and Colonialism in Africa, 1800-1939', Ph.D. Thesis, Ohio University, June, 1992.
 - (8) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *A View of Economic Conditions in Africa*, Tokyo, 1932. This report incorporated information from all reports published up to that time on Africa as well on current reports from the field. This is an invaluable historical source for those interested in economic conditions in Africa in the period immediately preceding the Wall Street Crash in 1929.
 - (9) Group B includes British and French Somaliland, Madagascar, Portuguese East Africa, Ethiopia and Nysaland. Group D comprises Belgian Congo, Portuguese Angola, British West Africa (Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast) and French West Africa (Guinea, Niger, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire).
 - (10) K.Kitagawa, 'A Study of Japan's Pre-War Economic Research on Africa: A Preliminary Investigation', Kansai University of Foreign Studies, *Kenkyu Ronshu*, No.48, 1988, p.179. Japanese Association for Trade Promotion ed., *An Analysis of Export Trade of General Merchandise to Africa: 1934*, Research Report No.6, 1941, pp.1-5.
 - (11) In detail see Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.6-1-6-2-5-2, 'Consul Hisamizu residing at Singapore and Report of Mission to South Africa'.
 - (12) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Report of the Mission to South Africa', in *The Journal of Commercial Reports*, No.22, 1903, p.35.
 - (13) Magoichi Nunokawa, *Conditions of Foreign Trade in South Africa*, The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce's Bureau of Trade and Industry, *Journal of Trade and Industry*, No.45, March 1917.
 - (14) On the life of Komahei Furuya, see Sumio Aoki, *Japanese Immigrants and Travellers in Africa*, Jiji Tsushin, 1993, pp.141-190. Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.3-8-8-20, 'Japanese Immigrants in South Africa (Report by Yaoichi Shimizu)'.
 - (15) *Conditions of Foreign Trade in South Africa*, pp.88-89, 98-99.
 - (16) In detail see 'An Outline of Negotiation on the Note of Japanese Immigration in South Africa', Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.3-8-2-219, 'Issues on Treatment to Japanese in South Africa and Zanzibar'.
 - (17) In detail see Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.K210-4-1-1, 'Miscellaneous Matter on a Tour of Overseas Inspection: Division of Inspective Mission, Inspective Mission for the Condition of East African Economy and Immigration'. The news of Oyama Team was carried in such local newspapers as *Kenya Daily Mail* ("Japanese Mission: Mr. Oyama in its subjects and Hopes" and "Japanese Investigators" 30 September 1927) and *Mombasa Times* ("Japan and Kenya" 30 September 1927, "Welcome to Japanese

- Mission: Pleasant Function at Manor Hotel" 1 October 1927).
- (18) This trade mission was to leave Japan on 20 August 1929 and to return on 24 December. *A Study of East Asian Trade*, Vol.8, No.8, 1929. The report on "Economic Conditions in East Africa" by this trade mission was inserted in *A Study of East Asian Trade*, Vol.9, No.2, No.3, 1930.
- (19) K.Kitagawa, 'Africa Exhibition: Pre-war Japan's Economic Interests in African Market', African Association, *Africa Monthly*, Vol.30, No.6, 1990, pp.14-15. Other exhibitors were Osaka Association for Export to Africa, Osaka Branch of Nihon Yusen Shipping Company, and Association of Cotton Yarns and Piece Goods Exporters. Investigative reports sent by Nagahito Yagi, newswriter of *Asahi Newspaper*, were inserted under the title of "An Account of Traveling African Continent" from 15 June to 9 July in 1930 and his other reports were again carried under the title of "Africa: New Overseas Market" from 21 August to 4 September in 1930. These showed the rise of Japanese interests in Africa.
