

JAPANESE STUDIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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BAJS "JAPAN FORUM"

For a number of years now, the UK government has been boasting that it was responsible for raising the scale of inward investment, particularly by Japanese manufacturing companies, into the United Kingdom and that this level greatly exceeded the transfers into other member states of the European Union.¹ By the end of 1993, however, press reports have claimed that the levels of inward investment in France were already running at the same levels as in the UK as it has become clear that the privatisation boom in the UK has severely declined because few public sector industries now remain and that the policies of the French government to privatise many of its public sector areas are now beginning to get into full swing. In recent times, the policies of the UK government to sell off its remaining assets have run into increasing difficulties because few of these assets are seen as likely to generate significant profits, let alone the windfall profits that have been amassed from the privatisation of the water, electricity, gas, telephone, airline and other utilities.

While such tangible profits are bound to excite the interest of the external investor and attract the attention span of the knowledgeable reporters and readers of events in the international economy, the responses of consumers of utilities tend to be ignored. The recession that has affected the UK economy since 1990, however, underlines the fact that the privatisation boom was a once-and-for-all alienation of assets, which the critics long ago labelled as 'selling the family silver'², and that recession was inevitably bound to add to the decrease in government revenue as the profitability of enterprises was hit and the burden on the public exchequer arising from heightened unemployment, welfare assistance, house repossession and bankruptcies grew on a major scale. Government borrowing has risen to £40-50 billions (\$60-65 bn.) annually and the pressure has steadily increased to engage in a widespread range of deeper and deeper cuts to reduce public borrowing in the key sectors of education, health, transport and social services.

As a direct result of these pressures, the UK government has been seeking desperately to justify cutbacks, transfers to the private sector and redundancies by means of a continuing ideological condemnation of the remaining public services under the Orwellian slogans of 'private sector good, public sector bad'. This completely ignores the fact that public sector operations, such as the postal services, have been and are highly efficient and profitable and that the costs of changes in government organisation are not without financial as well as human cost from which government and society cannot ultimately escape. One of the

Conservative government's principal costs is that its popularity has slumped to its lowest level since opinion polls were organised and its losses in local and European elections in May and June 1994 have drastically reduced its control below any level observed in a century, especially in its core areas of support in South-East England. Only one shire county in England remains in Conservative hands and one of the Conservative Cabinet ministers sacked in July 1994 has identified the position as one of dire threat to the survival of the Conservative Party.

The sacked minister had served as Secretary of Education and left the efforts at 'reform' of public education in such disarray through the antagonisms generated by his policies that the whole of government education policy has fallen into widespread disrepute and is supported by fewer than 25 per cent of the electorate. The failure of government education policies, however, has not deterred it from continuing to act and behave as though nothing had happened since it only just succeeded in retaining political power after 1992. Failure has, if anything, spurred the current UK government into continuing to pursue determined efforts, despite many setbacks in the courts, in Parliament, in its relations with the European Union and in elections to impose its will on the population in the absence of the levels of support that would confer legitimacy on its policies. Education changes have affected the financial position and autonomy of the university sector, but their effects have been masked by efforts to minimise their impact over the past decade when a savage across-the-board cut of 20 per cent in public financial support in the mid-1980s was followed by cumulative annual cuts of 2 per cent annually thereafter. Some of these effects were reduced by a doubling in the numbers of university students over the same period, which has worsened the staff-student ratio considerably but helped temporarily to absorb an increasing proportion of people in the 18-25 age group and disqualify them from obtaining social welfare payments. A large proportion of these students were transferred to support grants administered by the local authorities, but the level of grants was severely curtailed and a government-backed loans scheme was introduced to try to postpone hardship. But as a result of the recession, the proportion of unemployed graduates has risen sharply and benefit payments for unemployment have been limited recently to a maximum of six months in order to reduce the government deficit.

