

# DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA STUDIES IN POSTWAR JAPAN

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I. China Study Institutions :	Akira Doi
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III. Studies on Communist Chinese Economy :	Tadao Miyashita

## *Foreword*

The study of modern China in postwar Japan reveals its dependence on prewar work, both in its strengths and weaknesses. Those scholars who were doing work on China during the war years as young men or as men in the prime of life are still represented in the front rank of scholars in no small number. The nucleus of scholars in this field, however, are those who received their early training during or immediately after the war under the aegis of the older generation. This second group is now old enough to be able to take a more skeptical view of existing studies. Now to these two groups is being added a third, anxious to outstrip its predecessors. Nevertheless, the pioneering work of the first generation produced before the war and still being added to exerts a continuing influence.

Japanese social scientists, who, since the Meiji period, have eagerly turned to the West, have generally come to think of China as a peculiar area which they had better leave strictly alone. Such an attitude, established before the war, has survived in the postwar world. Even today very few young economists, political scientists, jurists or sociologists make China their field of study. This does not mean, of course, that no Japanese social scientist has studied Chinese affairs or that Japan has produced no work of distinction.

If we take jurisprudence as a case in point, there is the extremely valuable *Shinkoku Gyōsei Hō* (The Administrative Laws of China under the Ch'ing). An eminent specialist in public law, Yorozu Oda, spent ten years on this work when he was at the height of his powers in the closing years of the Meiji and the early years of the Taishō period. This work deals with the political and administrative institutions under the Ch'ing dynasty and has no parallel in any language in terms either of its scale or its quality. It is a puzzle to me that no successor has appeared to deepen his studies.

On the other hand, in the field of civil jurisprudence and the history of legal institutions a combination of approaches has provided a rich source of scholarly inspiration. The foundations were laid in the field of the history of legal institutions by prewar work produced by methods adopted from relevant Western studies and a free use of philological methods developed by specialists

in Chinese history. We also had the benefit of a work called, *Chūgoku Nōson Kankō Chōsa* (Survey of Customs and Practices in Rural China), the product of a carefully prepared field survey conducted between 1939 and 1943 in cooperation with scholars who represented the highest level of skill in Japanese civil jurisprudence. The influence of this work has been far-reaching in every branch of China studies and will prove to be of lasting value.

The discipline of international law has long been a powerful analytical tool in the study of international relations and diplomatic history in its Chinese aspects. This legal approach developed from the stage of superficial textual analysis of unequal treaties through a second phase of meticulous investigation of the legal aspects of specific Sino-foreign conflicts into the latest stage which we might characterize as sociological. In this third stage inquiry has been extended even into the structure of the legal mentality and political behaviour of the Chinese people. In sum, it has become possible for young scholars to analyze China's foreign relations in the light of political science on the basis of the achievements of legal analysis as described above.

Of the three essays presented below, Mr. Akira Doi's work gives a bird's-eye view of academic associations, research organizations and groups, their publications, the names of scholars and experts together with mention of their special interests. Within the limited space afforded it is surprisingly comprehensive. Static as it may be, it certainly provides a convenient contour map of Japanese studies of contemporary China.

Mr. Hiroharu Seki's essay on political studies of China provides at once a contrast to Mr. Doi's work and a complement to it. It might be described as a dynamic picture drawn in three dimensions. Here almost all important problems are discussed in historical perspective. Light is thrown from various angles on the question of Marxism which inevitably has a bearing on studies of China in this country. An outstanding aspect of this essay lies in the fact that the writer brings into sharp relief the differences between the three generations mentioned at the beginning of this introduction. He contrasts the methods used and attempts a prediction of future developments.

Mr. Tadao Miyashita's essay on economic studies of the People's Republic of China is a factual account of the distribution of scholars and experts in this field according to their interests and methods. New trends and points of controversy are also carefully noted.

If my brief references to the continuity of experience reaching back to the prewar period provide the reader with a clue to understanding the common background of these three essays, I feel I will have performed my task as the writer of this Foreword.

*Masataka Banno*

# CHINA STUDY INSTITUTIONS IN JAPAN

AKIRA DOI

## I. Two Academic Associations for China Studies

In Japan, there are two academic associations organized by China study specialists, one being *Ajia Seikei Gakkai* (Society for Asian Political and Economic Studies) and the other *Gendai Chūgoku Gakkai* (Society for Modern China Studies).

There are more scholars and experts of Chinese affairs in Japan than in other countries. The number of those who specialize in Chinese politics, economy, society, and culture and who are well qualified as experts may well be over 300. There is, however, no large-scale research institution with established tradition, sufficient materials and a staff at present like those Japan had in the past. The institutions now in existence are hardly comparable, for example, with the Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Corporation which had a staff of nearly 1,000 researchers or the Third Section of Tōa Kenkyūjo (East Asia Institute) which had a staff of more than sixty researchers. Even in a more sizable institution, studies of China have been conducted only on a small scale as part of a larger research project. In view of the great number of experts and the limited scale of research institutions, Japanese researchers of China have been dispersed broadly. Here we are taking up academic institutions first of all, in the hope that we can conveniently locate these individual researchers.

### 1. *Ajia Seikei Gakkai*

This Society is an academic association to organize research experts not only on China but on all other areas of Asia, and in fact comprises a number of those majoring in the affairs of Asia in the broad sense, in addition to the specialists of Chinese subjects. Of course, because of the weighty position of Chinese questions in Asia, these specialists on China outnumber all others. The Society is a group of those who are interested to defend the freedom of study without leaning either to the right or to the left. Its representative director is Toshio Ueda, Professor of Tokyo University who specializes in politics and international relations of China. It maintains its office within the Library of Tokyo University. As its periodical publications, it has *Chūgoku Seiji Keizai Sōran* (A General Survey of Chinese Politics and Economy) and *Ajia Kenkyū* (Asian Studies), which is its organ journal.

The former is published annually and three editions have so far come out of the press. The table of contents of the 1962 edition will show the themes of study and the names of writers.

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|---|---|
| The Natureal Conditions of China  | Ryūjirō Ishida,<br>Hitotsubashi University                |
| The Natural Resources of China  | Yasushi Ōkubo,<br>Asahi Shimbun                           |
| The Population and Races of China   | Tadao Yoshida,<br>Meiji University                        |
| The Establishment and Development<br>of the People's Republic of China          | Yasushi Ōkubo,<br>Asahi Shimbun                           |
| An Outline History of the Chinese<br>Communist Party                            | Shinkichi Etō,<br>Tokyo University                        |
| Characteristic Features of the Chinese<br>Communist Party Line                  | Yūji Takahashi,<br>Tokyo University                       |
| The Platform of the Chinese<br>Communist Party                                  | Jirō Ōkawa,<br>Cabinet Investigation Bureau               |
| The Organization and Practice of the<br>Chinese Communist Party                 | Tadao Ishikawa,<br>Keiō University                        |
| The Central and Local Government<br>Organizations                               | Teiichi Ikegami,<br>Aichi University                      |
| Democratic Groups and their<br>Activities                                       | Jūzō Ieda   |
| People's Organizations  | Teiichi Ikegami,<br>Aichi University                      |
| The Constitution  | Yūji Takahashi,<br>Tokyo University                       |
| The Financial and Trade Laws  | Tsuyoshi Miki,<br>Sapporo Medical College                 |
| The Labour Laws   | Hiro-o Mukōyama,<br>Aichi University                      |
| Basic Ideas of the Nationality Law and<br>the Coverage of Nationality           | Tetsuya Sudō  |
| The Military System and the Organization<br>and Equipment of the Armed Services | Gajin Koide   |
| The Question of Sinkiang  | Seiryū Miyazaki   |
| The Question of Tibet   | Jūzō Ieda   |
| The Question of Inner Mongolia and<br>the Question of Minority Races            | Koretada Sakamoto,<br>Tokyo University of Foreign Studies |
| An Outline History of Foreign Relations   | Toshio Ueda,<br>Tokyo University                          |

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| Sino-Soviet Relations  | Masao Onoe,<br>Kōbe University                                |
| Sino-American Relations  | Toshio Ueda,<br>Tokyo University                              |
| Sino-Japanese Relations  | Hiroshi Hamano  |
| China's Relations with the Afro-Asian Countries  | Keishirō Irie,<br>Seikei University                           |
| The Question of China's Entry into the United Nations  | Zengo Ōhira,<br>Hitotsubashi University                       |
| Guiding Principles of Economic Construction  | Tadao Miyashita,<br>Kōbe University                           |
| Changes in the People's Communes   | Akira Doi,<br>Shōwa Dōjin Kai                                 |
| Problems in the Course of Industrialization  | Shigeru Ishikawa,<br>Hitotsubashi University                  |
| The Reform of the Financial System and Trends of the National Finance  | Tadao Miyashita,<br>Kōbe University                           |
| Characteristic Features of the Financial and Monetary System   | Ichirō Nio,<br>Asahi Shimbun                                  |
| The Basic Price Policy and the Difference of Price Between Industrial and Agricultural Products                        | Ichirō Nio,<br>Asahi Shimbun                                  |
| The Device of Full Employment and the Organ to Decide Labour Planning  | Kazuma Egashira,<br>Mainichi Shimbun                          |
| Economic Development and the Economic Growth Rate  | Akira Doi,<br>Shōwa Dōjin Kai                                 |
| The Development of Techniques  | Kazuma Egashira,<br>Mainichi Shimbun                          |
| Natural Disasters and the Four Improvement Campaigns (Mechanization, Electrification, Irrigation, and Chemicalization) | Motonosuke Amano,<br>Osaka City University                    |
| Stock Raising, Forestry, and Fishing   | Hideo Yamamoto,<br>National Research Institute of Agriculture |

- Particulars of the Industrial Construction  
as Seen from the Geographical  
Distribution of Industries  
Yasushi Ōkubo,  
Asahi Shimbun
- Industrial Production, Capital Construction  
and Industry in the People's Communes  
Akira Doi,  
Shōwa Dōjin Kai
- Various Types of Commerce and Cargo  
Collection in Farm Villages  
Toshio Ezoe,  
Chūō University
- Traffic and Transportation  
Soto-o Ōta,  
National Diet Library
- The Organization and System of Foreign  
Trade  
Eikichi Tomiyama,  
Japan-China Export and Import  
Association
- The Distribution of Foreign Trade  
Yoshio Akino,  
Economic Planning Agency
- The Development of Foreign Trade  
Nobuo Kumano,  
Musashi University of Techniques
- International Payments and Economic Aid  
Ryōzō Kurai,  
Asahi Shimbun
- People's Communes as a Social System  
Fumio Odake,  
Tokyo University of Education
- The Discernment of Periods in Modern  
Chinese Economic History  
Kazuhiko Taira,  
National Diet Library
- The Party's Direction and Area Planning  
for Education  
Munemitsu Abe,  
Research Division, Ministry of  
Education
- The Religions and Religious Policy  
of China  
Tadao Sakai,  
Tokyo University of Education
- Literature  
Shōhei Kumano,  
Hitotsubashi University
- Radio  
Keinosuke Takaichi,  
Asahi Shimbun
- The International Position of the Republic  
of China  
Ichirō Kawasaki,  
Tokyo University
- The Government and Military Affairs  
of the Republic of China  
Nagamichi Hanabusa,  
Keiō University

The Economy and Economic Policy of the Republic of China	Masayoshi Wakana, Mainichi Shimbun
The People's Republic of Mongolia	Koretada Sakamoto, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
The People's Republic of Korea	Mitsugu Suzuki
The Republic of Korea	Yosaku Nakayasu, Publicist
Hongkong and Amoi	Toshio Ueda, Tokyo University
The Overseas Chinese Policies of Communist China and Free China	Kiyoshi Katō
Southeast Asian Countries' Policies toward the Local Chinese Population	Yasushi Nakajima, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Trends of Overseas Chinese Economic Conditions	Shōzō Fukuda, Chūō University
Changes in the Overseas Chinese Communities	Naosaku Uchida, Seijō University

The *Ajia Kenkyū* is a quarterly journal and its recent issue is Volume IV, No. 1. This issue includes the following studies on Chinese subjects.

The Institutional Factors of Economic Growth in China .....	Akira Doi
An Account of the Founding of Revolutionary Bases in Rural China .....	Takeyoshi Fujii
"Special Interests": Legal Meanings of the Japanese Rights and Interests in Manchuria.....	Takeo Horikawa

This Society holds a Convention every year and conferences of regional groups occasionally. These provide the members with an opportunity to publish their studies and subsequently have debates on them. The fifteenth Convention of 1961 was held at Ōita University, Kyūshū. Regarding Chinese subjects, Ichirō Kawasaki (Aichi University) spoke on "the International Status of Tibet" and Tadao Miyashita (Kōbe University) on "Some Questions of the People's Communes", in addition to the other two speakers, Takeyoshi Fujii (Fukuoka University of Education and Liberal Arts) and Takeo Horikawa (Hiroshima University) on their respective subjects as included in the recent issue of the *Ajia Kenkyū* as above. Also in May 1961, the 20th Kantō Regional Conference was held, and, on this occasion, Tadao Ishikawa (Keiō University) reported on "A Study of the Formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front", and Yutaka Fukushima (Institute for China Research) on "The Construction of Small and Medium Industries and the Establishment of People's Communes."

