

## The role of trade associations in Northeast Asian economic growth during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century\*

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### 1. Introduction

It can be said that the Northeast Asian economy grew faster than the Western European and United States economies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1910 and 1940, Korean, Japanese, and Taiwanese rice production increased 20-61% annually, but the annual growth rate of American, German, and French wheat was 12-14%<sup>1</sup>. Between 1913 and 1938, the manufacturing sectors of Korea, Japan, and Taiwan became 5.5-7.5 times larger, but the American, Italian, and French manufacturing sectors became only 1.3-1.7 times larger. That of China became 2.2 times larger in 1926-36<sup>2</sup>. This paper will examine the economic roles of trade associations in Northeast Asian countries to explain the industrial growth in this period.

This paper focuses on trade associations for the following reason. The economic growth of Korea, Japan, and Taiwan from 1960 to 1990 can be interpreted in both neo-classical and political economics frameworks. According to neo-classical economics, growth is attributed to market competition; according to political

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<sup>1</sup> *Statistical Year-book*, 1931-32, 1939-40. U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Hayami, *Agricultural Growth*.

<sup>2</sup> Hilgert, *Industrialization and Foreign Trade*, pp.156-157. Mizoguchi, *Kyu Nihon Shokuminchi Keizai Tokei*, pp.273-276. Hori “Ryodai Senkanki no Higashi Asia Ziiki Shakai”, p.290.

economics it is attributed to the leadership of governments<sup>3</sup>.

Political economics has taken industrial policies seriously. It is argued that governments selected some industries with especially high-growth potentiality, and supported the industries with monetary, financial, and price policies. The cooperation between governments and big businesses is said to have made the performance of industrial policies rich<sup>4</sup>.

However, the relationship between government and big business only explains a part of the whole relationship between governments and businesses. Many articles about the Japanese economy show that trade associations cooperated widely and deeply with the Japanese government to formulate and implement industrial policies<sup>5</sup>. In addition, two of my articles show that both Korean and Taiwanese trade associations cooperated with the two governments in the cotton industry<sup>6</sup>.

It seems that these articles are not being considered sufficiently for at least two reasons. Firstly, the roles of trade associations are traditionally interpreted to increase profit through agreements about production amounts and prices, collective actions, etc., not through improving economic efficiency. Secondly, the growth and decline of capitalist societies tend to be explained through the behavior of big businesses<sup>7</sup>.

Berk and Schneiberg (2005) object to the interpretation above. According to this article, in the period 1900-25, the trade associations of 246 industries thought that it was too difficult to make agreements about prices, and tried to increase productivity. The number of the trade associations that did this formed about 25% of all the trade associations. The method for increasing productivity was to open all member countries cost structure and to study how to decrease the cost of each company under the industry average. Berk and Schneiberg called such associations 'developmental association'<sup>8</sup>.

This article consists of three parts. Part one surveys the trade associations of the Japanese empire. Even though I proposed to understand contemporary Northeast Asian economic growth, this article analyzes the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is because I will be able to give a long term perspective to the discussion. Part two examines the similarities between the Japanese empire and China. A common feature of the trade

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<sup>3</sup> Kim, *Hangu eui Oehwan Muyeog Jeongchaeg*, and Minami, *The Economic development of Japan from the neo-classical economics*, Johnson, "Political Institutions and Economic Performance" and Shin, *Restructuring Korea Inc.* from the political economics, World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle* from the both sides.

<sup>4</sup> World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle*, ch 4. Kim, "Simeuihoe Jeongchi". Amsden, *Asia's Next Giant*, ch.1. Jo, *Hangu Jaebeol Yeongu*, ch.9.

<sup>5</sup> Kikkawa "Nihon niokeru Kigyo Shudan". Hashimoto, "Kodo Seichoki niokeru Nihon Seihu, Gyokai Dantai, Kigyo". Senba, "Jigyosha Gyokai Dantai no Kino".

<sup>6</sup> Park, "Hangu Gyeongje esoeui Jeongbu wa Dongeobja Danche". Park "The Role of Trade Associations in the Korean and Taiwanese Economy".

