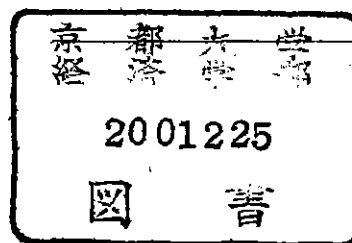


Kyoto University Economic Review

MEMOIRS OF
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IN
THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF KYOTO

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THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF FUTURE COLONIAL POLICY

International relations between the European nations prior to the Great War could be expressed by the phrase "armed peace". In 1899 Nicholas II of Russia proposed to call an international conference for the great purpose of establishing permanent international peace, and a conference was held at The Hague in 1899 and again in 1907. But the Powers, realizing that as long as they were engaged in an armament race peace was impossible, regarded neither the abolition nor the limitation of armaments as practicable. In the first conference twenty-six nations met and the second meeting was participated in by the representatives of forty-four nations, but all that they agreed upon were minor questions such as the international court of arbitration and the imposition upon wartime international regulations of some humanitarian provisions. The conferences left intact the main task which was to do away with the armed peace hitherto resulting in the increase of financial burdens upon the peoples and in waste of energy and intelligence. Since the beginning of the present century there have been many noteworthy incidents (such as the Russo-Japanese War, the Italo-Turkish War, and the Balkan Wars) all of which prevented international peace movements. Pacifism was regarded as Utopian, and the nations busied themselves in building up armaments, instead of limiting them.

The failure of the international peace conferences to abolish the armed peace by limiting armaments was due to the fact that, while nations advocated international peace, they never abandoned their aggressive national aspirations, Germany and Great Britain being the most conspicuous examples.

While Bismarck held political power in Germany, Great Britain and Germany maintained friendly relations, despite the fact that the former professed political liberalism and the latter advocated autocratic government. Germany failed to engage in colonial enterprise at that time because she was over-anxious to maintain friendly relations with England and because Bismarck was especially careful not to hurt the sentiments of the British people. But a great change came upon the diplomacy of Germany with the accession of William II to the throne. He realized the need of colonial enterprises in order to acquire overseas markets for German domestic industry and to give an outlet for the ever-increasing population of the country. But when Germany decided to get colonial possessions, other nations of the world had already established for themselves "a place in the sun", and Germany could only secure some unimportant bases of operation in Africa and in the South Sea Islands. However, it was evident that she could not be satisfied with the acquisition of those territories, when once she had determined to push her ambitious undertaking further; and it was evident that the only course open to her was to challenge France and England both of which had acquired the pre-eminent place which Spain and Portugal had once occupied in the colonial history of the world.

Thus Germany's ardent colonial ambition led to a disruption of Anglo-German friendship. The congratulatory telegram sent by the German Emperor to President Kruger of the South African Republic upon his successful repulse of the "Jameson Raid", can be regarded as the first expression of German colonial ambition. The telegram was regarded by England as evidence of German hostility towards her. Again, Germany criticized the Boer War as an act of injustice on the part of England, who used arms in oppressing a weaker nation. As a consequence of these incidents, a gloomy cloud hung over the relations between the two countries. But what brought the relations to a greater crisis was the famous Marine Law of Germany which was re-

garded by England as a challenge to herself. The rapid development of British naval power in the early part of the present century was brought about in order to oppose what Germany intended to achieve through this law.

However, the great armament race resulted in an enormous national expenditure for the two countries. Fearing further wasteful and unproductive expenditure, England proposed a "naval holiday" to Germany, who refused to listen to the British proposal because she had no doubt that with a strong army and a superior navy she could outrival these advanced countries in the control of overseas possessions.

The proposal to bring about international peace through general disarmament did not by any means originate with Nicholas II. It was proposed by religionists in the ancient and middle ages, and in modern times by such men as Henry IV of France, Grotius, and Kant. Although such a movement had not absorbed much of the attention of the peoples of the world until the close of the last century, as time went on, they began to realize the necessity of such a movement, as the financial burdens of the armament race became heavier and heavier each year. So great were their burdens that it was not enough for them to give up their advantages other than those of national defense to meet the ever-increasing cost of maintaining the armed peace. Disarmament and the preservation of national wealth became an immediate need for the participants in the armament race, and consequently various peace movements came into existence in all parts of the world. Such men as Alfred Nobel and Andrew Carnegie contributed liberally towards encouraging the establishment of permanent peace, while such writers and reformers as Ivan S. Bloch, Norman Angell, Alfred Fried, D'Estournelles de Constant, and Count Leo Tolstoy advocated international peace. Socialists in all countries opposed militarism and strongly urged the need of a world peace.¹⁾

¹⁾ Schapiro, J. S., *Modern and Contemporary European History*, p. 697.

