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China: The Economy

Katsuji Nakagane and Kyōichi Ishihara

Introduction

Looking back over the course of contemporary Japanese studies on the Chinese economy, one sees that there have been frequent political and ideological confrontations among Japanese scholars which have distorted their research and investigation. The end of the war and defeat brought the demise of Japan's prewar approach to Chinese studies. Since the war Japanese researchers have by and large followed two approaches to the study of the Chinese economy. One is that which has been associated with the Institute of Chinese Affairs (Chūgoku Kenkyūsho) and its systematic, Marxist, pro-Chinese approach to the study of China's economy. The other has been the marginal, independent research being done by non-partisan researchers scattered through universities and other institutes in various parts of the country. The Institute of Developing Economies (IDE), set up in 1960, began its work in the field of Chinese studies when the institute essentially brought together some of its young researchers with scholars associated mainly with the above-mentioned non-partisan approach and began conducting more systematic study of the Chinese economy. As a result of this reliance on non-partisan scholars, partisan Marxist scholars for a time looked disapprovingly on the research that the IDE produced on China. But over the years, some of the research work produced by these latter scholars has also been included among the IDE's publications which indicates how broadly the institute's spectrum of research has been.

Broadly speaking, researchers at the Institute of Chinese Affairs tended to concern themselves with arguments of ideology and abstract studies of institutions. During the time of the Sino-Soviet confrontation, scholars associated with the institute supported China, and they also held to the “orthodox” interpretation of Marxist theory as advocated by China that the country was in a transitional stage to socialism. These same scholars also accepted Chinese statistical data at face value, and unlike some American scholars, they showed no interest at all in reformulating or closely examining China’s statistical figures. Unlike their Marxist counterparts, researchers at the IDE put relatively greater importance on issues of policy and analyses of actual conditions in China as research methods. Certainly the methodologies of the Marxist scholars and those of the IDE have overlapped one another to a certain degree, and neither group has employed their methods to the exclusion of the other’s approaches. Even non-Marxist analyses of actual conditions in China have reflected ideological aspects to varying degrees regardless of researcher. Particularly in the case of a country like China (especially during the Mao Zedong era) where the influence of ideology has been exceedingly great, it is hardly surprising that researchers not only interpreted Chinese government policies closely with Chinese socialist ideology, but that they highly evaluated the ideology itself. As will be seen in the next section, the IDE did not entirely escape the influence of ideology. However, it did not suffer from such internal struggles as among scholars of the first group over China’s socialist ideology and its interpretations. Nor did it see its researchers divided over political issues in China itself.

Research and scholarship do not exist detached from the politics and ideology of the times; however it is exceedingly regrettable when scholars simply submit to the influence of politics and ideology and bend their research to fit the thinking of the times. The values that determine the worth of scholarship are always to a greater or lesser degree influenced by political ideology, and a study may be extolled as a valuable piece of research during a given period of time; but ultimately the true worth of a piece of research can only be judged by how well it survives over the long run of history. In this sense much of the research that the IDE has carried out over that last thirty-five years on the Chinese economy still maintains its scholarly value as a contribution to the study of China.

(Katsuji Nakagane)

Research on the Chinese Economy before 1978

IDE research on the modern Chinese economy from the time of its inception

in 1960 until 1978 produced some of Japan's leading studies on China in areas and on subjects which will be discussed in this section. Particularly significant studies were produced by Shigeru Ishikawa (at that time a professor of economics in the Institute of Economic Research at Hitotsubashi University [Hitotsubashi Daigaku, Keizai Kenkyūsho]) and the research group he organized (popularly dubbed the "Ishikawa research group"). The work of this group was brought together and issued in two series of research publications. One was *Chūgoku keizai hatten no tōkeiteki kenkyū* [Statistical studies of Chinese economic development], a three-volume series edited by Ishikawa which was published during the years 1960–62. The second was *Chūgoku keizai no chōki tenbō* [A long-term projection of the Chinese economy], a four-volume series also edited by Ishikawa and published during the years from 1964 through 1971. A major characteristic of IDE research on the modern Chinese economy was its policy studies based on quantitative analysis and on the examination of prevailing conditions in China, and the series of works produced by the Ishikawa research group were an outstanding example of such research.

