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The Institute, as such, is precluded by its rules from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs; opinions expressed in this book are, therefore, purely individual. EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE WEST 'It is yet to be seen how much we can do with this our "Greatness in small things". Human fingers are still the very best machines that mankind do possess, and if the 400,000,000 dexterous fingers of the Japanese are made to be fully employed, we know not what prodigious revolutions they will make in industrial circles. The time may come when we beat the world with the tips of our fingers.'

YOITHI MAYEDA

# EASTERN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE WEST

With special reference to GREAT BRITAIN and JAPAN

By

G. E. HUBBARD assisted by DENZIL BARING

With a conclusion by PROFESSOR T. E. GREGORY

# OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD

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# FOREWORD

THIS book owes its origin to an inquiry by the Institute of Pacific Relations—for which the Royal Institute of International Affairs acts as the British Council—into the international aims and results, in the Pacific, of the social, economic, and political policies of the countries most intimately connected with that area—a topic which is to be one of the principal subjects for discussion at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference which will be held in 1936.

In selecting the study of Eastern Industrialization as the principal contribution to be made from the United Kingdom towards this inquiry, the Council of the Royal Institute was influenced by the interest felt by Great Britain in this subject; and it was agreed that it would also be valuable, both for the purposes of the Conference and for the general information of those interested in the question, to include in the survey some estimate of the economic effects of this industrialization in Great Britain.

The work of compilation was entrusted by the Council of Chatham House to Mr. G. E. Hubbard, a member of the Royal Institute who has had considerable personal experience of the Far East. The thanks of the Council are due to Mr. Hubbard for the many months of labour which he has expended on this work and to Mr. Denzil Baring, also an Institute member, who has assisted him throughout. Expert collaboration has been obtained from various quarters, and substantial contributions—amounting in some cases to the virtual authorship of particular sections—were given by the following:

- Mr. Oliver Lawrence, formerly Economic Assistant to the Information Department of Chatham House (in the chapter on World Markets).
- Professor G. C. Allen, of Liverpool University (in the chapter on Japan).
- Mrs. Vera Anstey, of the London School of Economics (in the chapter on India).
- Mr. S. R. Dennison, of Trinity College, Cambridge (in the chapter on Great Britain).

The final chapter, as indicated on the title-page, is from the pen of Professor T. E. Gregory.

With Mr. Hubbard and with these individual contributors lies the responsibility for any opinions expressed in the study, since Chatham House is precluded by its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international relations.

Further valuable assistance, mostly in the form of constructive criticism, was received from members of Chatham House, from members of the Institutes of International Affairs in the various countries of the Commonwealth, and from others too numerous to mention by name. Individual acknowledgement must, however, be made of the substantial help obtained from Sir George Sansom, H.M. Commercial Counsellor in Japan; Sir Atul Chatterjee, member of the Council of India; Mr. J. Jewkes, Manchester University; Mr. R. W. Lacey, of the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations; Mr. Bernard Ellinger; Miss Freda Utley, and Mrs. N. M. Windett.

To these and many other advisers, including the International Labour Office, Geneva, and a number of business firms with special knowledge of the countries dealt with in the book, is largely due such success as may have been obtained in avoiding serious errors of fact or of emphasis.

The study was greatly facilitated by the abundant data accumulated during the last eight years by the Institute of Pacific Relations itself and by its component national units. Most valuable material was available both in numerous monographs on economic and social questions relating to the countries of the Pacific and in the Institute's major publications, particularly the series of past Conference records, printed under the title of *Problems of the Pacific*, and the *Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area* issued last year.

ASTOR Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

CHATHAM HOUSE, ST. JAMÉS'S SQUARE, S.W. I. August, 1935.

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Australian-Japanese trade; importance of wool—Japan as a substitute market for Australian raw materials—the necessity of balancing Australian exports by purchases from Japan—opinions expressed by the Australian Commission to Japan—Australia's trade with China—New Zealand's trade with Japan—South African trade with Japan—analysis of Canadian trade with Japan, its relatively minor importance and smaller prospects of development—general tendency for Japan to become an increasing centre of trade for the British Dominions—closing of older channels of trade; agrarian protection in Europe, restriction on imports into the United Kingdom, pressure on exporters of primary products to find new markets —principles of the Ottowa Agreements and the limitations to a closed system of trade and the prospects for readjustments. THE emergence of Eastern countries as large-scale industrial producers, their entrance into international markets, the loss of these markets to the manufacturing countries of the West, and the reaction of the latter in the form of trade restrictions in colonial territories have caused a substantial addition to the world's economic problems of to-day.

To Great Britain, in common with other Western manufacturing countries, Eastern competition has brought regional unemployment, labour transference difficulties, problems of industrial reform, and other economic and social corollaries of a shrinkage of export trade. Japan is faced on the one side with pressure of population, and on the other with obstacles to commercial expansion through the progressive closing of the door to her exports which is taking place in many of the markets of the world. China, urged to industrialization by a widening adverse margin in her international balance of trade, is becoming her own supplier of the classes of goods in which she formerly offered a large market to the West. India-a half-way house-finds herself drawn into conflict with the manufacturing interests both of the East and the West through fostering home industries to relieve the poverty of her masses.

