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[Janet Hunter](#) and Ian Nish

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JAPAN AT THE LSE

IAN NISH AND JANET HUNTER

The London School of Economics and Political Science was founded in 1894. By the time of the First World War it had an established reputation as an international centre for research and teaching in the social sciences with special emphasis on the contemporary world. Japan had come onto the international scene during these two decades as a successful economic and political power. Economically it had completed a programme of modernization and established itself as a major industrialized and trading power; politically it had set up a quasi-democracy with political parties and parliamentary institutions.

It was not surprising that Japan should attract interest overseas. The Japanese government was anxious to project the country's image as a modernized progressive country and it encouraged Japanese scholars to travel around the globe in order to project a favourable image of their country. LSE had the funds from the Martin White Foundation Lectureship which enabled them to invite prominent academics from abroad in the field of Sociology. Thus it invited Lafcadio Hearn, an Irishman educated partly in Britain and a long-term teacher in Japan, to deliver a course of 8 public lectures on Japanese civilization in 1904 just before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. Hearn, a prolific publicist, was gratified by the invitation but confessed that he did not fancy writing 'a serious thesis on the Sociology' of Japan. He declined the invitation and died in September 1904.

Okakura Yoshisaburō, younger brother of the famous publicist, Okakura Kakuzō, himself no stranger to international lecturing circles, took his place. His three lectures on the 'Spirit of Japanese Civilization' were delivered to a large audience the following year. Two years later one of the most eminent Japanese academics of the day, Baron Dr Kikuchi Dairoku, president of the Imperial University of Tokyo, gave a course of 15 lectures on 'Education in Japan' in which he drew the attention of a surprised world to the high educational standards of the Japanese people and to how their system balanced and combined the modern with the traditional. In these three instances LSE introduced Japan to a wider world. It showed itself to be an institution not limited to parochial subjects. But LSE did not include in the curriculum any teaching specifically about Japan, far less any suggestion of teaching the

Japanese language. It did have a select number of Japanese graduate students, the most notable of whom was Uehara Etsujirō, who studied at LSE from 1907 under the leading sociologist and social psychologist Graham Wallas, and completed a thesis on the contemporary Japanese political system. This thesis was later published by the School under the title *The political development of Japan, 1867-1910*. This was a signal honour for Uehara, but also a politically risqué subject bearing in mind the fate of radical thinkers in Japan.

Two of the influential founders of the school, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, chose at this time to proceed on an Asian tour.¹ They fitted in visits to East Asian countries, including Japan, Korea, Manchuria and China. They were hosted in Japan by both Kikuchi and Uehara and they made contact with the graduates and associates of the School in these countries. A number of members of the faculty were in the 1920s following in the footsteps of the Webbs and visiting the countries of what was then called the Far East. We can follow the teaching exploits of the ethnologist Charles Seligman, the economic historians R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, and (if the LSE may claim him as one of our own) Bertrand Russell, one of the spiritual and financial founders of the School. Their priority was to study and teach in China but they all also included trips to Japan.²

After 1919 it would have been most remiss of LSE if it had not included some study of Japan, but the methods of teaching often made it hard to fit in any country-by-country analysis. One staff member in the 1930s reported that he had to integrate Japan within his lecture courses on world history of the 1930s. However, a Department of International Studies was set up at LSE in 1927 and in 1932 (Sir) Charles Webster became the first holder of the Stevenson Chair in International History of the interwar period. That was a significant year because East Asia was enflamed by the Manchurian and Shanghai crises. The League of Nations decided to send a commission of enquiry, which naturally looked to the universities of its European members for help from people with suitable expertise. Only the Netherlands and the non-League Americans were able to supply their need for expertise on the Sino-Japanese problem. It was a salutary moment and the coverage of Japanese subjects in lectures and book collections in Europe improved thereafter.

Not much information exists about Japanese students who attended LSE in the 1930s. It had always been the practice of the Japanese Embassy in London to allow its staff to attend LSE courses on a part-time basis, and it was particularly

the Ministry of Finance officials who took advantage of this opportunity to become occasional students at LSE. Such were Watanabe Takeshi, who subsequently became the first LSE honorary fellow in Japan, and Fukuda Takeo, later to become prime minister in 1976-8. There were also university visitors, especially those associated with liberal or left-wing causes. Among the first were Professor Yanaihara Tadao, then a researcher into Japanese colonialism, and later to become president of Tokyo University (1951-7), and also Professor Oka Yoshitake, whose recent diaries *Rondon Nikki 1936-8* (University of Tokyo Press, 1997) show that, while most of his time was spent at the Public Record Office, he identified in the evenings with causes associated with the LSE.