## 2. *Gendai Chūgoku Gakkai*

This Society is a broad organization of scholars and experts of Chinese affairs, and it embraces some of those who are members of *Ajia Seikei Gakkai* at the same time. The term, China or Chinese, used here does not include Taiwan as the Republic of China. The president of this Society is Yoshitarō Hirano, Chief Director of the Institute for China Research and its representative executive Shirō Nohara, on the Board of Directors of the same Institute. The executive body comprises 21 trustees and 50 executives. Its office is located in the Institute for China Research building. The 21 trustees are Motonosuke Amano (Osaka City University), Shintarō Okuno (Keiō University), Shinobu Ono (Tokyo University), Shigeki Kaizuka (Kyoto University), Jirō Kaneko (Osaka University of Foreign Studies), Kenzaburō Gushima (Kyūshū University), Takeshirō Kuraishi (Kuraishi Study Class), Keishū Sanetō (Waseda University), Takurō Suzuki (Aichi University), Tōichi Nawa (Osaka City University), Noboru Niida (Tokyo University), Takashi Hatada (Tokyo Metropolitan University), Yoshitarō Hirano (Institute for China Research), Fukusaburō Hisae (Kōbe University of Foreign Studies), Masao Fukushima (Tokyo University), Tsuneo Masui (Kanazawa University), Wataru Masuda (Osaka City University), Tadao Miyashita (Kōbe University), Hajime Mishima (Senshū University, Tokyo), Yūji Muramatsu (Hitotsubashi University), and Shuichi Mutō (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto).

This Society also holds its Convention annually. The 11th Convention of October 1961 was held at Waseda University, Tokyo, and a number of reports were made at that time, as follows:

<i>Reports to the Political and Economic Affairs Subcommittee;</i>	
Economic Construction in the Shensi-Ningsia Interior District	Shōji Andō, Tokyo University of Education
Plans and Background of a Japan-China Bank	Yasuhiro Kizuka, Waseda University
The Anti-Japanese Movement and Agricultural Immigrants in Manchuria	Gōichi Yamada, Hōsei University
Characteristics of the Chinese State Enterprises in their Formative Process	Sōichirō Giga, Osaka City University
Ideological Problems of the Primary Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and Education in Agriculture	Kiyoshi Noma, Aichi University
An Appraisal of the System of Payment in Kind	Masami Kojima, Yamaguchi University

- The "Agriculture-Is-the-Basis" Theory Hideo Yamamoto,  
National Research Institute of  
Agriculture
- The Price Policy of China Hideo Yonezawa,  
Institute for China Research
- The Production System of Agricultural  
Producers' Cooperatives Kazuo Furushima,  
Tokyo University
- Reports to the Culture and Thought Subcommittee;*
- Chinese-Language Education and Views  
of China in Japan Tsunehiro Rokkaku,  
Waseda University
- Foreign Language Education in China Shin'ichi Ohara,  
Dōshisha University
- Yen Fu's Study of Adam Smith's *The  
Wealth of Nations* Shōhei Kumano,  
Hitotsubashi University
- Pa Jen's "On Humanity" Susumu Higuchi,  
Tsukushi High School
- The Thought of Revolutionary Literature Masaya Sugimori,  
Hokkaido University of Arts and  
Sciences
- Fellow-Traveller Writers and Lu-Shun Noboru Maruyama,  
Tokyo University
- Reports on the Min Kuo (Nationalist) Meeting;*
- The Revolutionary Thought of Cheng  
Tai-yen Akio Itō,  
Yokohama Municipal University
- The Min Kuo Revolution and Konan  
(Torajirō) Naitō Makoto Ikeda,  
Ritsumeikan University
- From the Min Kuo Revolution to the  
May 4th Movement Yasuo Kitayama,  
Osaka University of Arts and  
Sciences

Most of the reports and debates at each convention are published in *Gendai Chūgoku* (Modern China). This is published irregularly and its latest edition is No. 37 which includes the reports of the 11th Convention.

This Society has several branches, namely Hokkaido (of which the leader is Akio Saitō, Hokkaido University); Kantō (Naokichi Ubukata, of the Institute for China Research); Chūbu (Kiyoshi Noma, Aichi University); Kansai (Yasuo Shibaïke, Osaka University of Foreign Studies); Kōchi, Shikoku (Osamu

Araki, Kōchi University); and Western Japan (Takae Kōzuma, Yamaguchi University).

## II. Research Organizations Totally Devoted to Chinese Affairs

Among organizations which are engaged in China studies, there are only a few which are devoted fully to that purpose. Most of them take up Chinese subjects as part of their research activity. For instance, they study China as a link of the total international relations, or of the whole of Asian affairs, and the Chinese economy as a sector of economic affairs at large or Chinese agriculture as part of the farming industry in general.

### 1. *Chūgoku Kenkyūjo* (Institute for China Research)

This Institute is one of the few research bodies which are totally devoted to China studies, and has been best organized in the conduct of research in terms of material and personnel. It was established after the war and has a staff of nearly 20 including both prewar and postwar generations of researchers and its own library of material on Communist China. Its director is Yoshitarō Hirano. Among other executives are Michio Iwamura, director of the political affairs section, Hideo Yonezawa of the commercial affairs section, Kenji Asakawa of the agricultural section, Shōtarō Ozaki of the industry and labour section, and Shirō Nohara and Naokichi Ubukata of the society and culture section. They have all been studying China since before the war. Those who joined in China studies after the war are Hiroshi Satō, Ryūzō Yamashita, Yutaka Fukushima, Gen Mitsuoka and others.

This Institute has three periodical publications, namely *Ajia Keizai Jumpō* (Ten-Day Report on Asian Economic Affairs), *Chūgoku Kenkyū Geppō* (Monthly Bulletin of China Studies), and *Shin Chūgoku Nenkan* (New China Yearbook). The first of these has so far counted 509 numbers, because it is published thrice a month. It was the first of all the publications that supplied the Japanese with information about Communist China. It carries commentary news items mainly on Communist China and these are supplemented with articles on relevant Asian affairs. Its No. 509 carries the following articles: Michio Iwamura, "The Laos Regime and China", translations from *Jen Min Jih Pao* and others, "The Twenty-Five Years of Great Glory", "American Aid to the Chiang Regime", "Britain's Exports to China in 1961", and "The Appeal of Three Ex-Prime Ministers, Higashikuni, Ishibashi, and Katayama on the Tension over the Taiwan Strait."

*Chūgoku Kenkyū Geppō*, so retitled from *Chūgoku Shiryō*, is a monthly bulletin and so far 172 issues have been published. Its purpose is to arrange information about current developments into a theme in every issue in order to clarify where the problems lie in Communist China. To cite more important examples, a mention may be made of the following writers and themes. Yoshitarō Hirano, "Chūgoku Kaihō-ku Seiken ni yoru Keisei no Kakumei" (A Revolution of Penal Administration by the Liberated District Regime of China)

in No. 147. Yutaka Fukushima, "Toshi Jinmin Kōsha" (Urban People's Communes) in No. 151. Tadayoshi Nijima, "Chūgoku no Kyōiku Katei Kaikaku" (The Educational Course Reform of China) in No. 158. Gen Mitsuoka, "Chūgoku no Shakai Hoshō" (Social Securities in China) in No. 161. Hideo Yonezawa, "Chūgoku no Kakaku Seisaku" (The Price Policy of China) in No. 163. Ryūzō Yamashita, "Chōsei Ki ni okeru Chūgoku Keizai no Tokuchō to Mondaiten" (Characteristics and Problems of the Chinese Economy in the Readjustment Period) in No. 168. Kazuo Kanamaru, "Chūgoku ni okeru Shakaishugi Saiseisan ni kansuru Kenkyū" (A Study of Socialist Reproduction in China) in No. 169. Kenji Asakawa, "Sai Hiyaku wo Matsu Chūgoku Nōgyō" (Chinese Agriculture Waiting for Another Leap) in No. 171. Michio Iwamura, "Amerika no Taiwan Seisaku" (America's Taiwan Policy) in No. 172.

*Shin Chūgoku Nenkan* has been supplying information about Communist China since around 1949 when it was originally titled *Chūgoku Nempō* (China Annual). Afterward it was given its second title of *Chūgoku Nenkan* and quite recently the third, *Shin Chūgoku Nenkan* and has since been published by a commercial publishing house, Kyokutō Shoten. The table of contents of the 1962 edition shows that this comprises Part I, A General Survey of 1961; Part II, Land and Population; Part III, Foreign Relations; Part IV, Government; Part V, Economy; Part VI, Society and Culture; Part VII, Resolutions, Agreements, and Documents; Part VIII, Statistics; Part IX, Government Agencies and Organizations; and Part X, A Biographical Dictionary. The contributors to this yearbook are mainly members of the staff, but some are writers from outside.

## 2. *Tōyō Bunko*

This institution has been long established in Japan and has an old store of material on China. Now a Seminar on Modern China is set up within this institution and has been obtaining excellent results in collecting material on modern history and preparing a bibliography. Its periodical *Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū* (Studies of Modern China) has had its No. 64 published so far.

## 3. *Institute for Oriental Culture, Tokyo University*

This Institute also has a long tradition and is devoted to the study of China. Here the basic problems of modern China has been studied, and the results have been published in *Tōyō Bunka* (Oriental Culture) and *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (Transactions of Institute for Oriental Culture). Also in the same university there is the Institute of Social Science where members are engaged in the study of socialist judicial theories centreing on Chinese and Soviet laws.

## 4. *Kyoto University*

This university has been known for its long-established tradition of sinology. Its Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo (Humanities Institute) also holds an important position in China studies. Recently it has sponsored a study of Chinese agriculture directed by Motonosuke Amano and one of the Chinese family system by Morimitsu Shimizu.

5. *Kazan Kai* (named after the pseudonym of Prince Atsumaro Konoe)

This is an association governed by the Board of Directors, including Fumio Odake, Akiyoshi Tajiri, and Kiyota Izaki, and has a research division which publishes a monthly, *Tōa Jiron* (Current Views of East Asia), which carries informative data on and studies of China prepared by outside contributors. Its recent issue, Vol. IV, No. 7, publishes Jirō Yamamura, "Chūkyō no Nēru Hihan" (Communist China's Criticism of Nehru) and Toshio Ishizuka, "Chūkyō Taigai Bōeki Kenkyū Shiryō" (Research Material on Communist China's Foreign Trade).

6. *Zenrin Kurabu* (Good Neighbourhood Club)

This organization has its *Ajia Shiryō Shitsu* (Data Office for Asia), where Toshiji Kuwabara is the central figure in conducting China studies. It has published annual reports since 1951. Its latest issue, entitled *1961 Nen no Chūkyō* (Communist China—1961) comprises three chapters as follows: I, the Mass Line; II, Foreign Policy, and III, People's Communes. The characteristic analyses found here have caught attention.

7. *Other Research Groups*

Besides those mentioned above, there are many groups where ten-odd independent China specialists get together for a common study. These may be research organizations particular to Japan. To cite a few examples, *Chūgoku Nōgyō Kenkyūkai* (Society for the Study of Chinese Agriculture) aims to conduct a joint study of Chinese agriculture and cooperatives in particular. Its central figures are Kiyoshi Noma, Hideo Yamamoto, and Fujio Saganuma. Another group, *Kin'yō Kai* (Friday Association) is a body for a composite study of Chinese affairs, including such members as Toshio Ueda, Akira Doi, Tadao Ishikawa, Yasushi Ōkubo and Hiro-o Mukōyama. Lastly, *Chūgoku Sōgō Kenkyūkai* (Society for Composite China Studies) has among its members Ken'ichi Hatano, Yōji Hirota, and Tatsuzō Sekido who have been conducting an all-out study in the interest of Japan's China policy.

### III. Organizations Including Chinese Subjects in Research Projects

Many Japanese research organizations include China studies in their research projects. Among them, the following institutions have more experts on China cooperate for their activities than others.

1. *The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs*

This is of a larger scale than any other research organizations of its kind. Its Director is Seiichi Tōbata. Its second Research Division has its staff conduct studies and particularly is seeking to train young research workers. Also its First Research Division conducts joint studies and assigns research projects to experts outside the Institute.

As for its publications, the Institute has *Ajia Keizai*, a monthly, in which

the staff and non-staff researchers publish the results of their studies. The latest issue, Vol. III, No. 6, has an article on China, namely Toshiyuki Mizoguchi, "Chūgoku Bukka Kōzō no Moderuka no Kokoromi" (An Attempt at Modelling of the Price Structure of China).

Among the results of joint study projects by the non-staff experts, more noteworthy are *Chūgoku Keizai Hatten no Tōkeiteki Kenkyū* (A Statistical Study of the Chinese Economic Development) I, II, directed by Shigeru Ishikawa, and *Chūgoku Jūmin Kōsha no Soshiki to Kinō* (Organization and Functions of the Chinese People's Communes) directed by Akira Doi. Two research projects were assigned to outside experts, and these are Shin'ichirō Satō, *Chūgoku Kyōsantō no Nōgyō Shūdanka Seisaku* (Farm Collectivization Policy of the Chinese Communist Party) and Tadao Miyashita, *Chūgoku no Bōeki Soshiki* (China's Foreign Trade Machinery).

#### 2. *Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyūjo* (Japan Institute of International Affairs)

The Institute is to inquire broadly into international affairs, with financial aid from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and under the chief-directorship of Kan'ichirō Kubota. Studies are made by both the staff and experts outside the Institute. The periodical published here, *Kokusai Mondai* (The International Affairs), is a monthly, and its latest issue, No. 28, carries Hiroshi Hamano, "Kokusai Seiji kara mita Chū-In Kokkyō Mondai" (The Sino-Indian Border Issue in International Politics). The Institute also publishes *Kokusai Mondai Shirizu* (The International Affairs Series) of which numbers devoted to Chinese affairs are No. 12 and No. 22 on *Chūkyō no Gaikō Shiryō* (Foreign Policy Material of Communist China).

