

Rice and Colonial Rule

A Study on Tariff Policy of French Indochina*

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Introduction

This paper seeks to explain the effects of French colonial tariff policy on the rice exports of Indochina before World War Two.

Rice held first place among exports from French Indochina during the entire colonial period. Rice exports had constituted more than 70% of total exports since the 19th century, and remained over 60% of the total until 1930 (except for 1923). After the world economic crisis, however, rice exports as a percentage of total Indochinese exports was suddenly reduced from 50% to about 35%. The role of rice exports, which had been the main source of colonial revenue since the conquest of Cochinchina, changed in the 1930s.

When we survey production and export of rice in Indochina, we find the aims and contradictions of French imperialism in Indochina. Comparing Indochinese rice exports with those of British Burma and independent Thailand, where both rice cultivation and exports advanced, we can understand the the French Indochinese situation more fully. In the face of the shrinking demand for exported rice in East and Southeast Asia, Indochinese rice moved more and more into the Metropole and its colonies. It also resulted from contradictions of colonial rule, though in their intention it would have been a relief from mother country. It seems that the potential of rice exports in Indochina had been drastically restrained under colonial rule. To make this clear, it is necessary to analyze many factors. This paper considers aspects of colonial tariff policies toward the rice exports of Indochina.

The paper consists of two parts. First, I will sketch the history of rice exports emphasizing the following points : A) growth of rice exports, B) change in the rice markets, C) classes of export rice. Second, I will consider the colonial tariff system, especially, A) export duties on rice, and B) import duties to protect "Saigon rice", based on "L'assimilation douanière des colonies à la Métropole" (tariff policy for the unification of markets of the French Empire).

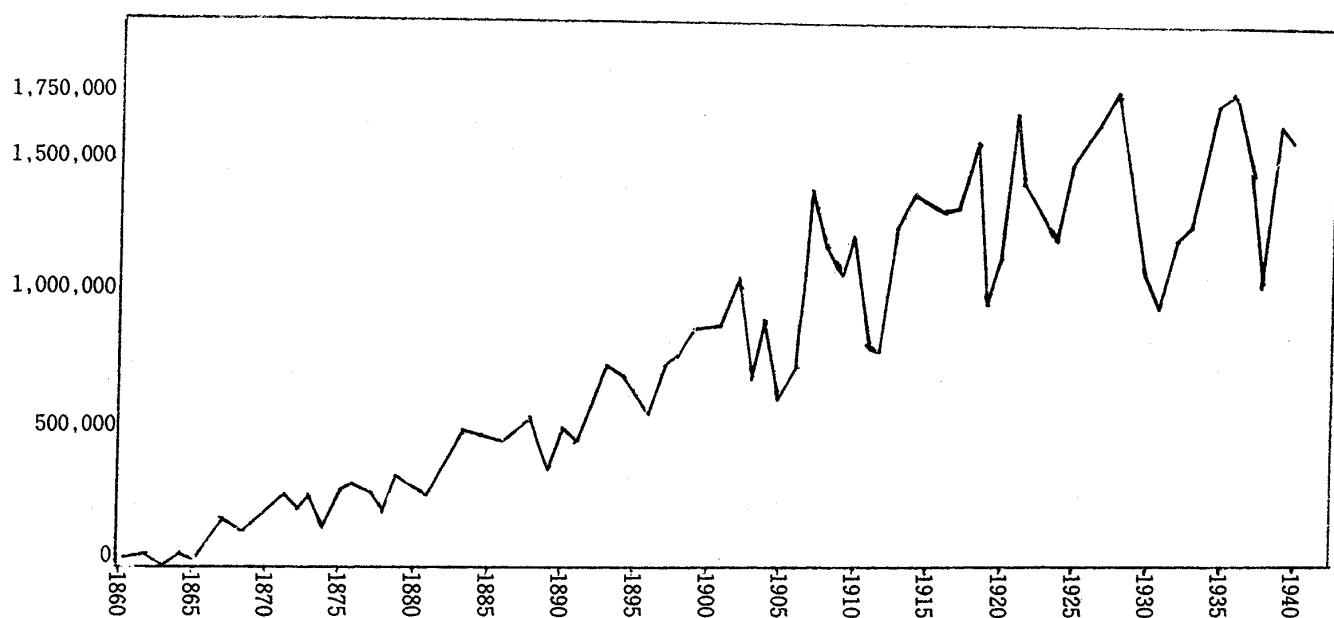
I. The Rice Trade of French Indochina

A) Growth of the Rice Exports

Between 1870 and 1930, rice production in Cochinchina increased from roughly 300,000 tons to 3,000,000 tons, of which nearly half was exported overseas. Rice was an important export product in the whole of French Indochina, but the rice trade was not steady and continuous. It varied with the weather, the state of the domestic and foreign markets, and political and social conditions as well. Figure 1 shows fluctuations in the volume of Indochina's rice exports from 1860 to 1940. For the years 1860 to 1884 only exports from Cochinchina are represented. However, this represents all exportation from Indochina⁽¹⁾.