One of the Ishikawa group's major projects was an examination and estimation of China's fragmentary and ill-defined national income statistics. Abram Bergson had already undertaken in the 1950s an estimation of national income in a socialist country with his work on the Soviet Union. Ishikawa was the first to introduce Bergson's method into Japan which he used to carry out a thorough statistical examination and reformulation of China's national income (Ishikawa 1960). His estimates of China's national income and input-output projections won high praise internationally, and it is worth emphasizing that this work by the Ishikawa group was the first such effort in Japan and that it was undertaken as part of the work of the IDE. A great deal of time and energy went into the work of collecting, collating, and refining the statistical data, and this effort alone was a brilliant piece of research. It became the all-important foundation for Ishikawa's later studies, notably the already-mentioned multi-volumed long-term projection of the Chinese economy (see also Ishikawa 1965).

A second area of research by the Ishikawa group was commodity price indices. One member of the group, Toshiyuki Mizoguchi (1960), carried out the work of examining China's official statistics, and his work still stands as a great achievement in the study of commodity price indices. Compared with Ishikawa's studies which focused on the real economy, Mizoguchi's research was directed at commodity prices. He closely investigated commodity price indices in a number of cities, then calculated a nationwide index using theoretical inference. To the knowledge of those at the IDE, no other

comprehensive research has appeared since Mizoguchi's work that carried out a positive statistical analysis of Chinese commodity prices (see also Mizoguchi 1965).

A third area of research for the Ishikawa group was individual industrial sectors. Their studies covered agriculture and a wide range of other sectors including electric power, energy, iron and steel, machine tools, chemicals, farm equipment, electronics, textiles, transportation and freight forwarding. At that time Chinese statistics for all of these sectors were difficult to obtain for various reasons (they remained unpublished, untabulated, or were incomplete), but the group gathered every piece of data available and relied upon a great deal of estimation to carry out their very difficult work. China has now published the statistics for its past economic performance, and the group's estimates have probably lost much of their value. But this work by the members of the Ishikawa group at trying to quantify China's economic progress through a wide-ranging array of statistical estimates remains a milestone in research on China, particularly regarding their methodology and their careful investigation of Chinese statistics, and these have been inherited by the people who have carried on with Ishikawa's work.

A fourth area of the group's work was the formulation of a model for looking at the Chinese economy from a long-term perspective. Ishikawa (1971) constructed a long-term macroeconomic model based on the year 1965 (see also Ishikawa 1970). The basic framework for his model was the Fel'dman-Domar model. Ishikawa had already used their model to construct a capital accumulation and growth model of the Chinese economy. He then greatly developed this and expanded it into a long-term projection model. Within this model Ishikawa pursued such questions as how far it was possible to extend the two policy parameters of savings rate and investment allocation ratio (the share of capital and resources allocated to the production goods industry from the entire stock of capital and resources controlled by the government), or in what ways these two might be combined to insure a balance among the various sectors of the domestic economy and avoid structural problems. These questions brought together the study of socialist planned economies and the study of underdeveloped countries and was an extremely ambitious attempt to try and show more clearly the real state of the Chinese economy. Certainly when seen today, this model has a number of significant limitations. In particular the Fel'dman-Domar model does not postulate the existence of institutional inefficiency, therefore it is assumed that investment in the present term will in machine-like fashion automatically bring about production in the next term. Similarly, Ishikawa's model does not presuppose that deterioration in production might occur in the next term due to institutional

inefficiency. Despite such limitations, Ishikawa's conceptionally rich model produced results that still stand as significant scholarly contributions to the study of China's economy. With the vast increase in the amount of statistical data that has now become available for China, a number of macroeconomic models have been developed by the World Bank and other foreign as well as Chinese researchers, but these later model-building efforts still do not surpass the Ishikawa model in its conceptual uniqueness.