- (20) The term 'informational infrastructure' is inspired by the term 'infrastructure' which usually refers to the physical infrastructure such as railways, roads, and ports, postal and telegraphic systems, and schools, but referred in the context of social overhead capital. Informational infrastructure is clearly dependent on both the communication systems and the basic education systems which enables the public to understand, store and use information. The term is used specifically to refer to a structure in some public form which provides businessmen and the public with economic information in proactive way, usually free or with modest charge. (Kaoru Sugihara, "The Development of an Informational Infrastructure in Meiji Japan", in Lisa Bud-Frierman ed., *Information Acumen: The Understanding and Use of Knowledge in Modern Business*, London, Routledge, 1995 p.7.)
- (21) The Department of Overseas Trade in British Government established commercial representation abroad to collect commercial information and to foster British overseas trade in general. The department controlled the Trade Commissioner in the Empire. In 1930s there were 18 Trade Commissioners' offices, which were situated, four in Canada (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg); three each in South Africa (Cape Town, Johannesburg, Salisbury), and Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane), two each in India (Calcutta and Bombay), and British West Indies (Trinidad, Jamaica); and one each in New Zealand (Wellington), Eire (Dublin), Malaya (Singapore) and British East Africa (Nairobi). There were also Imperial Trade Correspondents who assisted the Trade Commissioners in those parts of the Empire to which Trade Commissioners have not appointed. In East Africa the Department is represented by Mr. A.E.Pollard, Nairobi. In addition there were 37 Commercial Diplomatic posts on all the more important foreign markets of the world. The members of the Commercial Diplomatic Service were styled "Commercial Counselors" and "Commercial Secretaries". They were members of the staff of the British Embassy or Legation in which they served. The Commercial Diplomatic Officer had general supervision over the commercial work of the consular officers in his area and with the cooperation of these two services, a complete network of government commercial representatives is thrown over foreign coun-

- tries. (Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on Economic and Commercial Conditions in British East Africa* by A.E.Pollard, July 1937-July 1938, HMSO, London, 1939.)
- (22) K.Kitagawa, *A Study in the History of Japanese Commercial Relations with South Africa*, pp.23-29. In the pre-war period government investigation of economic conditions in Africa was focused almost exclusively on Southern and Eastern Africa and specifically on the Union of South Africa and the British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika). The earliest economic research report on South Africa was published in 1903 by the Consul in Singapore and a person employed temporarily by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. (S.Hisamizu & K.Katsube, "Report of an investigation commission to South Africa," in *The Journal of Commercial Reports*, No.27, 1903.) And the earliest report on the economic conditions in Eastern Africa was written and published by the consul at Cape Town in 1924. It surveyed major industries and the nature of trade in the British East Africa, and reported that there was plenty of potential for increasing exports of Japanese cloth to East Africa but that there were also some difficulties due to the financial and credit systems of Indian merchants. (Tadanao Imai, *Conditions in British East Africa*, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Bureau of Trade and Commerce, 1924.)
- (23) About reports from Overseas Business Trainees dispatched by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, for example, see 'Treatment to Japanese in Transvaal' by Masaji Katagiri, 'A Detailed Account on the Rejection of Japanese Immigration in Transvaal' by Kanzo Iwasaki in Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.3-8-2-219 'Issues on Treatment to Japanese in South African and Zanzibar'. See also Komahei Furuya, 'The Present Condition of South African Trade and Hopeful Japanese Goods', in *Trade News*, Vol.3, No.2, 1916. Magoichi Nunokawa, 'A View of Japanese Trade with South Africa', in *Trade News*, Vol.3, No.9, 1916.
- (24) Yaoichi Shimizu, 'Conditions of South African Overseas Trade', Osaka Commercial Museum, *Commercial Reports* No.40, 1920, Osaka Trade Association of Exports to Africa, 'Investigative Report in Eastern and Southern Africa', *Commercial Reports*, No.294, 1932. Mr. Ajioka (Correspondent residing at Cape Town), 'Overseas Trade of the Union of South Africa', *Commercial Reports*, No.375, 1938.