I will describe the following three stages : stable growth, expansion, and stagnation, divided further into seven periods in relation to the development of rice cultivation⁽²⁾ (see figure 2 and table

FIGURE 1 : Quantity of Rice Exports (1860—1940) (metric tons)



Source : 1860—1925 ; Graph in "Raport sur la Navigation et le Mouvement Commercial de l'Indochine pendant l'année 1926, "BEI. No. 188.

1926—1940 ; Resume Statistique Relatif aux Annees 1913 a 1940, ASI. p. 7.

1).

The stage of stable growth

(1) 1860s–1870s

Colonization properly began in the late 1860s in Cochinchina and gradually localized pockets of armed resistance were overcome and pacification was completed. Annual average rice exports during this period was 170,000 tons.

Colonial authorities under the “Rule of the Admirals” had initiated dredging operations to improve and extend the network of canals. These had first been constructed by a Vietnamese Emperor more than a half century earlier. The chief motivation for these colonial projects was

TABLE 1 : Volume of Rice Exports (1860–1939) (in thousands of metric tons)

1860	*57	1870	229	1880	293	1890	**567
1861	76	1871	298	1881	327	1891	463
1862	40	1872	234	1882	375	1892	654
1863	11	1873	280	1883	538	1893	780
1864	63	1874	187	1884	530	1894	735
1865	51	1875	340	1885	462	1895	679
1866	137	1876	343	1886	484	1896	569
1867	197	1877	312	1887	494	1897	775
1868	133	1878	238	1888	534	1898	805
1869	162	1879	374	1889	305	1899	895
1900	916	1910	1270	1920	1189	1930	1122
1901	912	1911	858	1921	1720	1931	960
1902	1116	1912	817	1922	1440	1932	1214
1903	676	1913	1287	1923	1340	1933	1289
1904	966	1914	1419	1924	1230	1934	1513
1905	622	1915	1419	1925	1520	1935	1748
1906	740	1916	1345	1926	1597	1936	1763
1907	1428	1917	1367	1927	1666	1937	1529
1908	1234	1918	1620	1928	1798	1938	1054
1909	1096	1919	967	1929	1472	1939	1673

Source :

* 1860–1889 ; Rice Exports from Saigon, *BEI*, 1938, P.199

** 1890–1939 ; *ASI*, Résumé statistique Relatif aux Années, 1913 à 1940, Hanoi, 1941, p. 7, p. 44

to provide military security.

(2) 1880s–1890s

By the late 19th century, the Vietnamese rice-growing core region extended from the left side of the Mekong river to the area between the Mekong and the Bassac rivers. The early settlers gradually constructed bunds and small drainage ditches, thereby slowly converting their “squatter” lands into permanent rice fields. Rice fields in Cochinchina amounted to 1,100,000 hectares in 1898 (See, Figure 2). Yearly rice exports increased from 500,000 tons to 700,000 tons.

The stage of expansion

(3) From 1900 to the World War I

In the beginning of the twentieth century, large tracts of cultivable lands emerged from the swampy west Mekong delta, due to drainage canals dug by the French colonial government. The colonial administration auctioned land in blocks too large for most small-scale producers to afford. It was the important turning point in the rice agriculture of Cochinchina.

The annual average of exports of so-called Saigon rice was 850,000 tons, sometimes over 1,000,000 tons. In addition, the rice produced in the Red River delta was also exported. Its annual volume was from about 100,000 tons to 200,000 tons.

(4) The first half of 1920s

The pace of increase of area planted in rice slowed, but the average export of rice continued to increase steadily. The average amount was roughly 1,300,000 tons annually.

(5) The second half of the 1920s

From 1924 until the world economic crisis, Indochina experienced a boom during which a vast amount of metropolitan capital was invested in agricultural sector⁽³⁾. It was the most expansive period of rice cultivation and exports. The increase of rice-growing areas peaked at 2,225,000 hectares in 1930. Annual rice exports amounted to 1,610,000 tons.