A fifth area of work was developing the study of technology. There was a particularly lively debate within the Ishikawa group over the indigenous technology that developed in China during the period of the Great Leap Forward. The group also brought in experts on technology and undertook an assessment of Chinese technology, a project which was the only one of its kind at the time.

Moving from the work of the Ishikawa group to that of other researchers at the IDE who were studying the Chinese economy at this time, one category of research was the study of agricultural technology or what might be termed "agricultural methods." Yukio Kumashiro and Hideo Yamamoto took over and further developed the work of Motonosuke Amano (1962) who was active in the study of traditional Chinese agricultural methods since antiquity. The two studied innovations in agricultural methods in order to recognize the features of technological development in Chinese agriculture since 1949 (Kumashiro and Kojima 1977; Kumashiro 1971; Yamamoto 1965, 1971).

Another category of research was industrial technology and city planning. One example was the studies by a research group dealing with China's chemical industry organized by Shū Kanbara (1970, 1973). But the overall emphasis of the research by this group was rather idealistic. Common among the members was the feeling that China under Mao Zedong was seeking after a different approach from the existing pattern of modern technological development. One can see the same thing in the arguments of Akira Koshizawa (1976, 1978) who saw hope for the future in Chinese urban planning and its idea of "industrialization without urbanization." That scholars in Japan studying the subject of technology were so strongly attracted to the idealism in Chinese communism and in the ideology of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shows how strong the magnetic force of China and the Cultural Revolution were at that time. But this idealism toward China at the time was not limited solely to scholars in Japan; the same tendency could also be seen in other countries among scholars of Chinese studies.

Other areas of study on the Chinese economy included research on village construction and agricultural organization that followed the concept of the "mass line" (Hideo Yamamoto and Kiyoshi Noma 1972), and studies by

Tadao Miyashita (1965, 1966, 1968) on financial affairs and China's financial system. Research on the population of China was carried out by Ryōzaburō Minami and others (1970). Research on the location of industries is limited to a single study, that by Etsuzō Onoye* (1971a, 1971b) which grew out of his work on China's transportation problems. Since Onoye's study there have been very few independent researches done in Japan on this topic. On China's foreign trade, there was the work of the IDE's Statistical Research Department (1972) to reformulate China's import-export statistics using UN and OECD trade statistics stored on magnetic tape. This work entailed first inputting world trade data, including that for the socialist countries, into a data base, then using the trade statistics of China's trading partners (computing a partner's imports from and exports to China in order to get China's export and import figures), the IDE endeavored to calculate the size of China's foreign trade. Other efforts on Chinese statistics that need to be mentioned were Haruki Niwa's (1970) computation of China's input-output table for 1956, and Nobumichi Hayashi's (1977) production of a money flow table for 1953–57. Industrial input-output tables follow the flow of goods while money flow tables follow the flow of money. Both of these undertakings were the first attempts ever at producing macroeconomic tables for China.

Finally turning to studies on the economy of Taiwan during this period, there was the work edited by Takeharu Sasamoto* and Shigetō Kawano (1968). Since the publication of this work, there has not been another comprehensive study of the Taiwanese economy produced in Japan that has surpassed the level of this study. It dealt with the economic development that took place in the different sectors of Taiwan's economy since the war and was the collective effort of ten researchers including the two then rising economists from Taiwan, Liu Chin-ching and Tai Kuo-huei.* Thereafter Taiwan along with the Republic of Korea experienced rapid economic development and joined the ranks of the newly industrializing economies (NIEs) where it garnered world attention. But before 1978 there was little inclination among Japanese scholars to examine the mechanism of Taiwan's growth or to genuinely study the Taiwanese economy. This could have been due to the politically sensitive nature of Taiwan in Japan's relations with China.