The 'reforms' affecting higher education initially had a smaller impact on Japanese Studies in the UK partly because it has been one of the few growth areas in academic life, partly because of government promotion of the field as part of the efforts of the Department of Trade & Industry to provide financial support for the expansion in the numbers of trained graduates.³ This was assisted by the organisation of a variety of schemes for the provision of scholarship funds for Japanese Studies by donations, mainly from Japanese business enterprises for the establishment of chairs and fellowships at Oxford, Cambridge Stirling, Essex among others. Other schemes have been promoted by the Anglo-Japanese Daiwa Foundation and the Great Britain-Sasagawa Foundation and a number of Japanese private universities have opened up facilities attached to existing UK universities and colleges such as Durham, Reading and Kent among others. The funds provided by public or semi-public bodies, such as

the British Academy, the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC), the Royal Society, science research councils and the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee have either been sharply cut or kept limited at best.⁴

Although additional provision was made for infrastructural support of Japanese Studies and other 'hard language' areas by the Parker Report almost a decade ago, public grants have been subsumed within the remit of the Higher Education Funding Councils (HEFCs) and are decreasingly given separate or special consideration.⁵ Academic departments are subjected to regular triennial research reviews and grant levels are subject to favourable reports provided by discipline-based committees rather than on the basis of 'area studies' considerations, which bodies such as the Consultative Committee of Area Studies' Associations (CCASA) have criticised as disadvantageous for fields such as Japanese Studies, which are generally organised on area studies rather than disciplinary principles.⁶

The worsening of public funding for undergraduates, referred to above, which followed from central government cuts in the funding of local government,⁷ directly affected the operation of the unique national scheme whereby all undergraduates in the UK main centres were required to spend time in Japan attached to a Japanese institution or employer. Both the cuts and the increase in the numbers of undergraduates in Japanese Studies became too great a burden to continue to be shouldered by the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee and support for the scheme was transferred to private foundations and Japanese government bodies.⁸ A similar move in 1993 affected the Japan Information Service in which information from NACSIS was transferred to a database operated by the British Library, even though the transfer service had been wholly paid for by the Japanese side.⁹ The Japan Foundation Endowment was also forced to end the regular support it had given since 1974 to the Japan Library Group for the purchase of additional materials for the libraries of the five main centres of Japanese Studies.¹⁰ In 1994, the operations of the Japan Language Association, based at Bath College of Higher Education, were continued only thanks to the intervention of the Japan Festival Fund following the refusal of the College to continue providing support allegedly promised in the past. It was also announced this year that the UK Department for Education had decided to end financial support for the continuation of the GCSE examinations in Japanese on the ground that the numbers of entrants, mainly Japanese nationals living in the UK, were too small. However, the move also torpedoed the efforts that had been made to introduce the Japanese GCSE curriculum into schools in England and Wales and made this pathway into Japanese Studies no longer tenable for the future.¹¹

In the recent past, Japan-related research had been at the heart of a major programme funded by the ESRC into the comparative conditions in Japan and the UK for privatisation policy.¹² This programme has been succeeded by the ESRC's Pacific Rim Project, which has the whole of the Pacific as its focus rather than Japan. It is likely that some of the research themes explored under the Project will involve a contribution by Japanese Studies researchers, but in the preliminary seminars associated with the main project it is clear that the bulk of enquiry will be conducted by specialists on China and Southeast Asia, rather than

Japan and Korea. It probably reflects the fact that the UK presence in Hong Kong will disappear in its present form in 1997 and the UK's interest in East Asia will be at the same level as those of other members of the European Union, which ceased to have a territorial interest in the area more than four decades ago. The UK continues to operate on adverse balance of trade with Japan along with other EU partner states and has undertaken a number of trade initiatives in Japan over recent years which has scarcely made any dent in the deficit. Because of the heavy Japanese involvement in the City of London, however, the trade in invisibles has traditionally been more beneficial in the past to the UK than to most other EU states, but the press has regularly expressed anxieties about the position of the London stock, commodities and insurance markets, especially in the context of the siting of a central European bank on the Continent.

The location of a strong trading centre and a significant Japanese presence in the City have played a major role in promoting close relations between UK and Japanese banks and businesses over the past century. Despite these close links and the reinforcement of the political links between right-wing political parties in both countries, it is often forgotten that they were never strong enough in the past to play any decisive role in the outcome of the process which led to the ending of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1922.¹³ These links also did nothing to prevent the course of events that led to British involvement in the Pacific War. Although it is clear that the Japanese mission and business interests in London sought to intervene to prevent a clash of interests, it is equally clear that policymakers in London were well-informed about Japanese contacts with hostile European powers after 1935. The right wing of the Conservative Party, which took power in 1940, was decisively dependant on the support of the opposition Labour Party and interpreted Japanese support for the European dictators and hostility toward the USA as the determinant of policy toward Japan.¹⁴

