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Michio Morishima: an Economist Made in Japan

In 1942 a young first year economics student at Kyoto University, Michio Morishima, was tasked by his teacher with reading and engaging with the substantive work *Value and Capital*, recently published by the British economist Sir John Hicks. Reading this work, an activity later described by Morishima himself as a form of passive resistance to the wartime regime, helped to fuel a lifelong commitment to economic ideas and theories that subsequently led to Morishima's achieving celebrity status within Japan itself, becoming one of Japan's few internationally renowned economists in the second half of the twentieth century, and probably the closest Japan has yet come to having a Nobel prizewinner in economics.¹ Yet Morishima as a child wanted to be a novelist, and was never comfortable with any narrowly defined or rigidly applied economics approach.

Morishima was born in Osaka in July 1923. Graduating from elementary school in 1936, he progressed to high school, and from there to university, but in December 1943 he was conscripted into the Imperial Japanese Navy. After a year of training he was assigned to the communications section of a combat unit in Kyūshū, where he remained through to the end of the war. Finding his way home amidst the disruption and despair of a defeated Japan, he was able to resume his studies in Kyōto, graduating with a Bachelor of Economics in 1946.² It was apparent early on that his talents in the field of mathematics and economics were unusual. Working as research assistant, lecturer and then assistant professor at his *alma mater* in Kyoto from 1948, at a time when Marxist economics was particularly influential, he moved in 1951 to Ōsaka University as assistant professor, subsequently being promoted to full professor in 1963 at the age of 40. Although he had visited China, where his father was working, as a teenager before the outbreak of the Pacific War, chances for foreign travel in early postwar Japan were slim, but Morishima was given the opportunity to study abroad at a relatively early stage, spending the years 1956-8 as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in Britain and the United States. He and his new wife, Yōko (formerly Yōko Tsuda), a mathematics graduate of Tokyo Women's Christian University, who had been employed by the Economics Department at the University of Osaka, left for Europe by cargo ship, and following an adventurous time passing through Egypt in the wake of the Suez Crisis, took up his fellowship initially in Oxford, where he joined Sir John Hicks' research circle, and studying for the second year at Yale. Residence in Oxford allowed him in 1957 to attend his first international conference, of the Econometric Society, in Luxembourg.³ He returned to Oxford 1963-4 as a Senior Visiting Fellow at All Souls College. The years 1968-70 were spent as Visiting Professor and then Keynes Visiting Professor at the University of Essex, one of the then 'new' universities, and a place where Morishima was struck by the uncharacteristic youth of many of the

¹ See eg. the Open University of Japan's open course video entitled 'Nōberu Keizaigaku Shō no Wasuremono'.

² Morishima gives an account of these early years in the first volume of his autobiographical trilogy *Chi ni Kokuriko no Hana Sakeba* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1997).

³ M.Morishima, *Chi ni Hatarakeba Kado ga Tatsu* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999), pp.152-164.

senior managers and professors, in strong contrast to the hierarchy of age that he had experienced in Japan.⁴ He had already in 1969 resigned from Ōsaka University, leaving himself temporarily without a job, but subsequently took the seminal decision to pursue his career more permanently outside Japan, accepting the offer of a tenured post in the Economics Department at the London School of Economics, which he took up in the autumn of 1970. He regarded himself as extremely lucky in the appointment, particularly given the concerns expressed over his English.⁵ He stayed there until his retirement in 1988, and continued to live in his house in Shenfield (Brentwood) until his death in 2004, never returning to live in Japan. After moving to England Morishima also developed a strong connection with Italy, regularly teaching in Siena during the Easter vacation. His wife Yōko would drive him out to his flat in Castelnuovo using a diversity of routes through France, Switzerland, Germany and Austria. Being the driver was only one of Mrs. Morishima's many skills. She was closely involved in Morishima's academic work, and administered not only his financial affairs, but, as he later wrote, everything else as well. He was more than ready to acknowledge his lifelong debt to her, comparing his situation to that of Marx, who, while fighting against social exploitation, exploited his own family.⁶

Morishima's international reputation rests first and foremost on his contribution to the discipline of economics, as both scholar and committed teacher remembered fondly by generations of students. He was, however, much more than an academic economist. He was also an institution-builder, and a public intellectual in his native country. In all these capacities, it may be suggested he made a significant contribution in the context of Britain, Japan and the interaction between the two countries.

