DEVELOPMENT IN THE NON-WESTERN WORLD

Proceedings of the Conference on Development in the Non-Western World held in Tokyo 22-31 March 1982

Edited by MICHIO NAGAI

The United Nations University
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The views expressed in this publication are those of the individual participants in the seminar and not necessarily those of any of the sponsoring organizations.

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PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the Conference on Development in the Non-Western World, the first of three seminars in the Global Community Lecture Series.* It was held at the New Otani Hotel in Tokyo between March 22 and March 31, 1982, under the auspices of the United Nations University (UNU), the International University of Japan and Sophia University. The conference brought together specialists from the developing and developed worlds with extensive research experience in the field of modernization to discuss the theoretical framework of modernization-oriented social, economic and political development in non-Western societies. Seven distinguished scholars read papers and answered questions from an audience that included members of the academic community—largely but not exclusively Japanese—graduate students, journalists and other interested people.

Three of the participants, Dr. Rajni Kothari of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in New Delhi, Dr. Ismail-Sabri Abdalla of the Third World Forum in Cairo and Dr. Miguel Urrutia of the UNU in Tokyo, represent a spectrum of Third World academic

* The Global Community Lecture Series consists of three seminars sponsored by the United Nations University in conjunction with the International University of Japan and Sophia University. Its aim is to further dialogue on the urgent problems of world peace and social and economic development confronting the developing and developed nations. The second seminar, the Conference on Peace, Security and Disarmament, was held from October 26 to 28, 1982, at Sophia University in Tokyo. The final seminar of the series, Economic Development and Styles of Management, took place at the UNU headquarters between January 17 and 21, 1983.

opinion. In addition, the results of two major modernization-oriented research projects undertaken in the developed North were presented. The first was the Modernization Studies Project, conducted by the Center of International Studies at Princeton University in the United States. It examined the modernization experiences of three non-Western societies—the USSR, China and Japan. Three of the scholars who led that project participated in the Tokyo forum—Dr. Cyril Black, Dr. Marius Jansen and Dr. Gilbert Rozman.

The second study was the UNU's own five-year Project on Technology Transfer, Transformation and Development: The Japanese Experience, conducted conjointly with the Tokyo-based Institute of Developing Economies. The project coordinator, Dr. Takeshi Hayashi, was the seventh member of the Tokyo forum.

The United Nations University sponsors a worldwide network of research and training projects—some 60 in all—which are coordinated out of its Tokyo headquarters but run locally by scholars, educational institutions and research centers around the world. Five themes provide the setting for these projects, although individual research may cover one or more areas. The first theme, peace and security, reflects the profound human striving that was at the root of the founding of the United Nations itself. Today, with armed conflict ever more prevalent in the developing world and the threat of worldwide nuclear annihilation being brandished in the developed countries, concrete initiatives by UN agencies to speed social and economic transformation and resolve the sources of conflict peacefully are urgently required. The UNU has a particularly important role to play in this area. It is striving to develop a consensus based on the best of the world's diverse cultural traditions—one that rejects war and violence as an intellectually legitimate option in conflict resolution.

The second theme is the global economy, which has become an increasing source of discontent in the world, with the developed countries attacking what they see as constraints on further growth and the Third World contending that the international economic system is structured in such a way as to reproduce existing inequalities. Obviously, a dialogue in this area requires some kind of common ground. The UNU recognizes that the economic power of the industrialized North has its counterpart in the prevalence of Western ideas on development. These constitute the intellectual frame of reference that usually structures

discussion of economic issues. The UNU seeks to redress this imbalance by bringing together the points of view of intellectuals from both sides of the economic divide to create a dialogue based on the principles of equality and mutual understanding.

The third theme concerns the question of food and the related problems of poverty, the use and conservation of non-food resources and the quality of the environment. No difference between countries stands out so starkly as the widening gap between the well-fed and the hungry. By the year 2000, food production will have to have doubled in order to meet the minimum nutritional requirements of the world's population. Pressures to increase agricultural and industrial production and meet energy needs and the demands to preserve the environment inevitably compete at some level, and it is important to lay the intellectual groundwork for an international effort to rationalize these competing claims.

Human and social development, the fourth theme, deals directly with the question of the coexistence of peoples in a world of great cultural and socio-political diversity. International migration, unemployment, the disorientation and alienation that attend industrialization, the changing role of women and the family—all these are worldwide issues that must be addressed from an international perspective. A great deal of the UNU's research and training activities are devoted to this critical area of international concern.

Science and technology, the University's fifth theme, is one where international cooperation can make the difference between the ultimate solution to many of the world's most pressing problems, or their culmination in disaster. The challenge of the Third World not only demands that knowledge become the common property of humanity; it also questions the technological models which emphasize centralization and capital-intensive development. Moreover, voices in the developed North have raised some of the same questions, so that while the flow of technology itself may, at this point, still be largely along a south-bound one-way street, the discussion of perspectives concerning the use and control of that technology must be a mutual process based on mutual respect and equality.