#### 3. *Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyūjo* (National Research Institute of Agriculture)

This is placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and is undertaking the study of the position of agriculture in the Japanese national economy and its development. Its overseas division conducts the study of Chinese agriculture as part of its research programme under the directorship of Hideo Yamamoto. It has the quarterly journal, *Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyū* (Quarterly Journal of Agricultural Economy), and also publishes occasional monographs. One of these is *Kaigai Shokoku ni okeru Keizai Hatten to Nōgyō* (Economic Development and Agriculture in Foreign Countries) and another, Hideo Yamamoto, *Chūgoku Keizai Hatten ni okeru Nōgyō Kiso Riron no Igi* (The Significance of the Basic Theories of Agriculture in China's Economic Development).

#### 4. *Research Office, Asahi Shimbun.*

Part of this newspaper's research staff is engaged in China studies. Among the results of these studies printed in the form of reports are included the following: Seiryū Miyazaki, *Chūgoku Shōsū Minzoku to Chūkyō no Seisaku* (Minority Races of China and the Policy of the Chinese Communists), No. 68; a joint work, *Chūgoku Shakaishugi Keizai no Jittai* (Facts about the Chinese Socialist Economy), No. 73; Yasushi Ōkubo, *Chūgoku Dai-ichiji Gokanen Keikaku no*

*Seika to Dai-niji Keikaku no Hōkō* (Achievements of China's First Five-Year Plan and the Course of the Second Plan), No. 77; Ryōzō Kurai, *Chūgoku Sha-kaishugi Kensetsu no Gendankai* (The Present Phase of the Chinese Socialist Construction), No. 82; and Toshikiyo Kondō, *Gendankai ni okeru Chūkyō no Kokusaiteki Chii* (The International Position of Communist China as It Stands Now).

#### 5. *Japan ECAFE Association*

This is a private organization established to cooperate for the works of ECAFE, the United Nations organization. It provides information about the ECAFE's research material. Here both the staff and non-staff researchers conduct China studies, and there is a committee on Chinese affairs including Shigeru Ishikawa. The Association publishes its bulletin three or four times a month, and the latest issue is already No. 310. No. 300 included Shigeru Ishikawa and others, "Fuan-na Chūgoku Jōsei" (Precarious Conditions in China) and an ECAFE report, "An Analysis of the Economy of Mainland China in 1950's." No. 309 carries Akira Doi, "Chūgoku no Kokumin Keizai no Chōsei to Jinmin Kōsha no Seiri" (The Readjustment of China's National Economy and the Consolidation of People's Communes).

#### 6. *FAO Association*

This is a private organization to cooperate for the purposes of the FAO of the United Nations. It is to publicize data issued by the FAO and conduct studies with the cooperation of the staff and outside researchers. Its monthly, *Kokusai Shokuryō Nōgyō* (Monthly Bulletin of Japan FAO Association), Vol. 11, No. 7 carries Michio Iwamura, "Chūgoku no Taigai Enjo to sono Hankyō" (China's Foreign Aid and Repercussion to It).

#### 7. *Shōwa Dōjin Kai*

This is a group of those who used to be associated with the prewar Shōwa Kenkyūkai devoted to the study of Japan's national policy. It has within its foreign policy division a China and Soviet studies committee. Of the Chinese affairs sector of this, the central figure is Akira Doi who directs research activities. Its monthly, *Shōwa Dōjin*, has numbered 91 issues, and the latest issue carries Akira Doi, "Jinmin Kōsha no Minshuka to Kokuei Nōjō no Kōshaka" (Democratization of People's Communes and Communization of State Farms). Among its publications in book form are included *Chūgoku no Mengyō* (The Cotton Industry of China), *Chūgoku Keizai no Kentō* (The Chinese Economy under Review) and *Chū-So Keizai Kankei no Mondaiten* (Issues at Stake in Sino-Soviet Economic Relations).

#### 8. *Tairiku Mondai Kenkyūjo* (The Continental Problems Research Institute)

This is devoted mainly to the study of Chinese and Soviet affairs. Its director is ex-Lt. General Akio Doi. The staff researchers, with the cooperation of outside experts, form a China Studies Committee. Its monthly, *Tairiku Mondai* (Con-

tinental Problems), No. 127 carries Tadao Ishikawa, "Tōnan Ajia to Chūkyō Soren" (Southeast Asia vs. Communist China and the Soviet Union) and Hiroshi Hamano, "Chūkyō no Shin Sōmei Undō" (The New Speech Liberalization Campaign of Communist China). The Institute also publishes *Tairiku Mondai Shirizu* (Continental Affairs Series) which includes Akira Doi, "Chūkyō no Keizai Mondai to Jinmin Kōsha" (Economic Problems of Communist China and the People's Communes), No. 10 and Tōzō Shimizu, "Chūkyō Seiji no Tokushoku" (Characteristics of Chinese Communist Government), No. 11.

9. *Ōa Kyōkai* (Japan Association on Communist Studies in Europe and Asia)

This association is devoted to the study of the communist bloc, under the presidency of Eiji Amō. Albeit an incorporated association in its form, it is in fact an *ad hoc* group of researchers of Soviet affairs joined by some China specialists. It has international contacts and has been sponsoring joint discussions with foreign experts on China and the Soviet Union. It publishes the monthly, *Kyōsan Ken Mondai* (Communist Sphere Problems). Vol. VI, No. 7 of this is a special edition on Chinese affairs and includes the following.

Development and Problems of the Chinese Economy.....	Akira Doi
Capital Accumulation in China .....	Shigeru Ishikawa
The Financial Structure of Communist China.....	Fumio Kusano
The Present Problems of the People's Communes.....	Tadao Miyashita
Facts about the Agrarian Revolution in China .....	Fumio Otake
The Tutelage of the People by the Chinese Communist Party.....	
.....	Fukusaburō Hisae
China's Trade Terms with the Soviet Union .....	Yoshio Akino

10. *Others*

In addition, certain government offices, as well as universities, have a staff assigned to study Chinese subjects, but out of space consideration we cannot mention all of them here but a few as follows:

The Chinese Section of Asian Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues *Chūgoku Geppō* (China Monthly) and other reports. The Cabinet Investigation Bureau, Prime Minister's Office publishes annual history of Japan-China interchanges along with many other reports. The Overseas Research Section, Research Bureau, Economic Planning Agency has *Kaigai Chōsa Geppō* (Overseas Research Monthly) in addition to *Sekai Keizai Gensei* (The Present Conditions of World Economy) which both refer to Chinese affairs. Outside the government, the Asian Affairs Section, Research Bureau, Bank of Japan is also engaged in China studies.

Among the universities, a mention must be made of the Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University; the Asian Studies Staff, Institute for Economic Research, Osaka City University; the International Affairs Institute, Aichi University; the Institute for Overseas Affairs, Takushoku University; and the East Asian Economic Affairs Institute, Yamaguchi University.

# POLITICAL STUDIES OF MODERN CHINA

HIROHARU SEKI

## 1. *Studies of Modern China Before the War*

In prewar Japan, studies of modern China were virtually ignored by the scholars of Eastern history, who regarded them as coming within the field of journalism rather than scholarly interest, and who sought the subjects for their study in the ancient and middle ages. In addition, both political scientists and economists in those years strongly tended to be engrossed in inquiry, after the German fashion, into general principles, as the introduction of Western disciplines into the country remained within certain limitations. All this occurred above all because the Emperor system, like a taboo, blocked the way to studying state power and made it difficult for scholars to discuss any phenomena of power on the common ground of scientific analysis. In these circumstances, studies of modern China had to be conducted in Japan without a coherent, systematic approach, and only outside the academic world, i. e., at such research agencies other than universities as Tōa Keizai Chōsa Kyoku (East Asian Economics Research Bureau), the Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Corporation, Tōa Kenkyūjo (East Asia Institute), and certain sections of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is true there were in the academic institutions some scholars who discussed affairs of modern China, such as Torajirō Naitō and Jin'ichi Yano, both of Kyoto University. But it was quite characteristic of those scholars that most of them paid little attention to the Chinese Communist Party in their discussion. Generally speaking, in contrast with their very scrupulous inquiry into historical material on the subjects of their specialized studies, these experts of Eastern history would often get along the track of Japan's national policy to the point of making incoherent arguments on modern China. It is worth noticing in this connection that two scholars of politics in the Taishō period, Sakuzō Yoshino of Tokyo University and Shigeo Suehiro of Kyoto University, took, under the influence of Western disciplines, a more critical stand toward Japan's policy in China.

In the late 1920's, the intellectuals outside the academic institutions, in their opposition to the established disciplines, which had become estranged from reality and subordinated to complacent nationalism, were led to consider the Chinese revolution by adopting Marxism as the sole scientific theory that they believed would direct them in grasping the meaning of the developments on the continent. These were mostly they who took sides with a group known as *kōzaha* in the contemporary controversies on the nature of Japanese capitalism among Marxists, and who were passionately in support of the Japan Communist Party's devotion to the revolutionary movement under conditions of illegality. The fact that the scholars of Eastern history failed to present a coherent system in their interpretation of Chinese history gave the Marxist views of

modern China more attractive universality than could otherwise be expected of the thinking of such a small group as theirs. Also, in those years, the circumstances confronting Japan in mainland China actually worked as a factor to emphasize the validity of the Marxist idea of a third period of the world capitalist system. Even the device of Lt. General Kanji Ishihara<sup>1</sup> and his followers which provided theoretical backing for Japan's armed expansion on the Asian continent may be regarded, in one aspect, as a reverse application of Marxism to the Japanese situation, in that it was intended to relieve the internal crisis of depression by seizing Manchuria and Mongolia. Some Marxist scholars and experts were thus allowed to obtain employment on the staff of the semi-governmental Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Corporation and Tōa Kenkyūjo even after they had been accused by the Government authorities. All this was possible because of the paternalistic teacher-student relationship particularly conspicuous among Japanese scholars in those days. Such were the political circumstances under which Marxist methods were introduced into the studies of contemporary China. Thus the Marxist converts or pseudo-converts used such a method as would combine a partially Marxist method of analysis, in a peculiar fashion, with the type of nationalism that upheld the Emperor as its centre. Those studies, where Marxism was not completely replaced by the principle upholding the Emperor, would usually turn out to be a flat statement of facts lacking in a coherent system of views, no matter how full they were of Marxist terminology. The results of study and research thus produced were often a mixture of different principles and methods,<sup>2</sup> and where the subject was the Communist movement, it was often the case that even a lack of fact in terms of material was glossed over with Marxist jargons.

A completely Marxist study free from the queer combination as referred to above was one by Gen'ichi Suzue who himself participated in the Chinese revolution as a Marxist. It is *Chūgoku Musan Kaikyū Undō Shi* (A History of the Chinese Proletarian and Peasant Movement), published by the Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Co. in 1929, and reprinted after the war under the title of *Chūgoku Kaihō Tōsō Shi* (A History of China's Strife for Liberation) in 1953.

It must be noted that these more or less Marxist researches and studies were often classified "Confidential", with the exception of a few which were published and caught the attention of intellectuals at large during the short period before the Manchurian Incident. Examples are *Shina Dai Kakumei* (the Great Chinese

<sup>1</sup> "Ishihara Material" has been made available for use by the "project on the diplomatic history of the outbreak of the Pacific War" directed by Jun Tsunoda. It is expected that this will open a new prospect for studies of the Manchurian Incident.

<sup>2</sup> The most typical studies coming under this group are *Shina Kyōsantō Shi* (A History of the Chinese Communist Party), 1953; and *Chūgoku Kyōsantō—1932 Nen—1937 Nen Shi* (The Chinese Communist Party—Its History from 1932 to 1937), Information Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed. by Ken'ichi Hatano), 1933-38. These works were reprinted after the war, under the title of *Chūgoku Kyōsantō Shi* (A History of the Chinese Communist Party) in 7 volumes, in 1961. For other studies, detailed information is given in Shinkichi Etō, "Chūkyō Kenkyū Nōto" (Research Notes on the History of the Chinese Communist Party) in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. LIII, No. 2, 1960.

Revolution), 1930 and *Shina Mondai Kōwa* (Lectures on Chinese Affairs) edited and published by Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo (Proletarian Science Institute).

Accordingly, as they were given very little consideration by those policy-makers who were responsible for plunging the country into defeat in war, they were, firstly, deprived of an opportunity of being taken up by social scientists for analysis in the common field of China studies. Secondly, even when such an opportunity was provided, the social scientists of prewar Japan were far from applying the weapon of analysis of advanced social sciences to contemporary China in order to make an open-minded interpretation of historical facts. Thirdly, a critical study, as seen in the example of Tadao Yanaihara, *Manshū Mondai* (Manchurian Affairs), 1933, was not greeted favourably by the Japanese authorities. Fourthly, the common knowledge of China among the educated Japanese, who were to be consumers to the products of professional studies, comprised a queer combination of the "Three Rulers and Five Emperors" type of interpretation of Chinese history, the Confucian views of morals and civic virtues obtaining from the teaching of Eastern history and Chinese classics at middle and higher schools, and a sense of contempt toward the Chinese, which was a reflection of the latter projected inversely on the Japanese mind through Japan's armed expansion on the continent. Underlying this understanding of the Chinese nation was the image of "unchangeable China," an offspring of the national character theory which was advanced by the scholars of Eastern history and which prevented the Japanese from feeling the need to grasp the reality of China as a changing nation. Consequent on the interaction of these overlapping factors, studies of modern China, a nation which was thrown into the melting pot of revolutionary upheaval because of its relations with Japan, were deprived of sufficient soil for growing in the Japanese academic institutions.

