

## Chapter 2

# The Formation of Capitalism in East Asia

Kazuo Hori

**Abstract** This chapter investigates the process in which Japan emerged as a newly industrialized country during the first half of the twentieth century, as well as the process in which, through the colonization of surrounding areas, Japan developed as an empire. By doing so, this study aims to assess the historical significance of the economic expansion of the Japanese Empire. First, the uniqueness of intra-East Asian trade is highlighted quantitatively. In particular, Japan's consumer goods exports to the world markets and the process in which Japan became connected with surrounding Asian areas through unique trade relationships are examined. Next, the importance of colonial agriculture which supported Japan's industrial goods exports is emphasized. It is corroborated that Japan conserved its foreign exchange reserves through the foodstuffs imports from its colonies. Factors which made possible the conservation of foreign exchange reserves, such as agriculture strategy, commercial organizations and peasant societies in the colonies, are discussed. Then, on the basis of an analysis of the formation of the capital-wage labor relation at the empire level and workforce movements within the empire, the transplantation of the capitalist production method from Japan to its colonies is discussed. Finally, as a conclusion of the above investigation, the historical significance of the formation of 'East Asian capitalism,' which integrated both mainland Japan and its colonies as an empire, is emphasized, even though the structures of the societies within the empire were regulated by their natural and social conditions.

**Keywords** Capitalism • East Asia • Industrialization • Colonial rule • Peasant societies

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## 1 Introduction

Currently in the early twenty-first century, capitalism is under rapid development not only in East Asian countries such as South Korea, Taiwan and China but all around the world including India, Russia and Brazil. It will not take long before the majority of the world's labor force is incorporated into the capital-wage labor relation. These phenomena cannot be explained by the conventional theory that the capitalist mode of production is established only where specific conditions are provided. Capitalism develops into much more complex and diverse forms than previously assumed. There have been various forms of and paths to capitalism which have been overlooked. Now it has become obvious that the conventional theory of capitalism no longer holds. Therefore, to more accurately understand up-to-date forms of capitalism, it is necessary to re-examine historical facts carefully and humbly.

In the 1930s, Gorō Hani addressed the problem of the 'formation of capitalism in East Asia' (Hani 1932). On account of the limitation in the understanding of Marxism by Japanese scholars at the time, besides the theoretical problems concerning the 'Asiatic mode of production,' his theory is fraught with historical limitations. However, his efforts to analyze the formation of capitalism against the background of the Asian region should be recognized as valuable. It was in East Asia that capitalism was established for the first time outside Europe. Therefore, investigation into the historical experiences of East Asian countries would make a significant contribution to the overall study of modern economic history. For this purpose, it is an important task to trace the formation of capitalism in East Asia over a long period of time.

On the basis of this understanding, this study examines how the expansion of Japanese capitalism established at the end of the nineteenth century affected the neighboring East Asian countries. By doing so, this study emphasizes the following three points in particular in contrast to previous investigations.

First, this study goes beyond the 'insularism' among Japanese economic historians, that is, their tendency to confine their research interests to domestic affairs. There used to be a common understanding among Japanese economic historians that Japanese capitalism turned into imperialism soon after it was established. At that time, the close structural relationship between Japanese capitalism and Japanese imperialism was out of the question. However, since around 1990, after the proposition of 'the cotton industry imperialism' by Hiroshi Nishikawa and the debate between Haruhito Takeda and Jurō Hashimoto over imperialism, 'imperialism' has seldom been a major research theme of Japanese economic historians (Nishikawa 1987 and Takeda 1987). In the meantime, empirical researches on the histories of Japan's colonies have been conducted solely by experts in the histories of Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria (The Colonial History Society of Japan 2008). However, these researches have not exerted a significant impact on Japanese economic historians. They do deal with colonial affairs at

times; however, these issues are only dealt with in relation to their investigations into the histories of individual companies or industries. Their colonial studies are not meant to undermine the existing research framework of Japanese economic, or business, history. In addition, as the utilization of primary sources has become more and more highly evaluated in academic community, Japanese economic historians have become more and more concentrated on domestic affairs.

Second, this study is also goes beyond a kind of historical view that can be called ‘pan-Asianism’. In the mid-1980s, a new research trend was generated amid the rapid economic growth of the East Asian region. It aimed at tracing the long-term development of the broad Asian region, overcoming the limitations of such historical studies that only concerned individual countries. This ‘Asia trading zone perspective,’ which has been commonly accepted now, is of great significance in that it regards Asia not as a region only passively affected by western countries but as a unique historical subject which developed itself in a unique way (Hamashita and Kawakatsu 1991). According to this perspective, the uniqueness of the Asian history is based on the broad trading area which had been established long before the western impact. However, because of the overemphasis on the solid existence of the pre-modern trading area, this trend has failed to make qualitative development in research despite a large number of studies made from this perspective. The existence of the broad pre-modern trading area was of significance only by the end of the nineteenth century. In line with the ‘Asia trading zone perspective,’ Kaoru Sugihara has advocated the ‘Intra-Asian trade theory’ as applies to the twentieth century economic growth in the Asian region. Drawing attention to the high growth rate of intra-Asian trade, he argues that it was characteristic of Asian societies that they developed, establishing mutually beneficial relationships through trade (Sugihara 1996). As Kazuo Hori points out, however, many of Sugihara’s notions, such as the ‘successive developments of manufacturing-oriented trade,’ the ‘flying geese pattern industrial development model’ and the ‘final demands relationships effect,’ are yet to be corroborated (Hori 2008: pp1–46).

Third, on the basis of the above understanding of the problems with present investigations into Japanese and Asian economic histories, this study highlights the fact that the capitalism which had been born in Japan expanded into the neighboring region, changing the societies there. In addition, the expansion into the neighboring region conversely affected the characteristics of the capitalism in mainland Japan. As a result of this interaction, a new type of capitalism was formed during the 1930s within the Japanese empire comprising both mainland Japan and its colonies. This is the view this study attempts to establish.

In pre-WWII East Asia, a market economy based on industrialization was also being created in China, alongside with the development of capitalism in the Japanese empire. A large number of studies have examined the industrialization in China. However, Japanese capitalism had a far greater impact on the pre-WWII world economy than China and it also affected the post-WWII international economic relations in a significant way. This study aims to provide a needed focus on the influential development of Japanese capitalism, and is based on the report ‘The formation of capitalism in East Asia – economic development dependent on the

empire,’ which was presented by the author at the national convention of Socio-Economic History Society held on 29 August, 2009.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 The Rise of East Asia in the World Economy During the Interwar Period

Although the world economy and global capitalism have developed continuously most of the time, the interwar period was an exception. Over the period between the British Industrial Revolution and WWI, the amount of international trade increased continuously. During and after the 1950s, the pace of the trade growth accelerated. In contrast to these trends, the nominal value of international trade shrank rather sharply during the interwar period. In terms of real value, it stagnated over the period (Maddison 1962, Kenwood and Lougheed 1992). The major reasons for this were the Great Depression, the collapse of the gold standard multilateral settlement system and the subsequent formation of economic blocs. Despite the stagnant condition of the global economy, the economy of the East Asia region around Japan followed a different trend. Table 2.1 shows the changes in the real exports indexes between 1913 and 1938 with regard to the whole world, major advanced countries and Asian countries.<sup>2</sup> As for the world as a whole, the figure for the year 1938 is 115. Concerning all the advanced countries, the figures decline over the period, except those for the United States. The figures of India and China (south of the Great Wall of China) also follow the same general trend. By contrast, however, Japan’s index figure for 1938 is 400, indicating the average annual growth rate of 5.95 %. In addition, attention should be drawn to the figures of Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria. It has been well known that Japan’s trade growth rate over the interwar period was the highest among the countries mentioned. However, Manchuria’s growth rate was almost the same as Japan’s, and both Korea’s and Taiwan’s growth rates were far higher than that of Japan. In short, in the part of East Asia where Japan and its neighboring areas were located, economic development was taking place within the overall stagnant condition of the world economy. The economic development in this region therefore should be grasped comprehensively from a macro point of view.

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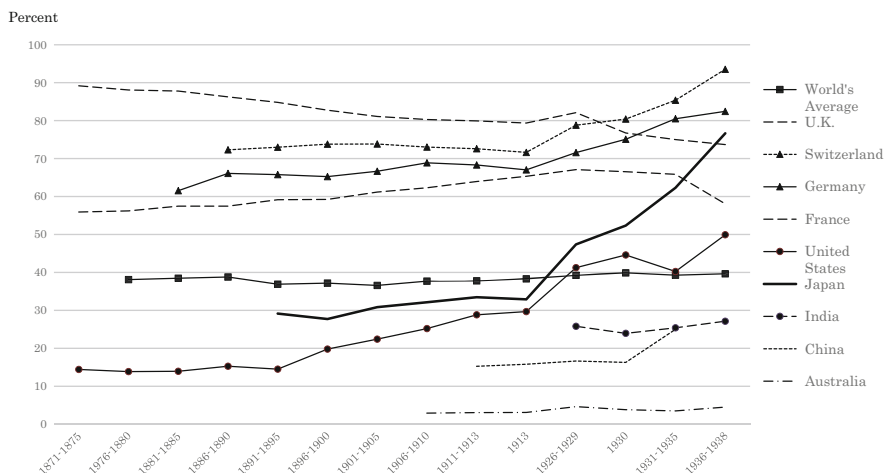
<sup>1</sup> This study was inspired by the reports made at the convention: namely, ‘The development of agriculture in Taiwan and capitalism’ by Yoshitaka Horiuchi, ‘The development of commerce in Korea and capitalism’ by Masaaki Fukuoka and ‘The development of the manufacturing industries in Manchuria and capitalism’ by Asahiko Shirakizawa. However, all responsibilities pertaining to information in this paper belong to the author.

<sup>2</sup> Although the official statistics of the advanced countries include the trade with their colonies, Japan’s trade statistics do not include the trade with its colonies. For this study, however, trade figures of Japan include those of Korea and Taiwan. Those of Sakhalin (Karafuto) and the South Sea Islands are excluded, because the amounts of trade with these areas were negligible.