<sup>7</sup> Chandler, *The Visible Hand*. Chandler, *Scale and Scope*.

<sup>8</sup> Berk "Varieties in Capitalism, Varieties of Association", pp.47-49.

associations in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan is the pursuit of industrial development under cooperation with the government. The Chinese trade associations had similar purposes. The Chinese government has been promoting the establishment of trade associations since 1979, when reform and open-door policies were initiated<sup>9</sup>. We can say that this did not happen suddenly, but was the result of what occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Part three will compare Northeast Asian case with United States case and show that economic management using trade associations was the Northeast Asian countries' characteristics in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2. Japanese Empire

Japanese merchants had strong merchant associations in medieval times; this was called *Kabunakama*, and its aim was to protect common interests. In 1721, the Japanese government legalized the associations. The government's main goal was to stabilize prices and to control product quality using the associations<sup>10</sup>.

In 1871, the Japanese government demolished *Kabunakama*, because *Kabunakama* suppressed the business of merchants and manufacturers outside it. Even though the intention of the government to promote competition was good, there were many side effects. For example, the function to improve transaction and payment method, to guarantee credit, and to control product quality and prices were weakened<sup>11</sup>.

After the Japanese government demolished *Kabunakama*, merchants and manufacturers began to reconstruct their associations<sup>12</sup>. These associations were called *Dogyokumiai* (trade associations). The government also came to think that such associations were necessary for the economy, formulating the Rule of Trade Associations in 1884, and the Law of Trade Associations of Important Products in 1900. There were 133 trade associations in 1900, which increased to 407 by 1906<sup>13</sup>.

The Japanese government spread its policy into Taiwan and Korea through government-generals. In Taiwan, trade associations began to be established under the permission of the local governor in 1898, just after colonization<sup>14</sup>. For example, trade associations in sugar refinery, hats and mats, and rice polishing were

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<sup>9</sup> Foster, "Associations in the Embrace of an Authoritarian State". Foster, "Embedded within the Bureaucracy".

Foster, "Transforming Administration and Governance by Creating Associations"

<sup>10</sup> Schaede, *Cooperative Capitalism*, p.231. Okazaki, *Edo no Shijokeizai*, pp.90-103

<sup>11</sup> Jang, "Geundaejeog Gieobga eui Daedu wa Donggyeong Sangbeob Hoeuiso"

<sup>12</sup> Huzita, *Kindai Nihon Dogyo Kumiaishiron*, p.18

<sup>13</sup> Takeuchi, "Dogyo Kumiai no Rekishiteki Ichi", p.340.

<sup>14</sup> Taiwan Sotokuhu Shokusanryoku Monjo, Feb. 9, 1898.

established in 1903<sup>15</sup>, 1909<sup>16</sup>, and 1911<sup>17</sup>. Because many merchant associations, called Zhao, existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>, these may have been changed into trade associations. In 1914, the Act of Trade Associations of Important Products was put in operation. According to government records and news paper articles, trade associations gradually spread into other industries such as rice, coal, hat and its materials, tea, ice, fruits, vegetables, and flowers.

Japan annexed Korea in 1910. Just after the annexation, the governor-general Terauchi said that industrial associations had to increase to develop Korean industry<sup>19</sup>. In 1915 the government-general put the Act of Trade Associations of Important Products in operation. In December 1927, there were 218 associations in the livestock industry, seven associations in fruit production, two associations in the cotton industry, and one in the wool industry, brewery business, paper industry, grain export, and charcoal production respectively<sup>20</sup>. From 1934, they were expanded into coal<sup>21</sup>, rubber<sup>22</sup>, match<sup>23</sup>, fluorite<sup>24</sup>, etc.

