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Calixto Salomão Filho, Monopolies and Underdevelopment (Edward Elgar, 2015), ISBN: 9781784718725, 163 pp., in col. New Horizons in Competition Law and Economics

The main thesis of the book is that underdevelopment was caused and is associated with monopoly market structures. Previous to our review we have to be clear on the definition of a monopoly: it is a market structure where there is only one firm. Thus, it is a structure referring always to a given market – for a product or service, defined by a geographical domain and time. There seems to be confusion in the book about the concept. For example, the author characterizes slavery as an import monopoly. The market is the provision of labour, but as a structure there may be a lot of suppliers and demanders of the service, and there is no evidence that it was a monopoly structure. In our view, slavery is a social and political institution. In the author's view, underdevelopment started with colonial

monopolies from the XVI through the early XX centuries. He places the origins of underdevelopment (pages 47–89) in the creation of the private monopolies in Asian economies (East Indian Company and Dutch East India Company) in the XVI to the XVIII centuries. These were trade monopolies granted by royal decree and formed by stock companies. They traded spices, beverages, textiles, precious metals and ceramics from Asia against textiles and other manufactured goods from Europe, besides promoting intra-Asian trade in metals, textiles and other products. As the author recognizes a large part of these products were produced by artisans and small framers. It was only later that plantations were introduced for rubber, tea and other products. Thus, the reference market is the specific global trade and regional trade routes that were monopolized. There were at least two companies (or more, with Portuguese and Spanish) competing in these markets having London and Amsterdam as destination. The wars and conflicts between them showed a high level of rivalry. There were even price wars that led to temporary bankruptcy of some of them.

To measure the impact of the monopolization of these markets on the Asian economies we have to consider the counterfactual. The first one would be no global trade. And this scenario leads us to also a crucial definition for the main thesis of the book: what is underdevelopment? In mainstream economics an economy is underdeveloped if it is characterized by low standards of living, in simple terms a low income per capita. Now, all economies in the world had low income per capita up to the Industrial Revolution that originated a self-sustained development process, with technological progress at its root, but also accompanied by a process of human and physical capital accumulation. To say that colonial monopolies 'caused' underdevelopment of Asian economies is in our view not correct. Would Asian economies experience a process of self-sustained growth by, e.g., the early spread of the Industrial Revolution? We doubt it. There were not the local conditions of critical levels of human and physical capital and knowledge of the technological innovations for the take-off to occur. Asian economies were underdeveloped because of the long historical process of low levels of technology and social and political structures that did not led to a process of self-sustained growth. These conditions were only created in the last decades of the XX century.

The other counterfactual is would a more competitive market structure in global trade lead to faster development of Asia? The problem is that the transport infrastructure required for this trade required large fixed and sunk costs. It required large ships equipped with large crews, the average time of a round-trip was two years and the risks involved were quite substantial, due to storms, piracy and others. Thus, the market structure would be concentrated. It is interesting that in the case of Portugal, in the XVI century, the crown liberalized the trade routes with Asia but it had to revert to 'concessions' because no firms entered the market.

We could say that colonial monopoly simply delayed development. However, as we argue above, the conditions for self-sustained economic growth were not there, so it is difficult to accept that the global trade created by the companies led to lower living standards. On the contrary, the larger market created by trade improved incomes.

This is only a case that illustrates the need to carry out a deeper analysis in order to reach the conclusions that the author claims. The case of Latin America is obviously quite different, with large migrations of Europeans and the transplant of European institutions. In these regions, the impact of inequality and discrimination was quite severe and was certainly one of the main reasons for the delay in the process of development.

Did colonialism retard development? 'Deep roots' - geography, natural endowments, and institutions - are important determinants of prosperity differences across countries. But current policies are also important – especially the broad range of policies that shape the business environment and the sophistication of companies – and they are affected but not determined by the past. While in North America there was a transplant of European human capital and institutions with low levels of indigenous populations, in Latin America the process of colonization and encomiendas created a very skewed wealth distribution. These factors are the main part of the thesis of the book, largely based on the contributions of Celso Furtado in the 1960s. The structuralist school claims that skewed income distribution led to a small domestic market, but the success cases of the Asian economies like Japan, Korea and China show the importance of an export-oriented strategy. If we look at a developing economy as an open economy with access to the global market importing successive waves of technological change, exporting successively goods with higher technological level, with a balanced distribution of income, the problems raised by the structuralists can be surpassed.

Finally, the book calls the phase of globalization after the 1980s as the age of global monopolies. To equate multinationals with global monopolies is not methodologically correct and the process of globalization is much more than monopolies. It has had large benefits in terms of convergence of developing countries, with India and China standing out. The analysis follows in the Marxist tradition and blames the global monopolies for consumerism, poverty in the form of exclusion and environmental damages. Regarding Microsoft and the impact of the information technological revolution the author affirms: 'We note, therefore, a double negative effect of the monopoly: limitation of information and technology investment aimed at creating incompatibilities and not for improvement of utility' (page 133). There are interesting observations raised by the author, however his

method of analysis seems to us not in line with the mainstream of scientific knowledge.

Abel Mateus Universidade Nova Lisboa and UCL

[A] Aim of the Journal

World Competition aims to examine all aspects of competition policy from, primarily, a legal perspective, but also from an economic point of view. By taking both disciplines into account, it enables readers to understand competition issues. Its currency and multi-disciplinary approach make it essential reading for practitioners and academics in the field.

[B] Contact Details

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- [4] The author will receive proofs of the article. Proofreading will be taken care of by the Author and minor changes can be made.

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