

CRM73 · General introduction · Dominique Barjot & Patrick Fridenson



Dominique Barjot et Patrick Fridenson (dir.)

France-Japon, regards croisés France and Japan, a cross-analysis

Mélanges en l'honneur de Terushi Hara
In memoriam Terushi Hara



Grand ami de la France, l'historien japonais Terushi Hara a ouvert d'importants chantiers scientifiques. Spécialiste de l'étude des ententes, des cartels et des politiques industrielles durant le xx^e siècle, une grande partie de son œuvre a été consacrée à l'histoire des chemins de fer, d'abord celle des chemins de fer algériens, mais aussi celles, comparées, du Shinkansen japonais et du TGV français. Partant des progrès de l'organisation scientifique du travail, intégrant les problématiques de l'américanisation, Terushi Hara s'est intéressé à la question des transferts de technologie et organisationnels. Son expertise de l'économie française, qu'il a fait connaître aux étudiants japonais, l'a imposé comme un grand historien des entreprises et des processus d'intégration internationaux, notamment de la stratégie des entreprises japonaises en France et en Europe.

Des historiens japonais et français, un historien suisse, un historien canadien et une économiste française offrent dans ce livre leurs contributions sur les thèmes qui ont été les siens, rendant possibles des regards croisés entre France et Japon à l'heure de la mondialisation.

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Terushi Hara (1943-2011) a fait ses études universitaires à Waseda, université privée la plus prestigieuse du Japon, puis en France avant de soutenir au Japon une thèse de doctorat remarquée. Proche de François Caron,

il a été professeur d'histoire économique occidentale à la School of Commerce de l'université Waseda. Il est devenu le spécialiste de l'histoire industrielle et des politiques économiques de la France. À l'origine d'importants programmes internationaux (cartels et missions de productivité), il demeure l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs de l'histoire ferroviaire française et japonaise.



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ISBN des tirés à part :

CRM73 · France-Japon, regards croisés (PDF complet)	979-10-231-2841-3
CRM73 · Préface. Terushi Hara, historien japonais et fin connaisseur de l'histoire économique de la France · François Caron	979-10-231-2842-0
CRM73 · Introduction générale · Dominique Barjot & Patrick Fridenson	979-10-231-2843-7
CRM73 · General introduction · Dominique Barjot & Patrick Fridenson	979-10-231-2844-4
CRM73 · L'héritage de Terushi Hara : au carrefour des méthodes de l'histoire économique · Kazuhiko Yago	979-10-231-2845-1
CRM73 · I. International Cartels and Business Interactions: The Experience of the Interwar Period · Dominique Barjot	979-10-231-2846-8
CRM73 · I. Cartels and Cartelization in the Japanese Sector of Energy during the Interwar / Period · Takeo Kikkawa	979-10-231-2847-5
CRM73 · I. Cartels et ententes: les vieux démons persistants de l'économie · Florence Hachez-Leroy	979-10-231-2848-2
CRM73 · II. Canals and Transport Policies in 19th Century France: New Linkages of Waterways and Railways as Innovations by Demand-Side Initiatives · Fumihiko Ichikawa	979-10-231-2849-9
CRM73 · II. High Speed Railway from Historical Comparison: Britain, France and Japan · Takeshi Yuzawa	979-10-231-2850-5
CRM73 · II. Un nouvel opérateur ferroviaire en Italie: la société NTV, une aventure ferroviaire innovante · Michèle Merger	979-10-231-2851-2
CRM73 · II. « Aujourd'hui j'ai la satisfaction de vous annoncer notre heureuse arrivée au Japon ». De la guerre diplomatique au loisir ethnographique: / Aimé Humbert et la conquête suisse du Japon (1858-1864) · Laurent Tissot	979-10-231-2852-9
CRM73 · III. Les constructions électriques françaises entre la structure de groupe et les influences américaines, fin du XIX ^e siècle-début des années 1970 · Pierre Lanthier	979-10-231-2853-6
CRM73 · III. French Economic Plans and the Mechanical Engineering Industry in the Paris Region, 1953-1974 · Toshikatsu Nakajima	979-10-231-2854-3
CRM73 · III. Impact du rattrapage et changement technique dans le Japon d'après-guerre · Yveline Lecler	979-10-231-2855-0
CRM73 · III. 1992 EC Market Integration and Japanese Companies' Direct Investment in Europe: A Business History Approach · Akira Kudo	979-10-231-2856-7
CRM73 · Conclusions · François Caron	979-10-231-2857-4
CRM73 · Publications de Terushi Hara · Satoshi Norikawa, avec la collaboration de Tatsuhito Suga	979-10-231-2858-1