It does not follow that, under the pressure of these limitations, there was no growth of genuine studies of contemporary China. The fact remains, however, that the preconception of "unchangeable China," whether it was right or wrong, held to the core of the belief system of non-Marxist experts of modern China in prewar Japan. Even scholars of international relations were more or less committed to this preconception, though theirs was a field where an approach to China had no doubt been most deeply influenced by Western disciplines. In this field, almost all studies were conducted from the viewpoint of international law. The studies of this type, as represented by Toshio Ueda and others,<sup>1</sup> suc-

<sup>1</sup> The origin of these works may date back to Yoshiyuki Imai, *Shina Kokusaihō Ron* (China in International Law), 1915. More typical are: Toshio Ueda, *Shina ni okeru Sokai no Kenkyū* (Study of Concessions in China), 1941; Nagamichi Hanabusa, *Chūka Minkoku ni okeru Rekkoku no Jōyaku Ken'eki* (Foreign Powers' Treaty Rights and Interests in the Republic of China), 1939; Keishirō Irie, *Chūgoku ni okeru Gaikokujin no Chii* (The Position of Foreign Nationals in China), 1937; Yoshie Saitō, *Gaikokujin no Taishi Keizai Katsudō no Hōteki Konkō* (The Legal Basis of Foreigners' Economic Activities in China), 1937; and Jumpei Shinobu, *Man-Mō Tokushu Ken'eki Ron* (Special Rights and Interests in Manchuria and Mongolia), 1932.

ceeded in combining a positivist method existing in traditional Eastern history with the Western disciplines in inquiring into the affairs of modern China. It may rather be said that they built up an important foothold for China studies in postwar years which approached the subject from international relations. Analyzing the treaty rights and interests of the powers in China invariably within the framework of international law, these studies had one point in common: they were all recognizably inclined to approve a gradual revision of unequal treaties in face of rising Chinese nationalism.

Among other works which influenced the political study of modern China in the postwar years, it is necessary to mention a rural customs and practices survey conducted in North China by a group of Japanese jurists.<sup>1</sup> One of the participants in this project was Noboru Niida, who, influenced by the judicial ideas of Gantarō Suehiro, one of the few exponents of democratic civil jurisprudence in Japan at that time, built up his own schemes of judicial historiography and judicial sociology. Another was Yoshitarō Hirano, formerly of the *kōzaha*, who converted from Marxism and prepared the book, *Dai Ajiashugi no Rekishiteki Kiso* (Historical basis of Great Asianism) in 1945.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, it can be said of the prewar period that although there were surveys which were lacking in political discussion or a coherent system of views about modern China, there was no study worthy of political science in the strict sense of the word.

## 2. *Studies of Modern China After the War.*

Japan's defeat in the war completely changed her relations with China. The establishment of the Chinese Communist regime in 1949 was a very symbolic event which marked the finishing touch to that change.

The staff of the Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Co., and Tōa Kenkyūjo which were both dissolved in the first storm of democratization that fell upon Japan under the American occupation, as well as the scholars at

<sup>1</sup> The results of this survey project were published after the war, in seven volumes, over the period of 1952 to 1958. The publication committee included Noboru Niida, Masao Fukushima, Naokichi Ubukata, Shizumasa Andō, Tomo-o Uchida, Tadashi Konuma, Takashi Hatada, Etsurō Honda and Katsutarō Maeda.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis of China from the viewpoint of Western law dates back to Yorozu Oda, *Shinkoku Gyōseihō* (The Administrative Laws of China under the Ch'ing), 6 volumes, 1910-14. Further light has since been thrown on the subject from the viewpoint of public law only by Tsunetada Oikawa, who took up the same subject as part of his study on the government system of the Chinese Republic in his *Shina Seiji Seido no Kenkyū* (A study of the Chinese Government System), 1933. Also see, Masataka Banno, "Nihonjin no Chūgoku Kan—Oda Yorozu Haku no Chūgoku Gyōseihō wo megutte" (Japanese Views of China—In Reference to Dr. Yorozu Oda's "The Administrative Laws of China under the Ch'ing") in *Shisō*, Nos. 2 and 6, 1962.

universities, who suffered economic difficulties under inflation, made use of their store of knowledge of China to report the rapid political developments in that country and thus prepared some forces which contributed to the political scene of postwar Japan. Most of the wartime converts and pseudo-converts began to publish their Marxist views of the Chinese revolution in the form of commentaries, which were used as texts at study meetings of the Japanese left-wing as well as young men's cultural movements. These were mostly far from being scholarly studies and little more than rough political comments.<sup>1</sup> However, in so far as they clearly reflected a drift toward a renaissance in Japanese social science, those political arguments provided an important factor decisive in determining the way in which studies of modern China were conducted after the war.

The following table shows the number of articles and themes on modern China appearing in magazines and journals in the postwar years.

	Politics	Economy	Law	Society	Culture	Others	Total
1946	33	10	4	1	0	0	48
1947	26	27	3	5	6	7	74
1948	32	25	3	9	2	3	74
1949	236	120	11	23	10	66	465
1950	149	164	15	21	16	27	362
1951	107	104	12	9	30	17	279
1952	131	297	15	28	29	43	543
1953	87	238	22	44	58	53	502
1954	148	172	37	29	46	40	492
1955	280	434	47	34	125	120	1,040
1956	117	237	15	133	82	59	523
1957	142	197	20	20	110	41	525

Note: These figures have been derived from Tadao Ishikawa, "Sengo Nihon ni okeru Gendai Chūgoku Kankei Shuyō Zasshi Rombun Mokuroku" (List of Important Magazine Articles on Modern China in Postwar Japan), I-VI and Second Part I-II in *Hōgaku Kenkyū*, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 6-11; Vol. XXXI, Nos. 11-12. No critical inquiry into the basis of the data has been made here.

<sup>1</sup> *Chūgoku Hyōron* (China Review), No. 1, 1946, included Kō Nakanishi, "Shin Minshushugi Riron no Hatten" (The Development of the Theory of New Democracy); Yūichi Horie, "Chūgoku Shin Minshushugi no Sekai Shiteki Igi" (The World-Historical Significance of Chinese New Democracy); Tomoyuki Ishihama, "Chūgoku Minshuka to Beikoku no Yakuwari" (Democratization of China and America's Role); and Shōtarō Ozaki, "Chūkyō no Shin Minshushugi Sho-seisaku" (New Democratic Policies of Communist China). Also, Hirano's *Chūgoku ni okeru Shin Minshushugi Kakumei* (The New Democratic Revolution in China), 1949, was read widely. University students and intellectuals, thirsty for printed information at that time, drew energy for their democratic movement from these sources.

Writers who prepared two or more articles on modern China during 1946 were the following eight: Yoshitarō Hirano (5), Toshio Ueda (5), Kō Nakanishi (4), Michio Iwamura (3), Tomoyuki Ishihama (3), Kenzaburō Gushima (2), Ken'ichi Hatano (2), and Shōtarō Ozaki (2). Of these writers, the six consisting of Hirano, Nakanishi, Iwamura, Ishihama, Gushima and Ozaki were Marxists. Hirano in particular, as the founder and Director of *Chūgoku Kenkyūjo* (Institute for China Research), helped to organize postwar studies of modern China and form the first current in this field. This Institute at first concentrated efforts on commentary for public enlightenment, but steadily expanded its activity to substantive studies and published *Gendai Chūgoku Jiten* (Encyclopaedia of Modern China), 1954, *Shin Chūgoku Nenkan* (New China Yearbook), *Ajia Keizai Jumpō* (Ten-day Report on Asian Economies), *Chūgoku Kenkyū Geppō* (China Studies Monthly Bulletin), and *Chūgoku Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (Transactions of the Institute for China Research). Generally speaking, as seen in their approach to people's communes, these studies were strongly inclined to follow the bewildering changes in the political process of modern China in line with the legend of an infallible party. They were inferior in quality to the preceding studies by the Research Department of South Manchurian Railway Co. and other agencies existing before Japan's defeat, not only because they had to depend for material exclusively on official propaganda documents and newspapers supplied by the communist bloc but also because they were probably affected by the closed-mindedness peculiar to their Marxist framework of study. It was in such circumstances that the left-wing scholars and experts hoped the translations of foreign journalists' reportages would play a role in public enlightenment. The romantic picture of contemporary China which the translations of Edgar Snow, Jack Belden, Agnes Smedley and Anna Louise Strong invoked, together with the prospect of a democratic revolution in postwar Japan, corresponded to the drift of romantic attachment to social sciences which swept the scholars and experts both in and outside the established academic institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The second current in postwar studies of modern China was formed by the combination of the group that had taken part in the prewar survey of rural Chinese customs and practices with that drift of romantic views. For instance, Noboru Niida, in a lecture on Eastern culture sponsored by the Tokyo University Institute for Oriental Culture, launched criticism of Eastern authoritarianism and thus built up his basic position to view the land reform and the change of patriarchal authority in China.<sup>2</sup> Niida's position was significant in that it marked the origin of later studies of modern China in the same Institute. Also it provided the source from which came a series of Marxist studies of legislations and politics in China today by such scholars as Masao Fukushima and Kazuo

<sup>1</sup> The wartime repression of the liberties of study and thought provided a great factor to promote the democratic movement at that time in the form of a broad cooperation between the left wing and liberals. This tendency was remarkable also in publications.

<sup>2</sup> Niida continued to produce new results of his study successively. His views have been summed up in his *Chūgoku Hōsei Shi* (History of the Legal System of China), 1952.

Furushima.<sup>1</sup> These studies, while mutually influencing the Marxist theory of state power advanced by Yūji Takahashi of the Institute of Social Science, had something in common with the way in which Yoshimi Takeuchi presented problems in the field of intellectual history and Kōichi Nomura approached the modernization of China, in that they were based on intense romanticism about the contemporary Chinese scene.<sup>2</sup>

What Japanese intellectuals experienced from Japan's expansion on the continent and the subsequent defeat in the war were the greatness of the Chinese nation and the absurdity of the past Japanese views of that country. Such were also ideas underlying Takeuchi's conception, and they concurred as well with the origin of Nomura's system of views on the point that, as far as China was concerned, the Japanese must more fully realize their crime of aggression than they did from the judgment of the Far Eastern International Tribunal. This realization of Japan's relations with new China has become stronger and continued in existence through the polarization arising from the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. It may be herein that the paradox lies that most of the Japanese scholars and experts of Chinese affairs, while knowing their country is tied to the West, wish to see neutralism carried through even at the risk of their wavering toward Peking from the point of equilibrium between the two blocs.

Such being the general atmosphere prevailing in China studies in Japan, most scholars of Eastern history have taken an attitude of total and consistent devotion to Mao Tse-tung's ideas in discussing affairs of China today. This means that, studies of modern China in the field of Eastern history, which con-

<sup>1</sup> For Masao Fukushima's works, see "Jinmin Minshu Tōitsu Sensen to Jinmin Minshu Dokusai—Minzoku Burujoajii no Sokumen kara" (People's Democratic United Front and Democratic Dictatorship—as Seen from the Aspect of the Nationalistic Bourgeoisie) in the *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, No. 25, 1961; "Chūgoku ni okeru Rōdōsha no Henkaku to Rōdō no Shin Soshiki—Hattensuru Chūgoku Rōdō Hō no Roporutāju (Reshaping of the Workers and the New Organization of Labour in China—A Reportage on Developing Labour Laws of China) in *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, No. 21, 1960; "Jinmin Kōsha to Koruhōzu" (People's Communes and Kolkhoz), *ibid.*; "Shoyū Sei kara mita Jinmin Kōsha" (People's Communes in the Light of Ownership) in *Chūgoku Shakaishugi no Kenkyū* (Study of Chinese Socialism), Chūgoku Kenkyūjo, 1959; etc.

For Kazuo Furushima, see "Kōnichi Jiki no Chūkyō no Tochi Seisaku" (Chinese Communists' Land Policy in the Period of the Anti-Japanese War) in *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, Nos. 9 and 10, 1956: "Chūgoku no Tochi Kaikaku to Funō Mondai" (China's Land Reform and the Question of Wealthy Farmers) in *Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū*, Nos. 9–10, 1957: etc.

<sup>2</sup> Yoshimi Takeuchi, *Gendai Chūgoku Ron* (Discussion on Modern China), 1951. Kōichi Nomura's fundamental views have been stated in his "Shinmatsu Kōyō Gakuha no Keisei to Kō Yu-i no Rekishiteki Igi" (The Formation of the Kungyang School in the Late Ch'ing Period and the Historical Significance of Kang Yu-wei) in *Kokkagakkai Zasshai*, Vol. LXXI, No. 1 and Vol. LXXII, No. 2, 1957–1958.

stitute the third current of postwar China studies, have had their system of views drastically changed to that of a new type of political study by younger generations, with a few exceptions such as the late Fumio Odake who might be regarded as having carried over the prewar type of political pursuits.

Supported by new studies developing in medieval and more modern history of the East, many of these young scholars, in opposition to Karl Wittfogel's explanation of history by the concept of stagnation, tried to give a clearcut account of the whole of modern China by means of a black-and-white interpretation of history drawing solely on the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." With the exception of such scholars as Zendai Hatano and Hirotada Kitamura, who were tackling problems more pragmatically,<sup>1</sup> others tended to dispose of the real difficulties facing a study of contemporary history by relying upon the abstract category of class and the cult of the people in historical interpretation. Yutaka Nozawa's *Son Bun Den* (Life of Sun Wên or Yat-sen) 1961, represented a conscious attempt at making up for these faults, and is perhaps a master piece which was more successful in inquiring into new material and throwing light on the continuity carried forward from Sun Yat-sen to Mao Tse-tung than was the prewar or wartime life of Sun Yat-sen by Gen'ichi Suzue or by Yûji Takahashi. However, the radicalism which carries itself through Nozawa's study was actually little more than a substitute for Marxist concepts which he tried to avoid. It was probably because of this fact that the image of Sun Yat-sen as a personality would be obscure to the reader's mind.