(Katsuji Nakagane)

Research on the Chinese Economy since 1979

1. Japanese Research and Political Changes in China

After the war Japan found itself wedged between the Soviet Union and the

United States, the opposing leaders in the East-West confrontation, and public opinion in Japan was split into left and right as demonstrated by the clash over the revision of the Japan-U.S. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in 1960 and 1970. This division of public opinion into leftist and rightist camps also affected the debate over relations with China. The conservatives on the right regarded the Republic of China that controlled Taiwan as the legitimate government of China while their radical opponents on the left insisted that the People's Republic of China which controlled the mainland was the sole representative of China. Moreover, as seen from the split in the Japan-China Friendship Association (*Nitchū Yūkō Kyōkai*) within the progressive camp, and the antagonism in the conservative camp between the Taiwan lobby and those seeking friendship with mainland China, that confrontation showed up in the knotty and delicate political relations between China and Japan.

From the latter half of the 1960s a national movement began to build up in Japan calling for the resumption of diplomatic ties with mainland China. At the same time reportage began to appear telling about the atrocities that Japan had committed in China during the war, and more emphasis began to fall on Japan as the assailant and aggressor rather than as the defeated victim. This new current of criticism also came to be directed at the course that Japan had followed since the Meiji period. Scholars critical of Japan's approach to pollution problems and the market economy were sympathetic toward the Maoist model and the Cultural Revolution which they saw as grounded in China's own theory of socialism, and in their opinion Japan's future also lay in these same Chinese socialist ideas.

But there were also those scholars who criticized Mao Zedong's radical line of socialism and pointed emphatically at the tragic results that had come out of his Great Leap Forward policy and the Cultural Revolution. These accusations served to reinforce the arguments of those opposing the resumption of diplomatic relations who saw the mainland China government as still unprepared and incapable of acting as a fully responsible negotiating partner. This difficult political environment *vis-à-vis* China affected every Japanese scholar involved in research on China at that time regardless of his or her political likes and dislikes.¹

Three important events finally liberated Chinese studies in Japan from the dogmatic spell that had split the discipline between the idealistic ponderings of pro-China scholars and their anti-communist anti-China brethren. One event involved China's return to the United Nations in 1971 coupled with its normalization of diplomatic relations with Japan in 1972. Both of these steps finally settled the problem of whether the government on Taiwan or the one on the mainland represented China, an issue that had consumed the previous twenty years.²

The second event was the change of government in China in 1976 and the rise of Deng Xiaoping and his policies. This changeover had a bewildering impact on those western scholars who had depicted China's style of socialism as a unique model and had praised Mao's Great Cultural Revolution as the antithesis of western style modernization. They suddenly found that the very foundations of their ideology and scholarship had collapsed.

The third event was the end of the cold war confrontation between East and West as symbolized by the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This collapse of socialism has also totally overturned the conservative-vs.-reformist setup that long characterized Japanese politics.

2. The Age of "A Hundred Flowers" in Chinese Studies in Japan

Liberated from dogmatic confrontation within its ranks, Japanese research on China broke into a new phase during the 1980s. China's new open-door policy made available a huge volume of data and information which in turn paved the way for a diversification of research fields, subject matter, content, and methods. All of these changes marked the entry of an age of "a hundred flowers," and now a great variety of views and opinions are contending within the realm of Chinese studies in Japan.

Six particular features can be pointed out in Japanese research on China since the 1980s. The first is that the leading scholars who stood at the forefront of research on China from the postwar period through the 1970s have continued to be very active in the field. Shigeru Ishikawa, who can be regarded as Japan's foremost scholar in the study of China's modern economy and who has produced numerous works since the 1950s in the area of development economics, still continues to pursue his energetic research activity (1984, 1990). Kazuo Yamanouchi is another eminent scholar who has diligently studied the Mao Zedong era; he has primarily relied on a socialist economic approach in his studies. But Yamanouchi has totally reversed his evaluation of the Maoist model from that which he held in the 1970s. At that time he had been positive about Mao's work; today Yamanouchi (1989) characterizes Mao's political concepts as "utopian socialism" and rejects them saying they have been caused by the underdevelopment of the division of labor and the commercial economy in China. Another scholar who diligently gleaned data from the scant sources published by China and built up a body of empirical research on the Chinese economy is Reeitsu Kojima.* Much like Yamanouchi, he criticizes himself for not having perceived that the Maoist model would ultimately break down, however he does not totally reject the model. Under the conditions prevailing in China in the 1950s and 1960s, it is his opinion

