ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

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PREFACE

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The basic idea behind the studies in this monograph is the notion that, firstly, the initial conditions limiting the economic development of the contemporary developing countries significantly differ in a number of respects from those of the presently developed countries in their past development stage; secondly, such differences tend in net result to make the course of contemporary economic development much more difficult than was previously the case; and thirdly, the experience of past economic development, or the economic development formulae summarized on its basis, may not serve as a lesson to the contemporary developing countries for overcoming these difficulties. This book represents an attempt to evaluate some of the basic features of contemporary economic development under the impact of such initial conditions. It also attempts to identify broad patterns of the developmental strategies suited to these initial conditions.

Although the aim of the study in this book is thus directed toward contemporary economic development in general, the empirical data on which the discussion is based are confined to those of the developing countries in Asia. This is because this region is the one in which the author was born and raised and, hence, the only region with which he is comparatively well acquainted. For the same reason, the reference of the experience of the presently developed countries in their past economic development is confined to that of Japan since the *Meiji* era. While this approach certainly limits the universality of derived

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observations and conclusions, in the present stage of the discussions in economics on the problems of economic development, such a regional approach seems to have some positive significance.

In the following, Chapter 1 elaborates the basic idea indicated above. The initial conditions particular to the contemporary developing countries in Asia are described, and as a most aggregate indicator of the impact of such initial conditions, a possibility is observed for the potential rate of economic growth of these countries to lag behind the minimum rate of growth that is required for successful economic development. As one of these initial conditions, Chapter 2 focusses attention on the lack of basic investment in agricultural land, such as flood control, irrigation and drainage. How this lack affects the increase in land productivity and how an increased application of fertilizer may serve as a substitute for basic investment are analysed. The findings thereof lead us to a further study of the capital requirements for basic investment. This is made essentially in terms of the choice problem among projects involving different techniques, different capital requirements and different means of organization of the peasant sector. The considerable capital requirements of increased fertilizer application, either in the form of the extention of agricultural credit or in the form of an increase in the relative price of farm products, are also discussed.

Chapter 3 deals with the underemployment in the farm sector, which is a most distinct result of another initial condition: an existing surplus of labor in the economy combined with a high rate of population increase. Together with the output-increasing effect of additional labor input, the behavior of the peasant farm household with respect to the self-employment of family labor is analyzed. In the latter, emphasis is placed on exploring the mechanism by which the increase in the self-employment of family labor for local projects of basic investment is induced by population increase and government subsidies. Policy measures for absorbing surplus labor for the productive purposes are discussed on the basis of these findings. Chapter 4 discusses a

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commonly-held proposition that the early phase of industrialization must be financed largely from a net resource outflow from the agricultural sector. Empirical studies are attempted to test this proposition by comparing the relevant statistical data of a few contemporary countries with those of prewar Japan. The determinants of net resource flow between the farm and nonfarm sectors are further analysed both theoretically and empirically. As a conclusion, it is indicated that, due to the unfavorable initial conditions, the net resource flow between the two sectors in the process of contemporary economic development is likely to be a net inflow into the farm sector. Even if it be a net outflow, its magnitude is likely to be rapidly reduced and eventually turned into a net inflow as economic development proceeds.

Chapter 5 deals with the development of the manufacturing sector, also under the impact of the initial conditions particular to the contemporary developing countries. Together with the initial conditions common to all the sectors of the economy, those specific to the manufacturing sector are explored, such as the effects of recent technological progress in the industrialized countries and of the changing structure of world trade with the developing countries. These initial conditions suggest that contemporary economic development must be brought about through a more complicated, dualistic process than before, and the choice of techniques and organization must be made in a much more selective and articulate way. On this premise, detailed examinations are made with regard to the existing pattern of the choice of technologies and techniques in each industrial branch and in each sector with distinct behavioristic features (i.e., the cottage sector, the factory sector etc.). In the cottage sector, the prevailing technologies in use are found to be limited by two conditions: the amount of capital needed must not be so large as to be beyond the means of the family enterprise and the amount of earnings derived must be sufficient for maintaining family living expenses. It is stressed that the own investment of the cottage sector is induced by government subsidies in a way similar to

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that in the peasant sector. In the factory sector, it is found most important to note that, in some branches where technical progress is most rapid, the choice of particular industries is almost identical to the choice of particular techniques, since in these branches the economies of large-scale production assume a role of paramount importance.

These chapters represent a revised version of my articles which have been published in the issues of Keizai Kenkyu (Economic Research), a journal of the Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University, between 1960 and 1966. Throughout the studies connected with these articles, I have benefitted from the suggestions, comments and stimulus given by the members of the staff of the Institute of Economic Research. Special mention should be made of the continuous discussion which I have been able to make with Professor Kazushi Ohkawa on the subject of the Japanese experience and its relevance to the contemporary developing countries in Asia. This discussion has enabled me to identify various points of ambiguity and to obtain stimulus for further studies.

I have also received valuable comments and criticisms in various stages of the studies from Professors Martin Bronfenbrenner, Colin Clark, Maurice Dobb, Robert F. Dernberger, Alexander Eckstein, Shozaburo Fujino, Yujiro Hayami, Kenzo Henmi, Yoichi Itagaki, Dale Jorgenson, Shigeto Kawano, Yukio Kumashiro, Yoshimasa Kurabayashi, Simon Kuznets, T.H. Lee, William W. Lockwood, Harendra K. Mazmdar, Hla Myint, Yuji Muramatsu, Tsutomu Noda, Tsutomu Ohuchi, Harry T. Oshima, Gustav F. Papanek, Hugh T. Patrick, K.N. Raj, Miyohei Shinohara, Daniel Thorner, Shigeto Tsuru, and Mataji Umemura. Taking this opportunity, I would like to express my deep appreciation to them. I am also indebted to the library of the Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, Tokyo, and the Research and Statistics Section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry which allowed me access to the books and research materials held by them.

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