The fourth current in the postwar period is found in the impact of the Western and particularly the American approach. Besides Nomura, who was trained in the methods of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, the first generation of scholars in Toshio Ueda's group were components of this current. Holding the chair of Eastern political and diplomatic history and concurrently of Chinese affairs in the new course of international relations at the Humanities Department of Tokyo University founded by the efforts of Tadao Yanaihara, Toshio Ueda shifted emphasis of his study from international law to diplomatic history after the war,<sup>2</sup> and published a series of works covering the periods since late Ch'ing Dynasty. *Gendai Chûgoku wo meguru Sekai no Gaiikô* (World Diplomacy over Modern China), 1951, was his compilation and marked a milestone along the way to a full-fledged study of international relations after the war. One of

<sup>1</sup> For instance, see Hirotada Kitamura, "Kôtsû Ginkô Shakkan no Seiritsu Jijô (Circumstances of the Contracting of a Loan to the Transportation Bank) in *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* (Socio-Economic History), Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1961; and Zendai Hatano, "Nishihara Shakkan no Kihonteki Kôsô" (Basic Ideas of the Nishihara Loans) in *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kinen Ronshû* (Commemorative Collection of Themes of Literature Department, Nagoya University), 1959.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, see "Dai-ichiji Taisen ni okeru Nihon no Sansen Gaiikô" (Japans' Foreign Policy Relating to her Entry into World War I) in *Kindai Chûgoku Kenkyû* (Studies of Modern China) ed. by Noboru Niida, 1948; and "Kankoku Heigô wo meguru Kokusai Kankei" (International Relations over the Annexation of Korea) in *Gendai Kokusaihō no Kadai* (Problems of International Law Today), a collection of studies in homage to Prof. Yokota, 1958.

the contributors to this book, Masataka Banno,<sup>1</sup> under the influence of Masao Maruyama, the leading scholar of advanced political science, introduced for the first time the methods of political behaviour study into China studies, and approached along the same line the pre-history of the May 30th Movement.<sup>2</sup> Banno was also a co-author, along with Shinkichi Etō, of a theme contributed to the Japan Political Science Association's annual report, *Sengo Sekai Seiji to Beikoku* (Postwar World Politics and the United States), 1954, in which he made a political analysis of the history of the Chinese Communist Party. Etō, who was the first to apply rational political science models to the history of the Chinese Communists,<sup>3</sup> has since been continually investigating the cases of bias from those models of the Chinese Communist policies.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to Etō, Yasunobu Somura, beginning with a study of irrational models in international political history, gropes for the direction in which modernization is moving. This attempt of Somura was brought to light in his works devoted to the history of Japan-China relations.<sup>5</sup> The second generation of scholars in Ueda's group have begun, under the impact of the first generation, to make full-scale, searching inquiry into the history of the Chinese Communist Party, Sun Wên (Yat-sen), and Japan-China and US-China relations by means of first-hand materials made available to them by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Agency after the war. These scholars are, however, under the intricate influence of new trends in American political science and area studies and more open-minded Marxists in the Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai and are completely lacking in a uniform frame of reference among themselves. The frequent interaction between this second generation of scholars and other groups has given rise to the tendency to draw a frame of reference for analysis from these latter groups.<sup>6</sup> This tendency may be an example of the distinction of generations which symbolizes a natural transfiguration taking place in the position of Japanese research after the war.

1 Masataka Banno, "Gaikō Kōshō ni okeru Shinmatsu Kanjin no Kōdō Yōshiki" (The Behavioural Pattern of Late Ch'ing Mandarins in Diplomatic Negotiations) in *Kokusaihō Gaikō Zasshi* (Journal of International Law and Foreign Policy), Nos. 10 and 11, 1949.

2 "Dai-ichiji Taisen kara 5.30 made—Kokken Kaifuku Undō Shi Oboegaki" (From World War I to May 30th—Notes on the History of the Sovereignty Rights Restoration Movement).

3 Shinkichi Etō, "Chūgoku Kyōsantō to Kōnichī Minzoku Tōitsu Sensen Hōshiki" (The Chinese Communist Party and the Formula of United National Front against Japan) in *Ajia Kenkyū*, No. 1, 1956.

4 For instance, "Chūgoku Saisho no Kyōsan Seiken—Kairikuho Sobieto Shi" (The First Communist Regime in China—A History of the Haifeng-Lufeng Soviet) in *Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū*, 2nd issue, 1959.

5 Yasunobu Somura, *Kindai Shi Kenkyū—Nihon to Chūgoku* (A Study of Modern History—Japan and China), 1958.

6 Shigeaki Uno, "Dai-ichiji Kokkyō Gassaku Seiritsu wo meguru Kominterun to Kyōsantō" (The Comintern and the Communist Party on the First Nationalist-Communist Cooperation) in *Ajia Kenkyū*, Vol. VI, No. 3 and Vol. VII, 1, 1959 and 1960. Shōzō Fujii, "1920 Nen Anchoku Sensō wo meguru Nitchū Kankei no Ichi Kōsatsu" (A Study of Japan-China Relations on the Anhwei-Chihli Provincial War of 1920) in *Kokusai Seiji* (International Poli-

A field where younger generations achieved considerable results in their studies is the history of international relations concerning China between the Wars. In this field, which constitutes the fifth current, there are, among other works, several special editions of *Kokusai Seiji* (International Politics) issued by Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai (Japan International Politics Association), in addition to Ueda's two compilations, *Taiheiyō Sensō Gen'in Ron* (The Causes of the Pacific War), 1953, and *Taiheiyō Sensō Shūketsu Ron* (The Termination of the Pacific War), 1958.<sup>1</sup> These are for the most part based on the material which was made accessible for the public only after the war, and are indicative of a tendency to surpass the tradition of a simple type of diplomatic history centring on one country. The joint study project on *Taiheiyō Sensō e no Michi* (The Road to the Pacific War) with Jun Tsunoda as its director has been proceeding with a will to demonstrate the high level reached in this direction. It is worth noticing that, among the young generation of scholars contributing to this tendency, a common attitude of apprehending the discipline of diplomatic history within the framework of international history has been growing as a result of the influence of Marxism and the theories of international relations.

Presenting a contrast to Etō in Chinese Communist Party history is Tadao Ishikawa of Keiō University. His work, *Chūgoku Kyōsantō Shi Kenkyū* (A Study of the History of the Chinese Communist Party), 1959, comprises themes worthy of a historian who has detected faults hidden between the lines of the official party histories and investigated them one by one in the light of material. On the whole, it gives a view of the Chinese Communist Party in positivist perspective. It indicates the height of a level reached in this field in postwar Japan in that it sought to outrun American achievements from which it had received

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tics), 1961 issue, entitled *Nitchū Kankei no Tenkai* (Development of Japan-China Relations). Akira Yamagiwa, "Taisen chū no Beika Kankei" (US-China Relations during the War) in an extra issue of *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, 1961. Hiroharu Seki, "1918 Nen Nitchū Gunji Kyōtei Seiritsu Shi Joron—Terauchi Naikaku ni okeru Tai Chūgoku Seisaku Kettei Katei no Kōzōteki Bunseki" (An Introductory Study of the Conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Military Agreement of 1918—a Structural Analysis of the Process of China Policy Decision by the Terauchi Cabinet) in *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, No. 26, 1962; and "1917 Nen Harubin Kakumei—Harubin Sobieto Juritsu wo meguru Kokusai Seijigaku-teki Ichi Kōsatsu" (The Harbin Revolution of 1917—A Study of International Politics over the Establishment of the Harbin Soviet) in *Kokusaihō Gaiikō Zasshi*, Vol. LIX, Nos. 5 and 6, 1958. Under the strong influence of decision-making theory and behavioural science, Seki has pointed toward a new direction in theorization.

<sup>1</sup> *Taishō Gaiikō Shi Kenkyū* (Study of Foreign Policy in the Taishō Period), 1958; *Shōwa Gaiikō Shi Kenkyū* (Study of Foreign Policy in the Shōwa Period), 1960; and, *Nitchū Kankei no Tenkai* (The Development of Japan-China Relations), 1961. Also, Takeo Horikawa, *Kyōkutō Kokusai Seiji Shi Josetsu* (Introduction to the History of International Politics in the Far East), 1958; Ikuhiko Hata, *Nitchū Sensō Shi* (History of the Japan-China War), 1961. Etō and Katsumi Usui have also produced achievements of their study in this field.

ed an impact. It is in itself representative of a sixth current of the postwar studies.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, it should be noted that Koretada Sakamoto, besides Ueda, has published several studies of international relations concerning the frontiers of Sinkiang, Mongolia and Tibet.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that thirteen biographies of Mao Tse-tung, including translations, have been published in Japan is worth mentioning because it may answer the question of what is the knot to be untied in the postwar study of modern China. Of these biographies, the most substantive is, ironically enough, the translation of Robert Payne's work. Compared with the great number of commentary articles on current developments in China, full-fledged studies of the political process of the country have been limited in number, and this is responsible for the fact that naive political accounts are rampant, whether they are rightwing or leftwing. Among these, however, *Chūkyō Seiken no Genjō Bunseki* (Analysis of the Chinese Communist Regime Today) compiled by *Nihon Gaisei Gakkai* (Japan Foreign Studies Institute) in 1961,<sup>3</sup> which is a collection of analytical studies in several aspects of the political development of China today, may

<sup>1</sup> In Ishikawa's group are included Hideo Yamada and Noriyuki Tokuda. See, Ishikawa and Tokuda, "Kōsei Sobieto Ki ni okeru Kōnichi Minzoku Tōitsu Sensen no Sho-mondai" (Problems of the United National Front against Japan in the Period of the Kiangsi Soviet) in *Hōgaku Kenkyū*, Vol. XXXI, No. 7, 1958.

Outside Ishikawa's group, the following historical studies of the Chinese Communist Party are dispersed. Motonosuke Amano, "Dai-niji Kokunai Kakumei Sensō" (The Second Civil War of Revolution) in *Matsuyama Shōdai Ronshū* (Matsuyama College of Commerce Collection of Themes), Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4. Takayoshi Fujii, "Bukan Seifu Jidai ni okeru Kokyō Kankei" (Nationalist-Communist Relations in the Period of the Wuhan Government) in *Hōgaku Ronsō*, Vol. LXII, No. 6: "Kakumei Konkyochi no Juritsu Mondai" (The Question of Establishing Revolutionary Bases) in *Kiyō* (Transactions) of the Educational Research Institute of the Kurume Branch of Fukuoka University of Education and Liberal Arts, No. 6; and "Kōnichi Minzoku Tōitsu Sensen ni kansuru Ichi Kōsatsu" (A Study of the United National Front against Japan) in *Ajia Kenkyū*, Vol. IIX, Nos. 2 and 3, 1961; Masanori Fujita, "Hō Shi-bin to Bin-Setsu-Kan Sobieto" (Fan Chih-ming and the Fukien-Chekian-Kiangsi Soviet) in *Ajia Kenkyū*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1960; Yūji Muramatsu, "Shoki no Chūgoku Kyōsantō to Nōmin" (The Chinese Communist Party in its Early Years and the Peasantry) in *Ajia—Kako to Genzai* (Asia: Past and Present), 1960; Teichō Mikami, "Chūzan Kan Jiken no Ichi Kōsatsu" (A Study of the Incident of the Warship Chungshan) in *Tōyōgaku Ronsō* (Journal of Eastern Studies). Shinji Kojima, "Chūgoku Dai-ichiji Kokunai Kakumei Sensō Jiki ni okeru Nōmin no Mondai ni tsuite" (The Question of Peasants in the Period of the First Chinese Civil War of Revolution) in *Rekishi to Minshū* (History and People), 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Toshio Ueda, "Chibetto Mondai wo Haramu Chūin Kankei" (Sino-Indian Relations over the Tibetan Issue) in *Kyōsan Ken Mondai* (Problems of the Communist Sphere), Vol. IV, No. 2, 1960. Koretada Sakamoto, "Mōko Jinmin Kyōwakoku Gaikan" (An Outline of the Mongol People's Republic), 1952; and "Gendai no So-Mō Kankei" (Soviet-Mongol Relations Today) in *Refarensu*, No. 108, 1960; and Hideo Yamada, "Shinkyō wo meguru Chū-So Kankei—Sei Sesai no Jiki wo Chūshin ni shite" (Sino-Soviet Relations over Sinkiang—with Special Reference to the Rule of Sheng Shih-tsai) in *Hōgaku Kenkyū*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 6, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Contributors other than Etō, Ishikawa and Ueda are Tadao Miyashita, Jūzō Ieda, Yasushi Ōkubo, and Ryōzō Kurai.

be the only contribution to this field. Also Kokusai Mondai Kenkyūjo (Institute of International Affairs) of Aichi University, with its competent staff including Teiichi Ikegami, Hidebumi Matsuba, Ichirō Kawasaki, and Hiro-o Mukōyama, has issued several publications on domestic and foreign policies of China today.<sup>1</sup> Again, Yūji Takahashi and Atsushi Asai of the Tokyo University Institute of Social Science have given a kind of interpretation to the structure of political power and law in China from their Marxist viewpoints.<sup>2</sup> These achievements, however, fall far short of analyzing the political behaviour and system in motion and thus discussing the political process on a functional basis. So much so that we may safely say that we can see a more realistic approach to China today in *Chūgoku Seiji Keizai Sōran* (A General Survey of Chinese Politics and Economy), three editions, by Ajia Seikei Gakkai (Society for Asian Political and Economic Studies).