Table 2.1 Real exports index (1913 = 100) by country

	World's average	U.K.	United States	Germany	France	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manchuria	China (South of Great Wall of China)	India
1913	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1914			98			95	127	131	102	87	70
1916			164			145	238	224	120	107	93
1918			121			170	245	342	141	98	79
1920	69	100	144		89	118	181	346	186	100	73
1922	77	85	108		93	126	277	473	185	111	78
1924	98	99	123	49	132	136	382	652	221	120	121
1926	111	87	139	80	134	174	422	740	259	118	95
1928	124	99	155	93	142	203	461	887	305	129	111
1930	121	86	131	102	130	211	505	800	275	116	88
1932	97	65	83	63	88	249	617	1073	304	77	79
1934	102	70	89	54	92	337	581	1372	338	94	92
1936	111	73	99	62	75	435	666	1454	331	99	111
1938	115	71	126	61	82	400	703	1888			
Average annual exports growth rates between 1913 and 1938											
	0.60	-1.43	0.97	-2.05	-0.84	5.95	8.46	13.02	5.23	0.16	0.47

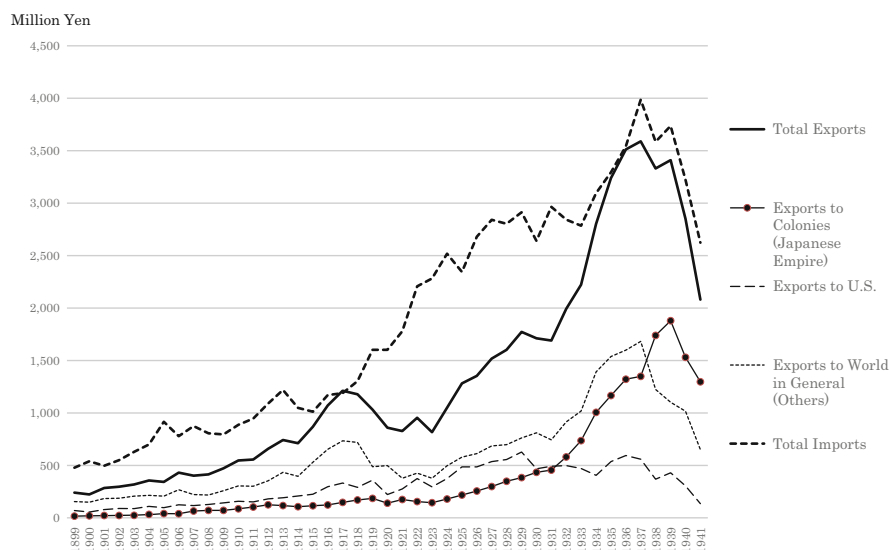
Sources: Mitchell, Brian (1998a, b); Ōkurashō (each year a). Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō; Ōkurashō (each year b). Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō; Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka (each year). Chōsen bōeki nenpyō; Taiwan Sōtokufu (each year). Taiwan gaikoku bōeki nenpyō and Taiwan bōeki nenpyō; Manshūkoku Zaiseibu (Keizaiibu) (each year). Manshūkoku gaikoku bōeki tōkei nenpyō; China, Maritime Customs (1913–1931). Returns of trade and trade Reports; China, Maritime Customs (1932–1938). Trade of China Note: The nominal values in the above sources are deflated by the use of the following trade price indexes: as for the United States, the indexes from the U.S. Department of Commerce (1975); as for the U.K., France and Germany, from Kindleberger, Charles (1956); as for India, from Sugihara, Kaoru (2002); and as for Japan, the indexes are made by Hori, Kazuo and Kigoshi, Yoshinori. The same deflators are used throughout this study



**Fig. 2.1** Proportion of manufactured goods exports against total exports by country (Sources: The League of Nations (1942); The League of Nations (each year). Memorandum on international trade and balances of payments; The League of Nations (each year). International trade statistics; Hori (2009), pp. 142–182 Note: ‘Brussels Classification’ is applied)

The first part of such a macro analysis will be an examination of Japan’s international trade. Figure 2.1 shows the changes in the composition ratios of exported manufactured products to the total exports by country. The ratios are calculated on the basis of the data collected and processed by the League of Nations according to the Brussels classification. Although it is difficult to discern a clear-cut overall trend, the rapid increase in Japan’s manufactured products exports ratio is salient. Although it stayed at around the 30 % level until the outbreak of WWI, it rose up dramatically thereafter. This indicates that Japan’s industrialization proceeded at an incomparably high pace. Japan’s manufactured products exports ratio for 1938, which is even higher than that of the U.K., ranks third after Switzerland and Germany. In addition, in terms of nominal exports for the same year, Japan ranks fourth after Germany, the U.K. and the United States.

Next, the consequences of Japan’s trade growth will be investigated in detail. Figure 2.2 shows changes in Japan’s real imports and exports at 1935 constant prices. Concerning exports, breakdowns by region are added. It can be said in general that the imports increased rapidly during and after WWI and that the exports started to rise around 1923. The increase in the exports was so remarkable that the adverse trade balance structure, which had plagued the Japanese economy since the Meiji period, became increasingly ameliorated until it reached near-equilibrium in the mid-1930s. The difference between the exports and the imports in this figure should not be taken as the trade balance, because the figure is of real values. Whereas the trade deficit of the Japanese empire for 1924 is as much as 380.44 million dollars in nominal terms, that for 1935 is 9.24 million dollars. If Korea and Taiwan are excluded from the calculation, since foreign exchange



**Fig. 2.2** Japan's real imports and exports at 1935 constant prices (Sources: The same as the sources of Table 2.1 Note: The same as the note of Table 2.1)

settlement was not necessary in the trade with these colonies, Japan's trade deficit for 1924 is 271.47 million dollars, and the trade balance for 1935 is in the black with a surplus of 7.76 million dollars.<sup>3</sup> Eventually, Japan became tormented by an adverse trade balance again after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The exports to the yen bloc areas increased at that time, but that brought no foreign currencies (Hara 1969). Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the rapid export increase between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s enabled the Japanese economy to overcome its chronic trade deficit.

The export of manufactured products was the pillar of this export drive. According to the League of Nations data mentioned above, manufactured products constitute 84.4 % of Japan's total exports for 1938. In addition, their contribution ratio to the overall exports increase between 1923 and 1936 is 83.3 %. Moreover, a study by the author corroborates the point that about half of the exports increase over the period is accounted for by the increase in the exports of consumer goods. During this period, Japan increased its consumer goods exports against all its trading partners except China (south of the Great Wall of China).<sup>4</sup> This export

<sup>3</sup> Freda Utley (1936) and Tōichi Nawa (1937), whose researches were to have a great influence over Japanese researchers, failed to recognize this general trend towards trade surplus at the crucial moment of the mid-1930s. Concerning this point, see Hori (2009: pp.142–182).

<sup>4</sup> See Hori (2009: p.165, Table 5–7). In those tables, incidentally, data on China is not divided. Between 1923 and 1936, Japan's consumer goods exports to China (south of the Great Wall of China) including Hong Kong decreased from 93 million to 72 million yen at 1935 constant prices, whereas its consumer goods exports to Manchuria increased from 15 million to 195 million yen.

drive of consumer goods started in 1923 and was further reinforced in the early 1930s. It should be stressed that Japan's manufacturing products export started as early as in the first half of the 1920. Therefore, the currency depreciation starting at the end of 1931 only accelerated the process which had already begun. Although this trend has already been remarked with regard to the individual goods and trade disputes (Tomizawa 1999 and Shirakizawa 1999), the actual impact Japanese capitalism had on the world economy can only be recognized when looked at from a macro point of view.

As shown earlier, the world economy and international trade were dwindling in the 1930s. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, Germany and the United States increased their production of manufactured goods, the U.K., the front-runner, was still able to increase its manufactured goods exports until 1913, because the world markets were expanding. In the 1930s, however, Japan's manufactured products exports increased dramatically at the very time when the world markets were shrinking. As a corollary, the U.K.'s products, which once had overwhelming shares in the purchasing markets for light industries products, were now driven away by Japanese products. This phenomenon, that is, the rise of Japanese exports and the fall of the U.K. exports, occurred not only in Asia but in all areas around the world except Europe and North America (Izumi 1993a, b).

Researchers on industrial history, business history and trade history have pointed out the 'strong resilience' (Hashimoto 1984) and 'high competitiveness' (Miyajima 2004) of Japanese manufacturing industries in the interwar period. Apart from the currency depreciation after 1931, they stress factors related to the 1920s such as the rationalization of industry, innovation, restructuring of corporate organization and industrial policy by the government. In addition to these factors, this study will highlight the economic significance of the 'empire,' a theme overlooked by previous researches.

In Fig. 2.2, Japan's export partners are classified into three categories (areas): the United States, the colonies (Japanese Empire)<sup>5</sup> and the world in general ('Others'). The United States is treated independently, because Japan's exports to the country had a specific and exceptional structure relative to other countries, with raw silk constituting 80 % of the total exports. However, the raw silk exports to the United States plummeted along with falling prices during the 1930s. Nevertheless, the level of the total exports to the United States stayed at almost the same level as that of the 1920s throughout the 1930s, because the drop in the raw silk exports was compensated by the increased exports of manufactured products. By contrast, both exports to the colonies and those to the world in general began to increase in the early 1920s and rose rapidly during and after the early 1930s. The exports to the colonies almost matched those to the world in general. Then, at the end of the

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<sup>5</sup> In this study, the 'Japanese empire' designates mainland Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Guandongzhu (Kanton-shū) and Manchuria (Manchukuo). Although Manchuria had not legally been Japan's colony until 1931, this study regards it as part of the empire because Japan had had special and strong vested rights there for a long time before 1931.



1930s, exports to the colonies surpassed exports to the rest of the world. Previous studies have not paid sufficient attention to the scale of the intra-empire trade. Nor have they taken into consideration the increase in Japan's exports to the world markets. It should be stressed that these two phenomena were closely interconnected. Previous studies have lacked the perspective to view the economic history from the standpoint of either East Asia or the colonies.

It is indispensable to look at the Japanese empire from the colonies' point of view (Hori 2009, pp. 40–139 and 2011). Both Taiwan's real exports and imports started to rise rapidly around 1910. Exports reached a peak in 1939 and imports, in 1938. It is well known that, from 1910 onwards, Taiwan recorded a huge trade surplus each year except 1913. It should be noted that Taiwan's trade relation with the Japanese empire contrasted sharply with its trade relation with world markets. While Taiwan's exports to the world markets went sideways during and after the 1910s, its imports from the world markets dropped by half through the 1930s after having increased slightly during the 1920s. Taiwan's trade was becoming increasingly empire-oriented over this period. Both the ratio of its exports to the Japanese empire against its total exports and the ratio of its imports from the Japanese empire against its total imports reached 90 % during the 1930s. Then, they both rose beyond 95 % toward the end of the decade. Thus it can be said that Taiwan was totally incorporated into the Japanese empire.

As for Korea, both its exports and imports increased continuously from the 1910s onwards. Exports reached a peak in 1938 and imports, in 1939. In contrast to Taiwan, the trade balance was always in the red except for 1924 and 1925, and the trade gap widened enormously during the 1930s. Korea's trade was even less connected to the world markets than that of Taiwan. Korea's exports remained at a very low level throughout the whole period ranging from the 1910s to the 1930s. Almost all of its exports were bound for the Japanese empire, the ratio of its exports to the empire against its total exports reaching 97–98 % during the 1930s. The ratio of its imports from the empire also went beyond 90 % during the 1930s. Thus economically Korea was incorporated into the Japanese empire even more firmly than Taiwan.

It is difficult to trace Manchuria's trade activities accurately, because its import and export price indexes are not available. During the 1920s, the ratio of its exports to Japan was 30–40 %. In terms of imports, the ratio was around 40 % over the same period. Taking into consideration these ratios and the trends of Japan's real exports to and imports from Manchuria, it can be safely assumed that Manchuria's total imports and exports continued to grow gradually until the end of the 1920s, even if the pace of growth was slower than that of both Taiwan and Korea. In addition, it should be noted that Manchuria's trade with Japan, especially its imports from Japan, jumped dramatically during and after the early 1930s. In other words, the creation of 'Manchukuo' enabled Japan to increase its exports to the area. The ratio of Manchukuo's exports to mainland Japan reached 60 %. In terms of imports, the ratio reached as high as 80 %. Moreover, the ratios of its exports to and imports from the whole Japanese empire were both over 90 %.

