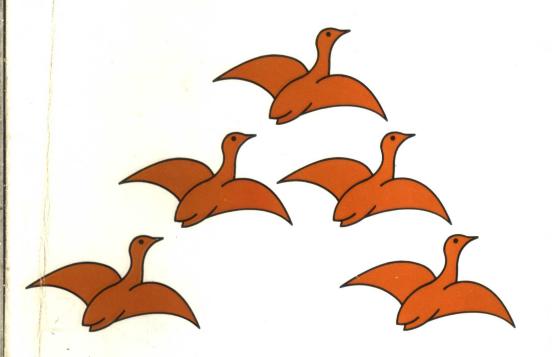
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE THE JAPANESE MODEL

BY IPPEI YAMAZAWA

TRANSLATED AND REVISED BY IPPEI YAMAZAWA



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First published in the Japanese language in 1984 as Nihon no Keizai Hatten to Kokusai Bungyō by Toyo Keizai Inc., Tokyo, Japan.

English-language edition first published in 1990.

Resource Systems Institute, East-West Center, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848.

Printed in the United States of America.

97 96 95 94 93 6 5 4 3 2

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Yamazawa, Ippei, 1937-

[Nihon no keizai hatten to kokusai bungyō. English] Economic development and international trade: the Japanese model

by Ippei Yamazawa; translated and revised by Ippei Yamazawa.
p. cm.

Translation of: Nihon no keizai hatten to kokusai bungyō.

ISBN 0-86638-121-X

1. Japan—Economic conditions—1945— 2. Japan—Economic policy—1945— 3. Japan—Commerce. 1. Title.

HC462.9.Y33513 1990

330.952'04—dc20

90-8394

CIP

Preface

International trade has played a key role in Japan's economic development. Through it Japan has obtained energy and resources unavailable domestically; trade has also introduced new products and technology and has contributed to the development of modern industrial production through import substitution at home and export expansion abroad. As a late-starting industrial country, Japan's industries have typically followed a catching-up product cycle (CPC) process of development.

The catching-up product cycle development process is characterized by import substitution followed by export expansion. Import substitution versus export expansion has become the major choice in development strategy confronting contemporary developing economies. Economists in the developed countries, as well as those at multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, suggest that many developing countries have overemphasized import substitution, which thus hampers export expansion after import substitution is achieved; many of these economists recommend that these countries shift their policies toward export expansion through deregulation and promotion of exports. The CPC development process differs from this orthodox view by stressing the continuity of import substitution while pursuing export expansion.

The term "Japanese model" used in this book describes not so much a development experience unique to Japan but a rational pattern of industrial development and trade in a late-starting industrial country under certain resource and market constraints. This pattern is relevant for contemporary newly industrializing economies (NIEs), and near-NIEs, in spite of the greater technological gap and more severe international market situation confronting them.

What role has the Japanese government played in Japan's successful import substitution and export expansion? Since its first attempts at development Japan has had a strong centralized government staffed by well-trained

bureaucrats. Some foreign observers have attributed Japan's success to the foresight and leadership of the government, as in the oft-cited notion of "Japan Incorporated." However, many Japanese economists believe this view overemphasizes the government's role and are inclined to give more credit to private entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, there has long been closer cooperation between government and private business in Japan than in the United States and some European countries, and this does seem to have contributed to Japanese industrial development. This book attempts to present a balanced assessment of the government's role in Japan's economic development.

The Japanese economy managed to overcome the two oil shocks of the 1970s but it has accumulated huge trade surpluses and faces severe trade conflicts with its major trading partners, especially the United States. Japan's main policy efforts have recently been geared toward restructuring its economy and industry so that further growth is compatible with that of its trading partners. Japanese economists are helping to shed light on the changes by explaining these restructuring efforts and how they are being implemented. They can be properly understood only with a precise knowledge of the Japanese policy environment.

This book is organized into four parts. Part I gives a summary of Japan's development process over the long term and analyzes the interaction between production and trade structures with ample consideration given to statistical evidence. Part II analyzes the strategic role of four industries at different stages of Japan's economic development—silk exports during the initial stage; textile and steel industries during CPC development, which is typical of such labor- and capital-intensive industries; and the trading companies in the trade expansion period. Part III focuses on trade and industrial policies adopted by the Japanese government during the pre-Second World War period, the high-growth period of the 1950s and 1960s, and the post-oil shock period. Part IV discusses the relevance of the Japanese development experience to contemporary NIEs and near-NIEs and presents two case studies of the catching-up product cycle and general trading companies in representative developing countries.