British dependence on the USA since 1941, which was already evident in matters connected with Far Eastern policy for a generation before that, has continued since the Korean War despite the attempts of governments of different political hues to distance themselves from US Asian policy. But it also helped to promote UK and Japanese collaboration with the USA against the USSR after 1945 throughout the Cold War. US policymakers until the 1980s kept on urging Japanese counterparts to adopt a parallel policy in Asia to that of Britain as a US aircraft-carrier in Europe. Now it is quite clear that US economic priorities have actively replaced the old political and strategic considerations and that neither Japan nor the UK retain the significance they once enjoyed in US perspectives. US support for a world trade organisation in place of the GATT, the promotion of NAFTA and the pursuit of a strategy in which economic support for the Russian successor states has replaced the priority previously accorded to the role of anti-Soviet encirclement spells out the need for policy readjustment in both the UK and Japan.

In external affairs, the further retreat from East Asia in 1997 means that the linked UK political and commercial ties with Japan, the USA and Australia in the region will suffer almost terminal decline. The US acceptance of MFN status for China indicates that any

hopes in the UK that the US would give priority to UK efforts about human rights and democratisation in Hong Kong and China will be dashed. MFN status reinforces the notion that US trade and investment in the Pacific Rim are more important to US interests in the Asia-Pacific region than those in the Atlantic. The political isolation of the Conservative administration in the UK has been reinforced with the Clinton administration's emphasis on the significance of the link with Germany as the principal key to the future development of US policy in Europe and future relations with the northern and eastern European states which will enter or seek to enter the EU in the years ahead.

The close ties of the Conservative Party and allied business interests with the right in Japan and with the Republican Party in the USA can no longer be relied upon to promote British interests in the world, as was the case generally during the Cold War. Efforts have been made in recent years to develop joint ventures between UK and Japanese interests in trade and aid activities in different areas, mainly of the Third World. There is a danger, especially in Asia, that such operations can alienate sensitive nationalistic feeling in third countries unless care is exercised. Japan is reluctant to support or invest in the CIS, whereas Britain is tied, whether it likes it or not, to European and American concerns. UK attempts to retain a US presence in Europe through the prolongation of the life and usefulness of NATO are running into increasing difficulty over the policies pursued in former Yugoslavia. Franco-German collaboration in the formation of a European intervention force and the US support for the involvement of Germany in UN peacekeeping operations in Somalia and elsewhere provide further evidence of the waning or transfer of US patronage even in the military sphere. Once upon a time Japan was talked about as a hidden member of NATO, but US efforts to work on Japan to play a peacekeeping role in Asia via the UN in recent years make it clear that Japan is expected to play the support role for the US in Asia while Germany plays a parallel role in Europe in future.

The Anglo-Japanese collaboration in manufacturing has contributed to conflict with other members of the EU in the past, where Conservative policy has given rise to charges that the UK has served as a platform for Japanese exports and is now firmly identified, even in the minds of right-wing Christian Democrats nominally allied in the European People's Party, as a political dinosaur out of touch with the mainstream of social policy thinking in Europe. This view has been reinforced by the fact that the Conservative Party and especially its 'Eurosceptic' wing, are seeking to exploit contracting out of the innocuous Social Charter as a device for gaining comparative economic advantage unfairly within the EU. Many point to the fact that Conservative ideology has much in common with the neo-nationalist and neo-fascist groups in France, Italy and Germany and Conservative members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg sit alongside far right representatives such as Le Pen. Current efforts to make common cause with the Italian right are threatened by the instability of the Berlusconi coalition, while elections in Germany are delicately poised between left and right until the outcome is known in October. Conservatives are hopeful that a clear shift to the right in the rest of Europe will provide them with some comfort for the loss of half their seats

at the European parliamentary election in June.¹⁵

Nevertheless, observers in both the USA and Europe are aware of the deep domestic unpopularity and weakness of the Major administration. In spite of this, members of the government continue to argue that their position will recover with improvements in an economic upturn by the spring of 1997. The fact remains, however, that such chances are not highly regarded by any independent commentators who see the contradictions and problems afflicting the Conservative Party as deeply divisive and far from temporary in scope. Following the most comprehensive election defeats in over a century, observers have commented on the changes in political rhetoric forced upon them in recent months but couple it with evidence of further entrenchment of policies that are deeply unpopular, which will lead inevitably to defeat if they continue to be pursued to the bitter end and which could potentially result in the break-up of the United Kingdom. For Japan, which is also experiencing unprecedented political and economic pressure, the strategy of continuing to base its policies in the European region on the UK as heavily as it has tended to do in the past, when the domination of the relationship by right-wing and financial interests in both countries has been so strong, through a straightforward continuation of past bilateral relations is bound to be much more unpredictable in the future.