- (25) Economic investigative reports published individually by each private firm and trader should not be overlooked. The Federation of Japanese Cotton Yarn and Piece Goods Export Association made research in East Africa as a export market of Japanese cotton textiles and published *Research Report of Overseas Cotton Textiles Market* in 1928 which paid much attention to the period and situation of the demand for cotton goods, the purchasing power of African people, and the habits of commercial dealing. Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) sent Masao Tajima as investigator to the East African coast in order to do research on agriculture and industry, on commercial structures and port facilities of East Africa. See *Report of Economic Conditions in East Africa*, OSK, Osaka, 1924. Yokohama Specie Bank sent Hiroshi Umino and Yaichi Ouchi to investigate into economic conditions in Africa with the result that two excellent reports, *Investigative Reports of Africa (1926)* and *Research Report on Western African Coastal Area (1932)* were published respectively.

- (26) This section is written mainly on the basis of pre-war Japanese consular reports which were published in *Overseas Economic Conditions* (1928-1943). K.Kitagawa, 'A Historical Outline of Economic Relations between Japan and South Africa', in M.Kawabata & K.Sasaki eds., *Southern Africa: Post-Apartheid and Japan*, Keiso Shobo, 1992, pp.188-191. K.Kitagawa, 'A Study of Economic Conditions in Africa in the Pre-War Period seen through Japanese Consular Reports: An Analysis of *The Official Commercial Reports*', *Journal of African Studies*, No.35, 1989, pp.57-61.
- (27) K.Kitagawa, 'Japan's Economic Relations with Africa between the Wars: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports', *African Study Monograph*, Vol.11, No.3, 1990, p.133.
- (28) 'Japanese Trade with South Africa and Sales Conditions of Japanese Goods in South African Market' (29 April 1916 Yaoichi Shimizu to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Official Commercial Reports*, No.332, July 1916. 'Annual Report on South African Overseas Trade in 1920' (22 September 1921, Tadanao Imai to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Official Commercial Reports*, January 1922. 'Annual Report on South African Overseas Trade in 1923', (15 July 1924, Tadanao Imai to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Official Commercial Reports*, November 1924.
- (29) 'Annual Report on Overseas Trade of the Union of South Africa (1937)' (25 November 1938, Takeo Kinoshita to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.4, 1939. 'Japanese Cotton Cloth in South African Market' (28 November 1939, Kenichi Okada, the Minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.4, 1940, pp.243-249. K.Kitagawa, *A Study in the History of Japanese Commercial Relations with South Africa*, pp.63-64.
- (30) Takeshi Abe, *Development of Local Cotton Weaving in Japan*, Tokyo University Press, 1989, pp.27, 39-41. Shinya Sugiyama & Ian Brown eds., *Economic Conflicts in South East Asia during the inter-war Period*, Dobunkan, 1990, p.82.
- (31) Masao Yoshida, 'Japanese merchant house and cotton ginnery in East Africa before the second World War', *Africa Monthly*, Vol.14, No.9, 1974, pp.22-25. Nichimen Jitsugyo Kabushiki Kaisha, *A 70 Year History of Nichimen*, NJKK, Osaka, 1962.
- (32) This section is described primarily on the basis of the two reports published by Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK): *A History of African Line*, 1956; *Report of Economic Conditions in East Africa*, 1924. On the Japanese Shipping in the inter-war period, see Tomohei Chida & Peter N.Davis, *The Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries: A History of their Modern Growth*, Athlone Press, 1990, pp.36-56.
- (33) Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK): *A History of African Line*, pp.2, 17-22, 26-36. Tomohei Chida & Peter N.Davis, *The Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries: A History of their Modern Growth*, pp.47-50.
- (34) Nunokawa, *Conditions of Foreign Trade in South Africa*, pp.104-105.
- (35) *Kanematsu: A History of 60 Years*, 1934, pp.88, 110. Takashimaya 135th Commemorative Publication ed., *Takashimaya: A History of 135*, 1968. Iwai Shoten: *One Hundred Years*, 1963, Mitsui Trading Company ed., *A Short History of Mitsui Trading Company before the World War I*, 1951, and *A History of Mitsui Trading Company*, Vol.1, 1986.