The most important aim of the both the Rule of Trade Associations and Law of Trade Associations of Important Products was production increase and quality improvement. The government allowed trade associations to organize an inspecting office and employ inspectors, and gave rights to inspect member companies' products<sup>25</sup>. In addition, the Japanese government prohibited the associations from making agreements on product prices, service charges, wages, the movement of workers to other companies, etc<sup>26</sup>. According to Kiyokawa and Matsumoto, the associations actually inspected product quality, investigated market situations, reported the results of product evaluations, advertised the industry's strength, constructed and maintained infrastructure for the industry, etc. It can be said that the associations cooperated with the government's policies to develop industries<sup>27</sup>. Even though the government wanted the associations not to become interest associations, it did not fully succeed in that. According to Matsumoto, the textile

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<sup>15</sup> Xu, *Nihon Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, p.395

<sup>16</sup> Taiwan Sotokuhu Local Monjo, Feb. 3, 1909. Taiwan Sotokuhu Shokusanryoku Monjo, Mar. 15, 1911.

<sup>17</sup> Taiwan Sotokuhu Shokusanryoku Monjo, Apr. 24, 1911.

<sup>18</sup> Xu, *Nihon Teikokushugika no Taiwan*, p.373.

<sup>19</sup> Mun, *Joseon Nongchon Danchesa*, p.23.

<sup>20</sup> Chosen Sotokuhu Shokusanryoku, *Chosen no Shokogyo*, p.16.

<sup>21</sup> Chosen Sotokuhu, *Kampo*, May. 21, 1940.

<sup>22</sup> *Busan Ilbo*, Apr. 17, 1936.

<sup>23</sup> *Busan Ilbo*, Feb. 20, 1938.

<sup>24</sup> *Busan Ilbo*, Mar. 17, 1939.

<sup>25</sup> Huzita, *Kindai Nihon Dogyo Kumiaishiron*, p.59. Kiyokawa, "Nihon Orimonogyo niokeru Rikishokkika no Sinten", pp.161-162.

<sup>26</sup> Takeuchi, "Dogyo Kumiai no Rekishiteki Ichi", pp.344-345.

<sup>27</sup> Kiyokawa, "Nihon Orimonogyo". Matsumoto, "Taishoki niokeru Orimono Dogyo Kumiai no Kino". Matsumoto, "Ryodai Senkanki no Seizogyo niokeru Dogyosha Kumiai no Kino".

manufacturers regulated wages and product amounts in times of depression<sup>28</sup>.

According to the Act of Trade Associations of Important Products of Taiwan and Korea, the main purposes in establishing trade associations were quality improvement, the decrease of inferior goods, and production increase. For example, the associations of hat making and rice polishing made efforts to improve product quality in cooperation with the government-general in Taiwan<sup>29</sup>. In the case of Korea, the associations of fruit, fish oil, charcoal, and rubber goods production attempted to improve product quality and increase output<sup>30</sup>. Although we do not have much information for the Taiwanese and Korean cases compared with the Japan cases, it can be said that the situation was not much different from that in Japan.

The policies promoting utilization of trade associations were gradually strengthened. In 1925, the Japanese government formulated the Law of Industrial Associations of Important Export Goods. The purposes of the law were to increase the output, improve the quality, and cut the cost of industrial export goods through industrial associations. The government allowed industrial associations to do joint business for the purpose, which trade associations was not allowed to do. In this way, we can conclude that the Japanese government strengthened the system. In addition, the law permitted the associations to regulate the non-members' behavior<sup>31</sup>. In 1931, the law was revised and renamed, becoming the Law of Industrial Associations, and the associations came to be able to do financial business as well<sup>32</sup>. Trade associations gradually decreased in the latter half of the 1920s, and industrial associations increased up to 1942, reaching 8,250 associations<sup>33</sup>.

The introduction of the industrial association system into Taiwan and Korea occurred much later. To manage cooperative works, member companies need to be on a similar level. However, the Taiwanese and Korean business situations were not like that. The Korean business world often indicated a lack of investment funds, outdated technologies, over competition of small and medium size companies, etc., and proposed the establishment of industrial associations<sup>34</sup>. Even though the government-general also needed such associations, they did not materialize. This was because the levels of small and medium size companies were so different<sup>35</sup>. Taiwan was in the same situation.

When the Second Chinese-Japanese War occurred, and it became very important to procure sufficient war

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<sup>28</sup> Matsumoto, "Hando Kyokoki kara Showaki no Senshu Menmohu Kogyo niokeru Dogyosha Sosiki no Kino.