With regard to Taiwan and Korea, which had been colonized relatively early, the exports and imports of these colonies rose rapidly and continuously from the WWI

period onwards. As for Manchuria, its trade with Japan was only gradually expanding towards the end of the 1920s. However, its imports from Japan jumped sharply in and after 1932. While in the cases of Taiwan and Korea, the intra-empire trade became predominant at a relatively early stage, in the case of Manchuria, the intra-empire trade became prevalent only after its colonization. At the beginning of this section, attention was drawn to the remarkable and exceptional trade expansion of East Asian countries. Now, however, it has become clear that this trade development was not a simple, uniform process. While Japan expanded its trade with both the world markets and the empire, its colonies were only able to expand their trade with the Japanese empire. The colonies' remarkable trade expansion mentioned above was brought about only through their intra-empire trade.

When these colonies traded with the world markets, their trade items were different from those for the trade with Japan. It is well known that Taiwan's main export goods to Japan were rice and sugar. These goods, however, were not exported to other countries. On the other hand, Taiwan's most important export good to the world markets, tea, was not exported to Japan, because there was no chance for Taiwanese tea to be sold in the Japanese market. Korea's exports to the world markets were almost non-existent. As an exception, Korea increased its exports to Manchuria during the 1930s. However, most of its exports to Manchuria consisted of products of light industries such as fibers and textiles, which were not expected to be sold in the Japanese market. As for Manchuria, until the end of the 1920s. Its major export goods to both the world markets and Japan were what was called 'three soybean products' consisting of soybeans, soybean oil and soybean cakes. In reality, however, Japan mostly imported soybean cakes. The imports of soybeans were relatively small and those of soybean oil were also very small. Japan was the only country that imported large amounts of Manchurian coal. During the 1930s, moreover, Japan dramatically increased its imports of Manchurian pig iron. As has been shown, Japan held a predominant position as the purchasing market for its colonies' exports. In addition, the colonies' export items for the trade with Japan were different from the ones with the world markets. The exclusive trade relationships between Japan and its colonies were unique both quantitatively and qualitatively.

### **3 Division of Labor Within the Empire and Agriculture in the Colonies**

The following section of the paper examines the division of labor between mainland Japan and its colonies. The Japanese government took the initiative in designing the framework of the empire's economy. The government set up the Bank of Taiwan and the Bank of Korea and established a hierarchical financial system based on the circulation of Bank of Japan notes. When Manchukuo was created, the Japanese government expanded the Japanese currency area through the circulation of Central

Bank of Manchou notes. It also introduced into each colony the same modern legal systems as in the mainland by, for instance, establishing modern landownership through the land research project (Yamamoto 1992, pp. 63–111). This study takes up the custom system, which is the most important device a state uses in order to establish its own economic sphere within the world economy.

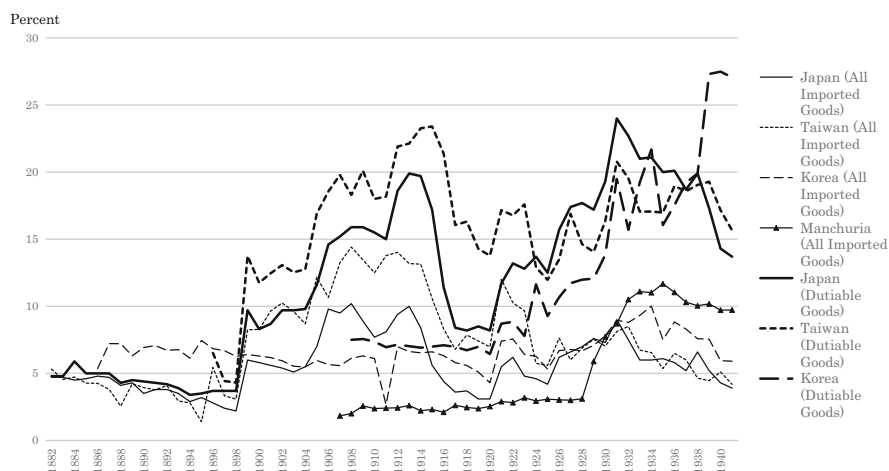
The tariff rates of East Asian countries, bound by the unequal treaties concluded in the mid-nineteenth century, had been pressed down below 5 % in general, until Japan first got out of the situation at the end of the nineteenth century. When Japan partially regained tariff autonomy and raised tariffs in 1898, it applied the new rates also to its new colony, Taiwan. In Korea, on the other hand, tariffs were raised only after 1920, because at the time of the 1910 annexation Japan promised to the great powers of the world that it would leave tariff rates in Korea unchanged for a period of 10 years. It should be stressed that no custom duties were applied to the trade between Japan and Taiwan and that the import and export duties between Japan and Korea were abolished one after another in the course of the 1910s. Therefore, in practice, the tariff barriers between mainland Japan and the colonies were removed. During WWI, tariffs were partially raised and, therefore, sales of dutiable goods were hit even harder by inflation. However, the pre-WWI conditions were recovered after the War. From 1921 onwards, tariffs in the empire were raised repeatedly with a political intention to protect industries in Japan, Taiwan and Korea whose tariff autonomy had been regained. As Fig. 2.3 shows, the effective import duty rates concerning dutiable goods imported were as high as around 20 % during the 1930s.<sup>6</sup> Now both mainland Japan and the colonies became protected by the level of tariffs almost comparable to the great powers of the world, if not the 40 % level of the United States. (Yanai 1961, pp. 345–358)

Because Manchuria was part of China, its tariffs had been forced down since the opening of the ports, the average import duty rate remaining at 2.5–3 %. Since the Nationalist government implemented a policy to increase tariffs at the end of the 1920s, Manchuria's tariffs were raised abruptly. Then, Manchukuo further raised tariffs, so that its average rate of all import duties went up beyond 10 %, reaching a level higher than that in Japan. Manchukuo did not officially announce the average import duty rates applicable to individual dutiable goods. However, judging from the trend of the average import duty rate to total imports and the industrial protection policy implemented by Japanese bureaucrats, it can be assumed that the tariffs were raised to the level of mainland Japan. The tariff barriers between Manchukuo and mainland Japan were removed through various preferential treatments.

By exercising its sovereign power, the Japanese government constructed a tariff wall surrounding the whole empire to reinforce the economic unity of the empire. Historically, however, the setting-up of a tariff system, the raising of tariffs and preferential treatment of the products of an empire's homeland have not directly led

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<sup>6</sup> Although Korea imposed low tariffs on imported goods from Japan, such as textiles and sake, for financial reasons, they were eventually abolished after a few revisions. See Korean Trade Association (1943: pp. 149–204).



**Fig. 2.3** Effective import duty rate concerning all goods imported and dutiable goods imported: Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria (Sources: As for Japan, Taiwan and Korea, the same as Table 2.1. As for Manchuria, Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha (1932). Manshū bōeki nenpō shōwa 6 nen; Manshūkoku Zaiseibu(Keizaibu) (each month); Kokumuin Sōmuchō (Publication year unknown). Zaisei tōkei kōtoku 10 nen; Kokumuin Sōmuchō (Publication year unknown). Zaisei tōkei kōtoku 10 nen)

to the monopolization of colonial markets by the homeland. In India, the ratio of its imports from the U.K. against its total imports declined continuously from about 70 % to about 30 % between the end of the nineteenth century and the mid-1930s, despite the successive tariff hikes during and after the 1920s and a number of preferential treatments to the U.K. (Venkatasubbiah 1946). In the case of Dutch East India, the ratio of its imports from the Netherlands dropped from about 30 % to about 15 % over the same period (Kanō 2004, pp. 13–50). Given these facts, it is reasonable to think that, on top of the uniform tariff, currency and other legal systems, there must have been other factors that contributed to the reinforcement of the division of labor within the empire and to Japan's exclusive and dominant relationships with its colonies.

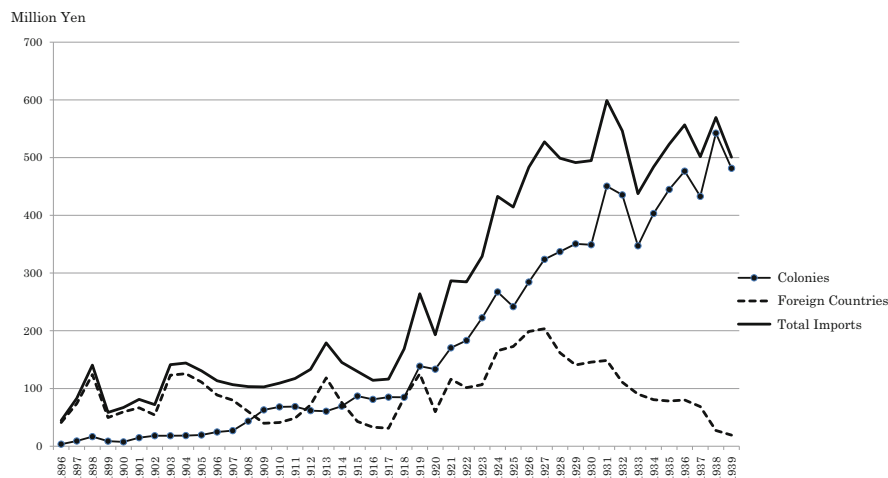
The characteristics of the division of labor within the Japanese empire can be highlighted by the comparison between the trade within the empire and that with the world markets. Table 2.2 compares the composition of Japan's imports from its colonies with that of its imports from countries of the world excluding advanced countries such as the United States and European countries.<sup>7</sup> As for Japan's imports from developing countries, raw materials account for 59–76 % concerning the whole period in question. In fact, Japan imported most of its raw materials from areas other than Europe and North America. On the other hand, the proportion of

<sup>7</sup> In making Table 2.2, the author slightly revised 'Broad Economic Categories (BEC),' which is based on 'Standard International Trade Classification.' Here, 'revised' means the transfer of 'Fibers and Textiles' from the 'Intermediate Goods' category to the 'Consumer Goods' category.

Table 2.2 Composition of Japan's nominal imports by area

Area	Period	Composition (Percent)						Total (Million Yen)
		Foodstuffs	Fuels	Capital goods	Materials	Intermediate goods	Consumer goods	
Nominal imports from Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria	1914–1918	59	1	1	12	27	0	193
	1919–1924	66	2	0	8	24	1	529
	1925–1929	70	4	0	7	18	2	708
	1930–1934	69	4	0	8	17	2	681
	1935–1939	58	3	0	15	21	3	1351
Nominal imports from countries of the world excluding Europe, U.S. and Japanese empire	1914–1918	15	2	0	65	17	1	484
	1919–1924	23	3	0	59	14	1	810
	1925–1929	24	4	0	58	14	1	1061
	1930–1934	16	7	0	63	13	1	720
	1935–1939	6	5	0	76	12	0	1247

Sources: The same as the sources of Table 2.1



**Fig. 2.4** Japan's real foodstuffs imports at 1935 constant prices (Sources: The same as the sources of Fig.2.2)

raw materials imported from the three colonies is only 15 % at best. Instead, the proportions of foodstuffs (agricultural products and processed food – mostly rice, sugar and soybeans) are overwhelmingly high. In fact, Japan imported from its colonies no more than 20 % of its total raw materials imports throughout the period in question. Especially before WWI, industrial raw materials had been imported to Japan from all around the world, because of their qualities and low prices. As suppliers of industrial raw materials, the colonies' roles were relatively limited. Therefore, the argument supported by some researchers that the colonial policy was altered because of increased demand for raw materials necessitated by the development of Japan's heavy industries does not hold (Kawakita 1978). The proportion of the foodstuffs imports from the colonies was as high as around 70 % until the mid-1930s. As for the imports from the colonies, the mid-1930s marked the beginning of a new phase in which the proportions of raw materials and intermediate goods started to increase. This phenomenon will be discussed in the next section. Thus, it can be said that Japan's colonies basically remained providers of foodstuffs until the mid-1930s.