With the end of the Second World War and the return of LSE from Cambridge to its buildings in central London, the total number of students rose gradually from 4000 in 1950 to 5000 in 1990. Over the same period teaching on aspects of Japan gradually expanded. From the 1960s such teaching has included courses on Japanese sociology and industrial relations by Ronald Dore and Keith Thurley; courses on Japanese history by Ian Nish and Antony Best; and courses on Japanese economic history by Malcolm Falkus and Janet Hunter. The International Relations department has always had a Japanese component in its teaching and research, and has benefited from teaching by Japanese visitors. Professor Hosoya Chihiro of Hitotsubashi University taught a year's course on Japanese foreign policy, while Chiba Kazuo, former Japanese ambassador in London, was appointed as one of LSE's first centennial professors, and gave a course of lectures on Japanese foreign policy.³ Japan as a country has of course also featured largely in courses on the international economy and trade on account of her spectacular economic growth. Hamada Kōichi, formerly one of the Japanese government's senior advisers on the Japanese economy, and now emeritus professor at Yale, taught economics at LSE in the late 1970s. Specific aspects of the Japanese experience have also figured in courses in other disciplinary areas, such as anthropology, social policy and media studies.

Over recent years the provision of Japanese language tuition by LSE's Language Centre has also expanded significantly as part of its broader programme to make language learning more available to a wide range of students and researchers. Japanese language study is not available for credit as part of a degree programme, but the language is taught at four levels from beginner to advanced as part of our foreign language certificate programme.

Some of the courses are fast track, whereas others progress more slowly, allowing for a range of abilities and needs. Demand for these courses from LSE students prepared to study language in addition to their degree programmes has been buoyant, stimulating expansion in provision, and the courses are also open to students from other parts of the University of London and other individuals. Japanese language provision does not, however, currently extend to teaching for students who wish to engage in full-time, or near full-time, language study.

For a while from the 1960s there was a regular Japanese seminar at LSE. Organized by Ronald Dore, who was appointed Reader in Japanese Sociology in 1961, it took advantage of the large number of senior Japanese professors on research leave at the School. This was an opportunity to hear the concerns of the Japanese academics and exchange views with them in small groups.

Suntory and Toyota Centres (STICERD)

On 2 June 1978 LSE was given substantial donations from the Suntory Company and the Toyota Motor Company (through the Japan Foundation), which enabled the setting up of LSE's International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines. Its title was later expanded to include the names of the donors, hence the name STICERD by which it is now generally known. It was fitting that Professor Morishima Michio, who held the Sir John Hicks Chair in Economics, should become the founding chairman, since it was he who had negotiated with the two companies, the Japanese government and the Japan Foundation.⁴ Professor Morishima defined the functions of the new Centre as follows:

The Centre shall undertake (i) research into applied economics and related fields, including especially studies of the Japanese economy, comparative studies involving Japan and other economies... (ii) research into studies of economies in which Japan has a major trading or political interest...(iv) historical, sociological, legal, political and other work leading to the above ends

STICERD was to be a research rather than a teaching institute, and this is one thing that differentiates it from approaches on other campuses. A second distinctive feature was the desire to embed any study of Japan within a broader disciplinary framework and disciplinary excellence. Studying Japan has become

only a small part of the overall discipline-based work in STICERD, albeit an important one. Apart from the work of individual academic members of the School on Japan, notably Ian Nish, Keith Thurley, Janet Hunter and Antony Best, STICERD's Japanese Studies Programme's contribution has come in several key areas: the organization of workshops and symposia on Japan-related topics; the issuing of working papers and discussion papers embodying research on Japan, much of it previously presented at STICERD symposia; the hosting of visiting Japanese academics and researchers, and of academics from other countries specializing in the study of Japan; financial support for particular research projects with a Japanese element; and support for graduate students working on a doctoral thesis related to Japan.