Conservative spokesmen are already indicating privately, as a result of the outcome of recent elections that there now seems to be every likelihood that the next general election in the UK will be a two-horse race and that there is very little room for third parties except perhaps on the periphery. This estimate is confirmed by reaction to the election of Tony Blair MP as Leader of the Opposition, whose intervention in the Eastleigh by-election in May 1994 was an important factor in ensuring that the Labour Party gained second place in a normally safe Conservative constituency. Japanese diplomatic observers in Brussels and Strasbourg have faithfully reported back the influential role of the UK Labour Party in the European Parliament through its leadership and dominance of the European socialist grouping, which will be greatly reinforced in January following the appointment of Neil Kinnock MP as one of the two UK members of the European Commission. The members of the Japanese mission in London, however, continue to be preserved in the traditional aspect of dominance of their relations by members of the political right in the UK which has ceased to be politically representative of the UK electorate. It is worth noting, however, that there is now considerable research in the UK into the advisability of changing the emphasis of owners of UK capital on short-term returns of the kind that has traditionally been dominant in the UK and USA and to pay closer attention to the importance of government guidance toward the systems of banking and finance in Japan and Germany in which greater attention is paid to long-term investment and to the human and social contexts in which capital is employed.¹⁶

Although the Opposition has been represented in the UK-Japan 2000 Group by people such as Robert Sheldon MP, the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee in the House of Commons, and Giles Radice MP, a former front-bench spokesman on education and a contributor to the *Japan Times*, and regular contact is maintained with some of the more senior

trades union leaders, it has largely been a token representation. In the last two years, there has been some extension of such contacts with Dr. Marjorie Mowlam MP, a front-bench spokesperson on Treasury and cultural/scientific issues, and with Sir David Steel MP, the Liberal Democrat spokesman on foreign affairs, who is scheduled to resign his seat by 1997 at the latest.¹⁷ The Japanese Embassy has had no significant contacts with either Dr. Jack Cunningham MP, the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, or his deputy Allan Rogers MP, whose brief covers the Indo-Pacific area. Both of the latter have visited Hong Kong and China in recent times, but have limited direct knowledge of issues that are of interest to Japan. None of the last three leaders of the Opposition has ever visited Japan and it would make a great deal of sense if the embassy in London took an initiative in seeking to arrange an invitation before very long.¹⁸

Another important reason for Japanese diplomats to reassess current political and economic realities in the UK is that the vast bulk of Japanese inward investment in manufacturing is to be found in constituencies in Wales, Durham, Derbyshire and Scotland which have been controlled by the Labour Party throughout the whole of the period of Conservative control at Westminster. The only location of sizable investment in a Conservative-controlled locality is the Honda factory in Swindon, which was a Labour-held seat until 1979 and is very likely to revert to Labour control by 1997. Recent research on Japanese inward investment in the UK and USA, which examines the case studies of Nissan investment in N.E. England and of Sharp in north Wales, points to the importance of prominent local individuals in promoting inward investment rather than simply accepting the claims of Conservative ministers about central government influence.¹⁹ Conservative ministers never give any prominence to the importance of retaining a skilled workforce and of involving the workforce in management planning and thinking, which is a major part of Social Charter provisions in the EU and in Japanese management principles and well-ordered multinational firms. It is easy for the UK government to underestimate the impact of the imposition of short-term returns in the way that it disposed of public interests in the Rover automobile concern through the sale to BMW in preference to the long-term joint venture strategy pursued by Honda. The reliability of the Conservative Party in promoting Anglo-Japanese co-operation has consequently and justifiably suffered as a result.²⁰