- (36) K.Kitagawa, *A Study in the History of Japanese Commercial Relations with South Africa*, pp.40-41. Vishnu Padayachee and Robert Morell, "Indian Merchants and

- Dukawallas in the Natal Economy, 1895-1914", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.19, No.1, March 1991.
- (37) Nichimen Jitsugyo Kabushiki Kaisha, *A 70 Year History of Nichimen*, Osaka, NJKK, 1962. Nihon Boeki Shinko Kai ed., *An Analysis of Export Trade and General Merchandize to Africa: 1939*, Research Report No.6, 1941, pp.25-27. The oldest Japanese store in the African continent was Mikado & Co. which was opened by Komahei Furuya in Cape Town at the end of the last century and the Nambu Trading Co. in Port Said, whose main activity was to sell foodstuffs to Japanese ships and to sell general merchandize in the local areas. In Alexandria Yokohama Specie Bank opened a branch office in 1926 and Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Nichimen had offices there as well. Moreover office agents of Yamamoto Hiroshi & Co. (Kobe), Yamamoto Koyata & Co. (Osaka) and Mataichi & Co. (Osaka) were stationed in Casablanca in addition to the branch offices of Mitsui and Mitsubishi. In Mombasa in East Africa additional to the three large trading companies, Daido Trading Co., Kokita & Co., and Koide & Co. engaged in selling Japanese general merchandise. Those goods were also brought into East African markets by the Indian merchant houses there, and by Indian and British traders residing in Japan.
- (38) Tadanao Imai, *The General View of the Union of South Africa*, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Bureau of Trade and Commerce, 1927, p.77. Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.E320 XI-B6 'Research on the Trade Relations of Foreign Countries: South Africa', File No.E320 XI-B6 'Research on the Trade Conditions of Foreign Countries: South Africa' (Vol.1, Vol.2).
- (39) 'Annual Report of Foreign Trade in the Union of South Africa' (24 September 1937, Tomoyasu Ota to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.6, 1938, pp.63-69.
- (40) 'Annual Report of Foreign Trade in the Union of South Africa (1929)' (1 July 1930, Soju Yamasaki to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.39, 40, 41, 42, 1930. 'A General View of Foreign Trade in the Union of South Africa (1932)' (7 July 1933, Chosaku Mogaki to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.37, 1933. 'A General View of Foreign Trade in the Union of South Africa (1933)' (23 June 1934, Nobuo Fujimura to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.37, 1934. 'A General View of Foreign Trade in the Union of South Africa' (17 July 1935, Nobuo Fujimura to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), *Overseas Economic Conditions*, No.18, 1935. Anthony Lumby, "Foreign Trade and Economic Growth: South Africa during the inter-war years", *South African Journal of Economic History*, Vol.5, No.2, September, 1990, p.63. W.G.Martin, 'The Making of an Industrial South Africa: Trade and Tariffs in the Inter-War Period', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.23, No.2, 1990. W.G.Martin, 'Regional Formation under Crisis Condition: South vs Southern Africa in the Inter-War Period', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.16, No.1, 1990. Anthony Minaar, 'The Great Depression 1929-1934: Adverse Exchange Rate and the South African Wool Farmer', *South African Journal of Economic History*, Vol.5, No.1, March 1990, pp.31-32.