FRANCE-JAPON, REGARDS CROISÉS
FRANCE AND JAPAN, A CROSS-ANALYSIS

Dernières parutions

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Bertrand Fonck & Laurent Vissière (dir.)
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Nobert Dodille
- « C'est moy que je peins ». *Figures de soi à l'automne de la Renaissance*
Marie-Clarté Lagrée
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Régine Perron
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*Actes de la journée d'hommages en l'honneur de Terushi Hara
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Dominique Barjot and Patrick Fridenson

With the death of Professor Terushi Hara in Tokyo on August 20th, 2011, France lost not only a friend, but also one of its best historians. The late François Caron, when he was professor at the University of Dijon, supervised Hara's MA thesis on French investments in Algerian railways during the 19th century. This thesis marked the starting point of a brilliant career that would eventually lead to Waseda University in Tokyo. Since his beginnings, Hara stood out as one of the best Japanese specialists on France, especially in the history of transport, a domain to which he remained a consistent contributor. His legacy is a picture of France marked since the French Revolution by tensions between competition and organization of the economy, between small and medium-sized enterprises and large corporations, between different conceptions of the state, but a France whose international insertion was deeply transformed since the end of the 19th century by the expansion of its colonial Empire and its participation to globalization, as well as the successive processes of Americanization, European integration and Asian investments.

In honor of his eminence and esteem as a professor, his friends and colleagues organized a workshop in Paris, this book being the direct product thereof. The workshop took place at the Maison Suger, on August 29th, 2012. It was co-organized by the Centre de recherches historiques of the EHESS and the Centre Roland Mousnier of the Université Paris-Sorbonne, with the support of the French Railway Historical Society. The event took place on the occasion of a large international meeting held in Paris, at the EHESS (French School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences), from August 30th to September 1st, 2012. This event was the 16th annual conference of the European Business History Association (EBHA) and its first joint conference with the Business History Society of Japan (BHSJ), organized on the theme "Business enterprises and the tensions between local and global." Eighty-one Japanese historians came to Paris to attend.

This introduction will sketch out the late Professor Hara's academic career, then focus on his place in Japanese historiography, and his contributions specifically to the economic history of France. (For further reference, see the exhaustive bibliography presented at the end of this volume.) Finally, it will review the articles of the eleven authors published in this book.

Terushi Hara was born and brought up in the region of Matsumoto, a large city in the heart of the mountains of Japan's main island. His father, Kato Hara, was a primary school teacher in several schools around Matsumoto and also an amateur archeologist and a specialist of local history. Terushi remained very attached to the city, which implied being scientific advisor of the Justice Museum of Matsumoto City. At the end of his secondary education he passed the entrance examination to the most prestigious private university in Tokyo: Waseda University. Thanks to an energy which became legendary, to his command of two foreign languages: French and English, to the quality of his research and of his teaching, he climbed all the ladders of academia. Yet he remained the same: a direct man, jovial, with a great sense of humour, punctuated by his thin moustache, and a passion for teaching and the relationship with the students, continuously asking questions to the people he met in order to satisfy a very vast curiosity, with a passion for the historical novels of Ryotaro Shiba, and for contacts with nature (particularly the national park of Chichibu).

His web page, created by Waseda University in 2000 and still accessible, carried his motto: "The pursuit of truth through historical studies." It helps us to see how Terushi Hara wanted to introduce himself at that moment. He was lecturing in comparative economic history, in comparative study of capitalism, in French readings in business and economics. His research seminar was devoted to European economic history. As for his research interests, they were moving. Defining his field of research as European economic and business history, he added: "I specialize in French economic and business history. Now I am much more interested in economic relations between European countries and Japan in the process of industrialization. In the near future, I plan to study the problems of the European Union."

In France Terushi Hara had only friends. The two of us are happy to have been his close friends since 1973. Indeed that same year Dominique Barjot, then a master student at the University of Dijon, became acquainted with him thanks to their common supervisor, François Caron, while Patrick Fridenson, then a reader at the Université Paris X-Nanterre, met him during the congress of the French economic history association on the history of France's international position which Maurice Lévy-Leboyer had organized. Our personal and scholarly relationship with him grew continuously since that year. He opened the doors of the Japanese scientific community to us and we were lucky enough to develop with him conference projects in France or in Japan.