This book is based on its Japanese edition (Nihon no Keizai Hatten to Kokusai Bungy \bar{o}), which was published in 1984 and won the Japan Economic Journal's Best Economics Book of the Year Award. However, Chapters 2, 9, and 10 have been revised significantly in order to include the recent changes in Japan's role in the international environment in the 1980s. For other chapters, beyond mere translation into English, explanations and English-language references for English-language readers have been added. Readers with knowledge of the Japanese language should refer to the 1984 edition for Japanese sources that have been omitted from this edition. The interaction between industrial growth and international trade in Japan has occasionally been treated in the English-language economics literature (for example, Lock-

wood, Allen, Akamatsu, Kojima, Shinohara, Tatemoto-Baba, and Ohkawa and Rosovsky). This author's debt to these studies is great. To these has been added this author's research, which is based on the recent *Long-term Economic Statistics of Japan* series. This book attempts to present a complete picture of the development mechanism and government policies in a longrun historical perspective—this author's version of the Japanese model.

The concept of the catching-up product cycle provides the main analytical framework for Japanese economic development into which such institutional devices as industrial policy and trading companies are incorporated. Although based on Vernon's version of the product cycle, CPC was first proposed by Akamatsu in the early 1940s and is known to Japanese economists as the "flying wild geese pattern" of industrial development. The concept was based on Akamatsu's statistical study of the interrelated development of Japanese industries and trade. The concept was developed further by Kojima and Shinohara. Since introduced by Ohkita at the 4th Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC) in Seoul in May 1985, the theory has been attracting the attention of economists in the Asia-Pacific region as the theory that best explains industrial transmission among the Asian economies. The phrase "flying wild geese" has become a popular way to describe economic cooperation in the Pacific. This book endeavors to present to English-language readers this Japanese model, with all its implications for the economic development of late-starting countries.

Long-term Japanese economic statistics are used to the fullest extent to describe the process of economic development; these are taken from the coauthored work, *Trade and Balance of Payments* (Yamazawa and Yamamoto, Volume 14 of the *Long-term Economic Statistics of Japan* series) and from other publications in the series, which are available in English translation and may be referred to by interested readers.

August 1990

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my long-time friend, Dr. Seiji Naya, Director of the East-West Center's Resource Systems Institute, who encouraged me to translate my 1984 edition into English, offered a month's stay at the Resource Systems Institute to work on the translation, provided me with editorial assistance, and waited patiently for the completion of my manuscript. A former graduate student at Hitotsubashi University, Dr. Gwendlyn Tecson, helped with my translation. I appreciate greatly the Resource Systems Institute's editor, Mr. David Puhlick, for his painstaking efforts to make my English readable and his patience. I also appreciate the help of Dr. Pearl Imada and Ms. Janis Togashi of the Development Policy Program staff, Resource Systems Institute, for their assistance in helping to clarify economic concepts for English-language readers and providing comments that enhanced the overall presentation. I would also like to thank Ms. Ann Takayesu for her editorial support in preparing the manuscript for production. The Graphics and Production Services of the East-West Center designed and typeset this edition.

The publication of the English-language edition would not have been possible without the generous permission of Toyo Keizai, Inc., the publisher of the 1984 Japanese version. I would also like to acknowledge the other sources and publishers upon which parts of this edition were based. The materials in this edition, and the publications in which they appeared, are as follows: Figure 10.2 appeared, in part, as Figure 16.1 in Chapter 16, by I. Yamazawa and S. Tambunlertchai, *Japan and the Developing Economies: A Comparative Analysis*, K. Ohkawa and G. Ranis, eds. (Basil Blackwell, Inc., Oxford, England, 1985). Tables 6.7, 6.8, 10.1, and 10.2 appeared as Tables 18.1, 18.2, 18.3, and 18.5, respectively, in Chapter 18, by I. Yamazawa and H. Kohama, of the same title. Sections of an earlier version of Chapter 5 of this edition appeared as "Industry Growth and Foreign Trade: A Study of Japan's Steel

Industry," by I. Yamazawa (*Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Feb. 1972, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo), and an earlier, shorter version of Chapter 7 appeared as "Industrial Growth and Trade Policy in Pre-War Japan," by I. Yamazawa (*The Developing Economies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1975, Institute of Developing Economies, Tokyo).