<sup>29</sup> *Taiwan Riri Xinbao*, Feb. 21, 1915; Oct. 14, 1922; Jul. 4, 1931. *Taiwan Xinwen*, Oct. 12, 1917.

<sup>30</sup> Gyeongsang Namdo Gwamul Dongeob Johab, *Johab Saeob Seongjeogseo*. *Bugseon Ilbo*, Dec. 8, 1929; Feb. 3, 1934; *Busan Ilbo*, Apr. 17, 1936.

<sup>31</sup> Takeuchi, "Dogyo Kumiai no Rekishiteki Ichi", p.354. *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, Feb. 4, 1925.

<sup>32</sup> Takeuchi, "Dogyo Kumiai", p.354.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*, p.364.

<sup>34</sup> *Gyeongseong Ilbo*, Sep. 17, 1933; Oct. 5, 1933; Oct. 26, 1933; Nov. 7-9, 1933.

<sup>35</sup> *Busan Ilbo*, Oct. 22, 1938.

supplies, the policies of the Korean government-general changed. The government decided to systematize manufacturers and made them comply with government policies. In August 1938, the government passed the Act of Korean Industrial Association<sup>36</sup>. In 1944, there were 164 associations: 26 for fabrics, 15 for clothes, 19 for machines, tools, and metals, 17 for chemicals, 14 for ceramics, 25 for wooden goods, 27 for food, and 21 for other industries<sup>37</sup>.

The purpose of the Act of Korean Industrial Associations was quality improvement and cost curtailment, as in the Japanese law. The methods by which this would be achieved were the inspection of member companies' products, cooperative production, sale and purchase, and the regulation of member companies' business expansion or reduction<sup>38</sup>. For example, the Spinners Association of Korea inspected export cotton goods quality, allocated the raw materials of cotton goods, and assigned production duty from the government-general to member companies<sup>39</sup>. The Taiwanese government-general did not introduce the industrial association system until 1944. Instead, the government enforced the trade association system up to 1944<sup>40</sup>, until the Law of Commercial and Industrial Associations of Japan was put in operation in Taiwan<sup>41</sup>.

The laws about trade associations and industrial associations were intended to regulate industries which included many small- and medium-sized companies, and to increase product quality and quantity in the industries. Industries with many big companies were in a different situation. Associations in these industries did not receive either the regulation or the protection of the governments. After the Second Chinese-Japanese War began, the Japanese government had to intervene in the industries with many big companies in order to increase war supplies. The ideas were as follows. The government established associations named Toseikai to control production and circulation; the associations offered information about production and circulation to the government; the government made a comprehensive plan for production and circulation using this information; the government entrusted the practical business for increasing war supplies to the associations; and the government supervised the activities of the associations<sup>42</sup>.

For this reason, the Act of Associations of Important Industries was put in operation in 1941, and Toseikai was organized. At first, Toseikai were created in 12 industries such as coal, mining, cement, automobile, precision instrument, electric machines, machine tools, metal, trade, and ship building, and next expanded to

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<sup>36</sup> *Chosen Gongeob Johab*, no.1, p.35.

<sup>37</sup> *Chosen Gongeob Johab*, 3-3, pp.3-4.

<sup>38</sup> Chosen Sotokuhu Shokusanakyoku, *Chosen Kogyo Kumiai Rei Gaiyo*, pp.3-11.

<sup>39</sup> *Chosen Gongeob Johab*, 3-3, pp.15-16.

<sup>40</sup> *Taiwan Riri Xinbao*, Mar. 7, 1938; Sep. 5, 1938; Feb. 12, 1939.

<sup>41</sup> Asia Rekishi Shiryo Center, Ref. A03010154700

<sup>42</sup> Yonezawa, "Gyokai Dantai no Kino", p.192.

other industries. Toseikai had great power; they could allocate outputs and raw materials, and combine inefficient companies with others, or abolish inefficient companies<sup>43</sup>.

The Act of Associations of Important Industries was introduced to Korea in the same year. In 1941-43, the Toseikai of the iron and steel, ship building, chemicals, light metals, and automobile industries created branches in Korea<sup>44</sup>, and the Toseikai of financial companies directly included the companies in Korea as members<sup>45</sup>. The act was applied to Taiwan as well<sup>46</sup>.