From the outset, regular symposia on international studies and Japanese studies were held at STICERD every year, providing a forum for discussion on Japan for both academics and non-academics with an interest in Japan. It is not possible here to give a comprehensive list of these events, but a good idea of their range can be obtained from the lists of working papers available on the internet.⁵ The diversity of these events, however, can be suggested by giving two examples. A conference on interwar Japan, held in 1988 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of STICERD's founding, included among its eminent speakers Professor James Morley of Columbia University and Professor Nakamura Takafusa of the University of Tokyo. A major symposium was held in 1995 on 'Indigenous innovation and comparative industrialization', in which discussion focused mainly on the development of textile, textile machinery, automobile and semi-conductor industries in the USA, Europe and Japan. Leading speakers included Ronald Dore of the University of Sussex, David Hounshell of Carnegie Mellon, Richard Samuels of MIT and Wada Kazuo of the University of Tokyo. While some symposia were attended by 10-20 people, many other events attracted significant audiences of over 50. By the early 1990s the number of individuals included in the mailing list for Japan-related events stood at around 250, ensuring a significant core of attenders for the events that were put on. Apart from these more Japan-dedicated events, STICERD has also offered support for general LSE events that concern Japan, for example a lecture in 2010 by Adam Posen, a member of the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England, on 'Realities and relevance of Japan's Great Recession' and a lecture by Itō Motoshige of Tokyo University in 2014 on 'Why Abenomics matters'. Both lectures filled large lecture halls, testifying to the ongoing interest at LSE in the workings of the Japanese economy.

It should also be noted that over the years 1987-1996 STICERD supported a joint seminar on Japanese economic history in comparative perspective. While the seminar had to be discontinued in 1996 when the SOAS co-organiser, Sugihara Kaoru, returned to Japan to take up a post at Osaka University, the seminar hosted some of Japan's leading economic historians during its existence. Speakers such as Odaka Kōnosuke and Saitō Osamu of Hitotsubashi University and Suzuki Yoshitaka of Tōhoku University attracted an enthusiastic group of researchers and students from across the London area.

The considerable volume of discussion papers and working papers issued by STICERD on Japan-related topics is testimony to the success of the symposia and the research that was articulated at them. The International Studies and Japanese Studies series have been mainly, though not exclusively, focused on history and economic history. They have now been digitized and a complete record is available to consult on the websites indicated above. The work of many leading scholars of Japan is represented in these working papers. Well-known names include Akira Iriye and Albert Craig (Harvard), Richard Smethurst (Pittsburgh) and William Beasley (SOAS). Other publications on Japan were also supported. In 1980 there was a publication from Keith Thurley's work on 'Development of personnel management in Japanese enterprises in Great Britain', and in 1991 a working paper by Michael Hebbert and Norihiro Nakai on 'How Tokyo grows: land development and planning on the metropolitan fringe', which offered an analysis of the mechanisms of urban land development in Japan and a review of current policy measures.

Academic visitors have also been a key part of STICERD's work in relation to Japan, as they have been to the strategy of LSE as a whole. Some of those visitors have been Japanese academics working in specific disciplinary areas, while others have focused their research on Japan. Particularly distinguished visitors have included the social anthropologist Nakane Chie, development economist Gustav Ranis, the labour economist Tachibanaki Toshiaki, the historian and President of Nanzan University Johannes Hirschmeier, and the economist Moriguchi Chikashi, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Osaka University. Kōji Taira of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana spent time at STICERD, as did Masahiko Aoki of Stanford. Visits by early-career scholars from Japan, in some cases for extended periods, helped to establish publication records and cement international contacts for a number who subsequently built up formidable academic reputations. Yasutomi

Ayumu's monograph on the finances of Manchukuo in the 1930s was awarded the 1997 Nikkei Prize for Economics while he was a visiting research associate at STICERD.

STICERD has in a number of ways supported Japan-related research across LSE. In its very early days, in the late 1970s, it offered financial support to assist in the final stages of the compilation of an index to the records of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, and to work in the Geography Department on the sub-national impact of the Japanese multinational industrial firm. Through an ongoing programme of research grants for researchers across LSE a number of projects with some kind of Japan element have been facilitated. It has in addition throughout its existence offered support to Japanese studies as one of its core programmes, and this has included the employment of early career researchers, support for translation of a small number of Japanese-language works, and help for more specific research projects. Early career scholars employed as researchers have included the economic historian Sugiyama Shin'ya (now emeritus professor at Keiō). More recently financial support helped with the translation into Japanese of *The historical consumer*, a book co-edited by Janet Hunter and Penelope Francks.