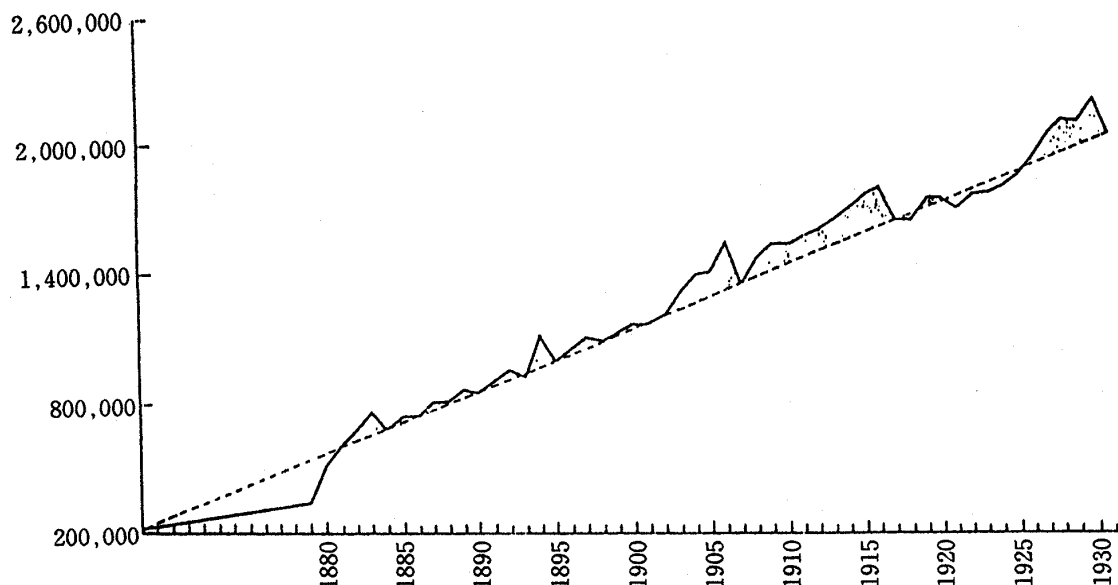
The stage of stagnation

(6) The first half of the 1930s

After a credit crisis occurred in 1929 in Cholon–Saigon city⁽⁴⁾, rice prices began to decline in 1930, fell drastically to half the price in 1931 due to the world depression, and continued to decline until 1934⁽⁵⁾. Rice cultivation left no margin for profit. By 1934, over 500,000 hectares were abandoned⁽⁶⁾ taxes, loans, and rents reached a crescendo in the early 1930s, escalating

FIGURE2 : Rice Cultivation in Cochinchina (1868—1931)

(ha)



Source : Y. Henry, 1932, pp. 272—273.

the confusion in the countryside.

Rice exports decreased from 1,122,000 tons in 1930 to 960,000 tons in 1931 (−14%), but 1,214,000 tons the next year (+ 26%). In this period the average volume of export was 1,200,000 tons, representing a decline to the pre-W.W.I level fell to the same level before W.W.I.