### 3. China

Many business associations existed in pre-modern China. They were called Huiguan or Gongsuo<sup>47</sup>. However, the Chinese government -restrained the development of associations at that time. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the government became weaker, it changed its policies. In 1904, the government promulgated the Rule for Merchants, which confirmed the legal status of the merchant. In the same year, the government promulgated the Concise Rule for Merchant Association<sup>48</sup>, and began to promote the establishment of merchant associations and control them at the same time<sup>49</sup>. From that time forward, merchant associations began to increase, especially where commerce and industry were prosperous such as in Tianjin, Shanghai, and Hangou<sup>50</sup>. According to Ma Min, between 1904 and 1913, 52 peak associations and 1,024 local associations were organized<sup>51</sup>.

The Chinese government wanted business to support itself, and expected merchant associations to complement the insufficient government administration. In 1912, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce invited 168 representatives of merchant associations and held the national meeting for industry and commerce. The government wanted ideas to develop the Chinese economy. In addition, the government entrusted several administrative tasks to merchant associations such as the registration of incorporation, mediation of disputes among the companies, and investigation of commercial situations. In addition, the associations cooperated with the government to make the businesses understand the governmental situation and accept new national

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<sup>43</sup> *ibid*, p.192.

<sup>44</sup> Toyo Keizai Shinboshu, *Chosen Sangyo Nenpo*, p.25.

<sup>45</sup> Nakamura, "Toseikai wo Meguru Chosen no Shomondai", p.20.

<sup>46</sup> Zhang, *Kohoku zen Taiwan no Kogyoka*, p.117.

<sup>47</sup> Ma, "Tongye Gonghuishi Yanjiuzhongde Jige Wenti", p.5.

<sup>48</sup> In the part about China, merchant associations means business associations..

<sup>49</sup> Chen, "Shogyo Teikoku, Sho-Sei Kanke", p.32.

<sup>50</sup> Yu, *Shanghui yu Zhongguo Zaoqi Xiandaihua*.

<sup>51</sup> Ma, *GuanShang zhi Jian*, p.263.

taxes. On the other hand, the associations worked for the interests of member companies. They formulated economic measures to stimulate the economy and provided them to the government, such as strategies for developing the cotton, machine tool, and shipbuilding industries. In addition, they asked the government to reform economic regulations such as the tax system, and proposed the foundation of the Chinese Federation of Merchant Associations, which was finally established in 1914<sup>52</sup>.

Until 1930, merchant associations were either trade associations or associations of persons from the same province; they worked for their own interests rather than national interests, and they pursued self-regulation rather than a government's rule. After Kuomintang conquered the military governments governing parts of China, and formed a unified government in Nanjing, the structure and roles of merchant associations began to change.

The Kuomintang government decided that to utilize trade associations would be the best way to make the businesses unite and cooperate with the government's economic policies. After that, the government began to reform merchant associations from associations of persons of the same province to trade associations.

We will examine the process using the case of Shanghai where merchant associations developed the most. Until Kuomintang came to rule Shanghai, the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce represented the business world of Shanghai. The chamber took a serious view of the self-regulation of civil society, and objected to government's control of business associations. In 1928, when the government tried to make a new tax instead of abolishing the merchandise toll, or Lijin Tax<sup>53</sup>, the chamber was worried that the introduction of a new tax would increase tax payments. As a result, the chamber requested the government to confer with the chamber about the changing tax system. In addition, the chamber even had its own military army<sup>54</sup>. Even though the majority of the chamber members supported Kuomintang, they did not think that they had to comply with Kuomintang<sup>55</sup>.

From 1929, the Kuomintang government began to intervene in the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce using the National Salvation Association and the Merchants Union. The Merchants Union was a federation of associations mainly organized by small- and medium-sized companies, and the Kuomintang government expected that the Merchants Union would make the chamber powerless, and undertake the chamber's roles. Meanwhile, big companies were apt to join the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce. In addition, the

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<sup>52</sup> Zhao, "Jin Jinian Rai Dailiu Xuezhe Kanwu Zhongguo Shanghuishi Yanjiu Zongshu". Yu, "Shinkai Kakumei to Chugoku Keizai Kindaika", p.26. Chen, "Shogyo Teikoku, Sho-Sei Kanke", p.32.