*Morishima as Economist*⁷

Michio Morishima began to publish his scholarly work in Japanese in the early 1950s. His first big book, *Dōgakuteki Keizai Riron*, published in 1950, and eventually appearing in English in 1996, was evaluated by one of Morishima's colleagues as a 'work of breathtaking scope not attempted during this century by many other economists...mathematically advanced and theoretically sophisticated. Had it appeared in English in the early 1950s we could all have saved a lot of time. But it was not to be.' This publication, however, was the first step in a lifetime project to construct a grand theory of the working of the capitalist economy, a truly ambitious project on a scale matched only by theorists such as Marx, Hicks, Hayek and a handful of others. The publication of *Equilibrium, Stability and Growth* in 1964, as well as the appearance of articles in English in leading

⁴ M.Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 2001), pp.30-32.

⁵ One supporter responded to these concerns with the reassuring statement that 'Michio doesn't speak English like we do, but he speaks English like a vicar' (Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi* c. p.42).

⁶ Morishima, *Chi ni Kokuriko no Hana Sakeba*, pp.14-16. Morishima, *Chi ni Hatarakeba Kado ga Tatsu*, p.136.

⁷ An evaluation of Morishima's contribution to economics can be found in Meghnad Desai, 'Morishima's Economics: an Appreciation', in T.Atkinson, H.Glennester & N.Stern (eds.), *Putting Economics to Work: Volume in Honour of Michio Morishima* (London: STICERD, LSE, 2000). Much of the information in this section draws on this source.

economic journals such as the *International Economic Review* and *Econometrica*, helped Morishima rapidly to establish an international reputation as one of the world's leading economic theorists, and brought him in 1965 the presidency of the Econometric Society. As his early reading of Hicks foreshadowed, general equilibrium theory was at the core of his thinking, and his early books offered an innovative combination of general equilibrium theory, activity analysis and broader economics. His reputation was consolidated after joining LSE through the publication of three volumes on leading 19th century economic thinkers – Karl Marx, Léon Walras and David Ricardo – that sought to interpret their ideas in light of modern economic theories, in the process challenging both the standard interpretations of these authors and contemporary general equilibrium theory.⁸ His analysis was supported by high level mathematics, and he became renowned as a very strong mathematical economist at a time when the discipline was becoming increasingly quantitative. The scholars whose theories Morishima evaluated were subjected to rigorous scrutiny, and he was reported to have commented when introducing his book on Marx that 'Marx's arithmetic may have been faulty, but his sense of algebra was excellent'.⁹ However, as Desai noted, his book on Marx 'was the first book in English to introduce Marx to a new generation of economists using a language they would understand'. Morishima's economics output was, however, went far beyond reappraising the economic ideas of the 19th century. In a succession of highly respected individually or jointly authored works appearing from the 1960s through to the 1990s Morishima analysed a range of issues, including theories of economic growth, the working of econometric models, and ideas of demand, value and credit. Always much more than a narrow theorist, Morishima was, as one of his colleagues observed, a scholar who used economic analysis in a practical way in order to understand how economies and societies function.¹⁰ The desire to deliver on this objective, and to tether economics theory to an understanding of the real world in all its complexity, was shown in the appearance of books such as *Economic Theory of Modern Society* and *Economics of Industrial Society*.¹¹ During these three decades the rate, breadth and depth of Morishima's economics output was astonishing. His intellectual trajectory was appropriately marked by his appointment as the Sir John Hicks Professor of Economics in 1982, a post established following Hicks' donation of his Nobel Prize money to LSE.