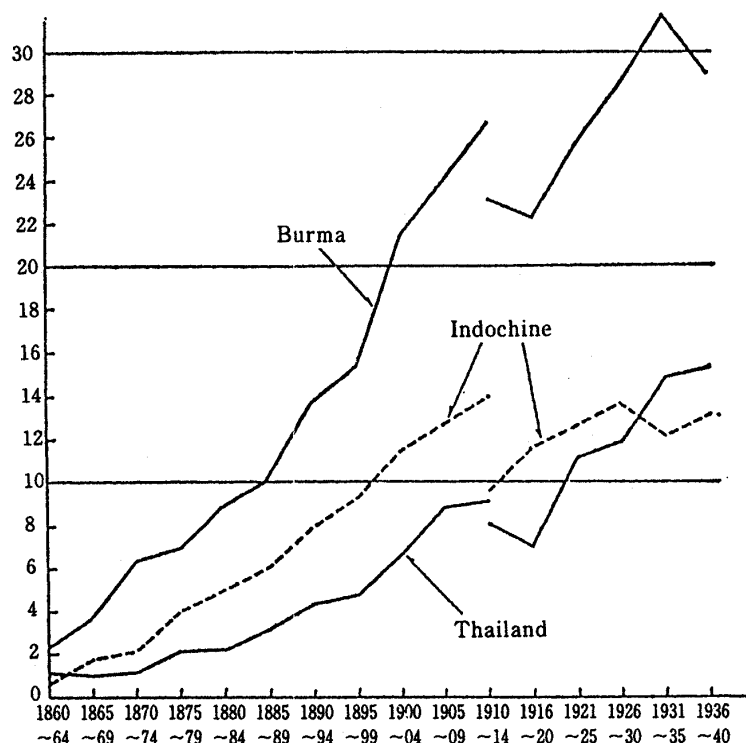
(7) The second half of the 1930s

Recovering from the effect of the world depression, exports reached 1,553,000 tons in the latter half of the 1930s. They did not go beyond the peak of fifth period (the second half of the 1920s).

Comparison with that of Burma, Thailand (See, figure 3)

Burmese rice exports always predominated among the big three exporters

FIGURE 3 : Rice Exports of Burma, Indochina and Thailand (1860—1940) (five year annual averages) (100,000 tons)



Source : Saito, 1974. p. 46

also including Tailand and Indochina. The quantity of Burmese rice exports was twice that of Indochina. The area under rice cultivation for export in lower Burma was more than 4,000,000 hectares⁽⁷⁾.

Until the late 19th century the rice exports of Indochina continued to be greater than those of Thailand. But the defferential began to become smaller and smaller in the early 20th century and Thai rice exports at last exceeded those of Indochina in 1930.

B) Change in the Rice Export Market of French Indochina

(1) East Asia including Hong Kong, China, Japan

The East Asian market absorbed more than 70% of total rice exports in the first period, and Hong Kong alone absorbed 60% of the annual rice exports of Cochinchina. In the second period, 70% of all export rice was sent to Hong Kong. When the amount of exports from Indochina began to expand rapidly in the early 20th century, the share of export rice to Hong Kong and China fell to 20%–30% of Indochinese rice exports.

The Hong Kong market for Indochina expanded in the 1920s, to absorb more than 500,000 tons per year. Its share of the total rice exports of Indochina rose to 50%. But it began to decrease from 1928 and declined dramatically to 10–20% in the 7th period (except for 1935). It is commonly accepted that Hong Kong and China did not represent stable and predominant rice markets for Indochina throughout the colonial period.

(2) Southeast Asia including the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Singapore

Rice exports sent to Southeast Asia increased from the 1880s. This was due to the fact that self-supporting food production declined in this area because of the development of capitalist agriculture for export under colonial rule. Between 20% to 30% of rice exports from Indochina were sent to these markets in the second period, and percentage share rose to 30% or 40% of the total in the 20th century.

Jave under Dutch colonial rule was compelled to export the rice of good quality to Europe (for exemple Holland, Germany), and to import the cheap rice for native people from Indochina⁽⁸⁾. Java became an important client for Saigon rice in the third period. Exports went on increasing during the fourth and fifth periods. In the second half of 1920s Java imported about 140,000 tons from Indochina annually.

The Philippine was a customer for Indochinese rice until the early 20th century, the second largest export market follwing Hong Kong. Annual average exports in the 1900s were recorded at 141,000 tons. Due to the American colonial policy of promoting development of rice agricul-

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ture, imports were reduced in the 1920s⁽⁹⁾.

Singapore had been an important buyer of Indochinese rice until the late 19th century, diminishing its share in the early 20th century, probably due to Thai rice edging Indochinese rice out of the market⁽¹⁰⁾.

All of these neighboring consumers decreased their rice imports from Indochina in the sixth and seventh periods (the 1930s). Even Java reduced rice imports by half due to colonial policy attaching importance to self-sufficiency in food.

It is true that rice exports recovered, reaching a peak in the late 1930s. However, this was to a shift from Asia to the Metropole and her colonies, and other european countries.