<sup>53</sup> In 1853, the Ching government levied one percent toll on merchandise from one province to another province to raise war expenditure. The one percent toll was called Lijin Tax. Lijin means one percent in Chinese.

<sup>54</sup> Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalist and the Nationalist Government*, pp.55-56.

<sup>55</sup> Fewsmith, *Party, state, and local elites in republican China*, p.143.

National Salvation Association was what the Anti-Japan Boycott League was reorganized into<sup>56</sup>.

In April 1929, the National Salvation Association and Merchants Union criticized the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, saying that it was the agent of imperialist countries. The Shanghai Bankers Association, Shanghai Native Bankers Association, and China Cotton Mill Owners Association objected to the Merchants Union, and supported the chamber. The Kuomintang government supported the Merchants Union, and even ordered journalists not to report the support of the chamber<sup>57</sup>.

From May 1929, the Kuomintang government stopped the activities of all business associations with the excuse that it was investigating the realities of the dispute. The government founded a reorganization committee, and made the committee keep communication open between the government and business. 183 associations of all the associations belonging to the Merchants Union, Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, Nanshi Merchants Association, Zhabei Merchants Association, and the other 56 associations participated in the committee, and the government also dispatched representatives to the committee. The Nanshi and Zhabei Merchants Associations were the associations for small- and medium-sized merchants doing business in the Chinese area of Shanghai. The representatives dispatched by the government criticized the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, strongly insisting that the new Chamber, the Chamber of Commerce of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, would have to submit to the government<sup>58</sup>.

In August 1929 the Kuomintang government eventually promulgated the new Chamber of Commerce Law. The government intended to utilize the merchant associations for the national economy. The first article of the Chamber of Commerce Law stated that the duties of the associations was to develop commerce, industry, and international trade, as well as to collect statistics, stabilize markets, and improve public welfare.

As discussed above, the Kuomintang government thought that trade association system would be the best way to utilize the ability of the business, and formulated Trade Association Law in January 1930. According to the law, all merchant associations had to reform themselves into trade associations. All industries with seven or more corporations had to organize a trade association, and every industry had to have only one trade association. The members of the Chamber of Commerce of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai should in principle be trade associations. If an industry had six or less companies, the companies of the industry could join the Association without forming an association. The roles of trade associations were limited within economic affairs. The government intended to minimize the competition among Chinese companies and

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<sup>56</sup> Zhang, *Shanghai Zongshanghui Yanjiu*, p.302.

<sup>57</sup> Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalist and the Nationalist Government*, p.61.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*, pp.62-64. Zhang, *Shanghai Zongshanghui*, p.305.

accomplish industrial development with the solidarity of companies, as well as to cope with the imperialist countries<sup>59</sup>.

When the Chamber of Commerce of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai was established in June 1930, 346 representatives from 142 trade associations and 33 representatives from 18 companies attended the opening ceremony. Because 261 merchant associations existed before the foundation of the association, it can be said that many associations were combined or abolished<sup>60</sup>. *Yearbook of Shanghai, 1935* shows the number of all stores in Shanghai, and stores participating in trade associations, so we can understand the participation rate of stores in trade associations, which was approximately 29% joined<sup>61</sup>.

The Kuomintang government promoted the foundation of trade associations and actively utilized them. In August 1934, the director of the Board of International Trade in the Chinese government stressed the necessity of an agency for promoting international trade of industrial goods, and hurried its establishment. In September 1934, the representatives of the Huasheng Co. and eight other companies were selected as the organization committee members. In May 1935, the Chinese International Trade Association for Industrial Goods was formally inaugurated. At the opening ceremony, the director of the Board of International Trade emphasized that the association would stand at the center of the government's export promotion policies<sup>62</sup>. The association visited Southeast Asian countries and opened an exhibition there to introduce Chinese commodities into the area in 1936. It even formulated a plan to hold a world fair in Shanghai<sup>63</sup>.