On the other hand, there was one nation, Germany, which tried to extend her national power through the expansion of armaments, making international relations so complicated as to defy comprehension. In the midst of the general unrest throughout the world because of the armed peace, Germany, and Germany alone was determined to increase her armaments, since, following the completion of German unification, the Germans were deeply convinced that the "sword was mightier than the tongue" and armaments more trustworthy than treaties. This conviction also had a close connection with Bismarck's iron policy. The fact that the German people had not the slightest doubt about the rectitude of this conviction which they accepted as self-evident was, as H. G. Wells tells us, the result of the mistaken German educational system which was based upon an exaggerated conception of the superiority of the German people to other peoples.¹⁾

The political system of European nations since the middle ages until modern times was a mere collection of local semi-independent political bodies established mainly upon feudalism, and in consequence the political thought of the people was extremely provincial. With the break-down of the feudal system, national states appeared giving rise to nationalism, which, however, was welcomed chiefly by the people of upper classes. The majority of the people failed to entertain a clear conception of State life, but the French Revolution wrought a great change in this respect, extending the idea of State over the vast population which had a common interest in the State. This resulted in the rise of a real national sentiment.

The beginning of the present century saw the peoples of Europe struggling to cast off the old-time autocratic or oligarchic governments. Their political thought made great strides in the early part of the present century, democratic thought gradually winning the hearts of the masses who

¹⁾ Wells, H. G., *The Outline of History*, p. 693 et seq.

demanded complete self-government. Two nations, namely Germany and Russia, opposed this general democratic trend, but the latter lost much of its former influence after the great blow dealt in the Russo-Japanese War. Germany, on the other hand, elated by her success in bringing about internal unification, directed her entire energy towards perfecting the national defense; and, as political power was in the hands of a small class having militarism as its ideal, the national advancement of Germany was regarded as a great menace to that of the other nations of Europe.

Aside from this difference in the political ideas of Great Britain and Germany (the former believing in democracy and the latter advocating autocratic government) the economic and industrial competition between the two countries proved a great threat to the peace of the world. England greatly feared the competition of Germany in the commercial and industrial fields in which she had held a monopolistic position, while Germany entertained a similar fear in regard to the British efforts to drive German goods from the overseas markets by forming a tariff alliance with other nations. The former was suspicious and fearful over Germany's attempts to expand her naval power under the pretext of using it to protect her commerce, while the latter became panic-stricken at a report of the conclusion of an Anglo-French commercial agreement. This mutual suspicion and distrust increased as years passed, and in 1914 the war between Austria and Servia gave vent to this gigantic, pent-up international feeling—the accumulation of many years.

The disastrous result of the five-year conflict presented to the peoples of the world, hitherto rather careless in dealing with international, political, and commercial issues, an opportunity for considering the question of how to maintain the peace of the world; and also convinced them beyond any shadow of doubt that an armed peace based upon militarism was no security for the maintenance of world peace. The world war also taught them the necessity of international cooperation for the mutual benefit of nations who should

suppress selfish ambitions for the sake of international peace. Thus the danger from militarism, oppression, tyranny, and egotism, all of which had caused a great unrest in international relations, was greatly lessened after the World War eliminated Pan-Germanism from world politics. However, much of hatred, jealousy, suspicion, and hostility against foreign elements within all countries still persists, to the great injury of society as a whole.

There have been various and numerous causes for the combination of divergent races into one body politic, but in general such a combination was brought about in ancient times by way of an imperialistic territorial expansion, in the Middle Ages, for the purpose of acquiring spheres of interest, and in modern times, because of the need of self-protection politically and economically. In all of these cases, superior nations absorbed inferior ones and thus formed a complex. In the ancient and Middle Ages, the relations between the two elements consisted in the obedience of the latter to the former; personality was never taken into consideration by the superior nations, who frequently regarded the inferior ones as slaves.

To the stronger nations, it seemed that "power is all and weakness nothing" and they recognized no need of attaching equal personality to the conquered or inferior peoples. And, as for the maintenance of power, resort to force is necessary and as resort to force can be expected only when armaments are perfected, it is but natural that wherever power is regarded as the supreme aim or wherever tyranny exists, there will militarism inevitably prosper. In such cases inferior peoples within a nation remain submissive, although they revolt at heart against their masters; but such submission is often taken by the superior peoples as a sign of final victory, and thus enabling them to use force in external relations. History is full of such examples. This is why a nation which believes in militarism or force is regarded as dangerous by the nations of the world. The situation in Germany before the Great War can be cited as an example.