Morishima's early publications in English drew strongly on his Japanese academic background, and in the process he brought to the attention of Western economists the scholarly contributions of Japanese economists of the 1940s, contributions that had used the shared language of mathematics but had not hitherto been internationally known. In the 1960s, prior to settling in England, he was also closely involved in bringing Western economic ideas to Japan. The willingness to incorporate perspectives from other disciplines in order to understand how

⁸ *Marx's Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 1973); *Walras' Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); *Ricardo's Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁹ Reported in A.Sen, 'The Discipline of Economics', *Economica* vol.75 no.300, 2008, p.618.

¹⁰ N.Stern, 'Introduction', in Atkinson *et.al.* (eds.), *Putting Economics to Work*, p.3.

¹¹ *Economic Theory of Modern Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1976); *Economics of Industrial Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

individuals and enterprises interacted with and related to the societies and economies in which they functioned generated a further intercultural contribution and took Morishima's publications in some unexpected directions. In the 1990s he oversaw the publication of a number of seminal works that had never previously appeared in English, several of them by Japanese scholars. One was *Power Theory of Economics* by the sociologist and economist Takata Yasuma, referred to by one scholar as 'the Marshall of Japan', who had taught Morishima when he was a student at Kyōto University.

Morishima's contribution to the discipline of economics brought him many accolades. In the late 1970s he became Foreign Honorary Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and Foreign Honorary Member of the American Economic Association. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1981, and became a member of the Academia Europaea in 1989. He received honorary degrees from the universities of Paris (X), Siena and London, as well as emeritus professor status at both Ōsaka University and LSE. He became an Honorary Fellow of LSE in 1991. In Japan he was in 1976 awarded the Bunka Kunshō (Cultural Order of Japan), and while he always asked himself beforehand what plaudits of this kind meant for academic freedom, he agreed to accept the honour, not least because it came with a substantial remuneration from the Japanese government that he could use to further his broader academic objectives. Sir John Hicks remained in many respects his 'mentor', and Morishima was particularly pleased when Hicks telephoned him following his election to the British Academy to tell him that he had not expected when they first met that Morishima would come so far.¹² In summarising his work in later life, Morishima noted that his work had consisted of three main, interconnected strands: economic theory, the synthesis of economics and sociology, and his project on the ideas of Ricardo, Marx and Walras. He continued, he wrote, to be a mathematical economist, but one who perhaps more than most others continued to believe in the importance of observation and empirical evidence.¹³

Despite his reputation in the economics profession, however, Morishima was never inclined to follow too closely the accepted dictates of his discipline, and could be highly critical of academic trends. Much of his later work appeared in books rather than in the journal article form that has come to dominate economics. This, he suggested, was because many journals increasingly favoured technical articles and deep ideas were not encouraged. He expressed concern that mathematical economics had gone too far in the direction of trying to accommodate reality to theory, rather than seeking to adapt their theories to reality.¹⁴ In an article published as early as 1984, Morishima was highly critical of the 'overuse' of mathematics, and the ever greater injection of mathematics into an ever narrower set of ideas that failed to take account of any institutional, national or historical context. Mathematical economics, he suggested, 'has lost all sense of balance, becoming divorced from knowledge of economic systems and economic history. There is

¹² Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, p.235.

¹³ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, pp.274, 287.

¹⁴ T.Negishi, 'Michio Morishima and History: an Obituary', *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 12, 3, 2005.

only one medicine which will cure this malaise, and that is for theorists to make a serious effort in the direction of the institutionalization of economics, in the sense of slowing the speed of all development towards mathematization and developing economic theory in accordance with knowledge of economic organizations, industrial structure and economic history.' He was not, however, overly optimistic about this taking place, as it seemed likely that mathematical economists would continue to produce 'quasi-scientific' articles to maximize the rate of return on their own human capital. His conclusion was that 'we have in our discipline been led up the wrong path by the invisible hand of the demon, and because it takes both time and money to make an engine we are producing on a large scale "aeroplanes" which have no engine'.¹⁵ What Morishima thought about the emerging field of the new institutional economics is not clear, but it seems likely that he would at the very least have approved of its recognition that institutions matter.