In 1935, the Zhejiang Sericultural Control Committee ordered the main sericultural companies to form an association. The member companies had to purchase the cocoons offered by the committee, and produce high quality silk for export under the supervision of the technical experts dispatched by the committee<sup>64</sup>.

The policies of the Kuomintang government to utilize trade associations and the cooperation of trade associations with the government continued during the Second Chinese-Japanese War, 1937-45. In 1942, the government divided trade associations into two sectors: manufacturers and merchants. The former sector was organized into the Chinese National Federation of Industries, which played a positive role in providing war supplies during the war<sup>65</sup>.

To summarize parts two and three: in Japan, trade associations took an important place in governmental

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<sup>59</sup> Fewsmith, *Party, state, and local elites in republican China*, pp.161-162. Lee, *Geundae Shanghai eui Mingandanche wa Gugga*, pp.196, 284-287.

<sup>60</sup> Lee, *Geundae Shanghai eui Mingandanche*, p.212.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid*, pp.311-319.

<sup>62</sup> Kubo, "Sen Kyuhyaku Sanju Nenndai Chugoku no Kanzei Seisaku", pp.97-101.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid*, pp.106-107.

<sup>64</sup> Okumura, "Kokyoka Kosetsu Sanshigyo no Saihen", p.260.

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.cnfi.org.tw/kmportal/front/bin/ptlist.phtml?Category=100002>

economic management from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Taiwan and Korea, this happened in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The roles of the trade associations involved production increase and quality improvement. In China, the Chamber of Commerce Law (1929) said that the most important duty of trade associations was industrial development. The Trade Associations Law (1930) let Chinese companies make trade associations and cooperate with each other through the associations and the Chinese government came to utilize trade associations for governmental economic management. From the standpoint of cooperation between governments and trade associations, and the associations' positive roles in industrial development, Northeast Asian countries were very similar to each other.

#### 4. Northeast Asian characteristics

We will now compare the Northeast Asian case with, mainly, United States and secondarily, Western Europe. The first point has to do with the relationship between governments and trade associations. Up to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, United States did not have many trade associations, and the associations did not have many members. Even though the National Association of Manufacturers was the biggest trade association then, according to a survey in 1900, it had only one thousand members. However, United States had over 80,000 manufacturing companies in the same year. Trade associations began to increase in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and there existed about 1,200 trade associations in the 1920s<sup>66</sup>.

As trade associations increased, United States government tried to utilize them for the economic management. Oscar Straus, the secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, organized the National Council of Commerce in 1907. The council was to act as an intermediary between the local commercial companies and the department, and mainly conveyed information about international trade collected by the department to member companies. However, Charles Nagel, the successor of Straus, criticized such a function<sup>67</sup>. Nagel insisted that the business association had to be a private organization, not a semi-public institution. When the United States Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1912, the council was dissolved.

During the First World War, the United States government made a plan to obtain the cooperation of trade associations for the war. The government organized the War Industries Board to oversee the production of war supplies, and even asked every industry to establish war service committees<sup>68</sup>. In addition, government

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<sup>66</sup> Lynn, *Organizing Business*, p.7-8.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*, p.99.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*, p.100.

officials worked as staff for trade associations. However, the cooperation between the government and trade associations ended just after the war. Herbert Hoover and his collaborators wanted to develop trade associations, farmer associations, and labor unions in the 1920s, and make a corporate society. However, the United States society did not take hold of the idea<sup>69</sup>. During the Great Depression in the 1930s, the government mitigated anti-trust laws to decrease over supply, and the atmosphere of the society in relation to monopolistic power became weaker than before. As a result, cooperation between the government and trade associations became closer than before in the midst of the depression, 1933-35. For example, the Ministry of Commerce even requested the machine industry to establish a trade association to compete with the German companies. However, the relationship ended in the latter half of the 1930s<sup>70</sup>. In short, the cooperation between the government and business was intermittent, and was weak in United States.

