

【書 評】

ハリー T. オオシマ

『モンスーン・アジアの経済発展
の戦略的プロセス』

Harry T. Oshima *Strategic Processes in Monsoon Asia's Economic Development*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, pp. 285.

The Asian economies have become a focus of interest for economists, governments and international agencies during the past decade. Early attention focussed on the high performers whose growth has stimulated lively debates on the respective importance of cultural factors, policy choices and institutional structures. More recently, the evolution of ASEAN towards a fully economic rather than political alliance and high profile APEC conferences, have diverted interest towards the region as a theatre of economic interaction rather than of star, solo performers. In all these debates, much standard economics has been under strain, while new and much more promising work on the theory of the firm, technology, economic history and interdisciplinary approaches have begun to emerge with the tools for understanding these developments.

Professor Harry Oshima is a pioneer who was making important contributions to this field before some of the present generation of economists was born. He summarised much of his life's work in his book: *Economic Growth in Monsoon Asia. A Comparative Study* (University of Tokyo Press, 1987).

The core of this book was a theory of "Monsoon" development that took the peculiar, climatically determined characteristics of rice cultivation as its starting point. The critical element in this was the highly peaked demand for labour. This left peasants unemployed for much of the year but incapable of being permanently shifted to non-agricultural occupations because, without them, the rice economy would collapse.

Oshima argued that the key to development under these conditions was a diversification of crops that would increase employment, raise incomes, and create forward linkages to processing, packaging and

other off-farm activities. When full employment was reached the demand for labour would stimulate rising capital intensity and technical progress throughout the economy. These trends were facilitated in the twentieth century by electrification and the invention of internal combustion engines that were small enough to be useful to mechanise both cultivation and small-scale non-agricultural production. Eventually, the level of development would reach a point where the threshold into the service economy was reached.

Oshima's analysis contained three other points of particular interest. First, was his argument that economic development in this form underlay the demographic revolution. The linkage being that labour shortage and rising mechanisation required new skills, and this encouraged couples to have fewer children and invest more in the education of each.

Secondly, this educational factor was reinforced by social values, whose importance Oshima has consistently emphasised, while insisting that such values are capable of cultivation by right thinking governments. Confucian values, for example, are seen to encourage thrift, harmony, good bureaucratic behaviour and a future-oriented approach to life. Further, the nature of the monsoon economy itself also encourages hard work, female participation in labour and the cooperative spirit—all seen as valuable legacies for the development of modern industry. In contrast, Islamic, Hindu and Catholic faiths are seen as less supportive and even antithetical to economic growth.

Finally, Oshima observes at many points the role of the Japanese colonial period in the development of Taiwan and Korea, although he has perhaps underestimated the positive role of the British in Singapore and Hong Kong—especially with respect to education.

Oshima's new book has two additional themes. One is a much greater attention to processes and mechanisms in place of the elaboration of basic factors such as capital accumulation, technology, human resources etc. In addition, Oshima turns his attention to the gap between the performance of Japan

and the Asian Newly Industrialising Economies (ANIES) on the one hand, and other parts of Asia on the other. Thus while the first new theme is really an elaboration of the earlier work with an extension to policy recommendations; the second reflects questions raised by his earlier hypothesis. For if, indeed, Monsoon rice cultivation and Confucianism are the keys to the region, how do we explain the differences between Taiwan and Vietnam and, even more important, those between Japan and China?

Part of the answer, it appears, lies in policy errors. In the Philippines the error was protected industrialisation and lack of land reform. In South Asia, inadequate attention to vocational as distinct from academic education. In Indonesia, an incorrect bias towards heavy industry. In Pakistan and Sri Lanka, a failure to develop a domestic capability to adapt new technologies. All of these points are elaborated with much detail and valuable statistical data, although in several cases the policy choices were themselves influenced by structural factors of various kinds which undermine the presumed unity of the region.

The final picture that emerges in this new study is of a Monsoon Asia stratified in four layers: Japan, the ANIES, the ASEAN, and the rest. Oshima predicts that partly because of capital flows, the ASEAN group will catch up the ANIES and believes that the development of the region as a whole could be significantly enhanced by greater "cooperation". This is to include more positive policies for technology transfer by MNCs (especially Japanese), reduction of barriers to trade, and greater regional leadership by Japan.