The significance of the colonies' foodstuffs exports in relation to the division of labor within the empire needs to be assessed against the background of Japan's total foodstuffs imports. Figure 2.4 shows the changes in Japan's real total foodstuffs imports at 1935 constant prices. The total imports are divided into imports from foreign countries and imports from the colonies. As a general trend, Japan's real total foodstuffs imports soared during and after WWI, increasing around five times by the end of the 1930s. The foodstuffs here refer to rice and sugar, mainly. While the imports of rice fluctuated due to the harvest conditions of mainland-grown rice, sugar was not affected by such a factor. As far as the imports from foreign countries were concerned, however, the imports of both rice and sugar followed similar paths.

That is, although the imports of these products from foreign countries increased until the mid-1920s, they dropped sharply thereafter. In the case of rice, Chinese rice and Southeast Asian rice were replaced by Korean rice and Taiwanese rice; in the case of sugar, Javanese sugar was driven away by Taiwanese sugar. Therefore, as Fig. 2.4 indicates, the imports from foreign countries started to fade in 1927, while the imports from the colonies continued to rise until 1939. In short, while increasing its foodstuffs imports five times in real terms, Japan succeeded in achieving food self-sufficiency within the empire, driving away foreign countries' foodstuffs from the domestic market.<sup>8</sup> The significance for modern Japan to have achieved food-sufficiency cannot be overemphasized. Japan had been tormented by trade deficit up until the outbreak of WWI. At that time, Japan's largest import good from foreign countries was raw cotton, second largest was soybeans (and related products), the third largest was rice, and the fourth largest was sugar. The expansion of the Japanese empire and the development of the colonies after WWI made it possible that the second, third and fourth largest import goods were procured within the empire. In 1938, the ratio of the foodstuffs imports against the total imports reached 33.2 %. Japan was thus able to spare foreign currencies previously needed for the procurement of such amounts of foodstuffs; this greatly helped the country's balance of trade. The accumulated value of the foodstuffs imports from the colonies between 1897 and 1939 was three times as much as the total amount of foreign capital introduced to the country over the same period.<sup>9</sup> This is a good indication of how significant it was for Japan to take control of colonial agriculture.

The next question to be asked is why these enormous amounts of foodstuffs came to be imported from the colonies in such a short period of time. Three reasons can be cited. First, demand for foodstuffs was fueled by the development of capitalism in mainland Japan. The rice production in mainland Japan became no longer able to fulfill the growing rice demand in a growing non-farm population. The improvement of living standards entailed increased sugar consumption. Therefore the Japanese government attempted to substitute agricultural products of the colonies for those previously imported from foreign countries. It is well known that the government spent a large amount of money in the rice production development program implemented in the colonies (Kawai 1986; Ōmameuda 1993; Nakajima 1997, 1999). As for sugar, the government raised the tariff on sugar, rejecting Japanese sugar manufacturers' request for the import of Javanese sugar. On the other hand, the government implemented in Taiwan the sugar industry promotion

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<sup>8</sup> The proportions of the volumes of imported goods from the colonies against the volumes of total supply (excluding the volumes transferred from the previous year) for people in mainland Japan were as follows. As for rice (Korean and Taiwanese rice), the average import rate for the years between 1936 and 1938 was 17.4 percent. As for sugar (Taiwanese sugar), the average import rate over the same period was 76.6 %.

<sup>9</sup> The accumulated amount of imported capital between 1897 and 1939 was 3992.23 million yen. On the other hand, the accumulated foodstuffs imports from the colonies totalled 11,904.88 million yen over the same period. The calculation was made by Simon James Bytheway and the author. See Bythesay (2005: pp. 187–201) and Hori (2009: pp. 221–228).

policy including researches on sugar manufacturing (Ishi 1997; Huang 2004). Eventually, it became economically possible to export colony-grown foodstuffs to mainland Japan, and the exports grew fast as mentioned above.

It is important point to note that previous researches have argued that colonial products benefited the mainland's economy because of their low prices. Although this argument is generally relevant, it does not explain sufficiently the peculiar characteristics of the empire's economic system. Although sugar was Taiwan's major export item to Japan, Taiwanese sugar had no competitiveness against Javanese sugar at the beginning of the twentieth century. Without the protective tariff and the Japanese government's promotion policy mentioned above, the development of Taiwanese sugar production would have been impossible. It was thanks to the Japanese government's food self-sufficiency policy that Taiwanese sugar was able to drive away its Javanese rival during the 1930s. Now the Japanese sugar manufacturers became able to purchase raw materials without a necessity to procure foreign currencies, or exchanges. In addition, although Taiwanese rice and Korean rice were slightly cheaper than Japanese rice, Japanese rice had no international competitiveness in the world markets (Ōmameuda 1993, pp. 280–284). Moreover, the Japanese government strongly promoted the production of raw cotton in Korea, although Korean raw cotton completely lacked export competitiveness. These seemingly reckless industrial policies by the Japanese government were, in fact, economically rational in that the Japanese government made a choice to save up foreign currencies by not spending them on the purchase of foodstuffs. Instead, the government planned to use saved foreign currencies for the purchase of capital goods and raw materials from the world markets outside the empire. The complete empire autarchy was a policy Japan was forced to adopt after it was excluded from the world economy in 1940. It was not at all a realistic policy during the 1930s (Shirakizawa 2006a, b). In reality, the Japanese government made the full use of both the exclusive market of the empire and the outside world markets based on the free trade principle. Previous researches on the history of capitalism have failed to grasp the unique characteristics of the economic system of the Japanese empire, because they have stuck to the investigative framework of 'national economy.'

The second reason for the rapid increase in the foodstuffs imports is the building of the trading networks connecting the mainland market to the colonies. In this regard, a large number of studies have been accumulated on, for instance, the building of railways, the construction of ports and the development of sea routes. This study takes up a previously neglected topic, the formation of the commercial networks, and looks into it from a macro perspective. The source used is the 1939 extraordinary population census, which was conducted by the Japanese government concerning the whole empire. The purpose of this inquiry was for the government to grasp the real state of commercial activities and freight distribution. The data of this census are highly worthwhile because the survey was conducted on a uniform standard.

In the left columns of Table 2.3 are listed the names of areas, the numbers of those engaged in commerce in the areas and their proportions to the total



**Table 2.3** Population engaged in commerce, its proportion, retail sales per capita and wholesale and trading sales per capita by area

Ranking	Region	Area	Population engaged in commerce		Retail sales per capita (Yen)	Region	Area	Wholesales and trading sales per capita (Yen)
			Number (1,000 Persons)	Proportion (Percent)				
1	Japan	Kyōtofu	181	10.5	285	Japan	Ōsakafu	1,722
2	Japan	Tōkyōfu	719	9.8	446	Japan	Tōkyōfu	920
3	Japan	Ōsakafu	466	9.7	347	Manchuria	Guandongzhu	817
4	Japan	Fukuiken	57	8.8	140	Japan	Kyōtofu	596
5	Japan	Shūjaken	62	8.8	156	Japan	Aichiken	541
6	Japan	Tōyamaken	72	8.7	155	Japan	Hyōgoken	492
7	Japan	Aichiken	269	8.5	260	Japan	Fukuiken	404
8	Japan	Wakayamaken	72	8.4	166	Japan	Kanagawaken	353
9	Japan	Gifuken	105	8.3	144	Japan	Ishikawaken	299
10	Japan	Naraken	50	8.1	125	Taiwan	Taipeihszhou	266
11	Japan	Shimaneken	60	8.0	110	Korea	Gyeonggido	253
12	Japan	Hyōgoken	253	7.9	226	Japan	Fukuokaken	212
.....Omitted.....								
44	Japan	Akitaken	61	5.8	120	Japan	Okinawaken	50
45	Karafuto	Karafuto	23	5.8	199	Japan	Mieken	48
46	Japan	Miyazakiken	48	5.7	112	Taiwan	Tainanzhou	47
47	Taiwan	Taipeihszhou	60	5.2	184	Karafuto	Karafuto	42
48	Manchuria	Guandongzhu	70	5.1	146	Japan	Kagoshimaken	41
49	Japan	Kagoshimaken	77	4.9	89	Taiwan	Taihszhongzhou	41
50	Taiwan	Penghuting	3	4.8	51	Japan	Chibaken	35
51	Taiwan	Gaoxiongzhou	35	4.1	118	Japan	Tottoriken	35
52	Taiwan	Tainanzhou	54	3.6	88	Korea	Pyeongangbukdo	34
53	Taiwan	Hualianggangting	5	3.4	209	Japan	Oitaken	32
54	Korea	Gyeonggido	97	3.4	132	Japan	Shimaneken	31
55	Taiwan	Taihszhongzhou	44	3.4	91	Japan	Ibaraziken	30
56	Japan	Okinawaken	18	3.2	56	Korea	Jeollanamdo	29
57	Korea	Hamgyeongbukdo	35	3.2	89	Japan	Fukushimaken	29
58	Taiwan	Taidongting	3	3.2	73	Japan	Naraken	28
59	Korea	Pyeongangnamdo	51	3.1	69	Korea	Hwanghaedo	24
60	Taiwan	Xinzhuzhou	23	3.0	78	Korea	Gyeongsangbukdo	24
61	Korea	Gyeongsangnamdo	65	2.9	62	Japan	Akitaken	23
62	Korea	Hamgyeongnamdo	46	2.5	58	Taiwan	Hualianggangting	21
63	Korea	Jeollabukdo	36	2.2	50	Taiwan	Xinzhuzhou	21
64	Korea	Gyeongsangbukdo	55	2.2	40	Japan	Iwateken	17
65	Korea	Chungcheongnamdo	34	2.2	38	Korea	Chungcheongnamdo	15
66	Korea	Pyeongangbukdo	37	2.1	48	Taiwan	Penghuting	15
67	Korea	Gangwondo	36	2.1	28	Japan	Miyazakiken	15
68	Korea	Hwanghaedo	34	1.9	32	Taiwan	Taidongting	13
69	Korea	Jeollanamdo	50	1.9	32	Korea	Chungcheongbukdo	6
70	Korea	Chungcheongbukdo	18	1.9	27	Korea	Gangwondo	5
Japan (Total)			5,554	7.6	208	Japan (Total)		339
Taiwan (Total)			227	3.9	57	Korea (Total)		65
Korea (Total)			595	2.4	113	Taiwan (Total)		92
Karafuto			23	5.8	146	Guandongzhu		817
Guandongzhu			70	5.1	199	Karafuto		42