Morishima as Institution Builder

Morishima's qualities as an academic economist – his emphasis on rigour, his concern for the development and application of analytical techniques, his interdisciplinary and strongly international perspective – were the inspiration behind his major contributions to the formation of academic institutions. His interest in the promotion of institutions and organisations to achieve specific academic objectives came early with his leading role in the appearance of a new journal, the *International Economic Review*, in which Morishima, still at Ōsaka University, worked with Professor Larry Klein of the University of Pennsylvania. At Ōsaka University Morishima was a key player in the founding of the university's Institute for Social and Economic Research, which looked to achieving a synthesis between economics and sociology along the lines suggested by Morishima's teacher at Kyoto University, Takata Yasuma. The Institute was in many respects the prototype of the research centre that was to be Morishima's lasting institutional contribution in Britain, what is now the Suntory-Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD) at LSE, an initiative which, Morishima noted, would almost certainly not have got off the ground in the absence of his receipt of the Bunka Kunshō.¹⁶

Morishima was closely involved with efforts to raise funds for library development at LSE in the early 1970s, at a time when raising money from the private sector, particularly in Japan, was in its infancy, initially approaching Japan Airlines.¹⁷ Other Japanese companies followed the lead of JAL, which also supported travel to London for students from Asia, and Morishima himself donated his Bunka Kunshō annuity to support scholarships for graduate study. Morishima had grander plans, however, for the founding of a research centre at LSE in which researchers could work together on a range of fundamental issues related to theory, analysis and policy, and such a path-

¹⁵ Morishima, 'The Good and Bad Uses of Mathematics', in P.J.D.Wiles & G.Routh (eds.), *Economics in Disarray* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), pp.51-73.

¹⁶ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, p.113.

¹⁷ Morishima's father had been an employee in the 1930s of the Japanese China Airlines, some of whose staff had subsequently been absorbed by Japan Airlines. The then president, Asada Shizuo, had graduated from Morishima's high school a couple of years ahead of him.

breaking initiative required funds of a different order. This was a time at which British universities were feeling their way in the search for external philanthropic funding, and had far fewer pressures to seek such support than even ten years later. To seek such large scale funding, particularly from Japan, raised additional questions about academic independence and donor motivations. Nevertheless Morishima set off for Japan in the hope of securing donations to establish an endowment fund that would provide sufficient annual interest to support his proposed research centre. Although the Japanese economy had recovered relatively well from the Oil Shock of 1973, and was showing a good rate of growth, securing such funds was far from easy. Approaches to the Foreign Ministry and Keidanren proved fruitless, and as something of a last resort Morishima approached the president of Suntory, Saji Keizō, whom he did not know, but who had also been his senior at school, and had a reputation for charitable giving.¹⁸ Saji committed to ¥500m. on condition that the other ¥500m. needed was offered by another company. Morishima persuaded Eiji Toyota, the president of Toyota, to offer the other half, and the donation was formally handed over in 1978. Not all at LSE were convinced of the appropriateness of accepting such a donation, and some remained concerned about a potential threat to academic independence. Morishima was, however, highly persuasive in justifying acceptance of the donation at the School's Academic Board, and, as noted by the then Director of LSE, Ralf Dahrendorf, addressed concerns about possible strings attached to the donation 'by telling us that he had been to school with the donors and could therefore vouch for them. In any case, he would, if need be, keep them at bay. He commanded respect and confidence among his fellow academics and had little difficulty to persuade them'.¹⁹