Tyranny or militarism whether in internal or external relations is a remnant of a former age in which slavery was recognized a part of its social system, its political organization was feudal, and its economic system had not yet outgrown local economy—an age ignorant of the French Revolution which emphasized man's liberty, equality, and fraternity, and proclaimed to the world that "all men are born and remain equal in rights". Under such old-time social, political, and economic systems, militarism always was the ultimate controlling right; but there is no room for such an idea either in the social, political, or economic system of the present era which is attempting to realize the ideal of Voltaire that human evolution and development can be expected only when man's rationality can act freely and without hindrance and when he can set his mind to the study of the entire issues of human life. The Great War, which was the one great stain in the cultural history of mankind, occurred because this medieval idea so much attacked by the philosophers, scientists, poets, and historians of the 18th century, had been controlling the minds of no small part of the peoples.

If then force or militarism has no place in modern society, we must find a political idea which shall be the basis of all institutions and systems. The ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity is man's undeniable inner demand and is the highest aim of humanity, despite the fact that it has often been misused in Europe and America where its chief exponents are found. Since the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity is the highest ideal of the diffused will of mankind in its common life, it must be the governing principle of all nations, especially those which are composed of divergent populations and nationalities. But this ideal was not universally realized on the part of the heterogeneous nations. Even France who faced a revolution for the ideal, was not willing to apply it to her colonies. Nor is this limited to relations between mother countries and their colonies or dependencies which greatly differ in their civiliza-

tions. The attitude of Russia towards Poland, Finland, and the Jews, before the world War; that of Germany towards the Poles, the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine and Denmark; and that of England towards Ireland—all indicate that the ideal in question is not applied by the superior nations in their dealings with inferior or weaker ones. That ideal possesses universality only with respect to the mutual relations between superior nations themselves, not to those between superior nations on the one hand and inferior or backward ones on the other. It is only natural then that, so long as an inferior people within a nation has not awakened to its race consciousness, it will remain in an abject condition, but as soon as it has come to feel its racial aspirations and to acquire civilization, it will attempt to cast off its ignominious slavery by revolting against its master, or at least try to emancipate itself with the help of another nation or nations.

Mr. H. G. Wells, an eminent British writer and advocate of international peace, declares that international conflicts and other forms of lawlessness will increase, if the nations of the world persist in their narrow-minded nationalism, instead of cooperating for the purpose of promoting the interest and happiness of the world. His words must cause a shock to those civilized nations who regard themselves alone as superior peoples, look upon other peoples or races as inferior, and believe that assimilation would bring happiness to an inferior people.

If we really desire world peace and the happiness of the human race, we must free ourselves of this narrow nationalism, our traditional false pride, our sense of racial superiority, our racial prejudice, egoism, contempt for, and hostility against other races. It is only by this way that the idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity can be extended to backward or weaker nations; and if this can be done, there should be no trouble in maintaining friendly relations between different peoples within a nation. The World War has taught the nations of the world the mistake of depending too much on disarmament as a means of maintaining peace and of neglect-

ing the ideal referred to; the War also proved that it is a great mistake to entertain false national pride and to neglect to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind.

The history of the world before the Great War was a history of blind international conflict based upon egoistic patriotism, but the future history must be a history of international cooperation for the purpose of advancing human happiness and welfare. It follows then that the relations between the dominant race and other peoples within a country should also undergo a similar change. The past history of colonial policies has been that of the policy of assimilation, its aim being to further the interest of the mother countries; it has been a record of selfish national pride, a remnant of a past age in which force and militarism were the main features; its fundamental aim was to secure the interest of the mother countries to the neglect of that of the colonies.

The ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity should be the controlling principle of the future colonial policies of nations, and the relations between mother countries and their colonies or dependencies should be so regulated as to bring about the general welfare of mankind, cooperation and friendship being its keynote. Nations should remember that the general welfare of mankind will eventually result in the advancement of the welfare of both the mother countries and their colonies. The general tendency of the world after the War and the awakening of racial consciousness point to an inevitable change in the colonial policies of the nations. Should our country fail to adopt this fundamental colonial policy at present, we shall some day face disastrous consequences.

MIONO YAMAMOTO.