Reflecting on this and the earlier book a number of possibilities appear to be emerging that diverge from the old Monsoon thesis, but which are now pushing themselves to the top of the agenda for our consideration.

First, even the sub-classification of the Monsoon economies into the strata outlined can obscure the absolute individuality of every case of economic development; an individuality determined by the unique historical, geographical and other circumstances of each economy¹⁾. Thus even within the ANIES, although the pairing of Taiwan and Korea and Hong Kong and Singapore is used by Oshima, the differences between the twinned

cases are still considerable. Singapore, for example, is based almost entirely on foreign capital, while Hong Kong relied on its own resources, with all that this has implied. In trying to fit Hong Kong into the mould of the argument, Oshima even suggests that it would have performed better with an active industrial policy. As someone involved in these arguments in Hong Kong in the 1980s, I am unsure whether this view is sustainable. Hong Kong's development as a service economy, conditioned as it has been partly by history and politics, may work out just as well as the hypothetical path implied by Oshima.

In the case of Taiwan and Korea, while both may share the rice economy, Japanese colonialism, Confucian ideology and industrial policy, the success patterns of the two economies remain very different in type and consequences.

A second point is that the evolution of the region in the past decade suggests to me that interest in national case studies should now be superseded by the study of their interactions. The importance of Asian interaction is not, of course, new. Trade and investment flows within Asia were an integral part of Japan's industrialisation²⁾. But current developments are unprecedented.

Between 1985 and 1993, total Japanese manufacturing FDI has multiplied fivefold while that going to other Asian economies has multiplied almost tenfold. In the electrical sector 30% to 40% of all Japanese investment is now being located abroad, much of it in Asia. One key recipient of the overall flow is China, whose share has risen from 9% to 12.4% of the world total in the same years³⁾.

The boomerang effect of this in colour televisions, for example, is illustrated by the following trends, which occurred in a period when the US dollar was worth between 250 to 120 yen:

	1985	1993
Japan's exports (pieces)	8,880,000	3,279,000
Japan's imports (pieces)	38,000	3,650,000
Trade balance in colour television, billions of Yen	455.9	109.1

As a result of such Japanese restructuring, whole sectors of the Asian economies are being revolutionised. The impact of this in ASEAN is particularly large because, relatively, their economies are so small. This process is still accelerating as a result not only of further yen appreciation but also of domestic pressures from consumers in Japan for lower prices. The only constraints on these trends would appear to be the social and political consequences of declining employment opportunities and worsening income distribution in Japan⁴⁾.

Most striking of all is the changing status of China in this new Asian scenario. China scarcely features in Oshima's two books, yet now is so clearly a central factor. For China is emerging as the major recipient of Japanese flows of FDI (and aid) and hence the major beneficiary of the economic enhancement that these involve. At the same time, China's growth is closely linked to Hong Kong and Taiwan, both themselves important centres of Japanese investment and trade.

The dynamic interaction of Japan with the ASEAN and "China" blocs is thus likely to be the main factor in the regional pattern of development well into the next century. One result of this may turn out to be that the relative independence that the ANIEs have enjoyed since 1945 was only an interlude in a much longer history during which these smaller economies were dominated by the economic and political networks of China and Japan.

1) A similar point is made in, *OECD/World Bank Symposium on The East Asian Miracle*, (Tokyo, December 1993), p. 12.

2) Hamashita Takeshi and Kawakatsu Heita eds, *Ajia koiken to Nihon kogyoka 1500-1900* (Tokyo: Libro Porto, 1991). These issues are also discussed in, Christopher Howe, *The Origins of Japanese Trade Supremacy. Development and Technology in Asia, 1540 to the Pacific War* (Chicago University Press, 1995).

3) These data are from, Nomura Sogo Kenkyujo, *Chokusetsu toshi de Ajia wa nobiru. kaku koku "think tank" mikata*, (Tokyo: Nomura, 1994).

4) This is discussed by Sawa Takamitsu, *Hisei fukko no seijikeizaigaku*, (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1994), chap. 6.

[Christopher Howe]