### 3. Future Prospect

While the prewar generation of scholars were best informed of contemporary China immediately following the War, the postwar generation of them have remarkably increased the degree of horizontal communication among themselves, beyond the vertical order of personal ties. There have been more opportunities for them to join learned societies of a different school or take part in their meetings regardless of personal ties. Even a group rather close to Marxism, for instance, the society formed to study the history of the South Manchurian Railway including Tadayoshi Nijima and Hikotarō Andō<sup>3</sup> has shown a tendency to lay more emphasis on interpretations faithful to the source material. Generally speaking, the sense of frustration arising from personal relations in the old system of research in and outside the academic institutions has provided a factor to cause younger generations to turn to radical and single-hearted arguments on China today. An attempt at reforming this system of research or, so to speak, "structural

<sup>1</sup> *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku no Kokka Taisei to Kihon Dōkō* (The State System and Basic Trends of the People's Republic of China), 1954; *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Hōrei Mokuroku* (List of Legislations of the People's Republic of China), 1954, both edited by *Kokusai Mondai Kenkyūjo* (Institute of International Affairs) of Aichi University; Hiro-o Mukōyama, "Chūgoku Kyōsantō Rōdō Rippō Shiryō, Sono Ichi—Chūka Sobieto Kyōwakoku Rōdō Hō; 1931-1934 (Material on Labour Legislations of the Chinese Communist Party, Part One—The Labour Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic: 1931-34) in the Aichi University Collection of Legal and Economic Themes, No. 10, 1954; and "Chūka Sobieto Kyōwakoku Tochi-hō" (Land Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic) in *Ajia Kenkyū*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1956. Also see, Ichirō Kawasaki, *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Gaiō Shiryō Sōran* (A Survey of Foreign Policy Data of the People's Republic of China), 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Yūji Takahashi, *Chūgoku Jinmin Kakumei no Kenkyū* (A Study of the Chinese People's Revolution), 1960, and others.

<sup>3</sup> This group issues its bulletin, *Kenkyū Nōto Nitshū Mondai* (Study Notes on Japan-China Affairs), to which young scholars from Waseda University contribute. Nijima is willing to introduce a new type of technical principles into the field of educational history.

reform" has so far been made only by scholars who constitute the nucleus of, for instance, the Seminar on Modern China set up within Tōyō Bunko.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, studies of modern China in the circles around the academic institutions remain, on the whole, at a low level, and this is responsible for the continuation of the circumstances which allow official agencies such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Cabinet Investigation Bureau as well as the research staffs of newspapers to monopolize the holding of a great store of information about China. These agencies and staffs have so far conducted a number of substantive research projects.<sup>2</sup>

Only recently, the Chinese Affairs Section of the Institute of Asian Economic Affairs established in 1958 has started operating, along with Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyūjo (Japan Institute of International Affairs) which has embarked on a common study project on China. These developments are pointing toward the possibility that the gap of information between academic institutions and government agencies may be made up for, and that factional seclusionism existing between universities and between disciplines may give place to a practice to be established on a new dimension. The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs is organizing a study project on the political structure of contemporary China and has already published a series of joint studies of the Chinese economy. The Japan Institute of International Affairs, with Ishikawa as the leader, is seeking to collect comprehensive historical material on the Chinese Communist Party to cover the period after the year with which Ken'ichi Hatano concluded his *Chūgoku Kyōsantō Shi* (A History of the Chinese Communist Party). It must be noted that the operation of these semi-governmental institutions is likely to bring together scholars of modern China in a horizontal organization through the

<sup>1</sup> In this connection, Etō has made a proposal in his "*Chūkyō Shi Kenkyū Nōto*" (cited). The Seminar on Modern China of Tōyō Bunko has been operated by Chūzō Ichiko and others.

<sup>2</sup> The Agricultural Land Division, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, *Chūgoku Kyōsantō no Shōkō Seisaku* (Commercial and Industrial Policies of the Chinese Communist Party) and *Chūgoku Kaihō Chiku Tochi Kaikaku Mondai Shiryō Shū* (Collection of Material on the Land Reform in the Liberated Areas of China), 1949. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Sengo ni okeru Chūgoku Seiji* (Chinese Politics after the War), 1948; *Chūgoku Gairon* (An Outline of China), 1949; *Gendai Chūgoku Jinmei Jiten* (Biographical Dictionary of Modern China), 1957; *Chūkyō Jūyō Tainichi Genron Shū* (Important Statements and Announcements on Japan in Communist China), Vol. I, II, III, and IV, respectively 1952, 54, 58, and 59; and *Chūkyō to Ajia San Kyōsan Koku tonō Kankei* (Communist China's Relations with Three Other Communist Countries in Asia), 1961; Cabinet Investigation Bureau, *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Soshiki Betsu Jinmei Hyō*" (List of Names of the People's Republic of China by Organizations), 1959; Asahi Shimbun Sha, *Gen Dankai ni Tatsu Chūgoku Seiji* (Chinese Politics as It Stands at Present), 1957 and *Chūka Jinmin Kyōwakoku Chūō Jinmin Seifu no Zaisei Keizai Kōsaku* (Financial and Economic Operations of the People's Central Government of the Chinese People's Republic), 1953 and 1954.

medium of research funds supplied them.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Japanese social scientists are not well prepared to tackle problems of China today. It is true that Japanese political scientists and sociologists of younger generations have reached the stage of adopting accurately a variety of the most advanced approaches to subjects in their respective fields, including comparative politics seen in Gabriel Almond's work. But, because of the language barrier and defects in the system of research, they are still far from applying a weapon of analysis based on a coherent system of views to the vast, unknown realm of modern China. If this becomes possible, the young Japanese scholars will find themselves in a far advantageous position to their American colleagues who are so often prone to a bias in their study of Communist China because their image of the country is too negative to be safeguarded from partiality. Also it is certain that the traditional store of information will provide strong backing for those Japanese scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Independently from these moves, the Kyoto University Humanities Institute, with funds received from the Ministry of Education, is undertaking a broad comparative study of revolutions in Asia and Europe. This is a pioneer project of inter-disciplinary cooperation. The director of the research project is Takeo Kuwabara, and of the section on China the following take part in the study: Tetsuo Horikawa, Hirotada Kitamura, Hideo Kondō, Boshin Naitō, Kenji Shimada, Kazuko Ono, Shinji Ono, Hidemi Onokawa, and Hikoshichirō Sato.

# DEVELOPMENT OF STUDIES ON COMMUNIST CHINESE ECONOMY IN POSTWAR JAPAN

TADA0 MIYASHITA

## 1. *Researchers and Branches of Study*

Japan was defeated in World War II, and placed under the control of Allied Powers, with her foreign relations severed for several years following the end of the hostilities. In addition to the serious moral collapse the mass of the people experienced as a consequence of the defeat, the lack of necessities, and the rapidly mounting vicious inflation brought the people to exhaust their abilities and energy in the desperate effort to pick up their bare livelihood.

Even in these circumstances where the people at large could not think of anything other than their day to day living, far-sighted minds in the nation saw the possibility ahead that Japan's position would sooner or later improve in Asia and especially were convinced that new relations would come into being and develop with China. In fact, the Allied policy of control over Japan took a different turn, and Japan was allowed to resume her private foreign trade on a limited scale by August 1947, and then to expand it in August 1948. In the meantime, a peace treaty for Japan was appearing on the official schedule. In this way, the above insight and confidence grew into reality. On the other hand, in mainland China, a civil war had broken out between the Nationalist and Communist forces, and this made it inevitable that the Chinese Communist Party would participate in some way or other in a new government to be formed in the country.

In view of these developments, it was worth noticing that Chūgoku Kenkyūjo (Institute for China Research) had already been established in January 1946 as a private organization devoted to China studies (with Mr. Yoshitarō Hirano as Chief Director). This institute promptly began to issue *Ajia Keizai Jumpō* and *Chūgoku Shiryō Geppō*, though, at first, it was working on an inquiry into the political and economic conditions of China under the Nationalist regime. An article on the trends of China's foreign trade after the war which Mr. Hideo Yonezawa contributed to *Ajia Bōeki no Tembō* (The Prospect of Asian Trade) compiled by the Foreign Trade Committee of Chūgoku Kenkyūjo (Tōyō Keizai Shimpō Sha, 1948) was dealing with the trade conditions of China under the Nationalists. However, Chūgoku Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Chūgoku Keizai Yōran*, published shortly before (Dōyū Sha, December 1947), had treated the economic conditions of the Communist-controlled districts along with those of Nationalist China.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Already, by June 1946, a translation respectively of *New Democracy* (by Tōichi Nawa and Shōtarō Ozaki) and by September of the same year *Protracted Warfare* (by Shōtarō Ozaki) had been published by Jinmin Sha, as part of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and with a preface by Sanzō Nosaka.

From 1949 (by the beginning of this year, the Chinese Communists' hegemony over the mainland had become decisive) to 1950, monographs dealing with the economy of the Communist districts were published in Japan, as follows: Shōtarō Ozaki, *Chūkyō no Nōgyō Seisaku* (The Agricultural Policy of the Chinese Communists), Sekai Shoin, March 1949; Tōichi Nawa and Tarō Tokuda, *Chūgoku Kaihōku no Keizai Seisaku* (The Economic Policy in the Liberated Areas of China), Tōhō Shokyoku, April 1949; Seiryū Miyazaki, *Chūkyō wa donna Keizai Seisaku wo Okonauka* (What Economic Policy Are the Chinese Communists Going to Carry Out?), Jitugyō no Nihon Sha, July 1949; Kōshirō Shiowaki, *Chūgoku Rōdō Undō Shi* (A History of the Labour Movement in China), in two vols., Hakuyōsha, May and August 1949; Michio Iwamura and Shōtarō Ozaki, *Shin Chūgoku no Keizai Kensetsu* (The Economic Construction of New China), Tōyō Keizai Shimpō Sha, February 1950. In the same period, the following books on the Chinese economy<sup>1</sup> also appeared. Yūji Muramatsu, *Chūgoku Keizai no Shakai Taisei* (The Social System of the Chinese Economy), Tōyō Keizai Shimpō Sha, July 1949; Shunzō Kawai, *Sengo Chūgoku Keizai no Bunseki* (An Analysis of the Postwar Chinese Economy), Keiyū Sha, October 1949; Nagao Watanabe, *Chūgoku Shihonshugi Keizai to Sengo Keizai* (China's Capitalist Economy and Postwar Economy), Tōyō Keizai Shimpō Sha, February 1950; and the same author's *Shin Chūgoku Tsūka Ron* (Currency in New China), Sekai Keizai Chōsakai, October 1950. These works treated problems of the Communist Chinese economy though partially and, along with the books already mentioned, provided historic documents on the Communist Chinese economy in the period before the People's Republic was established.

However it was perhaps in 1951 that studies of new China made remarkable progress through the efforts of the scholars and researchers in this field. Such progress was symbolized by the establishment of the Gendai Chūgoku Gakkai (Society for Studies of Modern China). This society came into being on May 26, 1951, and its first study meeting was held at Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, on October 28. By this time, the People's Republic of China had built up its foundation, so that its existence could not be ignored. First-hand materials for the study of new China had also been made available to the Japanese students in the field of Chinese affairs, though yet inadequately, while the living conditions of scholars had been improving gradually. Further, there was an intense controversy in political world over what formula a peace treaty for Japan should take. On the other hand, Japan's export embargo policy against Communist China which began in December 1950 had virtually severed so-far

<sup>1</sup> In this period, there were unpublished government papers on the Communist Chinese economy. Of these, the following are in the possession of this writer. Chūgoku Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Chūgoku Kaihō Chūku Tochi Kaikaku Kankei Shiryō* (Materials on the Land Reform in the Liberated Districts of China), Farmland Division, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, March 1949; *Chūkyō Gairon* (An Outline of Communist China), First Section, Research Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 1949. This book was published later, as Jūzō Yoshikawa, *Chūkyō Soran* (A General Survey of Communist China) by Jiji Tsūshinsha, August 1950.

increasing Japan-China trade. These circumstances, put together, drove researchers into studies of new China. Those who wanted to study the Chinese economy were of course no exception.

On April 28, 1952, the San Francisco Treaty became effective, but the formula adopted here was a peace settlement with the countries except Communist China, the Soviet Union and other communist countries (or it was the so-called separate peace formula). Since then diplomatic relations have not been resumed between Japan and Communist China. Despite such a limitation and other difficulties, however, China studies have steadily developed in Japan.

In order to grasp an idea of the present conditions of the researchers engaged in the study of Communist China's economy, this writer has prepared a list of them, which will be found attached at the end of this article. In preparing this list, the writer at first singled out those who had fairly often contributed a fairly long article on the Communist Chinese economy to the academic journals which Kōbe University had received by the beginning of this year since the end of the last war and added to them the authors of scholarly monographs on the Communist Chinese economy. Needless to say, the list does not include all researchers concerned, but will serve to give an outline picture of China studies in this field. It must be added that most of these "researchers of the Communist Chinese economy" are "experts majoring in the economy of Communist China", while a few on the list have another field of their own.

The total number of the researchers listed here is seventy-seven. Considering that practically no economist in Japan failed to discuss Chinese affairs during the war years, the number is very small. But, in the light of visible and invisible limitations on researchers of the Chinese economy, their existence is certainly invaluable, no matter how small their number may be.