Acceptance of the endowment money, which was channelled through the Japan Foundation, necessitated agreement over mission and organisation. Conspicuously, the centre's initial name was ICERD (International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines),²⁰ and the management board drawn from across the institution, giving public confirmation of a commitment to promoting multidisciplinary studies beyond economics alone. Significantly, too, Morishima had been explicit that the money was not being used to promote the study of Japan, although the centre has retained to this day a strong interest in Japan and a small Japanese Studies programme. The grounding belief remained, though, that any such study needed to be located in a rigorous disciplinary or interdisciplinary context, and those principles have continued to characterise the research centre since its founding. Morishima acted as the first Chairman of STICERD, a role he continued to discharge until his retirement in 1988. It remained his LSE base for the rest of his life, and his frequent presence was a constant reminder of the origins of the research centre, as well as a source of pleasure to all within it.

¹⁸ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, p.124.

¹⁹ Dahrendorf, 'Preface' in Atkinson *et.al.* (eds.), *Putting Economics to Work*, p.1.

²⁰ The names of Suntory and Toyota were later added to the title in acknowledgement of the donors, and it was renamed STICERD.

The strength of the yen in the 1970s enhanced the value of the endowment fund in the UK. Living off its interest, supplemented by other external funds and grants, and funding from Morishima himself, STICERD has consistently acted as an internal foundation for LSE research, and brought together researchers to work on a range of issues, particularly the early career scholars whom Morishima recognised were so important for the future of the universities. The many overseas visitors included a succession of top ranking Japanese economists. The work of the research centre is acknowledged to have been at the forefront of research into new concepts and theoretical approaches in economics and the social sciences more broadly, leading the way in comparative empirical studies of economies across Europe and beyond, and generating findings that have often had a major impact on policy decisions. In many respects Morishima's example and ideals have continued to guide and permeate the work of his colleagues and successors within STICERD.

Between Britain and Japan

Morishima's decision at the age of 47 to pursue his career outside of Japan was a momentous one, and not lightly taken. It was not that he had been unable to achieve recognition in Japan. He had been appointed full professor at a top Japanese university, and had studied abroad on prestigious fellowships. He was intensely proud of being an economist 'made in Japan', unlike many of his contemporaries who had studied abroad, and proud of the record of many of Japan's earlier economists. There is no doubt, however, that the decision was in substantial part associated with a degree of disillusionment with the establishment in Japan, and the limitations he felt he encountered in expressing his views. He was, in the Japanese metaphor, very much the nail that stuck up, and was unwilling to be hammered down.²¹ Morishima's hallmark was his forthright expression of his opinions. He was committed to open debate and intellectual enquiry, and possessed enormous energy for scholarship and what he believed in. In later life Morishima was to comment that he felt that the main difference between Britain and Japan lay in the total freedom in Britain to express individual views, and the enjoyment of the dialectical process as a means to better outcomes. Such a freedom, he suggested, had never been established in Japan even after the establishment of a democratic system after the end of the Emperor system.²² Morishima continued, however, to visit Japan at frequent intervals, and his country of birth remained of fundamental importance to him, and in some cases a matter of profound worry. He was increasingly concerned to understand how Japan had reached what it had become, what was happening to it, and what might happen in the future. Living outside of Japan in fact stimulated him not only as an economist, but as a commentator on Japan for Western audiences, and as a commentator on both Britain and Japan for a Japanese audience. As a world-renowned economist awarded the Cultural Order of Japan (*Bunka Kunshō*) by the Japanese government, Morishima

²¹ *Deru kugi wa utareru.*

²² Morishima, *Chi ni Kokuriko no Hana Sakeba*, p.21.

became in Japan a public intellectual whose often controversial views reached out to millions of Japanese.