**TABLE 2 : Rice Exports destined for France
and French Colonies (1913—1940)**

(metric tons)

Year	France	Colonies	* Total(%)
1913	—	—	311.3 (24%)
1923	—	—	231.5 (17%)
1924	—	—	138.1 (11%)
1925	—	—	202.1 (13%)
1926	—	—	211.5 (13%)
1927	—	—	236.9 (14%)
1928	—	—	291.2 (16%)
1929	—	—	222.4 (15%)
1930	205,696	39,297	245.0 (22%)
1931	292,176	16,834	332.0 (35%)
1934	665,921	108,878	774.8 (51%)
1935	354,918	108,667	463.6 (27%)
1936	983,023	165,084	1,148.1 (65%)
1937	662,145	156,335	818.5 (53%)
1938	661,769	155,983	817.8 (78%)
1939	450,830	130,969	581.8 (35%)
1940	89,725	101,153	190.9 (12%)

(3) France and French colonies

When did rice exports start to turn to the French Empire ? Before 1890 the scale of rice exports to the Metropole was only about 10,000 tons per year, but it began to increase in the 1890s,

rising gradually to 115,000 tons per year by the early 20th century. The share of rice exports as a whole exceeded 20%. This volume of export of more than 200,000 tons was maintained during the 1920s (except for 1924), and rose from 1930, reaching 983,000 tons in 1936 (See, Table 2). France and French colonies absorbed annually 51% of total rice exports from Indochina in the seventh period.

Source : *ASI*, 1913—29, pp. 250—3 ; 1930—31,

pp. 170—1 ; 1931—32, pp. 180—1;

1934—35—36, pp. 182—5;

1936—37, pp. 172—3; 1937—38, pp. 181—2;

1938—40, pp. 176—7

Note : * thousands of metric tons

(%) : Percentage Shares of Exports Total

Comparison with the rice markets of Burma and Tailand

The chief market for Burmese rice in the 19th century was Europe. But the ratio of European

exports to total exports declined in the 20th century. Thai rice was launched into the European market. Then, Burmese exports turned mainly to India, Ceylon, Malaya. The Indian and Ceylonese markets had indeed been monopolized for a long time by Burma, owing to her geographical location and perhaps her membership in British Empire as well⁽¹¹⁾. Burma had no need to fear the shrinkage of the rice markets of East and Southeast Asia in the 1930s above-mentioned.

In contrast of the case of Burma, Thailand and Indochina competed with each other for the remaining buyers. Generally speaking, Thai rice that was higher grade was preferred to Indochinese rice in Singapore. And rice from Indochina, because of its cheaper price, remained in steady demand in the Dutch East Indies. Indochina also lost gradually its important big consumer, Hong Kong and China, as Thai rice spread out in these market⁽¹²⁾.

C) The Classes of Export Rice

(1) Paddy

Paddy was exported especially to Hong Kong and China. As explained later, its export decreased from 1896 when the export duty on paddy was raised by the colonial administration. It was the turning point at which Indochina lost these long standing clients for rice. Although sizable amounts of paddy rice were exported to British India in 1935 and 1939, these were unusual cases.

(2) Cargo rice, White rice

The main form of export rice in the 19th century was cargo rice that was decorticated and contained some paddy, but owing to the above-mentioned tax rise and protective measures for the Indochinese rice milling industry, it was replaced suddenly by white rice in the beginning of the 20th century.

(3) Broken rice, Rice meal

These were left over from rice processing. Broken rice, if it was good quality, was consumed as food. If not, it was used as industrial material to produce starch or other industrial goods. Rice meal is so nutritious, that when mixed with broken rice and other ingredients it was used as feed for breed livestock, including pigs, hurses, and caws⁽¹³⁾.

The export of broken rice and rice meal from Indochina increased gradually. The annual average amount reached 410,000 tons in the latter half of the 1920s, and 354,400 tons in the latter half of the 1930s. The majority of the exports went to France and French colonies.

Due to the problem of rice quality, which was a result of the way Chinese businessmen marketed and processed rice in the Mekong delta⁽¹⁴⁾, French Indochina did not keep the East and

Southeast Asian markets. After the economic recovery from the World depression, the rice exports of French Indochina were more and more dependent on the Metropole and her colonies. We can study the reasons for this weakness in rice exportation by Indochina with various approaches. For the present, the writer shall point out the failure of colonial tariff policy on rice exports to enlarge the French market for Indochina.

II. French Colonial Tariff System of Rice Exports

A) Export Duties on the Rice of French Indochina

The French Indochinese government placed a customs duty on export rice for the first time in 1878. Export duties were first set up in 1871 as an ad valorem tax of five percent levied on some products, including paddy and rice⁽¹⁵⁾. In the early 1880s, duties on rice were an important revenue for the colonial government, accounting for twenty percent of the total⁽¹⁶⁾. It was the second largest source of revenue, following opium.