Collective activities became one of the specialties of our friend, in Japan as in France. Thus he became the delegate for continuous education of Waseda

University. He was a pillar of two very different Japanese scholarly associations: the Socio-Economic History Society, the Business History Society of Japan. Within the latter he was one of the players of the young generation who gave momentum to the Fuji Conference, the key annual gathering which contributed to the transformation of both Japanese and Western business history. Thanks to his suggestions many French business historians were invited to the Conference. He was also an administrator of the Japan Railway History Society. Similarly he was very active in two societies linked to the Franco-Japanese Research Institute of Tokyo: the Franco-Japanese History Society and the Franco-Japanese Management Society, of which he became president.

In Europe he was an assiduous member of the French Economic History Association and of the European Business History Association. He was also a distinguished member of the French Railway History Society (taking part to the colloquia of 1997 and 2001). He displayed a genuine talent to co-organize colloquia or conference sessions. When the French business history journal *Entreprises et histoire* appeared in April 1992, he became one of its foreign correspondents.

From 1991 onward he would come to France each year to do research in archive centers and libraries, make oral history interviews and attend conferences. A remarkable moment in his stays was his participation to the interdisciplinary conference that the sociologist Raymond Boudon and the historian Pierre Chaunu dedicated to Alain Peyrefitte and which took place at the Institute of France in 1995. The proceedings contain not only the papers but also the debates which followed them. They show a Terushi Hara quite at ease in such a learned assembly.¹ His longest stays were a sabbatical year in 1991-1992 (together with his wife Nao and their son Ftoshi) and a sabbatical semester in 1999-2000. In the second period he designed and taught from October 3, 1999 to January 19, 2000 a seminar with Patrick Fridenson at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales. Its topic was Japan, France and the making of Europe. As ever with Terushi Hara, the reflection on the past was not far from the present. Thus a session was devoted to the implantation of Toyota in France and another to the alliance of Renault with Nissan.

Alas in the mid-2000s a work injury at his office in Waseda suddenly stopped the growth of his activities and turned his life into unceasing suffering.

1 Terushi Hara, "Les facteurs psychologiques et culturels de la modernisation : le cas de Eiichi Shibusawa," in Raymond Boudon and Pierre Chaunu (eds.), *Autour de Alain Peyrefitte. Valeurs et modernité*, Paris, O. Jacob, 1996, p. 113-132, and the debates, p. 133-140.

The contribution of Kazuhiko Yago, his successor at Waseda University, “The legacy of Terushi Hara: at the crossroad of methods in economic history,” is very precise on this aspect: Terushi Hara’s specific place among Japanese specialists of economic history from the mid-1970s onward originated in his choice to combine the two successive and opposite inspirations of his graduate studies at Waseda. The first one was the history of commerce and exchanges (stressing the role of individual entrepreneurs, of firms, of methods, of international economic relations) which flourished at Waseda since 1904. The other was the Marxist approach of early modern France’s economic history which K. Takahashi developed at Waseda since 1973. The French historian Pierre Goubert, who was introduced to him in 1960 by Ernest Labrousse “after one of his seminars,” and saw him at greater length during his stay in Japan in 1975, recognizes in his memoirs his major influence at Waseda: “so obviously revered a master.”² Indeed Terushi Hara was attracted by his grand theory on the transition from feudalism to capitalism and on the different courses it took in Japan and in European countries. Therefore he came to see the French Revolution as the fruit of both “the evolution of rural society” and of “the rise of the lower middle class.”³ Thus he chose as the main theme of his earliest researches three consequences of the Revolution: the agreements and syndicates as means to safeguard small and medium-sized enterprises, the conditions under which however some monopolies emerge, the nationalizations as either a brake on the powers of private monopolies or as a formation of public monopolies. But this approach was made compatible with the tradition of the Waseda school thanks to researches on French capital exports. K. Yago’s article shows that later Terushi Hara gradually detached himself of this Marxist approach of the history of the French economy, but without disowning his past. The more his research work progressed the more he focused on internationalization: through cartels, scientific management, foreign investment. This very peculiar trajectory gave him a unique voice in the debates of Japanese economic historians.