- (41) See Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.E.4.3.2.2-2 'Fur, Feather, and Bone On Purchase of South African Wool'

- (42) In detail see Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.E.4.3.2.2-2 'Fur, Feather, and Bone On Purchase of South African Wool'. On the Notes exchanged Between Japan and South Africa, see Union of South Africa, *NOTES exchanged between the Union Government and the Japanese Consul in the Union Concerning Japanese Immigration into South Africa*. (Laid upon the Table of the House of Assembly on the 13th February, 1931) (Document No.A.1-'31 Japanese Consul on Japanese Immigration into Union). See also K.Kitagawa, 'Note Exchanged between Japan and South Africa and Issues on the Purchase of South African Wool', in M.Kawabata ed., *Japan and Africa*, Keiso Shobo, 1994, pp.63-79. 'Issue on the Purchase of South African Wool (1934-1935) and Strategy to South African Government', 'Plan for the Purchase of South African Wool' (Nobuo Fujimura to Koki Hirota, 18 December 1934), (Fujimura to Hirota, 8 July 1935), (Susumu Terao to Saburo Kurusu, 31 July 1935), in Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.E.4.3.2.2-2. 'Issues of the Purchase of South African Wool'.
- (43) *Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa*, Vol.I, together with the proceedings of the committee, London, HMSO, 1931, pp.4-5.
- (44) Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on Economic and Commercial Conditions in British East Africa*, by A.E.Pollard, July,1937-July 1938, London, HMSO., 1939, p.55. 'For many years the ideal of economic unification of the three mainland Territories (eventually including Zanzibar) has animated the commercial community. In its political implications the subject has formed the basis of a number of enquiries. During recent years there have appeared the "Hilton Young" report and the "Wilson" report; the Joint Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry sat in England in 1931 and more recently an expert enquiry was undertaken by Roger Gibb into the administration of the East African Railways.' (Department of Overseas Trade, *Economic Conditions in East Africa*, by C.Kemp, April, 1932-March 1934, London, HMSO, 1934, p.25.) See also below. *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa*, London, HMSO, 1929. *Report of Sir Samuel Wilson on his Visit to East Africa*, 1929, London, HMSO, 1929. *Statement of the Conditions of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as regards Closer Union in East Africa*, London, HMSO, 1930.
- (45) See *Report of the East Africa Commission*, London, HMSO, 1925 and *Future Policy in regard to Eastern Africa*, London, HMSO, 1927.
- (46) Imai to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'On the rejection of hotel staying in Mombasa' (8, 9 August 1924) in Museum of Diplomatic History, File No.3-8-2-314 'Problem of Asian People in South Africa and Treating Japanese in Zanzibar'.
- (47) Yamanobe's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 10 September 1920 and Tanaka's letter to Yamanobe, 27 November 1920.
- (48) Takemi Shirakawa, *A Field Survey in East Africa*, Hakubunkan, 1928, p.247.
- (49) Department of Overseas Trade, *Economic Conditions in East Africa and in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, by W.H.Franklin, London, HMSO, 1932, p.37.
- (50) Department of Overseas Trade, *Economic Conditions in East Africa*, London, HMSO, 1934, pp.60-61.
- (51) Cabinet, 'Committee on Japanese Trade Competition', 19 March 1934, 27 March 1934, 11 April 1934, CAB/27/568. See also K.Kitagawa, 'Japan's Trade with West Africa in the

pre-war Period: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports', *Economic Review of Kansai University*, Vol.42, No.5, January 1993; Kweku Ampiah, 'British Commercial Policies against Japanese Expansionism in East and West Africa, 1932-1935', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.23, No.4, 1990, pp.619-641; R.A.Bradshaw, 'Japan and Colonialism in Africa, 1800-1939', Ph.D. Thesis, Ohio University, June 1992, pp.365-366, 379.

- (52) In this regard, several additional works have been done. See K.Kitagawa, "Pre-War Japan's Trade with West Africa", *Economic Review of Kansai University*, Vol.42, No.5, January 1993, "Japan's Trade with East Africa in the Inter-War Period: A Study of Japanese Consular Reports", Paper presented in the African, American and Japanese Conference for Academic Cooperation in the Educational, Cultural and Environmental Spheres in Africa, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, December 1993. "Pre-War Japan's Interest in Egyptian Market", *Shikoku Gakuin University, Ronshu*, No.83, July 1993.