The duties on export rice were often discussed in the colonial parliament. Originally, the duties were levied regardless of destination, 53.5 centimes per one picul (60.4kg) on rice, and three fourths of this on paddy or rough-processed rice (more correctly, cargo rice with paddy accounting for a third or more of the total). The rate was later raised except on rice exported to France or French colonies⁽¹⁷⁾.

Table 3 shows that the export duties on rice destined for France or her colonies were lower than those for other areas, especially for Asia (which had the highest rate of 31 centimes piastre). Furthermore, the export duties on rice for

TABLE 3 : Export Duty on Rice (1895) Piastres

Class	Dostination	Export duty (per 100kg)
White rice & paddy	Philipines	0\$ 25. 8
	Other Asia	0\$ 31
	France	0\$ 17
	& Colonies	
	Other Europe	
	America	0\$ 26
	Africa	
Rice meal & Broken rice	Asia	0\$ 05 free

Source : Coquerel. 1911. p.195.

France and her colonies were exempted after September 1898⁽¹⁸⁾. The tax differential helped to increase Indochinese rice exports to France. The French share of total rice exports from Indochina passed over ten percent in 1894, reaching twenty percent around 1900.(See table 4)

The export duties are not the sole reason for the increase of the share of France in Indochinese rice exports. Another reason is the stagnation in rice exports to Hong Kong and China. This re-

sulted from the above-mentioned large increase in export duties on rough-processed rice.

Table 5 tells us that in the late 1880s and early 1890s rice export from Indochina for China and Hong Kong increased, resulting from increase in paddy export, with its share accounting for about forty percent of the total export of rice from Indochina.

In January 1896, export duties on rough-processed rice were increased four times, from 0.03 piastre (the rate since 1882) to 0.12 piastre⁽¹⁹⁾. This step was requested by the Saigon Chamber of Commerce to prevent Chinese merchants from monopolizing export of paddy and to protect the Indochinese rice milling industry. The colonial administration saw that the monopoly on distribution of rice by the Chinese was a cause for the low grading of Indochinese rice in the international market. They believed that the Chinese merchant mixed various types of rice causing the deterioration of rice quality. Besides, the Chamber represented the interests of European traders and rice manufacturers. It was another reason for the raising of export duties.

Table 5 details the decline of paddy export from 1896, also showing the shrink-

TABLE 4 : Rice Exports Destined for France from Saigon (1880—1910) metric tons(%)

1880	1,477 (0.5)	1895	58,318 (10.3)	1904	175,953 (24.8)
85	346 (0.1)	96	38,349 (7.6)	05	91,547 (22.3)
87	2,511 (0.5)	97	68,505 (12.8)	06	127,198 (22.2)
89	611 (0.2)	98	117,291 (19.0)	07	116,924 (10.9)
90	8,547 (1.6)	99	80,362 (11.5)	08	92,277 (11.5)
91	23,228 (5.8)	1900	115,043 (18.4)	09	145,652 (20.3)
92	43,309 (7.7)	01	91,607 (14.2)	10	183,888 (20.3)
93	60,258 (9.6)	02	146,342 (17.9)		
94	63,268 (11.5)	03	64,852 (13.5)		

Source : Coquerel, 1911. pp. 204, 207

Note : (%) Percentage shares of total rice exports

TABLE 5 Rice Exports Destined for Hong Kong & China (1880—1910)

in thousands of metric tons (%)

Year	Cargo/White Rice (①)	Paddy (②)	Total (③)
1880	130 (91)	13 (9)	143 (50)
85	216 (60)	144 (40)	361 (79)
90	223 (62)	138 (38)	362 (68)
92	128 (54)	107 (46)	235 (42)
94	185 (61)	119 (39)	303 (55)
95	257 (61)	163 (39)	420 (74)
96	273 (79)	73 (21)	346 (69)
97	96 (83)	20 (17)	116 (22)
98	230 (91)	22 (9)	252 (41)
99	282 (83)	58 (17)	340 (49)
1900	187 (88)	27 (12)	214 (34)
01	84 (98)	2 (2)	86 (13)
02	176 (83)	35 (17)	211 (26)
03	100 (89)	12 (11)	112 (23)
04	152 (94)	10 (6)	162 (23)
05	47 (98)	1 (2)	47 (12)
06	142 (95)	7 (5)	149 (26)
07	426 (79)	116 (21)	541 (51)
08	116 (69)	51 (31)	167 (21)
09	69 (90)	8 (10)	77 (11)
10	196 (77)	59 (23)	255 (28)

Source : Coquerel. 1911. p. 206

Note : ①② ; Percent of all rice exports to HongKong
③ ; Percent of total rice exports from Saigon

ing of the Hong Kong and Chinese markets for Saigon rice.