The Japan Foundation provided funding for this edition's publication.

Kunitachi, Tokyo August 1990

Ippei Yamazawa

Contents

Tables and Figures	vii
Preface	хi
Acknowledgments	xv
Part I Japan's Economic Development and International Trade 1 Economic Development and Trade Structure: The Long	
View 2 Interaction Between Trade and Development: A Japanese Model	3 27
Part II Industry Growth and International Trade	21
3 Raw-Silk Exports and Japanese Economic Development4 Catching-Up Product Cycle Development in the Textile	51
Industry	69
5 CPC Development of the Iron and Steel Industry	87
6 Trading Companies and the Expansion of Foreign Trade	109
Part III The Role of Government in Industrial Growth	
7 Japan's Industrialization and Protection Policy Before the Second World War	141
8 Trade and Industrial Policies During the High-Growth Period	165

	<u> </u>
vi	Contents
	Comemis

9 Trade Conflicts and Structural Adjustment	189
Part IV Japan's Development Experience and Contemporary Developing Countries	
10 Is the Japanese Model Applicable?	231
Notes	247
Bibliography	257
Index	265

Tables and Figures

labi	es	
1.1	Development of Japan's Foreign Trade	4
1.2	International Comparison of Trade Expansion: Average Annual Growth Rates	5
1.3	Commodity Composition of Japan's Exports	8
1.4	Commodity Composition of Japan's Imports	9
1.5	Composition of Industrial Output	14
1.6	Composition of Industrial Goods Imports	15
1.7	Composition of Industrial Goods Exports	16
2.1	Estimation of Equations for Export, Import, and Related Variables	40
2.2	Japan's Balance of Payments	46
3.1	Direction of Japan's Raw-Silk Exports	54
3.2	Sources of U.S. Silk Imports	55
3.3	Japan's Raw-Silk Export Growth	58
3.4	Constant Market Share Analysis of Japan's Silk Exports to the United States	59
3.5	Estimates of U.S. Import and Japanese Export Functions of Raw Silk	61
3.6	Foreign Exchange Earned Through Silk Exports	65
3.7	Production Effects of Silk Exports	66

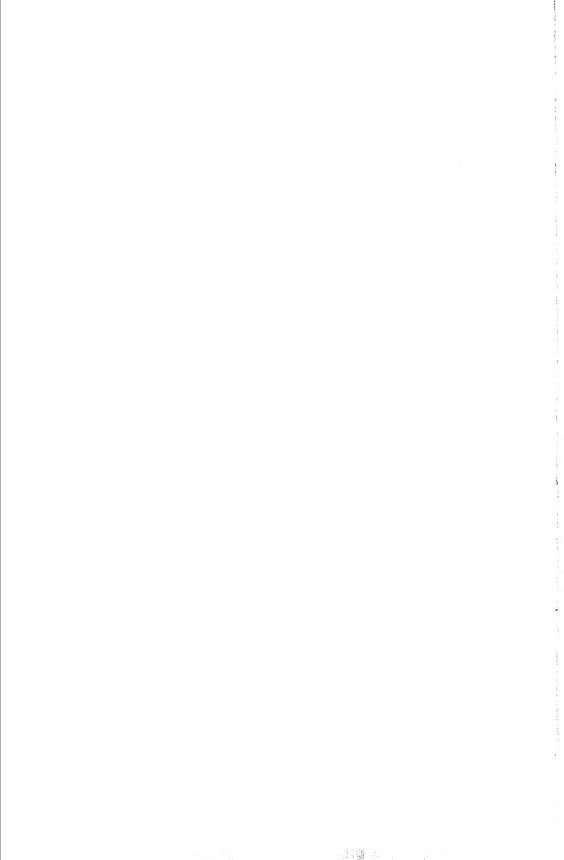
4.1	The Textile Industry's Share of Japanese Manufacturing Activity	70
4.2	Changes in the Export Market Structure of Japanese Cotton Fabrics	76
4.3	Direct Foreign Investment by the Japanese Textile Industry	85
5.1	Average Annual Growth Rates of Steel Products	90
5.2	Government Policies Protecting the Iron and Steel Industry	91
5.3	Model of CPC Development	95
5.4	CPC Development of Steel Products: 1900-14, 1921-36	99
5.5	CPC Development of Steel Products: 1952-68	104
6.1	Shares in Total Exports, Direct Export Ratios, and Rates of Increase in Exports by Major Commodity Groups	113
6.2	Shares in Total Imports, Direct Import Ratios, and Rates of Increase in Imports by Major Commodity Groups	114
6.3	Regression of Direct Export Ratio and Export Expansion	121
6.4	Regression of Direct Import Ratio and Import Expansion	122
6.5	Direct Trade Ratios and Rates of Increase of Selected Commodities	124
6.6	Features of Mitsui Branches by Region	127
	Export Structure of Japanese GTCs: 1960 and 1970	130
	Overseas Branches of Japanese GTCs: 1961 and 1970	134
7.1	Rice and Sugar Imports of Japan Proper: 1898-1933	145
7.2	Simple Average Tariffs on Individual Commodity Groups by Industry	152
7.3	Simple Average Tariffs on Individual Commodity Groups by Economic Use	153
7.4	DFI in Japanese Manufacturing Industries: 1899-1940	162
	Decreased Import Dependence on Heavy Electrical Machinery	164
8.1	Japan's Participation in Worldwide Economic Integration after the Second World War	168
8.2	World Industrial Production and Trade in Industrial Products: Market Economy Countries	170