Research Publication in the UK

Investigation of Japanese politics and of Anglo-Japanese relations is a major preoccupation of the group located at the Nissan Institute in Oxford under Professor J A A Stockwin, who is editor of the Routledge Nissan Series. Recently, a Routledge-Sheffield Series was launched under the editorship of Professor Glenn Hook, with particular emphasis on Japan's international relations and peace studies. The Macmillan UK division has a separate series of books by international authors on different aspects of the Japanese economy, politics and society. Paul Norbury Publications, which briefly published a bi-

monthly journal entitled *Japan Digest* until its subsidy was withdrawn, has teamed up with Curzon Press to build up its already extensive list of diverse titles on Japan-related subjects, including English-language research in history, politics international relations and literature originating in conferences of the European Association for Japanese Studies and the University of Venice. Cambridge University Press has relied heavily on the growing number of researchers at Cambridge within the Faculty of Oriental Studies under Professor Richard Bowring as core contributors to its list of publications on Japan. Oxford University Press has a small Japanese list with the emphasis on dictionaries, science and economics. Kegan Paul International has a Pacific-based series with contributions from sociology and anthropology on Japan edited by Professor Sugimoto Yoshie of La Trobe University in Australia. Older-established presses such as the Athlone Press in London and Manchester University Press have smaller lists, while there continue to be many more specialised discipline-based presses which carry Japan-related titles. Most of the US-based multinationals and university presses have Japan lists that are marketed in the UK and other English-speaking countries outside North America, while English-language publications by Kodansha, the university presses of Tokyo, Sophia and Hitotsubashi, and Japanese-language books continue to be distributed by Kinokuniya among others. In recent years, the Japan Book Centre has opened retail facilities for Japanese-language books in Piccadilly in London.²¹

The British Association for Japanese Studies, in conjunction with Oxford University Press, began publishing research articles in serial form in 1989 with the launching of the bi-annual *Japan Forum*, which appears at times of the year that complement the issues of the *Journal of Japanese Studies* published in the USA. It has grown from strength to strength and now has approximately 800 subscribers worldwide and produces approximately 20 articles annually across all the disciplines. Referred articles are submitted mainly from researchers in the UK, Europe and Japan, but the range of contributions has become so international in origin that it has been subtitled. *The International Journal of Japanese Studies* since April 1992. The journal's editorial policy is to seek to cover as wide a range of original research across the disciplines in every issue to reflect in particular the work of younger scholars and to publicise research emanating from Europe and overseas, not just the narrower frame of Japanese Studies in the UK. In 1992, it set up a prize endowment in conjunction with the Canon Europe Foundation to recognise outstanding contributions to research, especially by younger researchers. The editorial board, which includes most of the leading Japanese Studies specialists in Europe, would like to extend its services by increasing the number of annual issues and maximising the numbers of reviews of Japanese-language materials through closer collaboration with European and other research centres in suitable forms in future in line with the modest growth predicted in the field of Japanese Studies in the next decade.²²

Unlike the current UK government, the BAJJS policy is one of encouraging interaction and co-operation with centres in the EU and has worked actively with Japan Foundation and EAJJS to build bridges with Japanese specialists in eastern Europe, Russia, Israel, India, Southeast Asia and Australia. UK researchers have also been very active in organising the

activities of the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS), the European Association of Japanese Resource Specialists (EAJRS) and the Erasmus Programme which has promoted exchanges of faculty and students among European centres and have organised joint seminars in Oxford, Cambridge, Stirling and London among the various venues since the late 1980s.

Conclusion

There is widespread support among UK academics for a more wholehearted co-operation within Europe than has been possible as a result of the restrictions imposed by the Conservative Party on the public support of higher and specialist education in the UK since the mid-1980s. There is a deep concern about the marked tendencies toward a privatisation of research and educational finance within the UK and a worry that in Japanese Studies it will inevitably lead to a stratification of provision based on financial access to resources rather on fairness to the individual regardless of social or political background. A return to a situation where there is discrimination in access for the privileged compared to that of the 'deserving poor' and to that of the rest of young people in society is at odds with the political rhetoric of a 'classless society' and of 'equality of opportunity', so that we cannot be sure that this ideological contradiction can be resolved over the next three years.