Sources: Naikaku Tōkeikyoku (1941); Sōrifu Tōkeikyoku (1962); Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka (1944); Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka (Publication year unknown) Kokusei chōsa sankō tōkei hyō; Taiwan Sōtokufu Kikakubu (1941); Taiwansheng zhengfu zhujichu (1953); Kantōkyoku (1941) and (1942); Karafutochō (1941) and (1942)

Notes: (1) The commercial survey and the population census were conducted in August, 1939 and August, 1940, respectively

(2) Grey cells concern colonial areas. The same applies for Tables 2.7 and 2.8

(3) As for the name of areas, Japanese areas are written according to the Japanese transliteration system; Chinese, Manchurian and Taiwanese areas, the Pinyin system; and Korean areas, the Korean system. The same applies for Tables 2.7 and 2.8

populations of the areas. They are listed in descending order of the proportions. Commercial centers in the mainland such as Kyōtofu (Prefecture), Tōkyōfu and Ōsakafu constitute the top group. Areas in the Kyūshū and Tōhoku districts are in the middle group, although most of those districts are omitted from the Table. The first colonial area, Karafuto (Sakhalin), ranks forty-fifth. Then, after that follow Taipeihszhou, Guandongzhu and areas in Taiwan and Korea. Incidentally, Chungcheongbukdo of Korea is ranked in last place. The proportions of populations

engaged in commerce indicate the results of the division of labor, reflecting the degree of the development of commodity economy in each area. In the middle column of the Table are presented retail sales per capita, an indicator of the magnitude of commercial activities. In terms of this criterion as well, it can be generally said, with a few exceptions, that the commercial centers in the mainland rank high, and that the more peripheral the areas in the colonies, the lower the sales per capita become. However, the differences in the sales per capita are not so wide. The ratios between the highest and the lowest are mostly several-fold and 17-fold at most. On the other hand, the differences in the per capita sales of wholesale and trading businesses presented in the right column of the Table are much wider. The ratio between the figures of Ōsakafu and Gangwondo of Korea is 344-fold. This indicates that regional differences were much greater in the case with long-distance commerce than in the case with retail business. More interestingly, concerning wholesale and trading businesses, a number of commercial centers in the colonies rank very high. In fact, Guandongzhu ranks third after Ōsakafu and Tōkyōfu. Then, Taibeizhou and Gyeonggido are ranked in tenth and eleventh places, respectively. Eight colonial areas rank above thirty-fifth: that is, they are on the top half of the list. As can be seen at the bottom of the Table, regarding wholesale and trading businesses, the differences between the average sales of Japan and those of Korea and Taiwan are very wide. In addition, the colonies lagged far behind mainland Japan in terms of both the proportion of population engaged in commerce and retail sales per capita. Why, then, did wholesale and trading businesses develop conspicuously in some areas in the colonies? It can be assumed that a large-scale, long-distance commercial system which combined the colonies to Japan's domestic market was established rather firmly (Manchuria was connected partially to the world markets.). In other words, because solid trade routes were established between mainland Japan and the colonies based on a strong economic bond, large-scale wholesale and trading businesses developed at the routes' nodal points such as Dalian, Taibei and Keijō (Seoul).

The third reason for the rapid increase in the foodstuffs imports from the colonies concerns not the conditions of the mainland but agriculture and peasants in the colonies. In Korea and Taiwan, more than 40 % of rice harvests were exported to mainland Japan. Although some may call it 'hunger export,' those export data nevertheless indicate the strength of agricultural production in the colonies which responded resiliently to the rapid development of a commodity economy. Colonial agriculture should not be viewed only in terms of the sales of its products. It also should be viewed as a purchasing market for manufactured products such as fertilizers and miscellaneous daily goods, as well as a source of capital invested in non-agricultural sectors. Moreover, as will be elucidated in the next section, it served as a source of wage labor. In Korea and Taiwan, as in Japan, the agricultural industry was generally run by peasants. They played an important supporting role for the development of capitalism. The existence of 'peasant societies' spreading widely around East Asia was the pillar of the capitalism which was born in Japan (Miyajima 1994; Nakamura 2005).

**Table 2.4** Correlation coefficients between consumer price indexes of Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Dalian (1912–1938)

	Japan	Korea	Taiwan	Dalian
Japan	1			
Korea	0.995	1		
Taiwan	0.967	0.943	1	
Dalian	0.990	0.974	0.986	1

Sources: Ōkawa, kazusi et al. (eds.) (1967); Mizoguchi et al. (1988)

The combination of the three conditions mentioned above brought about the surge of the exports of foodstuffs and agricultural products to mainland Japan over the period between the 1910s and the 1930s. The degree of unity among markets within the empire can be measured by calculating the correlations between consumer price indexes. As Table 2.4 shows, the correlation coefficients between the consumer price indexes of Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Dalian over the period between 1912 and 1938 are very high. The widespread markets within the empire connected through long-distance commodity exchanges were generally well integrated. The correlation coefficients for the WWI period are relatively high. While the figures for the 1920s are relatively low, those for the 1930s are at their highest level. It is a future task to investigate the dynamics of the empire's markets by analyzing in detail the changes in the prices and volumes of individual commodities produced in each colonial area. However, Table 2.4 alone corroborates that the widespread markets within the Japanese empire were well integrated. That was among the important characteristics of the empire's economic structure.

## 4 The Expansion of the Capitalist Mode of Production in East Asia

In the previous section, the strong connections of the colonial societies to mainland Japan were elucidated. It was also shown how even colonial agriculture was deeply incorporated into the Japanese economy. However, the above arguments are only about the development of the commodity economy and not about capitalism. The following section will analyze the changes in the economic structure of the Japanese empire in terms of the capital-wage labor relationship.

Table 2.5 shows the changes in the amounts of paid-in capital between 1923 and 1940 in Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria. In terms of the growth rate of paid-in capital over the period, Korea's growth was fastest, with Japan and Taiwan following after Korea. From the latter half of the 1930s onwards, the amounts of paid-in capital increased markedly in Korea and Manchuria. It was not that Japan started overseas investments in the latter half of the 1930s, but that it increased its investments in the colonies (Itō 1982). It should be borne in mind in this regard that Table 2.5 only concerns the capital of businesses which took the form of joint-stock companies. Therefore, business developments in areas such as Taiwan where

**Table 2.5** Comparison of total paid-in capital between Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria

	Total paid-in capital (million yen)				Paid-in capital per capita (yen)			
	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manchuria	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manchuria
1923	10,789	357	279		187	90	15	
1924	11,893	363	259		204	90	14	
1926	12,187	346	216		202	82	11	
1928	13,029	321	248		210	72	13	
1930	13,761	297	317		215	64	16	
1932	14,075	294	375	738	214	60	18	24
1934	15,576	316	432	1172	230	61	20	35
1936	17,388	422	723	1459	250	77	32	40
1938	21,660	429	1028	2738	307	75	45	68
1940	26,930	550	1604	7369	377	90	68	171

Sources: Ōkurashō Rizaikyoku ([each year](#)); Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka ([each year](#)). Chōsen sōtokufu tōkei nenpō; Taiwan Sōtokufu ([each year](#)). Tōkeisho; Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha ([each year](#)). Manshū keizai tōkei nenpō; Kokumuin Sōmuchō ([each month](#))

small businesses were prevalent tend to be undervalued. In terms of the per capita amounts of paid-in capital shown in Table 2.5, Taiwan's figures are largest among the colonies throughout the period, except in 1940. In addition, the amounts of paid-in capital per capita in all the colonies rose rapidly during the latter half of the 1930s. Taiwan's per capita amount of paid-in capital for 1940 is 23.9 % of Japan's. In the case of Korea and Manchuria, the proportions are 18.0 % and 45.4 %, respectively. In the final years of the 1930s, the amounts of paid-in capital of the colonies became no longer negligible relative to Japan.

Next, the development of the wage labor system will be investigated. The state of wage labor in each area can be correctly grasped by the use of factory statistics. At first, factory statistics were made individually and differently in Taiwan, Korea and Guandongzhu. At the time of the enactment of the 1929 Resources Survey Law (Ordinance) a uniform standard was adopted for statistical surveys.<sup>10</sup> In addition, inquiries based on the Resources Survey Law also started in Manchuria in 1933. Therefore, a comparative analysis of wage labor in the whole Japanese empire is possible for periods after this year. Table 2.6 shows the changes in the numbers of factory workers in Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria between 1929 and 1940. During these 11 years, the number of Japan's factory workers more than doubled; that of Taiwan doubled, and that of Korea almost tripled. The numbers for Manchuria are not available for the years before 1934. However, Manchuria had the highest rate of increase over the period between 1934 and 1940. During the 1930s, in which pre-WWII Japan achieved remarkable industrial development, the numbers of factory workers in the colonies were increasing at a faster pace than in the

<sup>10</sup> In practice, however, there are slight differences among the colonies in the ways the surveys were conducted. For instance, inquiries were made concerning factories with less than five employees in Taiwan and the inquiry standards concerning ethnicity were not uniform. See Hori (2010: pp1–10).

**Table 2.6** Number of factory workers and its proportion to total population - Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria

	Number of factory workers (1000 Persons)				Proportion to total population (Percent)			
	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manchuria	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Manchuria
1929	1817	63	78		2.9	1.4	0.4	
1930	1676	58	84		2.6	1.2	0.4	
1932	1726	60	88		2.6	1.2	0.4	
1934	2155	67	113	188	3.2	1.3	0.5	0.5
1936	2584	81	149	226	3.7	1.5	0.7	0.6
1938	3205	96	183	338	4.5	1.7	0.8	0.8
1940	3843	126	231	453	5.3	2.1	0.9	1.0

Sources: The sources of Table 2.5 and the following. Tsūshōsangyōshō Daijinkanbō (1961); Manshūkoku Jitsugyobu(Keizaibu) (each year); Kantōchō (each year)

mainland. On the right side of Table 2.6 are shown the proportions of factory workers to the total population; this measures the weight of wage labor within each society. Although the regional differences in the proportions are wide, all of the proportions go up rapidly in the pre-WWII period.

Next, the geographical distribution of the proportions of factory workers will be examined in detail. Table 2.7 presents the names of administrative districts in descending order of factory worker proportion for 1940. This Table presents interesting data which cannot be explained by a simple comparison between the mainland and the colonies. In general, the formation of wage labor in Taiwan and Manchuria was still at its nascent stage in these colonies. However, a closer observation of the data in Table 2.7 gives a more complex picture than such a general view. In the Table, areas such as Guandongzhou and Xinjingtebieshi rank relatively high even in comparison to prefectures in Japan. In addition, areas such as Taizhongzhou, Taibeizhou, Fengtiansheng, Karafuto and Gyeonggido constitute a middle group together with prefectures in Japan. Also in terms of the number of factory workers, Fengtiansheng, Guandongzhou and Gyeonggido rank high even compared to prefectures in Japan, and a number of colonial areas are included in a middle group alongside with prefectures in Japan. It should be stressed here that the development of the modern factory system and the accumulation of wage labor did not proceed evenly within any country, colony or area. As a matter of fact, the regionally uneven development is one of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism.