Terushi Hara’s second input to Japanese historiography was to integrate French history to the discussions of business and economic historians. This was not at all obvious given the influence on one hand of American historians, as Keiichiro Nakagawa had been a member of the Center of Entrepreneurial History at Harvard and as Alfred Chandler’s first major book, soon translated

2 Pierre Goubert, *Un parcours d'historien. Souvenirs, 1915-1995*, Paris, Fayard, 1996, p. 214 and 222-224.

3 Katsumi Fukusawa, “L’histoire moderne française vue du Japon : la place incertaine du xvii^e siècle,” *xvii^e siècle*, no. 248, 2010, p. 491-498.

into Japanese, had a deep impact on Japanese historians, and on the other hand of British business historians, who welcomed more Japanese PhD candidates than their French counterparts. Terushi Hara was not alone in this matter, and we need to mention at least the role of Yasuo Gonjo and Isao Hirota. But beyond oral interventions or articles, Terushi Hara moved forward in the following ways. His own research books made visible to Japanese historians the differences of French enterprises and state regulations. In addition, he edited a book of Japanese historians' articles in the line with his own research: *French business history* (Yuhikaku, 1980). Similarly, he wrote a textbook on the French economy (Waseda University Press, 1993) and translated into Japanese two textbooks of French economic history, one by François Caron in 1983 and another by Alain Beltran and Pascal Griset in 1998. Thirdly, he wrote articles synthesizing the results of French researches on topics which matter for the Japanese economy, for instance on the construction of the advertising profession in France or the French forms of consumer credit. Finally, between Japan and Western Europe a tradition of bilateral conferences in business history had been build up: first between British and Japanese business historians from the 1980s onward, then between German and Japanese business historians. When, following this pattern, Tsunehiko Yui and Patrick Fridenson created the Franco-Japanese colloquia of business history, evidently it was Terushi Hara who became their kingpin, and who secured the making of the first three meetings (1997, 1998, 2006).

Terushi Hara's third input was to extend the scope of comparative or transnational discussions way beyond the French case and in keeping with his own research questions. Thus he edited a book of collected essays in Japanese: *Introduction and Development of Scientific Management* (Showado, 1990) and co-edited in English the publication of a Fuji Conference: *International Cartels in Business History* (University of Tokyo Press, 1992). He also wrote a series of textbooks for students: the American economy (Waseda University Press, 1994), the economic history of contemporary Europe (Waseda University Press, 1994), the Spanish economy (Waseda University Press, 1998).

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF FRANCE

Among the world of Japanese historians since the 1950s several communities of specialists of foreign nations emerged, each consisting of academics who had worked in the archives of the country studied in connection with one of its professors. France was lucky enough to attract the interest of Japanese historians specialists of its Middle Ages, its early modern period and its contemporary era. Terushi Hara was one of the first members of the group of Japanese economic historians specializing in contemporary France.

Hara's very specific intellectual itinerary led him to focus on major themes of the organization of French capitalism facing international competition, economic cycles and problems of labour force, topics about which he often was the first to find unpublished or little known sources enabling him to delineate the original mix between foreign models and the own contributions of French entrepreneurs or of public decision makers. This was the case for the history of agreements.⁴ He placed them in the broader framework of the history of international cartels.⁵ He also reinterpreted in a similar mode the renovations of the French business system which were undertaken during the interwar years (the dissemination of Taylorism in a number of companies vs. the international congresses of scientific management, the bill proposed by Flandin and Marchandau or the Le Poullen law, the surveys made by the National Economic Council, etc.). Thereafter he renewed the history of the productivity missions to the US by highlighting the role of French planners in the course of a process which originated at least during the Vichy régime.⁶ In these articles or chapters he was very perceptive, differentiating the conceptions of engineers, the capabilities of marketing men, the muscle of bankers, the alliances or oppositions which may be struck between them, and took into account the heterogeneity of industrial branches to nuance the successive configurations of the French economy.

Another of the originalities of Terushi Hara's work was that from 1995 onward he added to his researches on the French economy in a context of Americanization and of European integration another set of researches about relations between Japanese firms or personalities and French firms or personalities. He wrote a series of original contributions, based both on archives and printed sources and published in French, English or Japanese. They can be seen in retrospect as the foundations of a book he wanted to write. Some of these texts illuminate the history of the travels of Japanese to France or to the colonies: in the foreground the five articles devoted to the business leader Eiichi Shibusawa (i.e. his two stays in 1867-1868 and 1902, his contacts with French bankers, his psychological and

4 Thus Alain Chatriot ("Les ententes : débats juridiques et dispositifs législatifs [1923-1953]. La genèse de la politique de la concurrence en France," *Histoire, économie et société*, vol. 27, no. 1, March 2008, p. 7-22) underlines the innovative character of Terushi Hara's research.