The range of Morishima's more popular publications in Japanese was incredibly wide. During the 1970s-80s he produced comparative works on Britain and Japan, and a trenchant analysis of the Thatcher years, all of which became bestsellers. The impact of his writings was extended by his use of the radio to bring his ideas, especially on economics, to the broader public. Increasingly, though, he turned his publication activities towards an analysis of Japan and its current situation. When Morishima met the Emperor on the occasion of his receipt of the *Bunka Kunshō*, he said that while he had achieved fame as a mathematical economist, he had since his youth dreamed of being a novelist, and when the Emperor asked him what sort of a novel he would write, Morishima replied that he would write a historical novel in English on the successes and failures of Japan since the time of the Meiji Restoration.²³ The book on modern Japan, when it came, however, was not fiction, but fact. The widely read *Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?*, which had started off as the Marshall lectures at Cambridge University, sought to identify the historical origins of Japanese economic growth, and the ambiguities that were often overlooked in the light of its obvious successes. It was translated into many European and Asian languages. Subsequent publications in both English and Japanese followed, showing the extent to which Morishima was highly critical of many trends in Japan's politics and economy, profoundly concerned at what he saw as indications of a revival of militarism and right wing views, and believing strongly in the importance to Japan's future of the broader Asian context, in particular the formation of a northeast Asian economic union. His writings and views won him both plaudits and criticism. Some applauded him for his willingness to take on accepted views and structures, and for questioning longstanding practices and assumptions. Others felt that such frank articulation of heterodox opinions in the service of open intellectual debate were at best unconstructive and inappropriate and at worst hostile and even 'anti-Japanese'. The controversially entitled *Naze Nihon wa Botsuraku Suru ka?*, or *Why Will Japan Collapse?*, of 1999, with its depiction of a country that was collapsing from within and fated to be a third class power by 2050, seemed unlikely to find universal favour in a Japan already pessimistic in the wake of the bursting of the Bubble economy and the Asian financial crisis.

Michio Morishima: a Japanese Uneasy in Japan

Michio Morishima's career trajectory after graduating was a highly unusual one for a Japanese of his generation. His extraordinary and widely recognised academic ability would seem to have naturally led to a lifelong career at one of Japan's top universities, and the prestige and reputation that would have gone with it. Yet he not only moved from Kyoto to Ōsaka universities, but subsequently took the unusual step of continuing his work outside Japan. At the root of these decisions were the frictions that emerged between Morishima and his teachers, colleagues and

²³ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, pp.105-6.

friends, frictions that in later life he admitted finding extremely difficult to write about.²⁴ At the bottom much of this rested on disagreement over issues of principle, and how far individuals were willing to go for their principles. Morishima's view was that individuals and societies should adhere strictly to clear principles, and act in accordance with those principles. However it was essential that individuals should have the freedom to espouse different principles. His view was that Asian countries such as Japan were inclined to push for some kind of guiding national principle that limited freedom of thought, and supported totalitarianism and the imperial regime that dominated Japan up to 1945. Not only was postwar Japan, he argued, lacking in principle, but the Japanese propensity for harmony (*wa*) in social interaction suppressed the open debate over issues of principle that allowed families and communities to work properly.²⁵ When Morishima moved to Ōsaka University, and established the Institute of Socio-Economic Research, his attempts to operate strictly in accordance with the principle of merit generated conflict with many of his colleagues. Conflict in turn made others uncomfortable, and led to Morishima's feeling that some who agreed with him in public could then be found manoeuvring behind his back – no doubt, in many cases, in the traditional Japanese search for a workable compromise. As Morishima later acknowledged, the Institute at Ōsaka University was one of the most westernized groups of academics in Japan, full of scholars who had achieved a reputation in America. If Morishima's forthright pursuit of principle was to work anywhere, it should have been there. But the management and mode of working, he later commented, was 'Japanese, all too Japanese'.²⁶ At another Japanese university, he believed, it would be even worse. In general, commented the Japanese economist Suzumura Kōtarō, Morishima's consistent adherence to the principles of rationality led to his sharp criticism of fellow economists and colleagues who failed to adhere to such principles, contributing to conflictual relationships and his departure from deeply cherished institutions. 'This also explains', commented Suzumura, 'why he was much happier in England than in his own mother country'.²⁷