This has also been the case with mainland Japan since the start of its industrial revolution until today. In mainland Japan, the national average percentage of factory workers to the total population was 1.5 % in 1909 when a survey was first conducted on factories with five or more workers. At that time, the proportions were less than 4 % in all prefectures except Ōsakafu. In addition, the proportions were less than 1 % in 25 prefectures, more than half the number of all prefectures. In 1920, however, the national average factory worker proportion was 2.7 %. In eight prefectures, the proportions were over 4 %. On the other hand, the proportions were less than 1 % in 11 prefectures. In 1930, the national average was 2.6 %. While the

Table 2.7 Number of factory workers and its proportion to total population by area

Ranking	Region	Area	Proportion (Percent)	Number of Factory Workers (Person)	Ranking	Region	Area	Proportion (Percent)	Number of Factory Workers (Person)	Ranking	Region	Area	Proportion (Percent)	Number of Factory Workers (Person)
2	Japan	Ooshima	10.4	496,517	35	Japan	Myozaki-shi	2.6	21,810	68	Manchuria	Xinjiangsheng	0.8	34,429
3	Japan	Kanagawa-ken	9.6	210,443	36	Korea	Kanbido	2.5	10,127	69	Manchuria	Gaogangsheng	0.6	10,824
4	Japan	Chiba-ken	8.9	210,443	37	Japan	Yamanashi-ken	2.4	10,127	70	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.6	9,763
5	Japan	Fukushima	8.9	57,571	38	Japan	Greenland	2.4	49,168	71	Manchuria	Jiaodongsheng	0.6	9,763
6	Japan	Hyogo-ken	8.9	285,721	39	Japan	Kochi-ken	2.4	16,989	72	Manchuria	Heilongsheng	0.5	793
7	Japan	Gumma-ken	6.7	86,963	40	Japan	Hokkaido-ken	2.4	16,989	73	Manchuria	Huanghe-sheng	0.5	9,539
8	Japan	Yamanashi-ken	6.2	50,692	41	Japan	Yamanashi-ken	2.3	10,127	74	Manchuria	Heilongsheng	0.5	9,539
9	Japan	Guangdong	6.2	50,692	42	Japan	Yamanashi-ken	2.3	10,127	75	Manchuria	Jiaodongsheng	0.5	4,433
10	Japan	Kyoto-shi	5.8	100,722	43	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.2	10,127	76	Manchuria	Jiaodongsheng	0.5	12,109
11	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	44	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	77	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
12	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	45	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	78	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
13	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	46	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	79	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
14	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	47	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	80	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
15	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	48	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	81	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
16	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	49	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	82	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
17	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	50	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	83	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
18	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	51	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	84	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
19	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	52	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	85	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
20	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	53	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	86	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
21	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	54	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	87	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
22	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	55	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	88	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
23	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	56	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	89	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
24	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	57	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	90	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
25	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	58	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	91	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
26	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	59	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	92	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
27	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	60	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	93	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
28	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	61	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	94	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
29	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	62	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	95	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
30	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	63	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	96	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
31	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	64	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	97	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
32	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	65	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	98	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901
33	Japan	Guangdong	5.8	100,722	66	Japan	Guangdongsheng	2.1	10,127	99	Manchuria	Guangyuan-sheng	0.4	3,901

Sources: The sources of Table 2.6 and the following, Shokōshō Kanbouchōsaka (1942); Karafutochō(1942); Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku (1941). Shigen chōsa-rei ni motozuku kōjō kankei shiryō; Chōsen Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku (1941); Chōsen Sōtokufu Kikakubu (1941); Kokumin Sōmushō(1941)

Notes: (1) As for Korea, the number of factory workers for 1940 cannot be known province by province. Therefore, the number of each province was calculated by multiplying the total number of factory workers for 1940 by the province's average factory worker proportion between 1939 and 1941

(2) As for Karafuto, The 1940 Statistics published by the Karafuto Government was used, because factory surveys are not available concerning this area

**Table 2.8** Number of miners and its proportion to total population by area

Ranking	Region	Area	Proportion (Percent)	Number of miners (Person)	Ranking	Region	Area	Proportion (Percent)	Number of miners (Person)
1	Japan	Fukuokaken	4.94	152,825	44	Japan	Okinawaken	0.28	1629
2	Taiwan	Taiheizhen	3.21	36,622	45	Japan	Ishikawaken	0.28	2087
3	Japan	Hokkaidou	3.19	104,383	46	Japan	Wakayamaken	0.26	2262
4	Japan	Sagaken	2.67	18,742	47	Japan	Kagawaken	0.26	1897
5	Japan	Nagasakiken	2.62	35,860	48	Japan	Hyogoken	0.25	7992
6	Koria	Hamgyeongbukdo	2.37	26,137	49	Koria	Jeollanamdo	0.24	6465
7	Japan	Yamaguchiken	2.14	27,674	50	Koria	Gyeonggido	0.24	6856
8	Koria	Pyeongannamdo	1.99	33,049	51	Japan	Tokushimaken	0.24	1712
9	Manchuria	Fengtiansheng	1.89	143,150	52	Japan	Tottoriken	0.23	1125
10	Koria	Pyeongangbukdo	1.67	29,617	53	Japan	Kumamotoken	0.22	2982
11	Japan	Hukuoshimaken	1.65	26,747	54	Japan	Shizuokaken	0.22	4367
12	Japan	Akitaken	1.50	15,773	55	Japan	Shigaken	0.17	1203
13	Japan	Iwateken	1.47	16,090	56	Koria	Gyeonggangnamdo	0.17	3813
14	Koria	Gangwondo	1.46	25,797	57	Japan	Yamanashiken	0.16	1080
15	Manchuria	Tongansheng	1.43	14,007	58	Japan	Kyotofu	0.16	2752
16	Koria	Hwanghaedo	1.28	23,145	59	Manchuria	Guandongzhou	0.15	2095
17	Koria	Hamgyeongnamdo	1.16	21,709	60	Japan	Naraken	0.15	912
18	Manchuria	Jingzhousheng	0.85	36,863	61	Japan	Nagaken	0.13	2146
19	Manchuria	Dongansheng	0.84	4,327	62	Taiwan	Gaoxiongzhou	0.12	1052
20	Japan	Oitaken	0.83	8,090	63	Japan	Hiroshimaken	0.11	2,057
21	Koria	Chungcheongbukdo	0.82	7,733	64	Japan	Saitamaken	0.10	1,625
22	Koria	Chungcheongnamdo	0.79	12,516	65	Japan	Aichiken	0.09	2,792
23	Manchuria	Sunjiangsheng	0.78	11,034	66	Taiwan	Hualiangangting	0.08	120
24	Japan	Ibaragiken	0.75	12,215	67	Manchuria	Xing'an four shengs	0.07	1,468
25	Japan	Ehimeken	0.74	8,759	68	Manchuria	Andongsheng	0.06	1,424
26	Japan	Yamagataken	0.72	8,042	69	Taiwan	Tainanzhou	0.06	871
27	Japan	Tochigiken	0.71	8,518	70	Manchuria	Rehesheng	0.06	2,548
28	Japan	Gifuken	0.58	7,294	71	Japan	Chibaken	0.06	875
29	Japan	Miyagiken	0.56	7,093	72	Manchuria	Jilinshek	0.05	3,015
30	Japan	Okayamaken	0.48	6,399	73	Japan	Toyamaken	0.05	423
31	Taiwan	Xinzhuohu	0.47	3,711	74	Japan	Kanagawaken	0.04	822
32	Japan	Kagoshimaken	0.46	7,341	75	Taiwan	Taizhongzhou	0.02	223
33	Japan	Gumaken	0.45	5,806	76	Japan	Osakafu	0.02	793
34	Koria	Gyeonggangbukdo	0.42	10,452	77	Japan	Tokyoфу	0.01	1,041
35	Japan	Mieken	0.41	4,880	78	Taiwan	Taidongting	0.01	12
36	Japan	Aomoriaken	0.39	3,923	79	Manchuria	Manchurian other sheng	0.01	1,241
37	Japan	Nigataken	0.39	8,074	80	Taiwan	Pengfuting	0.00	
38	Japan	Shimaneken	0.33	2,436					
39	Manchuria	Jiandaosheng	0.32	2,738			Japan (Total)	0.75	547,898
40	Japan	Fukuiken	0.29	1,883			Korea (Total)	0.87	211,930
41	Japan	Miyazakiken	0.29	2,442			Taiwan (Total)	0.73	42,611
42	Koria	Jeollabukdo	0.29	4,641			Manchuria (Total)	0.50	223,910
43	Japan	Kochiken	0.29	2,035			Colonies (Total)	0.64	478,451

Sources: The sources of Table 2.6 and the following. Chōsen Sōtokufu (1942); Taiwan Sōtokufu Kikakubu (1942); Naikaku Tōkeikyoku (1943); Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha (1940)

Notes: (1) The timings of the labor surveys were as follows: in Manchuria, at the end of 1939; in Korea and Taiwan, in August, 1941; and in Japan, in June, 1942

(2) As for population statistics, they are all results of the Population Censuses conducted in August, 1940. The total numbers of workers of Japan and Taiwan include those employed at government-run mines (3834 and 515 persons, respectively). Whereas, the number by area does not include them. Incidentally, there was no government-run mine in Korea. As for the data of Manchuria, such differences are unclear.

proportions were over 4 % in six prefectures, the rates were less than 1 % in nine prefectures. In 1940, the national average was 5.3 %. While the proportions were over 4 % in 20 prefectures, the rate was less than 1 % only in Aomori-ken. As can be seen, the formation of wage labor proceeded unevenly even within mainland Japan because of regionally different conditions. Therefore, the formation of wage labor cannot be properly grasped by simply looking at average rates of a large area. As was mentioned above, it is commonly held that Korea and Manchuria lagged far behind Japan in the formation of wage labor. However, as Table 2.7 indicates, in



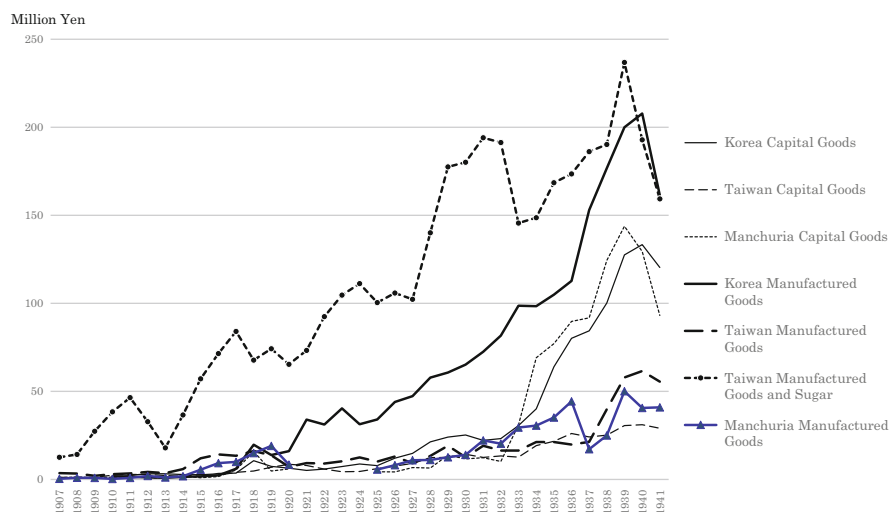
Korea and Manchuria, the 1940 average composition ratios of factory workers are higher than the 1909 ratios of the majority of prefectures in Japan. In Taiwan, the 1940 average composition ratio of factory workers is 2.2 %, higher than mainland Japan's 1909 national average. In terms of the number of factory workers and their proportion to the total population of the area, Guandongzhou, Fengtiansheng, Xinjingtebieshi, Taizhongzhou, Taibeizhou, Gaoxiongzhou, Karafuto, Gyeonggido, Hamgyeongnamdo and Hamgyeongbukdo were areas with the high concentration of factory workers. These areas can be called 'industrial zones.'