5 Akira Kudo and Terushi Hara (eds.), *International Cartels in Business History*, Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1992. Terushi Hara, "La conférence économique internationale de 1927 et ses effets sur la formation des cartels internationaux," in Dominique Barjot (ed.), *International Cartels Revisited / Vues nouvelles sur les cartels internationaux (1880-1980)*, Caen, Éditions du Lys, 2002, p. 265-272.

6 *Id.*, "Productivity Missions to the United States. The Case of Post-War France," in Dominique Barjot (ed.), *Catching up with America. Productivity Missions and the Diffusion of American Economic and Technological Influence after the Second World War*, Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2002, p. 171-182.

cultural role in the modernization of Japan, his traces in Paris), also the stay of two Japanese in French Indochina, and the implantation of the Mitsubishi group in France. In the opposite side, another set of articles deals with the presence of French people in Japan: the banker Albert Kahn who made part of his fortune thanks to his links with Japan since 1892, the banker Horace Finaly, a deputy manager of Paribas who in 1907 spent six months of exploratory mission, concluding to the opportunity of industrial operations (but the bank followed suit only in 1968),⁷ the letters of André Gouin who stayed in Japan in 1907-1908, the chemical firm L'Air Liquide which was active in Japan since 1907. Finally, three other texts study circulations and collaborations between Japan and France: the Franco-Japanese Bank from 1912 to 1954, the exchanges of railway technology after World War II, and the introduction of VAT (value-added tax) in Japan, which was achieved only in 1989.

THREE MAJOR AXES: CARTELS, TRANSPORT AND MODELS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN JAPAN AND IN FRANCE

The contributions published in this volume illustrate three major axes of Terushi Hara's researches.

Agreements and cartels

As was previously mentioned, Terushi Hara concentrated heavily on the history of interfirm agreements and cartels. Through his examination of French economic history, he arrived at the study of international cartels.

Hara was particularly interested in the economic experience of the interwar period. This is the subject of Dominique Barjot's contribution, "International Cartels and Interactions of Business: The Experience of the Interwar Period". After a brief summary of widely accepted terms and their definitions, Barjot describes the approaches of "internalists" and "externalists," and their complementary nature. He then returns to the French case, through an examination of the construction and building material industries. Cartels developed in the industries of intermediate goods – including the energy, chemistry, metal industries – but also, according to more differentiated schemes, in the capital goods industries (electric equipment, shipbuilding, etc.).

The approach of the externalists is also enlightening. We cannot understand the evolution of cartelization without taking into account the institutional and

7 For further precisions see Pierre de Longuemar, "Une mission au Japon en 1907," *Lettre Archives Histoire Groupe BNP Paribas*, no. 8, April 2014, p. 2-3 and on line, to be related to Éric Bussière, *Horace Finaly, banquier (1871-1945)*, Paris, Fayard, 1996.

technological environment in which this evolution took place. As the Japanese case demonstrates, the states and national competition were able to thwart the strategy of even the most powerful international cartels. Diplomacy and the multilateral negotiations in the League of Nations were able to direct the development of international cartels. Due to technology transfers and the limited efficiency of international technological cooperations, international cartels were not able to prevent the arrival of outsiders, especially when they benefitted from strong state intervention or the existence of technologically competitive domestic companies. The French example demonstrates that international cartels serve the wide interests of the most powerful national firms within them. Despite its agreement-based strategy, Pont-à-Mousson, in the production of pipes, did not have access to such great advantages as Saint-Gobain in the field of glass, or the French public works leaders in their own agreements.

34

The Japanese energy sector is an excellent example of cartel action. In his article, Takeo Kikkawa shows that, thanks to the gasoline cartel, the Japanese administration and big zaibatsu (Mitsubishi, Mitsui) were able to impose supply conditions on the international oil cartel companies (Royal Dutch Shell, Socony Vacuum), in favor of their own strategic interests. This international cartel, and the international agreement on which this action was based, was formed in 1932. Kikkawa also discusses the formation of the Japanese electricity cartel, born from the desire for regulation and rationalization of production, transport and distribution of electricity. In a debate dominated by Shohachi Wakao, closely related to the Seiyukai Party, Daijiro Ide, who was in favor of state control of production, and Matsunaga Yasuzaemon, it is the latter's point of view that wins. His position supports production for the benefit of thermal energy, creation of a national system of transport regulation ("super power grid"), and management by the profession, through the League of Electric Power Companies.