The more immediate problems relate to the progress of Japan, who, by reducing her costs of production to a level hitherto unknown, has extended her trading operations in every quarter of the globe and invaded and captured markets which, in the past, had been the cherished preserves of the exporting countries of the West.

Coinciding with world economic depression, the growth of Eastern competition has in one trade at least, namely that in cottons, produced results which for the Western countries concerned have been little short of catastrophic. In view of the success of Japan—with India and China

# INTRODUCTION

threatening to follow suit—in outdoing the West in the cheap manufacture of cotton goods and not a few other staple articles of trade, it becomes a question of primary importance to know what limits are fixed to the competitive power of Eastern manufactures vis-à-vis those of the West. Will there be a redressing of the balance, or has the West to expect an extension of competition resulting in a further displacement of trade? Is the Eastern factory worker destined, in fact, to supplant the Western operative in ever-widening spheres?

In this connexion much has been said and written about the industrial advantage which Eastern countries derive from a low standard of life, resulting in cheap wages. The weighing up of comparative costs of labour, of the effect of low wages upon competitive power and of their real importance as an international factor, together with judgement on the question as to whether present differences of standards are likely to be maintained, present, however, an exceedingly complex task and the determinant facts, if ascertainable at all, can only be reached by a thorough study of conditions in the individual countries. There are, moreover, a number of other factors-economic, social, and political-which count no less than relative labour costs in deciding competitive power and in directing the trend of development in each of the countries concerned. It is the study of all these essential factors affecting industrial progress which constitutes the substantive part of this book.

The method pursued for this purpose is that of analysing in turn the industrial structures of the three Eastern countries whose industrial development is on the largest scale, namely Japan, China, and India, and by attempting to deduce from the facts the lines of their future development. The industrial development of the East having been thus reviewed, its effect on the West is illustrated by an examination of the British export industries affected by competition, and by a general appreciation of the effect on the national economy of Great Britain of the loss of her overseas markets. The results of Japanese industrial expansion

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upon 'third party' trade relations, represented by British Commonwealth trade, is the theme of a separate chapter. Finally, conclusions arising out of the study as a whole are presented by Professor Gregory in the concluding chapter of the book.

Primarily, therefore, the subject is dealt with in this work from the competitive angle. This should not be thought to imply the assumption that industrial progress in Japan, India, or China-even premising the continuance of the present low costs of production-must of necessity be to the detriment of Western exporting countries. To equate the two as if the growth of the one involved a proportionate contraction of the other would be an obvious error. To take the instance of Japan, her lowpriced manufactures have already, in Africa and elsewhere, opened up new markets which, but for this, might have lain dormant for a very long time to come, offering little or no field to the higher-priced goods of the West. From the profits of such trade Japanese purchasing power must in its turn benefit, thereby stimulating imports both of the raw materials needed by Japanese industries, and also of manufactured goods, both 'capital' and for consumption, of kinds which Japan is not well fitted to produce. Again, Japan is at present regulating her trade with a view to correcting her adverse balance of trade and is concentrating on exports, but if these continue to grow a proportionate increase of imports must occur in the long run, the more so because Japan depends largely on foreign sources for raw materials required for manufacture. The growth of Japanese industry should, then, eventually benefit the trade of the world, though this obviously does not preclude very injurious results for individual countries with whom she stands directly in competition. For a properly balanced view such long-term aspects of Eastern industrialization need, of course, to be kept in mind when the more immediate problems arising from competition are being discussed.

The urgency of these problems has meanwhile already become great, and we have seen diverse attempts being

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made to deal with the situation both on the international and the domestic plane. The Indo-Japanese Trade Convention of 1933, the negotiations between Japan and Great Britain during the same year, and the parleys conducted by Japan with the Netherlands East Indies and with Australia are examples of efforts at a solution from the international side, while unilateral action has taken the form of quota and tariff restrictions, Government control of exports, as instituted in Japan, and schemes of industrial reorganization such as have lately been introduced in the Lancashire cotton trade. But the measures hitherto taken have been, at the best, partial. While competition continues—and it appears likely not only to continue but to intensify in certain markets at least-the search for remedies must proceed. Varied suggestions have been made, including the division of markets by international agreement, the regulation of export prices, rationalization of production according to type and quality, and the specialization of industry within individual countries. To judge aright the merits of such proposals and to discover the line of action best calculated to succeed requires knowledge of conditions and trends in the various industrial centres. It is the aim of the present volume to add to this knowledge. Existing sources of material are inadequate to support conclusions of a definite sort. Other researches in the same field are, however, in progress and the study will be further advanced by discussion at the forthcoming Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, to which, as already mentioned, the present volume serves as a contribution from a British point of view.

G. E. HUBBARD.

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