In Table 2.8 are listed the names of mining areas in descending order of miners' composition ratio (the proportion of the number of miners in the area against the total population of the area). Since the mining industry developed substantially in the colonies, many areas in Korea and Manchuria rank high on the list. Thus, from the number of miners it cannot necessarily be concluded that the mining industry, which fundamentally depended on the availability of natural resources, was more advanced in the mainland than in the colonies. In mining areas in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria, rapid developments were made to meet demand from mainland Japan. As a result, wage labor was concentrated in specific areas to an extent comparable to the mainland in terms of the miners' proportion to the population of the area. As a result of the development of the division of labor within the empire and the industrialization in the colonies, the mining and manufacturing industries in the colonies were even more concentrated in particular areas than they were on the mainland

As has been shown, in the colonies well integrated into the economic system of the Japanese empire, the capitalist mode of production was developing rapidly hand in hand with the development of capitalism in mainland Japan. In other words, the areas in which the capitalist mode of production was predominant was gradually expanding towards the colonies from mainland Japan where the industrial revolution had started. In what follows, this process will be examined by analyzing the economic relationships between the mainland and the colonies as well as the characteristics of industries newly generated in the colonies.

Figure 2.5 shows the changes in the real capital goods imports from Japan into Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria, and the real industrial goods exports from those colonies to Japan. The capital goods imports by the colonies jumped in the early 1930s. Although the growth in Taiwan's capital goods imports does not look salient in real terms, the proportion of its capital goods imports to the total imports from Japan were more than 20 % as they were in Korea. The proportion of capital goods imports from Japan to Manchuria rose to more than 30 % when they were highest. It is noteworthy that the proportions of capital goods exports from Japan to its colonies were quite high, given that the proportions of Japan's capital goods exports against its total exports to the world markets were only a little over 1 %. Between 80 and 90 % of Japan's exports of machines, a major export item among capital goods, percent of were bound for the three colonies (Hori 2009, pp. 183–210). Previously, this data has been taken to indicate the Japanese machine industry's lack of international competitiveness. In this regard, however, it is more important to recognize that demand for capital goods was growing rapidly in the colonies. For,





**Fig. 2.5** The colonies' real capital goods imports from and real manufactured goods exports to Japan at 1935 constant prices Sources: The same as the sources of Fig. 2.2

as has been shown, capitalism was developing in all the three colonies. As a result of this development, the colonies' exports of industrial goods to the mainland increased, as can be seen in Fig. 2.5. In addition, with regard to Japan's imports from the colonies, the decrease in the proportion of foodstuffs and the increase in the proportion of intermediate goods during the 1930s can be seen in Table 2.2. The amount of Korea's real industrial goods exports to Japan was the largest among the three colonies. As presented in Fig. 2.5, however, Taiwan's figures surpass Korea's, if Taiwanese raw sugar is regarded as an intermediate good. During the 1930s, Korea's major export items to Japan were pig iron, fibers and textiles, fertilizers and pulp; those of Taiwan were organic chemical products, aluminum and paper, and those of Manchuria were pig iron, pulp and fertilizers (Hori 2009, pp. 40–138). Japan's industrial goods imports from the colonies surpassed those from the Europe in 1938 and those from the United States in 1939. As Japan became excluded from world trade, expectations on the further increase in industrial goods imports from the colonies ran high. The excessive expectations on and illusion about the industrial production in the colonies were among the crucial reasons for a major change, that happened around 1940, in the trade principle espoused by Japanese policymakers: the change from 'free trade' to 'autarchy of the empire' (Shirakizawa 2006a, b). Thus, the intermediate goods imports from the colonies became indispensable for the Japanese capitalism towards the end of the 1930s.

On the characteristics of the manufacturing industries which developed rapidly in the colonies, investigations have been conducted by analyzing factory statistics, pay rolls and other factors. Researches on Korea have been done mainly by Soo-youll Huh (Huh 1993) and Kazuo Hori (1995, pp.55–153); on Taiwan, by Yoshitaka Horiuchi (2005a, 2008); and on Manchuria, by Quan Guan (2005) and

**Table 2.9** Number of factory workers by industry - Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria

	Korea			Taiwan			Manchuria	
	1929	1934	1940	1929	1934	1940	1934	1940
Metal industry	5	4	14	1	1	4	13	44
Chemical industry	9	26	63	5	4	7	19	48
Machine industry	3	5	29	2	3	7	20	73
Ceramic industry	6	6	14	9	9	12	30	87
Spinning and weaving industry	18	24	46	2	3	5	45	76
Woodwork industry	3	4	10	2	2	5	10	21
Printing industry	4	5	7	33	37	71	15	41
Food industry	25	34	30	0	2	3	8	15
Others	5	5	17	8	6	12	27	49
Total	78	113	231	63	67	126	188	453

Unit: Thousand Persons

Sources: The sources of Table 2.5 and Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanikyoku (each year)

Hideto Kazama (2007, 2008). These researches have corroborated the argument that the industrialization in the colonies can no longer be conceived of as ‘munitions industrialization’ (Kobayashi 1975, 1990) or as an impetus for an ‘enclave economy.’ Table 2.9 presents the changes in the numbers of factory workers in various industrial sectors. The data indicate two aspects of the industrial development in the colonies over the period in question. On the one hand, there was development of basic materials industries such as the metal, chemical and ceramic industries, which were in close connection with the mainland’s economy and later became the targets of the production expansion policy implemented by the Japanese government. These industries developed more firmly in Manchuria and Korea than in Taiwan. In Manchuria and Korea, on the other hand, the production of consumer goods, such as fiber and textile manufacturing, food processing and miscellaneous goods production, developed steadily. In Taiwan, the proportion of factory workers in sugar manufacturing, which was classified into ‘the food industry,’ was very high. However, even without factory workers engaged in sugar manufacturing, the number of factory workers in Taiwan’s food industry increased from 21,703 to 55,982 between 1929 and 1940. Such changes in the composition of factory workers indicate that manufacturing industries in the colonies were not necessarily confined to the colonies’ inter-industry relations with the Japanese economy. Nor were those manufacturing industries confined only within the colonial economies. While strengthening their ties with industries and markets in mainland Japan, they also developed the economic process of production and consumption in the colonial societies. In addition, it should be noted that the machine industry, the basis for machine manufacturing and the factory system, developed rapidly in all the colonies (Hori 1994; Horiuchi 2009). Moreover, in the colonial societies, the division of labor between the manufacturing and agricultural industries was proceeding, together with the expansion of the capital-wage labor relationship. In the colonies too, the capitalist mode of production was under development, being regulated by

the capitalism of the mainland and, at the same time, affecting other modes of production in the colonies. Given that capital in the colonial societies was in a process of continuous self-accumulation, they can be designated as ‘capitalist societies.’ The capitalism which had been established in mainland Japan by the end of the nineteenth century expanded to incorporate the colonies. Then, it transformed itself into a different type of capitalism towards the end of the 1930s.

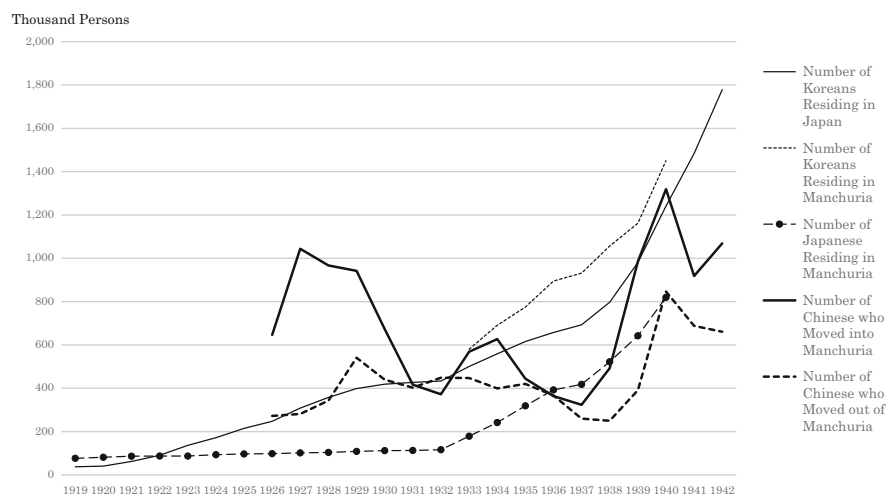
The capitalist mode of production in the colonies was run not only by Japanese but also by local people in each colonial society. According to the statistics on factory managers for the year 1938, in Taiwan, 2647 factories were run by Taiwanese, whereas 547 factories were run by Japanese; in Korea, 3735 were run by Koreans, and 2538 by Japanese; and in Manchuria, 8018 were run by Chinese, and 1209 by Japanese. The number of factories run by local managers was larger in all the colonies, although, of course, large-scale factories were predominantly run by Japanese. In Taiwan, 38,800 workers were employed at factories run by Taiwanese in 1938, whereas 45,500 workers were employed at factories run by Japanese. In Manchuria, however, a greater number of workers were employed at factories run by Chinese: that is, 137,503 workers were employed at factories run by Chinese, whereas 134,076 were employed at factories run by Japanese. Capital accumulation was under way, involving people in the local societies (Huh 1993; Kazama 2007; Kimura 1981).

Finally, in the following section, the issue of workforce transfer will be investigated to highlight important characteristics of the capitalism in question. In relation to the division of labor within the Japanese empire, attention should be paid to the large-scale transfers of workforce which occurred in a short period of time, as well as the transfers of capital and commodities. Between 1919 and 1940, the number of Japanese in Guandongzhu increased continuously from 65,382 to 202,827; in Taiwan, from 153,330 to 346,663 and in Korea, from 346,619 to 689,790. Figure 2.6 gives a picture of some other large-scale workforce movements within the empire. The number (stock) of Japanese living in Manchuria excluding Guandongzhu jumped from 112,735 to 819,614 within a decade after 1931. The movements of Korean labor were far larger in scale than those of Japanese labor. The numbers (stock) of Koreans who lived in Japan and in Manchuria increased by around 800,000 in both cases (Nishinarita 1997; Matsumura 2007, pp. 37–219; Araragi 2008). The re-organization of the societies in the Japanese empire caused by the expansion of capitalism led to the large-scale movements of Japanese and Korean people between regions within the empire.