Of these seventy-seven, fifty-one (or 66.2 per cent of the total) hold office in Tokyo and Yokohama. Of the fifty-one, 22 are from universities, 11 from Chūgoku Kenkyūjo, 5 from government offices, another 5 from newspapers, and 8 from others. The percentage of those from Chūgoku Kenkyūjo is worthy of note. As far as I know, of those who hold office at universities and other research institutions or organizations, there are at least 6 persons of whom some were and others are now on the staff of Chūgoku Kenkyūjo in addition to the eleven mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> What is worth noticing next is the fact that many private universities in Tokyo have researchers of the Chinese economy.

The remaining 26 (or 33.8 per cent of the total) are scattered in various districts of the country where they hold office at universities. Of these districts the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe area, next to Tokyo, has more researchers of the Chinese economy than others or 15 in all (8 in Osaka, 4 in Kyoto, and 3 in Kōbe), most of whom have been working continuously on some joint study project.

Another point which should be made here is that of the total 48 researchers of the Chinese economy who hold office at universities, only 11 are at state universities. (Compare this number with the sizable staff of the private institution, Chūgoku Kenkyūjo.) Although state universities have a number of

<sup>1</sup> For research activities of Chūgoku Kenkyūjo; see Mr. Akira Doi's article in this issue.

researchers on old China, only two or three of them have a chair of modern Chinese economy.

The list attached to the end of this article contains a statement of the branch of study for individual researchers of the Chinese economy which has been prepared on the basis of their published works. In brief, an overwhelming majority of them is made up with those who directly deal with such problems in the course of development of the Chinese economy as the rehabilitation of economy pursuant to the progress of the revolution in China, the progress of socialist industrialization, the achievement of socialist transformation and the rise and development of people's communes. Of the works covering these broad subjects and published in book form, more worthy of mentioning are: Masataka Yamana, *Chūgoku Keizai no Kōzōteki Kenkyū* (A Structural Study of the Chinese Economy), Chūō Keizai Sha, 1954; Shirō Miyoshi, *Han-hōkenteki Tochishoyū Ron—Chūgoku no Tochi Kaikaku to Waga Kuni no Nōchi Kaikaku* (Semi-feudal Landownership—the Land Reform of China and the Farmland Reform of this Country), Tōkō Shoin, 1956; Osaka City University Institute for Economic Research (ed.), *Chūgoku no Keizai Kensetsu* (The Economic Construction of China), Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1956; the same Institute (ed.), *Chūgoku to Indo no Keizai Hatten* (Economic Development in China and India), Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1957; Sōichirō Giga, *Gendai Chūgoku no Kigyō Keitai* (Types of Business Enterprise of Contemporary China), Moriyama Shoten, 1959; Yoshihiro Shimizu, *Chūgoku Keizai no Shomondai* (Problems of the Chinese Economy), Senbundō, 1959; Chūgoku Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Chūgoku Shakaishugi no Kenkyū—Jinmin Kōsha no Bunseki* (A Study of Chinese Socialism—An Analysis of People's Communes), Gōdō Shuppansha, 1959; Shigeru Ishikawa, *Chūgoku ni okeru Shihon Chikuseki Kikō* (The Mechanism of Capital Accumulation in China), Iwanami Shoten, 1960; Shigeru Ishikawa (ed.), *Chūgoku Keizai Hatten no Tōkeiteki Kenkyū* (Statistical Studies of the Chinese Economic Development), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1960; Masao Fukushima, *Jinmin Kōsha no Kenkyū* (A Study of People's Communes), Ochanomizu Shobō, 1961; Shin'ichirō Satō, *Chūgoku Kyōsantōno Nōgyō Shūdanka Seisaku* (Farm Collectivization Policy of the Chinese Communist Party), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1961; Akira Doi (ed.), *Chūgoku Jinmin Kōsha no Soshiki to Kinō* (Organization and Functions of the Chinese People's Communes), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1961; Motonosuke Amano (ed.), *Gendai Chūgoku Keizai Ron* (Treatise on the Chinese Economy Today), Minerva Shobō, 1961; and Fumio Kusano, *Chūkyō Keizai Kenkyū* (A Study of the Economy of Communist China), Meigen Shobō, 1962. In addition, a mention may be made of a book written by Mr. Jirō Yamamura whose name does not appear on the list attached to the end of this article, i.e., *Shin Chūgoku no Kikai Kōgyō* (The Machine Industry of New China), Tōa Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1960. If the fact is taken into account that the conditions of the Japanese publishing world work against the printing of monographs on such a subject as the Chinese economy, it is observed that no small number of writers have published many works enough for a volume, even though they have not had a monograph printed yet.

In addition to what have been referred to above, there are further monographs

relating to foreign trade, particularly Japan-China trade, as follows: Tadao Miyashita, *Chū-Nichi Bōeki no Kenkyū* (A Study of Sino-Japanese Trade), Nihon Gaisei Gakkai, 1955. Kentarō Hiraoka, *Nitchū Bōeki Ron* (Treatise on Japan-China Trade), Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1956; Hideo Yonezawā, *Chūgoku no Keizai Hatten Gokanen Keikaku to Taigai Bōeki* (The Five-Year Economic Development Plan and Foreign Trade of China), Nihon Chūgoku Keizai Dōhōsha, 1958; and Tadao Miyashita, *Chūgoku no Bōeki Soshiki* (China's Foreign Trade Machinery), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1961. Among monographs on currency and finance, there are Kiyoyuki Tokunaga and Tsuyoshi Miki, *Shin Chūgoku no Kin'yū Kikō* (The Financial System of New China), Yūhikaku, 1958; and Kin'yū Seido Kenkyūkai (Society for Study of Financial Systems), *Chūgoku no Kin'yū Seido* (The Financial System of China), Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1960. Also there are monographs on the economy of the Chinese overseas. These are Takashi Suyama, *Kakyō Shakai—Seiryoku to Seitai* (Overseas Chinese Communities—Strength and Ecology), Kokusai Nihon Kyōkai, 1955; Yoshimasa Okada, *Chūgoku no Keizai Kensetsu to Kakyō* (The Economic Construction of China and the Chinese Overseas), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1960; and Hiroshi Matsuo, *Maraya no Kakyō to Inkyō* (Chinese and Indians in Malaya), Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1961.

## 2. *Methods of Study and Points of Discussion*

Anyone of this country who claims himself to be an expert of the Communist Chinese economy is making efforts to read source materials in the form of newspapers, journals, and books sent from mainland China, to pursue every economic affair, and to appraise it as accurately as possible in order to grasp a systematic understanding of what is taking place in this neighbour of Japan.

It is a minimum requirement of the researcher of Chinese economy in postwar Japan to be able to read materials written in Chinese for himself. Although there are some scholars of Soviet economy in Japan who depend for their study exclusively upon literature written in English or translated into Japanese, this is scarcely the case with the experts of Chinese economy. Before and during the war, not a few scholars of Chinese economy depended upon English-language literature alone for information, but the state of things has completely changed.

The Chinese and the Japanese languages share the same characters (that is, Chinese characters), but among the educated Japanese, the number of those who are capable of reading Chinese with full understanding is very much limited for various reasons. This, adding to the original difficulty of China studies, has resulted in a great barrier between the experts of Chinese economy and other scholars, particularly economists in general. Consequently those experts of Chinese economy have been brought together in a distinct group of their own. Few general economists venture to make inquiry into economic problems of Communist China. On the other hand, some experts of Chinese economy are short of training in general economics. Even if they are qualified in terms of economics, quite a few of them are incapable of keeping pace with the recent progress of economics.

This of course cannot be taken to mean that Japanese studies of the Chinese economy are at a lower level than those in Britain, America, or other countries of the West. In fact, products of Japanese studies in the Chinese economy are, in no small number, fully valuable by the standards of the world's academic accomplishments. Nevertheless, the Japanese experts should be fully aware of and guard themselves against such weaknesses as referred to above.

A general view of our studies of the Chinese economy will show two discernible developments which would help us to advance further in this field.

The first development is the fact that general economists (not majoring in Chinese economic affairs) are participating in the discussion of the question of Japan-China trade. Many of these economists have published their works on this major problem which is closely related to the lot of this country. When I was studying the question of Japan-China trade<sup>1</sup> I happened, in my discussion, to compare and contrast the views of Dr. Kaname Akamatsu (Professor of Meiji University) and Dr. Tōichi Nawa (Professor of Osaka City University). The former held that, in our foreign trade, we should lay emphasis on the Pacific and South Sea spheres rather than the Far East (China, Taiwan, and Korea), while the latter maintained that Japan should attach importance to China trade. These two professors have not been experts of the Chinese economy: rather they are scholars of world economy. Also one of the above mentioned authors, Mr. Kentarō Hiraoka, is a scholar of international economic relations. In the light of these facts, if diplomatic relations are resumed between Japan and China, and if economic relations get closer than now between the two nations, general economists may become more active in discussing economic affairs of Communist China, and this may prove that the distinct group in which the experts of the Chinese economy confine themselves now is after all a temporary phenomenon particular to the present historic conditions under which Japan has been placed.

The second development is the appearance of those works which are devoted to the comparative study of economic developments between China and some other country. There are two types of these studies.

The first type is an attempt at comparing the economic development of China with that of India. It is, in other words, an attempt to make a comparative study of the socialist and democratic formulas of economic development by tracing each of them back to the differences in historical, social, and economic conditions fundamental to these two great underdeveloped countries. The first work that presented the question from such an angle was Kakutō Hara, "Aija no Keizai Kaihatsu ni okeru Futatsu no Kata—Chūkyō to Indo no Gokanen Keikaku no Hikaku" (Two Patterns of Economic Development in Asia—A Comparison between the First Five-Year Plans of India and Communist China) in *Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyū* (Quarterly Journal of Agricultural Economy), January 1954. This study was followed by such works as Yoshio Akino, "Chū-

<sup>1</sup> Tadao Miyashita, *Chū-Nichi Bōeki no Kenkyū* (A Study of Sino-Japanese Trade), cited above, pp. 75-78.

goku to Indo no Kōgyō Seisan no Hikaku" (A Comparison of Industrial Production between China and India) in *Ajia Kenkyū* (Asiatic Studies), October 1956; Akira Doi, "Kensetsu Katei ni okeru Chū-In Ryōkoku Kaihatsu Hōshiki no Sekkin" (Approximation of the Chinese and Indian Formulas of Development in the Course of Construction) in *Indo to Chūkyō—sono Keizai Hatten no Hikaku* (India and Communist China—a Comparison of their Economic Developments) compiled and published by Nihon Gaisei Gakkai, 1957; Hikosaku Ozaki, "Chūgoku Indo no Keizai Hatten—Ryōkoku Keizai no Hikaku ni kansuru Jakkan no Kōsatsu" (Economic Development of China and India—Some Reflections on the Comparison of the Economies of the Two Countries) in *Chūgoku to Indo no Keizai Hatten* compiled by Osaka City University Institute for Economic Research, cited above; and Shigeru Ishikawa, "Chūgoku to Indo no Keizai Seichō Hikaku" (A Comparison of Economic Growth between China and India) in his *Chūgoku ni okeru Shihon Chikuseki Kikō* (The Mechanism of Capital Accumulation in China), cited above, Chapter VI.

The second type is an attempt at comparing the economic development of China with that of the Soviet Union or some other socialist country. In this connection, Hitoshi Kuwano, "Shakaishugi Keizai ni okeru Kahei Kin'yū" (Currency and Finance in Socialist Economy) in *Chūgoku no Kin'yū Seido* by Kin'yū Seido Kenkyūkai, cited above, Chapter V, is an excellent work which compares the development of theories of currency and finance in the Soviet Union with that in China. Also, Shigeru Ishikawa, in his *Chūgoku ni okeru Shihon Chikuseki Kikō* (cited above), makes a comparative study of the characteristic features of the mechanism of capital accumulation in the course of socialist industrialization in China under the first five-year plan and similar examples in the Soviet Union, East European countries and further in India.

In addition, there are not a few studies which compare the economic development policy of China with that of the Soviet Union and East European socialist countries. Among them, more important ones are as follows:

Studies which discuss both aspects of the socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry and the cooperation of agriculture are, Akira Naitō, "Shin Minshushugi Shakai no Kihonteki Seikaku" (Fundamentals of the New Democratic Society) in *Keiei Kenkyū* (Management Studies), May 1954; Ryūzō Yamashita, "Chūgoku no Shakaishugi Kensetsu to Sobieto to Dokoga Chigauka" (How different is the Socialist Construction of China from that of the Soviet Union?) in *Keizai Hyōron* (Economic Review), September 1958; Akira Fujimoto, "Chūgoku ni okeru Kōgyōka Hōshin no Atarashi Tenkai" (A New Phase of Industrialization Policy in China) in *Kenkyū to Shiryō* (Studies and Materials), May 1959; and Taneomi Soejima, "Shakaishugi Kensetsu ni okeru Ippansei to Tokushusei" (Generality and Particularity in Socialist Construction) in *Keizai Hyōron*, April 1961.

Those which discuss the socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry are: Toshio Ezoe, "Chūgoku ni okeru Kokka Shihonshugi" (State Capitalism in China) in *Ajia Mondai*, June 1954; Atsushi Motohashi, *Chūgoku ni okeru Shakaishugiteki Hatten no Tokushitsu* (Characteristics of Socialist

Development in China) in *Keizai Hyōron*, April 1957; the same author's "Chūgoku ni okeru Shihonshugi no Zetsumetsu ni tsuite" (On the Abolition of Capitalism in China) in *Ekonomia*, January 1958; and Sōichirō Giga, "Kokka Shihonshugi Kigyō no Kōkyū Keitai" (Advanced Forms of Enterprises under State Capitalism) in his *Gendai Chūgoku no Kigyō Keitai* (Types of Business Enterprises of Contemporary China), cited above, Chapter IV.