that such systems as people's communes and the price differentials mechanism, maintained between agriculture and industry sectors and through which the government pursued capital accumulation, served their purpose (Kojima 1988b). Jūzō Kawachi, Akira Fujimoto, and Hideo Ueno are another three scholars who, in collaboration with researchers in the Kansai area, have maintained a steady output of corroborative research work. One example is the series of annual country reports edited by Fujimoto (1991) and published by the Japan China Association for Economy and Trade (Nitchū Keizai Kyōkai). They also conduct practical researches and have produced reports concerned with such problems as regaining GATT membership and the development policy for the interior region.

The second feature of Japanese research in the 1980s is the emergence of a large number of younger as well as senior researchers specializing in the study of China's economy. Counting only those at universities and research centers involved primarily in academic studies on Chinese economy, the number of such researchers is more than a hundred.

The third feature is the growth of studies on Chinese factories and villages that have used field survey and questionnaire research methods.

The fourth feature is the entry of scholars who are not specialists on China. These include people specializing in the economies of Japan, the Soviet Union, the NIEs, and also specialists in theoretical economics. Examples of their work include Hideki Kajimura and Jin Taixiang (1989), Ryūtarō Komiya (1989), Ryūichirō Tachi, Ryūtarō Komiya, and Hirofumi Uzawa (1984), Ryōshin Minami (1991), and Toshio Watanabe (1991). All of these people have established eminent reputations in their respective fields, and they have brought new insights into the study of China's economy.

The fifth feature is the large number of Chinese researchers residing in Japan who have published books and articles in Japanese.

The sixth feature of Japanese research on China is the large number of surveys and reports on China's business, economic and social conditions that have been generated by the confluence of the Japanese and Chinese economies and which have been produced by a variety of organizations ranging from semi-governmental bodies like the Japan External Trade Organization (Nihon Bōeki Shinkōkai) and the Japan China Association for Economy and Trade, to private research centers, research and survey offices belonging to trading companies, manufacturers, and financial organizations (banks and securities companies), and correspondents for newspapers and broadcasting companies.

Having listed the major features of Japanese research on the Chinese economy since 1979, what are the particular features of research at the IDE?

Firstly, the IDE continues to pursue its established area studies approach to the study of the Chinese economy. In particular this has put emphasis on in-country field surveys and on the extensive and thorough examination of primary source materials. Another feature is the movement of older researchers to positions at universities, and the majority of the people at the IDE are younger generation researchers. Finally the IDE's major contributions to the study of the Chinese economy in Japan has been the introduction of field survey methods, the maintaining of coordination with practical research, and expansion of the range of research to include Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other parts of East Asia.

3. Major Topics of Research at the IDE

a. Economic reform and market opening

The period of economic reform since 1979 has been dubbed the Deng Xiaoping era, and Reetsu Kojima* (1987) has extended his studies of the 1950–78 Mao Zedong era to provide a comparison with that under Deng. According to Kojima, during Deng's time policies have been worked out to raise labor productivity and increase personal consumption, things which were not achieved during Mao's time. The economic reforms since 1979 have moved the country away from a forced savings economy and toward a consumption-led economy. However this new emphasis on expanding consumption caused the economy to overheat, and problems in such bottleneck sectors as energy, transportation, and intermediate goods production became all the more acute.

Katsuhiko Hama* (1995) lays out the changes in China's reforms and market-opening policies during the time of Deng Xiaoping. Edward K. Y. Chen and Toyojirō Maruya* (1991) follow the course of reform and market-opening in the province of Guangdong (see also Maruya 1992). Tadao Harada* (1994–95) looks at China's shift to a market economy through a study of the production goods market.

Works edited by Nobuo Maruyama* (1985) and Kyōichi Ishihara* (1991) deal with the structural contradictions that have appeared in the economy since reforms began at the end of the 1970s. From 1988 inflation accelerated and the economy became unstable which brought an upsurge of movements for political change and democratization. This inflation was the surfacing of repressed inflation that had existed under the pre-reform economic system and which economic reform and market-opening policies brought into the open. Ishihara (1993a) states that uncoordinated and incomplete reforms exacerbated the situation. See also Wu Jinglian (1992), Hiroyuki Imai (1994), and Susumu Yabuki* (1995).