Leaving Japan was not, however, by any means a straightforward decision for Morishima and provoked complex emotions. It was his country of birth, and his family was there. At the same time he believed that Britain would, by contrast with Japan, offer a more conducive environment in which he, as an individual, could stand up for what he believed in. Japanese politics, for example, he compared unfavourably with the recurrent conflict that characterised the British political system, conflict that he regarded as necessary for the finding of appropriate solutions. Though not uncritical of his country of adoption, he thought of himself as something of an Anglophile, and after more than two decades living in Britain took the view that, although the British economy had undoubtedly declined, Britain remained an advanced country in terms of welfare and the generosity shown by

²⁴ Morishima, *Chi ni Hatarakeba Kado ga Tatsu*, p.1.

²⁵ Morishima, *Chi ni Hatarakeba Kado ga Tatsu*, pp.2-3.

²⁶ The title of the section of *Chi ni Hatarakeba Kado ga Tatsu* in which he comments on this is entitled *Nihonteki, amari ni mo Nihonteki* (p.317ff.).

²⁷ K.Suzumura, tribute at memorial meeting, December 2004.

the country's people towards others.²⁸ Living in Britain, however, particularly prior to the age of the internet, meant that Japan threatened to become progressively more remote. Books such as *Britain and Japan* and *Thatcher's Britain* were in part an attempt to keep in touch, and after his retirement Morishima taught regularly at Japanese universities to give himself time in Japan and to maintain his knowledge of what was going on there.²⁹ He remained committed to building bridges between the Japanese, Asian and European academic worlds, lecturing a number of times in China. His writings on Japan, while often critical, were driven in substantial part by the fact that he cared so much about it.

Michio Morishima would have been the first to acknowledge that he was never an easy colleague, but he was capable of enormous kindness to individuals and unstinting generosity in supporting the careers of others. 'Doing good for others,' wrote one US colleague, 'was characteristic of Michio....He gave advice and other assistance to Japanese visitors in London, extricating them from trouble that they may have encountered in a new and strange environment'.³⁰ He could be unsparingly critical of others, but was also able to evaluate himself. He castigated academics he thought of as 'dilettantes', or the 'vulgarians' who spent their time on mundane work such as public outreach or fundraising, but later recognised that in writing books such as *Why Will Japan Collapse?* and raising funds he himself was probably just as much of a dilettante or a vulgarian.³¹ He acknowledged his own impatience and the presence of an inner voice that limited his self-control.³² Nevertheless his intellectual ability and range of knowledge, as well as his commitment to principle and capacity to challenge, won him respect and affection from those who admitted that they found him at times infuriating. This respect and affection is well summarised in a comment from Ralf Dahrendorf, who worked closely with Morishima at LSE. 'He has contributed to a subtle understanding of the culture of his country of origin as well as his country of choice. He has also been, and continues to be, a great friend, loyal and trustworthy, serious and yet always fun....His influence extends beyond even the generously drawn boundaries of economics. He is a great social scientist, scholar, and man of culture.'³³ As another friend, the Nobel prizewinner Amartya Sen, stated, Morishima was 'an outstanding economist and the finest of human beings'.³⁴

²⁸ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, pp.311-348.

²⁹ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, p.361

³⁰ Larry Klein, tribute at memorial meeting, Dec.2004.

³¹ Morishima, *Owari Yokereba Subete Yoshi*, p.358.

³² Morishima, *Chi ni Kokuriko no Hana Sakeba*, p.16ff.

³³ 'Preface', in Atkinson *et.al.* (eds.), *Putting Economics to Work*, p.2.

³⁴ 'The Discipline of Economics', *Economica* vol.75 no.300, 2008, p.617.