The natural overlap and interconnection between these themes is reflected in each of the various UNU projects. The projects deal with these themes in three different ways. The first, Development Studies,

concentrates on the empirical investigation of specific problems. The second, of which the Global Community Lecture Series is a concrete example, is called Regional and Global Studies. It involves a wide-ranging search for alternative development models. The third approach, Global Learning, consists of grass-roots educational projects based on the concept of lifelong learning.

The UNU, located in Tokyo, has a special relationship with Japan, one which is of considerable value. Japan is, after all, a unique paradox in a world whose major division is often seen as running between the "advanced" West and the "underdeveloped" rest of the world. On the one hand, Japan ranks with the Western nations in terms of the major indicators used to measure what we call development—GNP, literacy levels, employment structure, population growth, public health and, on the negative side, industrial pollution. On the other hand, it is a non-Western society, sharing its cultural roots not with Britain and France, but with China and Korea. While many of the implications of this fact are touched on in the papers that compose this volume, one in particular deserves special mention: Japan's intellectual orientation is to a large extent a continuation of the East Asian tradition; it represents a point midway between the scholarship of the West, which has hitherto dominated world thinking, and that of the Third World, which has been forced to rediscover its own precolonial roots in its search for an alternative to imported Western intellectual styles and models.

These diverse intellectual traditions need not be antagonistic. Science and scholarship can only flourish in an atmosphere of rigorous intellectual challenge, and the Western tradition of scholarship is no exception. To the extent that non-Western thinking can successfully raise challenges to the conceptual framework of Western scholarship—particularly that scholarship which concerns itself with the Third World—the result can only be of benefit to the entire academic community. The extent to which the Japanese intellectual experience can be used to advantage by scholars in the emerging nations is an open question.

Obviously, the different paths taken by Japan and the rest of the non-Western world over the past century have opened a wide gulf between them; even Japan's near neighbours are in many ways intellectually alienated from Japan compared to their relationship in the

premodern era. For this reason, Japan does not "automatically" appear as the natural model for these countries in any sense. Rather, any lessons to be learned must be consciously sought, and consciously taught, and the process must be a natural one between the Japanese and other non-Western societies. Here, the UNU has a potentially decisive role to play. The UNU has as one of its tasks to open the doors that have for so long isolated Japanese scholars from their colleagues in other countries, particularly the developing world. One of the difficulties we face in doing so is the fact that cultural—including academic—connections tend to run through the nodal points of the traditional Western cultural centers. Even as we try to build direct links between non-Western intellectuals today, we find ourselves forced to use the medium not of Japanese or a widely understood Third World language, but of English. While this choice presents special problems, the English language continues to provide access to a large variety of research materials and academic resources, including the Princeton study.

The Princeton Project, which looks at three non-Western countries, including Japan, has allowed us to introduce a major current of Western research. Moreover, the study is conceived as "value-neutral"—i.e., based not on a politically or culturally biased world view, but on the verifiable results of empirical research. Dr. Hayashi's presentation gives a Japanese view of modernization based on his country's own experience, but with the needs of the developing world fully in mind. Finally, the scholars from the Third World countries present analyses whose sharp insights derive from a broad understanding of world conditions and have deep roots in the reality of their own societies.

A characteristic of all the presentations, and one which is likely to help us arrive at a unified perspective on modernization, is the fact that they search for common criteria with which to evaluate development objectively. While there was not complete agreement on all the points raised, there was an honest effort to "speak the same language," and to construct a cross-cultural frame of reference. The Princeton Project has underscored the importance of developing an elite capable of carrying on the task of modernization, while several of the Third World speakers stressed the involvement of grass-roots-level popular organs in pursuing rapid modernization. While this may appear contradictory, both approaches have in common a strong emphasis on the importance of the human factor in development. This is perhaps

inevitable for studies which focus attention on the Japanese model; for Japan is a country that has achieved a high degree of development in spite of a relative dearth of natural resources, for which it has compensated by the intensive and skillful use of the potential of its people. Indeed, all the approaches to development featured in these lectures share a faith in the human element. It may surprise the reader, for example, to find an Arab scholar labelling oil as a misfortune for his people because it is a potential disincentive to the full development of the Arab world's human material. Obviously, the lecture series is not intended to devise a theoretical blueprint for modernization. The aim of the UNU has been to encourage the emergence of an international consensus concerning both the problems and the goals of modernization. The lecture series brought together scholars from a number of cultures who were able to engage each other in debate free of the constraints of national ideology and, hopefully, of cultural prejudice. If the views expressed in the course of the seminar can serve as a basis for continued international exchange on this subject, then the series will have served its purpose.