x	Tables	and	Figures
~	I WULLS	4,14	1 14 11 10

2.4	Schematic Diagram of Alternative Correspondence among Production (S), Trade (X and M), and the Trade Balance (X/M)	44
3.1	Mechanism of Silk Export Growth	63
4.1	Catching-Up Product Cycle Development of Cotton Yarn in Japan	72
4.2	Catching-Up Product Cycle Development of the Cotton Textile Industry in Japan	73
4.3	Diversification in Textile Industry Development	80
5.1	CPC Development of Steel Products	89
5.2	Dependence on Pig Iron and Steel Product Imports	93
5.3	CPC Development of Major Industries	106
6.1	Japan's Direct Export and Import Ratios: 1874-1960	111
7.1	Average Tariffs of Japan: 1868-1980	143
7.2	Average Tariffs on Commodity Groups Classified by Economic Use	155
8.1	Changes in the Frequency of Tariffs on Mining and Manufacturing Products: Comparison of Japan, the EC,	
	and the United States	178
9.1	Fluctuations in the Global Economy	191
10.1	Catching-Up Industrialization of East and Southeast Asian Countries	235
10.2	Alternative Mechanisms Underlying CPC Development	237
	Countries	

Part I

Japan's Economic Development and International Trade



One

Economic Development and Trade Structure: The Long View

At the core of Japanese economic development was Japan's rapid industrialization and great capacity for change. Japan was late in developing, yet Japan's domestic production and trade structures underwent a remarkable change from the period of the introduction of modern industries from the United States and Europe to the period of export-oriented growth. For a country lacking in natural resources—except labor—the strategy of importing raw materials and exporting finished products was most appropriate. Beginning in the Meiji period (1868–1912), the interaction between industrialization and changes in trade structure led to over a century of Japanese economic development, and although severe balance-of-payments constraints characterized Japan's initial period of growth, these gradually eased.

This chapter overviews Japan's development over a century, focusing on the interaction between industrialization and changes in trade structure. This interaction, which is seen through Japan's high capability of transformation, characterizes Japan's economic development. Chapter 2 presents the interaction as a "Japanese model," which provides the framework for the presentation of industry case studies in Chapters 3 through 6. The role of government policy in the process of this successful interaction during the pre-Second World War period, the high-growth period after the Second World War, and the period after the two oil shocks is analyzed. Towards the end of this book it is pointed out, however, that Japan has outgrown this traditional pattern of catching-up industrialization and now searches for a new pattern of economic growth that corresponds to its position as a new industrial leader. Chapter 10 discusses the relevance of the Japanese development experience to contemporary developing countries.