Midori Kizaki* (1988, 1990) draws attention to the fact that Chinese enterprises not only have functioned as production and sales units, but they have also been burdened with the task of providing for the daily needs of their workers and families including the guaranteeing of housing and welfare. Her study depicts one part of the problem confronting economic reform through the introduction of a market economy.

Kyōichi Ishihara,* Jin Bei, Lu Zheng, and Zhang Shixian (1995) point out that since 1994 China has begun testing the applicability of the modern enterprise system to its state-owned enterprises, and they probe into this new phase of state enterprise reform. Tomoo Marukawa* (1995) uses the example of the automobile industry to bring out the organizational form of enterprise groups and relationships in the division of labor. Ryōshin Minami and Susumu Hondai (1995) estimated whether the income share of labor exceeded the output elasticity of labor in China's machinery industry as a result of corporate reforms. Based on this estimation they pointed out that these reforms have brought about the problem of a rapid rise in wages.

Nobuo Maruyama* (1990) traced more than thirty years of the industrialization process in China and examined the policies connected with industrial technology and their performance. Little research in this area of the Chinese economy has been done in Japan, and Maruyama's work has been a significant contribution.

Tamio Shimakura* (1981) studied the trend of China-Japan trade over the years. Every five to six years the government in China underwent a political change, and he found that there was a close relationship between these political changes and changes in the volume of Chinese imports of plants and equipment. The study edited by Katsuhiko Hama* (1985) positioned China's market-opening policies within the overall market-opening movement taking place in socialist countries in Asia. See also Yumiko Okamoto* (1995).

b. *Rural reform*

China's first efforts at economic reform began in the villages with the breakup of the people's communes. Kusuhiro Sakamoto and Yoshio Kawamura* in their edited work (1989) sought to shed more light on the state of the family-operated farms that have come into being since the late 1970s following decollectivization. In this work Kawamura (1989) takes up the problems of stagnating agricultural production, the loss and degradation of farmland, the declining input of agricultural chemicals, and other such problems which are confronting family-operated farms. He concludes that over the long term China will not be able to stem the slide of its agricultural sector into small-scale farms operated as sideline businesses and dependent

on government subsidies. Katsuji Nakagane* (1989) and Sheng Yuming (1993) differ in their views on resource flows between agriculture and industry in China. See also Yan Shan-ping (1990) and Kazutsugu Ōshima (1990).

Reeitsu Kojima* has published a number of studies on the contradictions which afflict present-day Chinese agriculture (1984, 1988a). He points out that in the past it was the commune system which mobilized the large-scale labor force needed when undertaking projects for building farmland infrastructure or for the input of organic fertilizers. But this method of raising agricultural productivity is no longer possible under the present system of family-operated farms. But Kojima sees the possibility of overcoming this difficulty through the establishment of agricultural cooperatives which could handle the distribution of chemical fertilizers and high-yielding rice varieties, and undertake such distribution operations as the processing and sale of agricultural products. See also Reeitsu Kojima* (1992) and Naoya Wakashiro (1990).

Kōji Kobayashi* (1990) approached the subject of rural reform from a historical perspective. To grasp an understanding of the present state of Chinese agriculture and rural society, he went back to before the land reforms of the early 1950s, explaining that one needed to make a careful study of the traditional foundation that underlay Chinese rural society.

According to Katsuji Nakagane* (1980), traditionally in North China and former Manchuria, villager identity and cohesion within the village were not high. Therefore, in these areas production brigades based on traditional community consciousness and relationships and which formed the basic unit of the communes were not set up. Instead production brigades were organized administratively for political and economic reasons, and these basic units became the organizations for raising rural cohesiveness.