Florence Hachez-Leroy, in "Cartels et ententes : les vieux démons persistants de l'économie," highlights the durability of cartels. Using the example of aluminum, of which she has a perfect knowledge, she focuses on the ambiguity of these cartels and the varying analyses of these cartels in different countries: absolute condemnation (United States), systematic encouragement (Germany before 1945) or not (Netherlands), distinction between "good" and "bad" agreements (France). This last point of view was the one initially accepted by the European Economic Community and the OECD. Since the 1990s, however, severity has increased within the European Union, particularly due to the extension of practices in the technological (telecommunications) and financial services (the Libor's affair), with increasingly heavy fines (Saint-Gobain had a world record fine of 880 million euros in 2008) and the practice of financial encouragement to denunciations.

History of transports

The second focus of the contributions is the history of transport.

The transport revolution caused vigorous debates not only in the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany, but also in France. Fumihiko Ichikawa approaches this subject in “Canals and Transport Policies in 19th Century France: New Linkages of Waterways and Railways as Innovations by Demand-Side Initiatives”. After a summary of the Japanese contribution to railway history, the author highlights the reason for his interest in the subject of waterways, and the relevant contributions made in recent works. He asserts the notion of a turning point during the Second Empire, which was marked by the beginning of a transport policy coordinating railways and waterways. The Third Republic continued this policy, which owed much to the debates and action of the Chambers of Commerce. Particularly in Northern France, entrepreneurs were in favor of waterways, on which freight prices could be lower. While these entrepreneurs were met with reticence from railway companies, like in Normandy, they were able to obtain the digging of the canal of the North, a large technological accomplishment of the period.

A study of the history of transport lends itself to international comparisons. Takeshi Yuzawa, in his article, details a comparison of the British, French and Japanese railway systems. If Great Britain created the railway, it was France that saw the highest performance, and in Japan that railways are the strongest part of the transport system. A paradise of the “laissez-faire” policies, the United Kingdom was not able to avoid the public intervention of 1842, largely for safety reasons. Nationalization would follow in 1947, more than a century later. In a country where regulation depends heavily on professional institutions, privatization came soon enough, but was still contradictory to the characteristic natural monopoly in the sector. This was one of the reasons for the failure of the British high-speed models. The French system originated with the Saint-Simonian state engineers. Organized around Paris, but with a very uneven profitability from one company to the other, the intervention of the state led the French network to nationalization in 1937. A similar development took place in Japan in 1906. This allowed the country to be the first to be equipped with a high-speed train, the Shinkansen, in 1964. (France would catch up with Japan in 1981.) While the French TGV presents the advantage of circulating on the ordinary railway lines with superior performance, it did not achieve the high profit of the Shinkansen, in spite of satisfactory financial results.

Michèle Merger is interested in the 91/440 European directive of July 29th, 1991, which focuses on the liberalization of rail transportation. She describes

the difficult development of a new Italian operator: the NTV company (Nuovo Trasporti Viaggiatori) in December 2006. Established through the initiative of the engineer Giuseppe Sciarone and three Italian businessmen (most notably the media-savvy Luca Cordero di Montezemolo), the company chose to run 25 high-speed trains AGV Alstom on the main Italian lines (Rome-Naples, Bologna-Milan, Rome-Milan, Turin-Novare). In spite of the resistance of the Ferrovie dello Stato Group, whose monopoly was now threatened, the use of these new trains led to a 30% reduction of prices, and a spectacular improvement in the quality of service.

Transports occupy a privileged place in the realm of commerce, as is illustrated by the case of the Swiss Aimé Humbert (1819-1900) and his diplomatic mission in Japan, from 1862 until 1864, studied here by Laurent Tissot. Author of a best-seller, *Le Japon illustré*, published in 1870, Humbert, a diplomat trained in Lausanne and Tübingen, took advantage of his stay in Japan to analyze the specificities of the Japanese lifestyle, and to initiate a trade agreement between Switzerland and Japan. Influential both at the cantonal (Neuchâtel's) and confederate level, this son of a clockmaker successfully defended the interests of Neuchâtel's industry, laying the foundations of the future commercial success of the Swiss economy.

