The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the beginning of ‘Gankou Keitai Ron’ by AKAMATSU Kaname (1896-1974) and its development during his Nagoya period (1921-1939).

Hitherto his theory itself has been well-known not only in Japan but also in the world. In particular, ‘Gankou Keitai Ron’ has become known as ‘Wild-Geese-Flying Pattern Theory’ or ‘Flying-geese pattern theory’ in the world since 1960s after the publication of his two articles in English.

In addition to the development by Akamatsu himself, KOJIMA Kiyoshi (1920-2010), who is Akamatsu’s pupil, presented a more detailed theory elaborated on the basis of Akamatsu’s original version. Moreover, the first biography of Akamatsu by IKEO Aiko was published in 2008.

In spite of these studies, the background and the development of ‘Gankou Keitai Ron’ have not been examined enough. The historical analysis of the development of woolen industries in Japan enabled Akamatsu to get the idea of this theory. With regard to this analysis, he used the empirical analysis method modeled on that of Harvard University at that time, which he inspected in 1926. At the same time, he also applied
the synthetic dialectics to this research as an analysis tool.

Akamatsu also got the idea of the theory of differentiation and uniformization of international economic structure through this analysis, and further developed through 1930s. However, this theory has not also investigated sufficiently, thus the relations between these two theories have not been pointed out or explored.

This dissertation, which investigates the early stages of Akamatsu’s theories and its development in 1930s, consists of the following 4 parts: Part 1, the intermediate part, Part 2 and the complementary part.

Part 1 examines the background of Akamatsu’s theory and its development, as follows.

Chapter 1 gives an overview of the history of business education as a higher education course in Japan, focusing on the beginning and the expansion of the Higher Commercial School under the former education system in Japan from the 1900s to the 1920s. This chapter also surveys the establishment of Nagoya Higher Commercial School (present, School of Economics, Nagoya University) where Akamatsu worked from 1921 to 1939.

Chapter 2 examines the introduction of empirical analyses from Harvard University into Nagoya Higher Commercial School mainly by Akamatsu and its practice, which gave him the idea of ‘Gankou Keitai Ron’.

In chapter 3, the meanings of researches on the woolen industries in Japan to Akamatsu will be discussed from the following two viewpoints: in 3-1, the industrialization of Japan, in 3-2 the localized industries of Aichi prefecture, particularly Bisai area.

Chapter 4 investigates the first appearance of ‘Gankou Keitai Ron’ in his 1935 paper and its interpretation based on Akamatsu’s synthetic dialectics.

In chapter 5, the theory of differentiation and uniformization of international economic structure will be also examined from both the conceptual and historical aspect, especially based on his 1932 paper. In the latter half of 1930s Akamatsu further developed this theory, using the frameworks of long wave (major cycle) theory, particularly that of N. D. Kondratiev (Николай Дмитриевич Кондратьев; 1892-1938) presented in 1926 article written in German. Considering this point, chapter 6 examines the major cycle theory by Kondratiev. The following chapter 7 gives the overview of the introduction of Kondratiev’s theory into Japan and the reaction from some Japanese economists including Akamatsu through 1930s, which can characterize Akamatsu’s view on Kondratiev’s theory at that time.

Based on these 2 chapters, chapter 8 investigates the development Akamatsu’s
theory of differentiation and uniformization of international economic structure in the latter half of 1930s, in which he put special emphasis on the role of wars. In addition, this theory will be also interpreted, based on Akamatsu’s synthetic dialectics.

The examination of the beginning and the development of Akamatsu’s theory through the studies in Part 1 will also show the additional aspect of his theory, that is, its interpretation as a stage theory, which will be discussed in Part 2 in relation to another stage theories such as F. List (Friedrich List: 1789-1846) and W.W. Rostow (Walt Whitman Rostow: 1916-2003).

It is clear from Part 1 that Akamatsu could advance both his research and education during his Nagoya period. However, he could not develop his studies sufficiently after he moved to Tokyo University of Commerce (present, Hitotsubashi University) in 1939. It was because from the end of 1942 to the end of WWII he participated in the researches on natural resources in Southeast Asia as its head commanded from the Japan force as the tide of war became serious. This intermediate part (chapter 9) reveals the contrast to Akamatsu as a researcher between his Nagoya period and his wartime.

In Part 2, the stage theories by List, Kondratiev, Rostow and A. Gerschenkron (Alexander Gerschenkron; Александр Гершенкрон: 1904-1978) are investigated, in relation to the development of Akamatsu’s theory, which can be regarded as one of the stage theory from the examination in Part 1.

Chapter 10 examines the stage theory by List, which is compared to Akamatsu’s theory with regard to its origin and idea.

Chapter 11 explores the stage theory by Kondratiev, whose view could be pointed out especially in his planning of the development of agriculture in Russia. Akamatsu, who used the frameworks of major cycle theory by Kondratiev, did not refer to Kondratiev’s stage theory discussed almost at the same time when he presented his major cycle theory. This chapter, however, will be useful for further study of the lineage between them.

Chapter 12 discusses the stage theory by Rostow and the theory of the industrialization of a backward country by Gerschenkron, who stated the different opinion to Rostow. As Rostow can be taken as an example, the stage theories have further developed with the background of the development of the third world. At the same time, however, the effectiveness of a stage theory was also discussed by Gerschenkron, which has meanings to Akamatsu’s theory. This chapter will be useful for further study of Akamatsu’s theory as well as the systematic study of the stage theory.
The complementary part consists of the following 2 chapters. Chapter 1 examines the major cycle theory by Dutch economist, S. de Wolff (Salomon de Wolff: 1878-1960), who had been already known in the 1930s in Japan through the Kondratiev's work. de Wolff's theory, however, had not examined directly at that time in Japan. This situation is almost true at present, and even his career is still not widely known. Considering these situation, this chapter includes de Wolff's career and the overview of his major cycle theory in 1920s.

Chapter 2 gives Akamatsu's personal history, putting the emphasis on the following three period: first his school days from Kobe Higher Commercial School (present, Kobe University) to Tokyo Higher Commercial School (present, Hitotsubashi University), second his activities as lecturer and professor at Nagoya Higher Commercial School, and third his activities after the beginning of Hitotsubashi University under the new education system started in 1949. These investigations show Akamatsu's academic background as well as his activities as student and professor.