EDITOR'S NOTE: In Parts One and Two, Japanese names are given in Westernized order. In Part Three, Japanese names (except those of participants in the conference) are given in traditional Japanese order—the surname coming before the given name.

WELCOMING ADDRESSES

The opening address was delivered by Soedjatmoko of Indonesia, Rector of the United Nations University. Dr. Mutsuo Yanase, President of Sophia University, Tokyo, welcomed the participants to the conference. Dr. Michio Nagai, Senior Advisor to the Rector of the UNU, acted as seminar coordinator.

SOEDJATMOKO: The UN University has been struggling with the question of how to learn to look at humankind, to look at the world as a single unit in all its varieties. I believe that the best way to look forward is by looking backward and trying to learn from history what we need to know as we move into the future. History, of course, is a continuous dialogue with the past. We never finish interpreting history. Each generation has to determine anew the significance the past has as it moves into the future. Out of the significance it perceives from the past it may find a few guidelines as it tries to penetrate the opaqueness of an unknown future. Now that we are moving into a world of complete interdependence, more than ever we must develop new ways of thinking about ourselves as human beings in the context of a global community. Here is where it becomes important to look at the development experience of a number of nations, including our own, and to test the development theories that we have been taught and have helped to develop against the reality we have seen emerging.

I think it is now very clear to everyone how great the distance is between development theory and reality and how inadequate our development theories are and have been. The social sciences in general

have proven incapable of explaining satisfactorily the social and human behavior of the past 20 years. None of the developing countries has developed in the ways that development theory led us to expect. Why? Inevitably, because of our inability to answer these questions satisfactorily, we have to step further backwards and look at longer periods of history in order to begin to understand the larger processes of macro-social change, i.e., the processes of change affecting cultures as a whole rather than the nation-state in isolation from its cultural and international context. That is, I think, the significance of this lecture series.

One of the great weaknesses that has come to afflict political science is the artificial separation between political development within the nation-state and its international relations. It has become clear that we need a much more integrated approach to understand the dynamics of social change. It has also become clear that the social sciences as a whole tend, because of the historical character of their methodology, to disregard very powerful dynamic forces that are rooted in the cultural substratum of a civilization and that give shape to people's sense of the meaning of life, and that these forces shape and reshape institutions and behavior within broader cultural settings. At the point at which we, in the social sciences, now stand it is impossible to say much that is meaningful about why certain countries go through cycles of openness or isolation in regard to the outside world. We don't know enough to understand the dynamics of that process. We have seen it in China. We have seen it in Japan. Will we see it again elsewhere? We don't know. We see countries like Burma that have closed themselves off in the process of modernization. There is nothing in the present-day theories of modernization that gives an adequate explanation for processes of this kind. Neither do we understand the limits of a society's capacity to accommodate change or at what point the societies are stretched beyond their capacity to accommodate and collapse. We have seen in the last decade or so quite a number of societies collapsing in convulsions of violence where once again much of social science stands speechless. So we thought it would be a good idea to try to take stock of where we are and determine what our capacities are. We need to look at the theories that are available and the perspectives that we have developed so far in our attempt to look forward toward this era of global interdependence when we will have to learn to understand each

other better in a much more profound way than that in which people often speak about international understanding. We have to realize that each of our civilizations is impelled by processes, by forces which we have to learn to understand anew.

We are facing a situation in which the international nation-state system has become incapable of dealing with a range of problems on which the survival of humankind and the continued progress of human civilization depend. I recently had a conversation with a group of young European men and women. Several of them told me—not because they were angry or protesting anything—simply, "I really don't expect to live out my life, because within a short time there might be a nuclear war." However, while this statement points to the dangers of the international system, it also shows that it would be a mistake to ignore the reality and the power of states, and also of the international system, to respond to this danger. The United Nations is still, for all its weaknesses, the best system of international collaboration that humankind has devised. We should also be aware of the fact that there are many non-state actors now—multi-national corporations, international banks, and even currency speculators—all of whom need to be taken into account. While it is undeniable that in a way the world should be moving beyond the nation-state system, at the same time different countries seem to be going through different phases in history. On the one hand, the industrial nations undoubtedly have developed transnational capabilities and needs; on the other hand, in the Third World, the nation-state remains the largest feasible level of social organization that they are capable of handling. The state is the supreme form of social organization to which people are willing to give their loyalty at this stage in their history. Nonetheless, we must recognize the existence of a much greater sense of human solidarity that goes beyond the nationalism that brought the state into being.