Business history and international processes of integration

While this history of transport is evidence of the French role in technological evolution, not only in the aircraft industry, but also in high-speed railway, and also of the Swiss role in trade, it also leads on to business history and history of international processes of integration.

In this field, where Terushi Hara was quite active, our volume gathers contributions on one hand on two industrial branches and on the other hand on the dynamics of Japanese companies at home and in Europe.

Pierre Lanthier, who is interested in the French electromechanical engineering between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 1970s, ponders the complications of this industry. Due to its close proximity to the infrastructure sector, it had to make a wide appeal to American patents and manufacturing processes while diverting important investments of research and marketing. Americanization, however, did not jeopardize the structure of groups. The structural handicaps from which France suffered (slowness of industrialization, excessive weight of Paris) encouraged the formation of groups, and their vertical integration of electric manufacturers, tramways and production-distribution of electricity. These were dominated by the state engineers and were already appealing to American patents. In spite of the appearance of electromechanical subsidiaries, this structure was maintained throughout the interwar period,

but was limited to heavy equipment. Large companies turned their backs on household electrical appliances, exhibiting a preference for heavy equipment and thus a policy of technological “catching-up.”

This situation continued after 1945, under the influence of productivity missions and the creation of *Électricité de France* in 1946. Not until the 1960s did marginal cost prices and the implementation of sales networks pave the way for mass consumption by small and medium size enterprises. But the opening of the common market, and the will of the French state to electrify infrastructures, incited large companies to continue their production of large materials. They adopted the multidivision, American-style organization, but without jeopardizing the group structure or joint ventures. Indeed, the electric manufacturers preserved their links with the production-transport distribution of electricity longer than others – perhaps for too long. This was largely owed to industrial groups and the dominating weight of EDF. In the realm of large equipment, the large French companies acquired worldly expertise, but remained fragile due to the absence of diversification.

During post-war economic booms, French planners failed to establish a mechanical engineering industry that would enable them to end French dependence on German machines. This is what Toshikatsu Nakajima demonstrates in “French Economic Plans and the Mechanical Engineering Industry in the Paris Region 1953-1974.” Certainly the “Premier Plan de Modernisation et d’Équipement” had prioritized investments in machinery. But rather than developing their own tool production, France satisfied these needs through imports from the United States and the United Kingdom. An acceleration of industrial growth during the 1960s led to increased imports of tools, supplied mainly by Germany. The “plan mécanique” of 1970 proved to be a failure in this area. In effect, a policy concentrated on exports was able to prevent the modernization of the French mechanical engineering industry.

This evolution was accelerated by the policy of the Regional Development Agency (DATAR), which sought to rebalance industrial development, for the benefit of the provinces and to the detriment of Paris. Relocations made in inner suburbs or around new towns were not enough to check the movement. The leading companies of this branch were weakened, as was seen in examples such as the SNECMA, Rateau and Ernault-SOMUA. Moreover, this policy irrevocably weakened the Parisian industrial cluster. Numerous SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) were forced to relocate and to subcontracting for increasingly fragile industrial groups.

The last two contributions supply the readers with a *longue durée* perspective on the action of Japanese companies.

The Japanese industry offers plenty of examples to demonstrate the power of “catching-up” policies. This is what Yveline Lecler discusses in “Impact of the Catching Up and Technical Change in Post-War Japan.” If this catching up played a decisive role in the dynamics of Japanese capitalism, it also engendered a dualism of the productive system. It consisted of a limited association between large companies with high salaries, producing goods of high added value and SMEs intensive in workforce, supplying lower value-added products in return of lower salaries. The state played a considerable role in this process of catching up, by favoring exports, and also, through the MITI, of the implementation of a national system of innovation. Nevertheless, it was initial organization of companies, and inter-firm relations, that constituted the real reasons for Japan’s ascendancy to its place as second world economic power at the end of the 1980s.

38

Certainly the state supported the SMEs, and thus contributed to the performance of the large companies for which the SMEs were essential. However, the major reason for this resided in the organization of companies and their productive systems. The structures and the mechanisms (reverse engineering) that arose from the “catch-up” created a flexible internal organization that allowed a dense circulation of both information and people. This circulation extended to inter-business relations through subcontracting and clusters. In spite of the relative weakness of research, the competitiveness of the Japanese firms did not decrease, thanks in particular to the option in favor of the “mechatronics.” These innovations did not necessarily derive from science, but also from effects of scale economies with a time-lag, incremental innovations of the productive system and of more radical innovation developed by researchers and implemented by engineers. This model, however, finally came to an end with the crisis of 1997-98, when the ends of catching up no longer justified the means.