Kusuhiko Sakamoto (1989) comments that the key for making large-scale agriculture successful and superseding family-operated agriculture lies in whether or not there will be “harmony” among the villagers who participate in large-scale farming operations. Hiromi Yamamoto* (1988) stresses that the people’s commune system collapsed because the production brigade, the basic unit of the commune, could not go beyond the limits of being merely a neighborhood friendship association, and it failed to pursue economic efficiency. Both writers point out the inefficiency in collective management, but they base their arguments on diametrically opposite reasons. See also Hiromi Yamamoto* (1995).

c. Mid- and long-term issues and regional development strategy

The concept of “great international circulation” and the strategy of

developing coastal regions that appeared in 1988 were meant to bring together foreign investment and China's strategy of regional development. This strategy promoted the advancement of the coastal regions, but it also brought about contradictions and differences in the level of regional development, and China is now trying to work out a new regional development strategy with policies compensating for these imbalances. Nobuo Maruyama* (1992, 1993, 1994) and Tamio Shimakura* (1992) edited works which are all part of the IDE's Regional Economies in Asia Series, systematically depict the issues involved in China's regional development strategy, and shed light on the present state and prospects of such rapidly growing areas as the South China economic region, the Northeast Asian economic region, and the Yangtze River delta region.

Kyōichi Ishihara* edited works which considered the mid- and long-term issues involved in the "socialist market economy" that China is seeking to establish along with issues of Hong Kong's return and the economic interaction taking place between the mainland and Taiwan. *The Long-Term Prospects of the Chinese Economy* was the result of a joint research effort bringing together scholars from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan (Kyōichi Ishihara,* Chang Qing, Ho Lok-Sang, and Kao Charng 1993). The pieces contained in the other book edited by Ishihara (1993b) also draw attention to problems and prospects of China's socialist market economy. One of these pieces by Reetsu Kojima* (1993) sees the amount of the rural investment funds, procured by rural administrators and invested into rural area and agriculture, as the key to the reconstruction of China's agriculture. Another piece by Toshio Tajima (1993) sees the decentralization of industry as the particular feature of China's industrial structure and something stemming from the unique background of China's history. Tajima takes up the problems in the decentralization of industry as China goes through the process of restructuring to cope with rising consumer demand. Concerning the reform of transportation system, see Tomoyuki Uchida (1990).

d. *Resource shortages and environmental pollution*

Yasusuke Murakami (1992) speculates on the idea of an age when the per capita GNP for the world's population of 6 billion has reached 5,000 U.S. dollars (equal to that of the Republic of Korea in 1990). The effects of such a per capita GNP on resource consumption and environmental pollution totally defy imagination. Concerning research on China's environmental problems, the work edited by Reetsu Kojima* and Shigeaki Fujisaki* (1994) provides a substantive analysis of the relationship between economic development and resource consumption/environmental pollution (see also Kojima 1995).

This work brings out the present concerns and the future worries that the researchers have about these problems, and they are sounding the alarm against environmental destruction.

In the area of resource energy, China has already become a net importer of petroleum. The work edited by Tatsu Kanbara (1991) depicts in its entirety China's petroleum industry. Keiko Wakabayashi (1990) examines China's policy on population.

In the United States and Europe there are predictions that China will be the economic superpower of the next century surpassing the United States and Japan, and already in total energy consumption alone China exceeds Japan. But Yoshirō Hoshino (1993) among others has doubts and wonders if China has failed to see the plight of capitalism mired in traffic accidents and environmental pollution. It seems that China, energized by high growth and foreign investment, is running gleefully down the same distress-plagued road taken by capitalism.

Seen in this light, China is not the only country confronting resource shortages and environmental pollution. Rather these are problems thrust into sight by the mode of development followed by the developed countries and by people's life style. Modern society cannot simply continue with its positive faith in economic development and the expansion of trade and investment. In today's society researchers have to ask themselves if simply doing research as a means for making a living and assiduously accumulating their research results is fulfilling their duties as researchers. At the same time research institutes have to brace themselves for the task of tackling the massive problems that confront the world today. Their social responsibility is to pursue this task as dispassionately as possible. Therefore, when an institute is exposed to reorganization, often from outside pressure, as is the case of the IDE which is expected to merge with JETRO in several years time, it is important that the institute maintain its standard of research which has been passed on from the past generation of researchers who had endeavored to conduct truly respectable research.

e. Compilation of economic statistics

Today the volume of statistical information flowing out of China has significantly increased, but there is a great deal of inconsistency within this flood of data. Definitions and classifications of statistical indices, even for the same item, vary from year to year. Different ministries frequently collect different figures even for the same items, and different publishing houses publish them as authorized statistics.