However, the formation of wage labor took different courses among the colonies. The differences will be highlighted using census data from Korea and Taiwan. Table 2.10 shows the changes in the composition of Korea’s male workforce between 1930 and 1940.<sup>11</sup> During the decade, the number of male workers engaged in agriculture dropped by 490,000, while the number of non-agricultural workers

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<sup>11</sup> The analysis here is confined to male workers, because it is difficult to verify the number of female workers. For instance, the number of female workers in the 1940 Korean census is smaller



**Fig. 2.6** Population transfers within the Japanese empire (Sources: Nishinarita (1997); Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka (each Year). Chōsen Sōtokufu Tōkei Nenpō; Taian Sōtokufu (each year). Tōkeisho; Kokumuin Sōmuchō (1940); Kantōkyoku (each year). Tōkeisho; Manshū Kokushi Hensan Kankōkai (1971))

**Table 2.10** Industrial composition of Korean male workforce

		1930	1940	Proportion to the number of occupied persons	Increase	Increase contribution rate
I	Agriculture	5044	4554	69.1	−490	−343
II	Fisheries	100	119	1.8	20	13.8
III	Mining	33	170	2.6	137	95.8
IV	Manufacturing	304	439	6.7	135	94.6
V	Commerce	345	432	6.6	87	60.8
VI	Transportation	105	146	2.2	41	28.9
VII	Public servants	164	216	3.3	52	36.4
VII	Housework	29	37	0.6	8	5.6
IX	Others	319	472	7.2	153	107.2
X	Without occupation	4321	5627		1307	
Total number of occupied persons		6443	6586	100.0	143	100.0
Total population		10,764	12,213		1450	0

Unit: Thousand Persons, Percent

Sources: Chōsen Sōtokufu (1932) and Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanbouchōsaka (1944)

than that in the factory survey. In addition, the proportion of female workers in Hamgyeongbukdo for 1940 is only 4%, if the calculation is made on the basis of the census.

increased by 633,000. According to the author's estimation, 1,459,000 persons moved out of Korea and went to Japan and Manchuria (Hori 1995, pp. 90–153). Because most of those workers were from rural areas, it can be said that a large part of agricultural labor moved to non-agricultural sectors in Korea, or moved out of Korea. Since the number of workers in the mining and manufacturing industries increased only by 272,000 from 1930 to 1940, the absorbing power of these industries during this decade can be considered relatively weak. In 1940, the compositional proportion of agricultural workers was 69.1 %. By contrast, the changes in the compositional structure of Taiwan's male workforce, presented in Table 2.11, are totally different. The number of male workers engaged in agriculture rose continuously between 1920 and 1940. During the 1920s, the agricultural sector absorbed 61.9 % of the total increase in the number of workers. Also during the 1930s, this sector absorbed 18.2 % of the total increase of the workforce. In the middle and southern areas of Taiwan, the cultivated area expanded because of irrigation works and, accordingly, the number of peasant households increased over the period. Peasants in Taiwan at the time were taking on the task of the commodification of their products in various ways, proving their resilience to the development of capitalism (Horiuchi 2005b, 2010). As Taiwan's agricultural population increased, the number of workers in non-agricultural sectors also increased by 72,000 during the 1920s, and by 194,000 during the 1930s. Since the number of workers in the mining and manufacturing industries increased by 71,000 during the 1930s, the composition ratio of workers in these industries (the proportion of the number of workers employed in these industries to the total number of workers) was slightly higher in Taiwan than in Korea. In 1940, the proportion of the agricultural population was 57.3 % in Taiwan, 11.8 % lower than in Korea. As has been shown, although industrialization and the formation of the wage labor class proceeded simultaneously in both Korea and Taiwan, the compositional ratios of the workforce between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors were largely different between the two colonies.

As for Manchuria, it is not possible to trace the changes in the workforce composition through census data. However, significant changes in demand and supply of the workforce did happen in Manchuria as well. As previously mentioned, Fig. 2.6 shows the changes in the numbers (flow) of workers in North China who moved into and returned from Manchuria. During the first half of the 1930s, not so many workers moved from North China to Manchuria, on account of the restrictive policy adopted by Manchukuo. After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, however, Manchukuo changed its policy on the introduction of North China workers and, accordingly, their numbers rose rapidly. It was the tightening demand for labor that forced Manchukuo to change its policies. During the 1920s, most of the workers from North China went to northern areas of Manchuria and worked there as agricultural labor (Kaji 1979). By contrast, the compositional proportions by industrial sector of Chinese workers who came to Manchuria in 1940 were as follows: agriculture, 188,000 (only 14.2 %); construction 390,000 (29.6 %); manufacturing, 260,000 (19.7 %); and mining 121,000 (9.2 %). In terms of geographical distribution, major areas that attracted these workers were as follows:

Table 2.11 Industrial composition of Taiwanese male workforce

	1920	1930	1940	1940	1920–1930	1930–1940	
	Number (Thousand persons)			Proportion (Percent)	Increase (Thousand persons)	Increase contribution rate (Percent)	Increase (Thousand persons)
I	Agriculture	761	878	921	117	61.9	43
II	Fisheries	29	30	32	1	0.8	2
III	Mining	17	23	41	6	2.9	19
IV	Manufacturing	109	122	175	13	6.9	52
V	Commerce	98	181	186	84	44.1	4
VI	Transportation	46	52	60	6	3.3	8
VII	Public Servants	48	79	99	31	16.2	21
VIII	Housework	1	4	2	3	1.5	–2
IX	Others	73	2	92	–71	–37.5	90
X	Without Occupation	711	982	1362	270		381
Total Number of Occupied Persons		1182	1372	1608	100.0	100.0	237
Total Population		1894	2353	2971			617

Sources: Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō (1923) and (1934); Taiwansheng zhengfu zhujichu (1953)

Fengtiansheng (34.5 %); Guandongzhou (12.7 %); and Jilinsheng (11.4 %). As mentioned above, these were the areas in which the mining and manufacturing industries developed. These facts strongly suggest that Manchukuo decided to make use of North China workers, because it was becoming difficult to procure the workforce needed for a rapid development of the mining and manufacturing industries (Manchuria Wage laborers' Association 1941; Matsumura 2007).

As previously explained, although the mining and manufacturing industries developed hand in hand with the expansion of the capital-wage labor relation in Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria during the 1930s, the workforce supply structures of these colonies had different characteristics. This was a matter of course, considering that capitalist societies grew out of different natural and historical backgrounds of the regions. During the 1930s, the capitalism which had grown up in Japan expanded to incorporate the colonial societies with different social, geographic and economic conditions. During this process, the Japanese capitalism became more developed, as it was based on both the manufacturing and agricultural industries in the mainland and in the colonies. It was no longer the same capitalism as it had been at the time of the Japanese industrial revolution; while expanding regionally, it changed and adapted its qualitative characteristics by adjusting to new and different environments. Therefore, it is not appropriate to call this capitalism in its new phase 'Japanese capitalism.' It should be recognized that the 'Japanese capitalism' transformed itself into what can be called 'East Asian capitalism' during the 1930s as Japan incorporated and re-organized the colonial societies.

## 5 Concluding Remarks

At the beginning of this paper, the uniqueness of East Asia was highlighted in terms of the area's high trade growth rate. Previously, the dramatic changes in the East Asian economy have been recognized from two different and separate perspectives: on the one hand, as the progress of Japanese capitalism and, on the other hand, as the development and exploitation of the colonies, or the colonial industrialization and its collapse. Hence, the relationship between them and the transformation of the capitalism have been overlooked, and the uniqueness of the socio-economic changes in East Asia has not been grasped properly within the contexts of world history. This study concludes that Japanese capitalism, which had been established by the beginning of the twentieth century, expanded into Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria during the 1930s, bringing about the formation of 'East Asian capitalism' within the domain of the Japanese empire. The arguments in this study are reinforced and developed by the analysis of the examination of the notion, 'East Asian capitalism.'

'East Asian capitalism' is a more appropriate notion for the capitalism in its new phase than 'Japanese capitalism,' because, first of all, it reflects the regional expansion. Satoru Nakamura has proposed a notion, 'capitalism of semi-developed countries,' in his arguments on the remarkable economic developments of Japan

and the NICs (Nakamura 1983). He cites the following factors as domestic characteristics of the ‘capitalism of semi-developed countries.’ (1) Although capitalism and a national economy have been established, such economic sectors that are not controlled by the capitalist system still remain widely within the country. (2) The reproduction of the workforce depends chiefly on peasant farming. (3) Pre-capitalist relations have been dissolved, or transformed, and, therefore, there is a chronic oversupply of labor. (4) Hence, there is a prevalence of low wages. Nakamura conceives of the labor reproduction structure of semi-developed countries as the source of their strength, not of their weakness. Although Nakamura’s ‘capitalism of semi-developed countries’ is an abstract theory on a developmental stage of each country, this can be developed into a useful notion, if, as has been attempted in this study, it is reinterpreted as a theory on the structure of the kind capitalism that was developing in the Japanese empire. The capitalism established in mainland Japan developed, incorporating as the basis of its progress the peasant economies widespread around the vast empire comprising both the mainland and the colonies. The agricultural industries in the colonies largely contributed to the development of whole empire’s capitalism as providers of agricultural products, as purchasing markets of manufactured goods, as the source of workforce and, in particular, as the basis of capital accumulation. The expansion of the basis of the capitalism had the effect of strengthening the international competitiveness of consumer goods made in Japan, chiefly the products of Japanese light industries. This system of capitalism was able to grow more rapidly over the period in the first half of the twentieth century than its counterparts in the United States and European countries, overcoming the disadvantages of a late-starter. Moreover, it incorporated not only the economy of the mainland but the economies of all the colonies. The capitalism which developed in Japan came to establish itself firmly within the world economy by turning itself into ‘East Asian capitalism.’

Another reason for the proposition of the new notion, ‘East Asian capitalism,’ is that it reflects the economic changes which occurred in the societies incorporated into the empire. The development of the capitalism in the Japanese empire brought about fundamental social changes concerning both the mainland and the colonies. Changes in the colonies were the result of a complex combination of conditions concerning both the mainland and the colonies. It should be stressed that social and economic changes in the colonies were not caused solely, or unilaterally, by conditions and intentions on the part of the mainland. In previous studies of Japan’s colonial period, it has been commonly understood that while manufacturing industries were developed in Korea, Taiwan’s economy remained colonial agriculture (Yamamoto 1992, pp. 153–177). However, this is only an impression gained by simply looking at the composition of Japan’s imports and not a conclusion based on a detailed analysis of the societies in question. As this study has shown, Taiwan had a higher economic level of commodity development than Korea. Moreover, indicators of the development of capitalism such as the degree of the separation between the agricultural and manufacturing industries, the degree of the formation of the wage labor class and the degree of capital accumulation, have confirmed that Taiwan was a more advanced capitalist society than Korea. Nevertheless, Taiwan



was developed and used by Japan as an agricultural colony. That was because Taiwan had the highest agricultural productivity among the colonies and, therefore, was forced to turn itself into an exporter of agricultural products by the necessity of division of labor within the empire. After the collapse of the Japanese empire and the termination of the forced division of labor, Taiwan started explosive industrial development at the end of the 1940s. The conditions which enabled Taiwan to realize more rapid industrialization than South Korea had already been fermented during its colonial period. Unlike the post-WWII capitalism, which was based on sovereign national economies, the East Asian capitalism of the pre-WWII period was regulated by the conditions of the Japanese empire, which both prompted and blocked the industrial development in each area. The structure of the Japanese empire was regulated not only by the conditions of the mainland but by the historical conditions on the part of the colonial societies. The mutually regulating conditions of both sides constructed the empire's structure.

In order to gain a complete picture of the formation of capitalism in East Asia, this study has focused on a comprehensive understanding of the pre-WWII period. It is hoped that further research will complete and complement this picture by applying similar methods of examination and analysis to the post-WWII period.

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