In France, the National Economic Council was organized in 1925 to give economic advice to the government, coordinate policy making among ministries, and to surmount economic depression. To accomplish this purpose, the deputy secretary of the Ministry of National Economy was appointed as chairperson of the council at the same time, and the council's 20 branches represented a group of jobs and each had a trade association. However, the performance of the council was not high. The most significant reason for this was that the governmental leadership was not good, which was attributed to the French tradition of liberalism<sup>71</sup>.

At this point, I would like to examine the economic roles of the trade associations. As mentioned above, the important role of Northeast Asian trade associations in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century was to increase production and improve product quality. According to Louis Galambos (1966; 1988), United States' trade associations mainly made agreements to fix prices or curtail output, and lobbied the government to decrease competition among countries from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>. For example, the Arkwright Club of Boston planned and implemented a reduction of operation several times from 1883 to 1896. Lynn and McKeown (1988) also agreed with Galambos. Berk and Schneider (2005) objected to the traditional point of view that the United States' trade associations only pursued a monopoly and decreased economic efficiency. However, according to the article, only 25% of the trade associations worked for increasing productivity. It can be said that the main feature of the United States' trade associations was to control prices and output, and

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<sup>69</sup> Hawley, "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Secretariat, and the Vision of an Associative State" pp.117-118.

<sup>70</sup> Galambos, "The American Trade Association Movement". Miyamoto, "Concluding Remarks" pp.123, 306.

Lynn, *Organizing Business*, p.31.

<sup>71</sup> Koga, "Keizai Hyogikai to France Seni Kogyo". Gonjo, *Niju Seiki Shihonshugi: Jiyu to Soshikika*. Hara, "Senkanki France niokeru Sangyo Sosikika to Kyosei Antanto". Kuisel, *Capitalism and the State in Modern France*, Ch. 3

<sup>72</sup> Galambos, *Competition and Cooperation*, pp.20-23. Galambos "The American Trade Association Movement Revisited", pp.121-126. Cochran, *The Age of Enterprise*, p.305.

that production increase and quality improvement was secondary.

British trade associations resembled those of the United States. According to a British governmental committee survey, the roles of trade associations in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were to regulate labor conditions, the purchase of raw materials, output, and the product prices of member companies<sup>73</sup>. In addition, the effect of British trade associations on industrial development was low<sup>74</sup>.

I would like to explain the Northeast Asian characteristics in terms of the low negotiation power of Northeast Asian societies against Northeast Asian governments, and the developmentalism of the governments. The lack of civil revolution seems to be a reason for the low negotiation power. That made the governments' leadership strong and trade associations had to cooperate with the governments. In addition, the developmentalism of the governments was the condition for making production increase and quality improvement the content of the cooperation in Northeast Asian countries. Northeast Asian governments were developmental even in premodern times. The Chinese and Korean governments thought that they had to offer the people an easy life following Confucianism. The Japanese government, including many local governments, engaged in competition, and had to develop their territories to win other governments. After Northeast Asian countries opened their ports to Western countries, the governments were seized with a sense of crisis in that they might lose sovereignty, and the developmentalism became stronger than before. The Japanese government began to positively develop the economy from the 1870s, and the Chinese government did so from the late 1920s after it succeeded unifying the country. Taiwan and Korea were annexed by Japan in 1895 and 1910, and the developmentalism of the Japanese government was introduced into the two government-generals.

## 5. Conclusion

According to Park (2001; 2004), the agricultural associations of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan cooperated with the governments and developed agriculture, especially improvement in farming, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Putting this paper and Park (2001; 2004) together, producers' cooperation with governments through associations, and industrial development as the result of the cooperation, was the common characteristics of the Northeast Asian governments' economic management.

In Park's view (2004; 2006), economic policies using producer's associations were demolished in Japan and

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<sup>73</sup> Turner, "Servants of Two Masters", pp.173-176.

<sup>74</sup> Davenport-Hines, "Trade Associations and the Modernization Crisis of British Industry, pp.205-226.

Korea by the United States military government after the Second World War, and revived after the military government returned to United States. The Kuomintang government in Taiwan continued to use trade associations for economic management as the government did on the mainland.

This suggests the necessity of studying the roles of the producer's associations in Northeast Asian countries more widely and deeply.

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