A study group comparing Sino-Japanese economic statistics was organized

within the IDE for the purpose of clarifying and explaining the concepts and peculiarities of China's economic statistics and to compare them with Japanese statistics. Reeitsu Kojima* (1989a) headed the group whose members from the IDE were Kyōichi Ishihara* and Midori Kizaki,* while those from outside the IDE were Tomoyuki Uchida, Toshio Tajima, Nobuyuki Tanaka, Seiichi Nakajima, Akira Miyoshi, and Takaaki Yokota. Another researcher, Yoshirō Matsuda (1987, 1990), who has studied Chinese statistics for the 1960s, undertook a study of the historical development of Chinese statistical methods in the three fields of Chinese statistical survey systems, agricultural statistics, and industrial statistics. See also Yasuko Hayase* and Seiko Kawamata* (1991) on China's population statistics. Mitsuru Toida* (1990) has produced an econometric link model between China and Japan and the IDE's Statistical Research Department (1991, 1992) has published China's input-output tables.

f. The economies of Taiwan and Hong Kong

Takao Taniura* (1988) analyzed the stages in the development of Taiwan's role as an international processing base since the latter half of the 1960s when the country's economy began to experience rapid growth.

Yukihito Satō* (1992) argues that Taiwan's dual-structure economy (of public enterprises/large corporations vs. medium and small enterprises) came about as a result of the government's program of import substitution while at the same time it also promoted exports through its own form of export-oriented industrialization policy. See also Ichirō Numazaki (1993).

Reeitsu Kojima* edited a work (1989b) that draws attention to Hong Kong's nodal position among the economies of mainland China, the other regions of Asia, and the West and the role it plays as a financial center. At the time of the publication of this book, Kojima had already suggested that in the future Hong Kong would not be China-fied, rather the region around the Pearl River delta would be Hong Kong-ized.

(Kyōichi Ishihara)

Notes

- 1 According to Kazuhiko Itō (1990), the Japan Association for Modern China Studies (Gendai Chūgoku Gakkai) passed a resolution calling on scholars and researchers to make a positive political statement recognizing the government on the mainland as the sole legitimate government of China. Meanwhile within the Japan

Association for Asian Political and Economic Studies (Ajia Seikei Gakkai) there were scholars who had strong ties with the government in Taiwan, and for a time some of these people even referred to the mainland government as communist China. However, the membership of these two associations overlapped to a large extent, and there were many conscientious scholars among them who tried to avoid any direct connection between their research work and politics.

- 2 Prior to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations while the Eisaku Satō cabinet was in power, there was a strong Taiwan lobby not only within the Liberal Democratic Party but also within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At that time Hiroshi Hashimoto, who later became an ambassador to China, was the director of the China and Mongolia Division of the ministry and one of a small number of advocates calling for the resumption of diplomatic ties with the government in Beijing, and because of this he was left out from the China policy committee which had been organized by the heads of the Foreign Ministry (*Asahi shinbun*, September 18, 1992). Because of the strong pro-Taiwan stance among the leaders and principal policy makers in the Japanese government at the time, Nixon's trip to China came like a bolt from the blue.

It is interesting to note that the greatest worry of Kōichirō Asakai, Japanese ambassador to the United States during the Kennedy presidency, was that relations between the United States and China would be normalized over the head of Japan. His fears seemed a bit humorous at the time and no such event materialized. Later however his great worry turned out to be right on the mark, and former U.S. ambassador to Japan U. Alexis Johnson, referred to this in his memoirs as "Asakai's nightmare" (*Nihon keizai shinbun*, March 25, 1988).

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