Discussion about the cooperation of agriculture and the people's communes is found in Hideo Yamamoto, "Nōgyō Kyōdōka ni okeru Chūgoku-gata no Keisei—Soren-gata tonō Hikaku" (Creation of the Chinese Type in the Cooperation of Agriculture—a Comparison with the Soviet Type) in *Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyū*, October 1956; Masahisa Suganuma, "Chūgoku Nōgyō Kyōdōka no Hitsuzensei to Tokushusei ni tsuite" (On the Necessity and Particularity of the Cooperation of Chinese Agriculture) in *Nōson Kenkyū*, (Agrarian Studies), January 1957; Akio Sugino, Chūgoku ni okeru Nōgyō Kyōdōka no Tokuchō ni tsuite (On Characteristics of the Cooperation of Agriculture in China) in *Keizaigaku Zasshi* (Journal of Economics), January 1958; Tadao Miyashita, "Chūgoku Jinmin Kōsha Josetsu" (Introduction to the Chinese People's Communes) in *Kokusai Keizai Kenkyū Nempō* (Annual Report of Studies on International Economy), No. 9, 1959; Ryūzō Yamashita, "Jinmin Kōsha Seiritsu to Jakkā no Riron Mondai" (The Establishment of People's Communes and Some Theoretical Questions) in *Chūgoku Shakai Shugi no Kenkyū* (A Study of Chinese Socialism) compiled by Chūgoku Kenkyūjo, cited above, Chapter XII; Masao Fukushima, *Jinmin Kōsha no Kenkyū* (A Study of People's Communes), cited above; Kazuo Furushima, Chūgoku no Nōgyō Kyōdōka to Jinmin Kōsha" (Cooperation of Agriculture and People's Communes of China) in *Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū* (Studies in Social Science), March 1961; and Sōichirō Giga, "Chūgoku ni okeru Nōgyō Seisan Kyōdōkumiai no Tokushitsu" (Characteristics of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives in China) in *Keiei Kenkyū*, July 1961.

All these three aspects of the Chinese economy have been discussed in Tadao Miyashita, "Chū-So Ryōkoku no Keizai Hatten Hōsaku ni okeru Hikaku" (Economic Development Policies of China and the Soviet Union Compared) in *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* (Journal of National Economy), November 1960; and the same author's "The Red Chinese and Soviet Economies in Comparison" in *Kōbe University Economic Review*, No. 7, 1961.<sup>1</sup>

The main points of difference in the formula of economic development between China and the Soviet Union which the writers of the above-listed works may be summed up in the following.

(1) These two governments have been greatly different from one another in their respective attitude toward the capitalist class. In the Soviet Union, all the enterprises owned by the capitalist class were nationalized in a comparatively short period following the establishment of the new state, and the nationalization took the form of "confiscation" without any compensation. In China, however,

<sup>1</sup> This theme was prepared in English and presented by the author to the Third International Conference for Study of the Communist Bloc held at Fuji View Hotel, Kawaguchi Lake, Yamanashi Prefecture in September 1960.

with the exception of the enterprises totally owned by the bureaucratic capitalist class, the policy was adopted that the enterprises owned by the so-called nationalistic capitalist class were gradually and peacefully nationalized by way of state capitalist economy (of which the most advanced form is state-private joint management). And until the time nationalization would take place, a certain ratio of profit or dividends was to be given to private stock-holders in order that the state would thus make a purchase of enterprises of the nationalistic capitalists. In the Soviet Union, too, state capitalism appeared in the period of NEP, but it failed to develop in any significant degree.

(2) The following points have been made as to agricultural policy.

a. In the Soviet Union, all the land was brought into state ownership immediately following the October Revolution, whereas, in China, with the exception of the land owned by the bureaucratic capitalist class, the land owned by landlords was once taken over by the state but then it was redistributed equally, fairly and rationally among all the peasants and former landlords to become their private properties.

b. In the Soviet Union, the process of cooperation had taken three forms such as *kommuna*, *TOZ*, and *artel* which mushroomed almost simultaneously following the revolution, but these were soon shaped into a uniform pattern or the *artel* type of *kolkhoz* because this conformed to the working reality. In China, however, cooperation took a course of gradual progress, starting from a preparatory stage of mutual-aid teams (equivalent to the Soviet *TOZ*), passing through the stage of elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives, and proceeding to that of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives (equivalent to the Soviet *artel*).

c. In the Soviet Union, the measures of forceful repression were adopted against the *kulaki*, while in China, the cooperation of agriculture was pushed forward peacefully by the methods of persuasion and education, and no harsh measure of force was adopted against the rich peasants.

d. In the Soviet Union, the collectivization of agriculture was accompanied by its mechanization, which was a prerequisite to the completion of farm collectivization. On the contrary, the mechanization of agriculture developed very little in the collectivization of Chinese farms, or rather the completion of the latter process and the subsequent growth of people's communes seem to have created an important precondition for the mechanization of agriculture.

e. The predominant pattern of Soviet farm cooperation at present is the *artel* type of *kolkhoz*, while China, which started construction of a socialist society later than the Soviet Union, has established people's communes, a far more advanced type of social organization than *artels*, in less than ten years since the founding of the new state, in rural areas throughout the country and then in cities, too.

These are the main points of difference which the writers make regarding the Chinese and Soviet formulas of economic development. What, then, were the factors working to bring about such a difference in policy between these two countries which both claim to be socialist? And, what are the effects of this

difference? These two questions have been also discussed variously.

In comparing the economic development of China with that of the Soviet Union or other socialist countries, it is overwhelmingly the case in Japan that Chinese or Soviet literature is referred to exclusively or the methods of the so-called "Marxist economics" are applied. If this is taken into consideration, the methods of study which Mr. Shigeru Ishikawa adopted in preparing his *Chūgoku ni okeru Shihon Chikuseki Kikō* (The Mechanism of Capital Accumulation in China) are particularly characteristic. They are the methods of modern economics and econometrical analysis. In this book, the author has made full use of the methods and results of study which have been developing in the study of Soviet and Chinese economics in the United States, and which have served to introduce fresh air into the academic world of this country.

In analyzing the Chinese economy in comparison with other economies, scholars other than experts of the Chinese economy are seen playing an active part. For instance, Mr. Hikosaku Ozaki is an expert of the Indian economy, Mr. Hitoshi Kuwano an expert of international finance, and Mr. Taneomi Soejima a Marxian economist. This is a development very much desirable for the future studies of the Chinese economy in this country.

### List of Japanese Scholars of the Communist Chinese Economy

<i>Names:</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Branches of Study</i>
Yoshio Akino:	Economic Planning Agency	Currency, finance, and industrialization.
Motonosuke Amano:	Osaka City University	Agricultural production, land reform, and farm cooperation.
Hikotarō Andō:	Waseda University	Arena of economics, public economy of red frontier districts, and public finance.
Kenji Asakawa:	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic development in general, foreign trade and distribution system.
Akira Doi:	Shōwa Dōjinkai	Economic development in general, finance, and people's communes.
Kazuma Egashira:	Mainichi Shimbun	Labour and techniques.
Toshio Ezoe:	Chūō University	Socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry and currency and finance.
Masao Fukushima:	Tokyo University	Land reform, farm cooperation, and people's communes.
Yutaka Fukushima:	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic development in general, economic geography, afforestation, and people's communes.
Akira Fujimoto:	Osaka City University	Industrialization, socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry, and factory management system.
Kazuo Furushima:	Tokyo University	Land reform, farm cooperation, and people's communes.
Tokio Furuta:	National Diet Library	Five-year plan, transportation and people's communes.
Ōichirō Giga:	Osaka City University	Socialist reform in general and enterprises in red frontier districts.

Kakuten Hara :	Institute of Asian Economic Affairs	Economic development, foreign trade, and Japan-China trade.
Ayako Tokiwa :	Keiō University	Land reform, farm cooperation, principles of value, and differential rent.
Kentarō Hiraoka :	Osaka City University	Japan-China trade.
Fukusaburō Hisae :	Kōbe City College of Foreign Studies.	Agriculture, commerce, industry, trans- portation, overseas Chinese & frontier economy.
Shigeru Ishikawa :	Hitotsubashi University	Economy in general, capital accumula- tion, and economic growth.
Toshio Itō :	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaimushō).	Agriculture, food problems, and trans- portation.
Michio Iwamura :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic development in general, labour unions and economic laws.
Masao Kamiya :	Seikei University	Economic development.
Kazuo Kanamaru :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic construction, economic princi- ples and people's communes.
Masami Kojima :	Yamaguchi University	Enterprise management system in general.
Shishū Kondō :	Kyoto Junior College of Foreign Languages	Farm cooperation.
Takae Kōzuma :	Yamaguchi University	Economic development in general, markets, principles of value, economic policies of the Chinese Soviets and people's communes.
Ryōzō Kurai :	Asahi Shimbun	Foreign economic relations.
Fumio Kusano :	Takushoku University	Economic development in general and people's communes.
Susumu Kuzuhara :	Hiroshima University	Public finance, coordination of commerce and industry.
Hisao Maeda :	Defence Agency	Population problems and economic growth.
Zenshirō Matsumoto :	Meiji University	Cooperatives.
Shōji Matsuno :	Ritsumeikan University	Farm cooperation and people's com- munes.
Hiroshi Matsuo :	Meiji University	Overseas Chinese.
Yujirō Matsuzaki :	Nihon Ashū Bōeki Kabushiki Kaisha.	Five-year plan and people's communes.
Tsuyoshi Miki :	Sapporo Medical College.	Currency, finance and economic recovery.
Gen Mitsuoka :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Labour problems, social securities and people's communes.
Tadao Miyashita :	Kōbe University	Economic development in general, cur- rency and finance, foreign trade and its organization, Japan-China trade, and people's communes.
Seiryū Miyazaki :	Asahi Shimbun	Economic construction.
Shirō Miyoshi :	Aichi University	Land reform, and farm cooperation,
Katsukuni Mizuno :	Rishō University	Economic development in general, rail- way building & location of industry.
Atsushi Motohashi :	Yokohama State University	Industrialization, socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry and people's communes.

Hiro-o Mukōyama :	Aichi University	Labour problems and labour laws.
Yūji Muramatsu :	Hitotsubashi University	Economic development in general and foreign trade.
Moriichi Mutō :	Ritsumeikan University	Currency and finance.
Akira Naitō :	Osaka City University	Economic system, economic laws and foreign trade.
Tōichi Nawa :	Osaka City University	Economic policies in the liberated areas and Japan-China trade.
Ichirō Nio :	Asahi Shimbun	Currency and finance.
Kiyoshi Noma :	Aichi University	Land reform, farm cooperation, and people's communes.
Yukio Nozaki :	Chūkyō University	Enterprise management and labour management systems.
Fumio Odake :	Tokyo University of Education	Five-year plan & people's communes.
Juichi Ogawa :	Shimonoseki Junior College	Agriculture, industry and people's communes.
Yoshimasa Okada :		Overseas Chinese
Yasushi Ōkubo :	Asahi Shimbun	Resources and industrial construction.
Tsuneo Ōtsuka :	Nihon University	Economic construction, cooperatives, taxation system and people's communes.
Shōtarō Ozaki :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Theory of revolution and economic development in general
Kunizō Samejima :	Kurume University, Kyushu	Socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry, economic development and people's communes.
Shin'ichirō Satō :	Takushoku University	Farm cooperation.
Takehiro Satō :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic development in general foreign trade, remodelling of nature.
Yasuo Shibaiki :	Osaka University of Foreign Studies.	Economic system, socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and industry.
Yoshihiro Shimizu :	Meiji University	Economic development in general and transportation.
Kōshirō Shiowaki :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Labour problems.
Takashi Shiraiishi :	Keiō University	Currency, finance, and foreign trade.
Masahisa Suganuma :	Kyōdōkumiai Keiei Kenkyūjo (Cooperatives Management Research Institute).	Land reform, cooperation of agriculture, distribution system, and sericulture.
Akio Sugino :	Osaka City University	Land reform, cooperation and mechanization of agriculture, financial and credit policies toward agriculture, cooperation of handicrafts, population problems, economic principles in the period of transition and people's communes.
Takashi Suyama :	Daitō Bunka University	Overseas Chinese.
Kazuo Suzuki :	Japan-China Trade Promotion Association.	Japan-China trade.
Sukeyoshi Terazaki :	Fukuoka University	Economic construction and coal mine industry.
Kiyoyuki Tokunaga :	Dōshisha University	Currency & finance and Japan-China trade.
Eikichi Tomiyama :	Japan-China Export and Import Association	Foreign trade, foreign trade organization & Japan-China trade.

Naosaku Uchida :	Seijō University	Overseas Chinese and foreign trade.
Nagao Watanabe :	Bank of Japan	Economy of new democracy, currency, and finance.
Hideo Yamamoto :	National Research Institute of Agriculture	Cooperation and mechanization of agriculture and people's communes.
Masataka Yamana :	Kobe College of Commerce	Industrial construction, textile industry and economic calculation.
Kazuo Yamanouchi :	Hōsei University	Socialist industrialization, economic principles and people's communes.
Ryūzō Yamashita :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic development in general, currency and finance and people's communes.
Jirō Yokokawa :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	People's communes.
Hideo Yonezawa :	Chūgoku Kenkyūjo	Economic construction in general, Sino-Soviet economic relations, foreign trade, domestic trade and people's communes.
Tadao Yoshida :	Meiji University	Population problems.