Therefore, the change in colonial policy toward export duties on rice led to the decline of the Hong Kong and Chinese markets and the rise of the French market for Indochinese rice exports.

B) Trade Policy of the French Empire : Towards Customs Assimilation

The increase in rice exports to the Metropole and her colonies was also brought about by the French policy of "customs assimilation."

The policy of assimilation regarded colonial territories as parts of the single national territory, logically entailed customs assimilation. "Meline tariff," based on the principle of assimilation, was introduced in 1892. The aim of the application of the Metropolitan general tariff law, was to increase the French export trade in French Empire.

This was because it was very difficult for French commodities under the policy of autonomy to be imported into her colonies more advantageously than foreign goods. And, the application to Indochina of the national customs tariff was favorable to French manufacturers, who had demanded for protection since the European Great Depression in 1875⁽²⁰⁾.

However this tariff was already being promoted in 1887 when the French general tariff was first applied to Indochina, in "compensation" for the military expedition to Tonkin⁽²¹⁾. It did more harm than good to the economy of Indochina, because the imports of Indochina consisted of many commodities from neighboring areas, including tea, medicine, and food. Import duties levied on these goods were raised to the same level as the duties of the Metropole. As the trade as a whole was damaged and reduced, the whole economy of Indochina deteriorated seriously. The customs law had to be amended and moderated⁽²²⁾.

However, the introduction of tariff assimilation in 1887 was very important for the rice exports of Indochina. There was a deal between the French government and the Saigon Chamber of Commerce, which had been a tough opponent arguing against application of the general tariff. In exchange for the agreement on tariff assimilation, it was decided to double the import duty on rice exported to France in 1890. Based on the assimilation policy, rice originating in Indochina was allowed into France at the lowest tax rate⁽²³⁾.

The tariff regime thus assimilated the colonies of the French Empire as far as goods from the colonies were subject to the French tariff, thereby favoring French products⁽²⁴⁾. Rice imports from Indochina to France were not exceptional. The true nature of "assimilation" was rather than "protectionism." The economic basis of French colonialism initiated in the 1880s remained un-

changed until the Second World War.

The “Kirchier tariff law” introduced in 1928 in Indochina was intended to encourage more “cooperation” between the Metropole and her colony. It was at this time that customs duties on the rice of Indochina became free for the first time. Even before this law, import duties had been the lowest on products from the French Empire⁽²⁵⁾.

Conclusion

Rice was a decisive factor in the economic prosperity of French Indochina, because rice exports had great influence on the Indochinese foreign trade as a whole. As rice was so important a crop in East and Southeast Asia, its production could be developed rapidly without the least fear of over-supply in the market.

As the demand for rice and the price of rice rose, rice agriculture was developed rapidly in the Mekong delta. In a few years, the colonial dredging projects resulted in the construction of 650 kilometers of main canals and 2,500 kilometers of secondary canals. The projects turned 2,000,000 hectares of virgin land into prospective fields for agriculture at the cost of 48 million piastres in the early 20th century⁽²⁶⁾.

As above-mentioned, the earlier policy of granting land in ten hectare plots to individual families was abandoned. The colonial administration replaced it with a new policy of selling the land in large indivisible tracts to enterprising concessionaires. The production system for rice export was formed and supported by the colonial government⁽²⁷⁾.

While domestic productivity grew, however, Indochinese rice had serious market problems from the early 20th century. Other East and Southeast Asian countries succeeded in producing more rice. Indochina faced bitter competition as it sought to hold its share in the shrinking rice export market.

Indochina managed to keep a rice market in France due to the French tariff policy based on the assimilation principle from 1887. In 1890, import duties on rice doubled foreign rice except for rice from the colonies. And, in 1928, French duties were exempted on imports from the colonies. Furthermore, in 1898, export duties were exempted on rice export to France.

It was just the same method that Burma adopted to promote export of its rice to the market in the British Empire, for exemple, India, Ceylon, and Malaya. But the growth of the rice market in the British Empire was much greater than that in the French Empire.

However, it was a serious defeat for the French Indochinese economy to lose the big, nearby rice markets, such as Hong Kong and China. Colonial government, however, did not take the issue

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seriously, and would not find ways to encourage this trade. On the contrary, the government took a hand in reducing this market by raising the tax rate affecting rice exports sent to those countries.