In the past, many of the religious institutions that trained us helped us develop a sense of empathy and a capacity to love beyond our own small racial or ethnic or national unit. There was a brotherhood of the faith whether one was white or black or yellow, as long as fellow Christians felt a common bond. Muslims, too, felt a common brotherhood. But the secularization process has deprived societies of institutions of that kind. We don't have institutions any longer that enable our children to learn to identify with people who are different from them-

selves. The process has become very haphazard and we must begin to think in terms of developing institutions that will nurture this sense of human solidarity, not limit it to a single religion or a single culture, so that it can encompass all religions, all cultures. We will have to learn perhaps the most difficult thing to teach a human being—that our interpretation of the truth, while real for us, may not be accepted by others. Unless we learn to develop a greater personal human capacity for tolerance and unless we develop institutions that will stabilize and institutionalize that capacity for greater tolerance at a time when confusion is leading to fear and a greater sense of vulnerability, we will find ourselves in great difficulties. I believe that the lectures which our distinguished guests will present to us will provide us with food for thought about both aspects of this worldwide problem. On the one hand, we will hear from scholars who have spent years researching the question of national development. On the other, all of our lecturers will attempt to approach the crucial issues before us from a standpoint of objectivity and compassion, not one clouded by national prejudice.

YANASE: It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the first lecture in the series entitled "Global Community—Development in the Non-Western World," co-sponsored by Sophia University, the International University of Japan and the United Nations University. I am especially pleased that Sophia University can be instrumental in sponsoring a lecture series like this, since it fits perfectly with the international character that this university has always tried to cultivate.

In the spirit of Francis Xavier, a German, a French and an English Jesuit founded this university; from the beginning of its history it has been an international university. Today there are more than 160 non-Japanese faculty members from more than 20 countries teaching here, and many foreign students study on our campus, so that we can boast of an international atmosphere not found on any other campus in Japan. But unless our students receive a real broadening of their international vision in this atmosphere, it will have practically no meaning. It is our sincere hope that the students studying at our university will always be conscious of the world as a whole and will remain aware that almost every problem has global significance. We encourage them to seriously adopt this attitude in their study of world problems. The problems of Japan are not merely Japanese problems, but affect the whole world,

and the problems of the world outside Japan are also Japanese problems. We hope that all of our graduates will leave this university with the strong conviction that mankind is basically one, and that every individual, regardless of nationality or race, religion, sex or color of skin, is equal and worthy of respect. We try to instill in all of our students the conviction that they are citizens not only of Japan, but also of the world. The first step towards realizing that one is a citizen of the world is to develop a forward-looking social consciousness and a sense of responsibility that strives for justice whether within Japan or abroad.

International education at Sophia University is not restricted to Japanese students. If we want to strive seriously to attain this fundamental international spirit, then it is necessary to work energetically to instill it in our foreign students as well. For the past 30 years we have been conducting classes in English (now at our Ichigaya campus), and more than 17,000 students from many countries have taken advantage of this education. We intend to develop and enrich this program further in the future. Since 1967, we have also had a graduate program taught in English, and more than 300 students have graduated from this program.

The Institute of International Relations, founded in 1969, has been performing an important role, and members of the Institute have produced an impressive list of scholarly books and articles. A graduate program in international relations was inaugurated by the same Institute in 1971, and this spring an exchange student from the Philippines became the first recipient of a doctorate from this program.

In the past, the word "international" suggested Europe or America, but in recent years we have been re-examining this point of view, realizing that it has been a very narrow one. We have been making great efforts to turn our eyes more toward the rest of the world, particularly Asia. Our Institute of International Relations for Advanced Studies on Peace and Development in Asia has been much concerned with research on Asian problems, and many of our faculty members and students have been visiting Asian countries for serious study during the past few years. The university has also engaged in cultural exchange on the scientific and technological level, sending a number of faculty members to teach at institutions in Southeast Asia and inviting young scholars from Asian countries to do research here. In addition, starting this April, the new Institute for Asian Studies will further research on problems concerning Asia.

With this sort of international spirit as one of the chief characteristics of Sophia University, we feel that it is very meaningful for us to cooperate with the United Nations University and the International University of Japan in this lecture series. As the various branches of knowledge become more highly specialized, it becomes increasingly difficult for any one university to respond adequately to all the demands of scholarly research. From now on, it seems likely that we will have to encourage cooperation between universities, especially graduate schools.

The present lecture series, aimed not only at graduate students and researchers, but also at the interested general public, would have been impossible for Sophia University to organize alone. It was only through the cooperation of the United Nations University and the International University of Japan that the series became possible, and I would like to thank once again the representatives of both universities, particularly Dr. Nagai, who has worked so hard to bring it about. Sophia University has close ties with the United Nations University, Professors Nagai and Mushakoji both being members of our faculty. Since 1979, I myself have participated in a UNU research project on the role of endogenous East Asian culture in the establishment of a new international world order.

The Conference on Development in the Non-Western World is an important first step in the direction towards which our interdisciplinary, intercultural program hopes to move in the future. The papers presented here by leading international specialists on development are thus of special significance.

CONTENTS