This period also saw the assertion of the importance of Japanese foreign investments in Europe. Akira Kudo discusses this in his “1992 EC Market Integration and Japanese Companies Direct Investment in Europe: A Business History Approach.” Kudo seeks to illuminate how the Japanese businesses would respond to the proposition of direct investment in Europe of the late 1980s and early 1990s – one on the road to regional integration. It is clear that the Japanese vision of the European market evolved: in the 1960s, the European market was seen as homogeneous, which resulted in a unique setup; through the 1970s and into the 1980s, recognition of the diversity of the European markets, with the option of multi-localization, prevailed then; and there was a return at the end of 1980s to the vision of a single market, but one characterized by internal diversity. As a reaction to this evolution, the Japanese firms tried to strengthen their production sites, create an international division of work,

and combine their production, research, and development. At the same time, a common vision of the European markets was established. It was comprised of orientation towards quality products (high-end products, innovative and supplied over time); strict environmental and safety standards; clear definition of job descriptions and workers' unique specialization. With the exception of the automobile, direct Japanese investments in Europe were limited, but they have had significant effects in the promotion of competition and stimulation of the market.

Thus this book is not only a tribute to the personality and works of Terushi Hara, and an indispensable one, it also brings about an illustration of the freedom and inventiveness of Japanese historians in their approach of both international economic relations (which underpin the social fabric of the world) and regulations (which societies and public authorities edict). With them the French historians, the Swiss and the Canadian historian, the French economist who have contributed to this *Festschrift* carry on a dialogue on the changes, the circulations, the conflicts between these poles of capitalism which Europe, America and Asia form. This dialogue is fertile. It will continue.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Préface. Terushi Hara, historien japonais et fin connaisseur de l'histoire économique de la France.....7 François Caron †	7
Introduction générale 13 Dominique Barjot & Patrick Fridenson	13
General introduction27 Dominique Barjot & Patrick Fridenson	27
L'héritage de Terushi Hara : au carrefour des méthodes de l'histoire économique..... 41 Kazuhiko Yago	41

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

TERUSHI HARA, HISTORIEN DES CARTELS ET DES POLITIQUES INDUSTRIELLES

International Cartels and Business Interactions: The Experience of the Interwar Period55 Dominique Barjot	55
Cartels and Cartelization in the Japanese Sector of Energy during the Interwar Period83 Takeo Kikkawa	83
Cartels et ententes : les vieux démons persistants de l'économie 117 Florence Hachez-Leroy	117

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

TERUSHI HARA, HISTORIEN DES TRANSPORTS

Canals and Transport Policies in 19th Century France: New Linkages of Waterways and Railways as Innovations by Demand-Side Initiatives 141 Fumihiko Ichikawa	141
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High Speed Railway from Historical Comparison: Britain, France and Japan	161
Takeshi Yuzawa	
Un nouvel opérateur ferroviaire en Italie : la société NTV, une aventure ferroviaire innovante.....	183
Michèle Merger	
« Aujourd’hui j’ai la satisfaction de vous annoncer notre heureuse arrivée au Japon ». De la guerre diplomatique au loisir ethnographique : Aimé Humbert et la conquête suisse du Japon (1858-1864)	201
Laurent Tissot	

TROISIÈME PARTIE

TERUSHI HARA, HISTORIEN DES ENTREPRISES ET DES PROCESSUS D’INTÉGRATION INTERNATIONAUX

318	Les constructions électriques françaises entre la structure de groupe et les influences américaines, fin du XIX ^e siècle-début des années 1970.....	217
Pierre Lanthier		
	French Economic Plans and the Mechanical Engineering Industry in the Paris Region, 1953-1974	233
Toshikatsu Nakajima		
	Impact du rattrapage et changement technique dans le Japon d’après-guerre	251
Yveline Lecler		
	1992 EC Market Integration and Japanese Companies’ Direct Investment in Europe: A Business History Approach.....	273
Akira Kudo		
	Conclusions	289
François Caron †		
	Publications de Terushi Hara.....	293
Satoshi Norikawa, avec la collaboration de Tatsuhiro Suga		
	Index	307
	Table des participants.....	315
	Table des matières	317