Last, but not least, STICERD has made a significant contribution to supporting doctoral level research by Japanese students and by students from different departments working on Japan. In some cases this has been done through research assistant posts, but in many through the provision of graduate student scholarships. STICERD's first annual report to its donors reports on an allocation to a PhD student working on Japanese history, and doctoral students working on Japan have on a number of occasions benefited from STICERD studentships. Most recently doctoral students working on Japan from across LSE have been invited to become affiliated to the Japanese Studies Programme. This not only provides them with access to a small amount of research funding, but also brings them together on the basis of their shared interest in Japan, complementing the disciplinary community that is offered by their different departments. The total numbers remain small, but this strategy helps to support Japan-related research at LSE.

Turning from STICERD back to its host institution, two final points should be made about research and teaching on Japan at LSE. The first is that LSE has never claimed to offer itself as an area studies institution. 'Area studies' at LSE is, to use the words of the 1961 Hayter Committee's report on its visit to North

America, ‘a group of scholars....who are all using their own disciplines to pursue studies related to that area’.⁶ While LSE contains within it a number of centres and programmes that help to bring together research interests on particular geographical regions, the disciplinary focus remains paramount. Both faculty and students working on Japan at LSE identify themselves as historians, economists, political scientists, etc., whose research or study focuses on Japan, rather than as any kind of ‘Japanologist’. In this context a significant number of LSE academics with leading profiles in their disciplines, but with no claim to Japanese studies expertise, have also made visits to Japan and have had recurrent links with the country. Particularly in the financial and economic fields, LSE faculty members have acted as advisers and consultants for the Japanese government and other institutions. Other LSE researchers interact with Japanese academics on the basis of shared disciplinary interests. Expertise on, and interaction with Japan is not, therefore, limited to the small number of Japan specialists.

Secondly, and following on from this, much of the teaching and research on Japan at LSE has involved some kind of broader international and comparative context, whether it is Japan in the context of East Asia or international relations, or Japan as a model of economic development or social welfare to be compared with the experience of other economies and systems. In this context the narrowing of the institutional divide that has historically existed between area studies and disciplines in the UK is greatly to be welcomed, although the complementarity of different approaches to the study of Japan is likely to remain central to its vitality.

During the period from the 1980s to the early 1990s LSE concluded framework agreements for collaboration with a number of Japanese universities, including the University of Tokyo, Keiō University, Hitotsubashi University and Kyōto University. These agreements were a recognition by LSE of Japan’s increasing importance in the global world. More recently LSE has focused on the conclusion of more concrete ways of cooperating with Japanese institutions of higher education. The Language Centre now has formal language student exchange agreements with both Waseda and Keiō universities. The Economic History Department has a research student exchange programme with the Faculty of Economics at the University of Tokyo, while the Master in Public Affairs programme at LSE is part of a global consortium of top MPA universities of which the University of Tokyo is also a part. Annual lectures in

both London and Tokyo take place under the auspices of the Hitotsubashi-LSE lecture programme, and further collaborative efforts with Hitotsubashi have been under discussion. Individual academics, of course, have their own personal networks with universities and academics in Japan.

It has to be acknowledged that the extent of teaching and research on Japan at LSE is at the present not as extensive as many at LSE would like it to be. It will also be apparent that much of what has been achieved in this area over the past few decades has been due to the contribution of individual academics and the teaching and structures that they have created. The death of Professor Morishima Michio in 2004 left LSE without its leading Japanese academic, while the stagnation of the Japanese economy helped to reduce Japan's international image as a topic worthy of study by social scientists and undermined student interest. Recent efforts by individuals, by STICERD and by the School as a whole are seeking to redress what is a disproportionately low coverage of one of the world's major economies. LSE fully recognizes that Japan still matters, and is working to maintain its past tradition of close involvement.

¹ A portrait of Sydney and Beatrice Webb and Japan by Colin Holmes is contained in Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels, eds, *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: themes and personalities* (London: Routledge, 1991).

² A biographical portrait of Bertrand Russell by Toshihiko Miura is contained in Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: biographical portraits*, volume VII (Global Oriental, 2010).

³ A biographical portrait of Kazuo Chiba is contained in Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: biographical portraits*, volume X (Renaissance Books, 2016).

⁴ A biographical portrait of Professor Morishima by Janet Hunter is contained in Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: biographical portraits*, volume IX (Renaissance Books, 2015).

⁵ http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/_new/publications/series.asp?prog=JS and http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/_new/publications/series.asp?prog=IS.

⁶ *Report of the Sub-Committee on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies* (London: HMSO, 1961), p.122.