The problem of the poor quality of the Indochinese export rice was the other reason for Indochina to fail to maintain her share in the shrinking Asian export market. Indochina could not help but lose markets in competition with Thailand. The colonial government tried to stop rice manufactures mixing rice with paddy or different varieties, to limit the number of rice breeds grown⁽²⁸⁾, and to obligate quality indication, only to meet with failure. It proved impossible to solve such a structural problem with these symptomatic treatments.

The poor quality of Indochinese rice was caused not only by the marketing and the processing, but by the system of rice cultivation itself. Peasants, who were very far from the market and under the production relations between grand Dien chu and Tadien (landlord and tenant), did not have any incentive toward innovation for export. Broken rice and rice meal were consumed as industrial materials and feed for livestock. Most of it was exported to stable markets in France and French colonies. The efforts to improve the quality of export rice were not effective because the quality was not important in such low grades of rice, other than that of white rice as food.

The serious difficulties of rice exports in the 1930s, resulted not only from the world economic crisis. The more important cause was structural deficiency of the rice export system in Indochina, imposed by the contradictory policies of the French colonial government.

Notes

*This article is based on my discussion paper presented to An International Seminar on "Thailand and her Neighbors (2) : Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia," held at Bangkok on Dec.12-13, 1994, (Core University Program between Thammasat Univ. and Kyoto Univ. under scientific cooperation programs with Southeast Asian countries by the National Research Council of Thailand and the Japan Society for Promotion of Sciences)

(1) The data on the rice of French Indochina is from the tables and supplements [Coquerel,1911] and from the statistics on rice exports in *Annuaire statistique de l'Indochine* and *Bulletin économique de l'Indochine*, both ed. by the Gouvernement général de l'Indochine,

(2) See [Takada 1984-a,b]

(3) See [Gonjo 1985:310-4]. He analyzed records of operations of the Bank of Indochina during this time, named "Mise en valeur des colonies française. "Gathering vast amounts of Metropolitan capital, the Bank of Indochina facilitated the expansion of rice and rubber productions through

financing corporations such as Caisse Française de Crédit Agricole Mutuel, Sociétés Indigènes de Crédit Agricole Mutuel and Crédit Populaire Agricole.

- (4) [Bernard 1934 :305]
- (5) [Murray 1980 : 464]
- (6) [ASI, *Résumé statistique relatif aux années 1913 à 1940*, 1941 : 30]
- (7) [Saito 1974 : 47]
- (8) [Blankenburg 1943 (trs.) : 334]
- (9) [Ibid. : 307]
- (10) See [Ingram 1964 : 107-8].
- (11) [Wickizer & Bernnet 1941 : 94]
- (12) Hong Kong and Singapore, in view of the role of these ports as entrepots, Most of the rice shipped to Hong Kong was transshipped to China. Some of it went to Japan, the Philippines, or other places in Asia. Rice shipped to Singapore was probably consumed there or transshipped to Malaya, Java, or other Asian markets, but sizable quantities may also have been transshipped to Europe and Africa [Ingram 1971 : 107,(and figure 2 in the page 108)].
- (13) [Blankenburg 1943 (trs.) : 63-6]
- (14) [Robequain 1944 : 309-10]. Chinese merchants dominated every aspect of the rice trade, except for the actual cultivation in Indochina, Besides their monopolization of the rice trade, Chinese businessmen owend roughly three-quarters of rice processing mills in Cochinchina [Murray 1980 : 449].
- (15) [Coquerel 1911 : 186-7]
- (16) [Bouinaiis & Paulus 1885 : 158-69]
- (17) [Coquerel 1911 : 187, 192-202]
- (18) [Taiheiyou Kyoukai 1940 : 397]
- (19) [Coquerel 1911 : 195]
- (20) [Takada 1979 : 62-3]
- (21) [Colas 1933 : 13-4, Girault 1916 : 523-4]
- (22) [Ibid : 15-6]
- (23) [Coquerel 1911 : 207, Girault 1916 : 205, Takada 1979 : 64]
- (24) [Norlund 1991 : 74]
- (25) [Taiheiyou kyoukai 1940 : 393-4]
- (26) [Murray 1980 : 419]
- (27) [Ibid.: 420, or see Takada 1984-b]
- (28) The Bureau of Agriculture began to collect breeds of rice in Cochinchina in 1910. More than

700 breeds were gathered by 1913 [SAC 1924 : 28].

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