It threatens not only the consumers of education, but also the producers who have been coerced into positions of increased dependency on official definitions of what is 'relevant' in research and of what amounts and kinds of teaching that are socially desirable under a worsening set of conditions of employment compared to anything in UK academic history. We hope that our colleagues in Japanese Studies in the rest of the world take note of these developments in the UK, which are less apparent to outsiders. Open resistance by groups and professions in the past has led to discrimination against their interests and there is widespread concern that ideological fanaticism could be fuelled by further desperate financial measures in the three remaining years of political power to cut public costs in ways that may undermine the livelihoods of thousands of professional families in teaching, the civil service, public utilities and welfare provision. Such scenarios are already being discussed privately throughout the UK, as individuals are frequently afraid that open discussion or resistance spells redundancy and the prospect of never being employed again. In the past, such scenarios were viewed by the middle and professional classes as acceptable, if temporary, arrangements for the 'lower orders'. In the UK, people are faced by a 'bloodless tyranny' resulting from a political system that has not been radically reformed for three centuries, not just the four decades that have given rise to similar calls for reform of the political system in Japan.²³

Notes

- * The author taught international relations at the University of Sussex and at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto until 1992. He is currently general editor of *Japan Forum*, published by Oxford University

Press for the British Association for Japanese Studies. He is co-author of *Anzen hosho arantana bijiyon* (Tokyo, 1984), editor of *The Price of Admiralty*, 4 vols. (Saltire Press, 1982-90), has appeared in *Referensu*, *Gunji Shigaku* and the *Mainichi shinbun* and has served as a consultant for NHK, BBC and NBC television documentaries.

- 1 For example, David Young, the current chairman of Cable & Wireless, who was minister for trade and industry under Lady Thatcher, reiterated such claims once again on BBC Radio 4, 2 August 1994.
- 2 The phrase was used in public criticism of the Thatcher administration by one of her Conservative predecessors as prime minister from 1957 to 1963, the late Harold Macmillan.
- 3 Funds were provided from the late 1980s by the DTI for postgraduate courses in Japanese at several UK universities as part of a trade promotion drive in Japan.
- 4 As a result of government financial cutbacks in the 1980s, the numbers of UK-based research students in Japanese fell dramatically and recovered only in the 1990s. See the author's report to the ESRC, 'Social Science Expertise in Japanese Studies in the UK,' 31 August 1992, later submitted to the Area Studies Monitoring Group, chaired by the Prince of Wales, 27 October 1992.
Even private foundations, such as the GB-Sasagawa Foundation, had to cut its available funds because the then chairman, Robert Maxwell, whose business empire collapsed at his death and caused a major public scandal, apparently advised the trustees mistakenly to get out of UK government bonds at the time of the UK general election in 1992. Losses arising out of property speculation in Japan have also damaged charitable income considerably during the recession.
- 5 Japanese Studies centres complain that no special financial allowances are made for foreign language-based teaching compared to other disciplines which do not require such additional overhead costs. This means that institutions are compelled to obtain good research assessments in order to be able to subsidise language teaching. For information on the experiences of the chairman of the East & South Asian Studies Panel of the HEFC for England & Wales, see the contribution by Richard Bowring in *Japan Forum*, 5/1 (April 1993), pp. 135-136.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 5/2 (October 1993), p. 264.
- 7 Student grants have been virtually frozen since 1990 and a loan scheme introduced to provide funds to top up the incomes of the majority, especially as students were prevented from any longer claiming welfare benefits such as unemployment or housing benefit during vacations. *The Guardian*, 2 August 1994 refers to government proposals for the privatisation of the Student Loan Scheme and suggestions about expanding it to include payment of tuition.
Local government finances have been 'capped' through a complicated system of standard spending assessments (SSAs), with spending on education being the largest (and least flexible) item in local government budgets. Changes are frequently tabled in parliament shortly prior to recesses, which prevent any public discussion or challenges to government policies. The UK government set up a local government commission under Sir John Banham in 1993, whose recommendations on local boundaries are currently being presented for 'consultation' and are causing a considerable amount of local disquiet and dispute in many areas. Although the government has decreed the dismantling of regional government in Scotland, elsewhere its policy of 'subsidiarity' in fact also means that the powers of the central bureaucracy are being expanded by means of regional offices which seek, unlike in much of the rest of Europe, to protect central national power from the European Commission and from UK local governments which are perceived as hostile to Conservative control in the Westminster parliament.
- 8 Information from the Japan Foundation Endowment, Sheffield, which produces an annual review: see its *Annual Report for the Year 1992/93*, p. 3.
- 9 Funds for keeping the Japan Information Service running were found at the end of 1992 following pressure from the Area Studies Monitoring Group (*cf.* fn. 4 above). The author is grateful to Mr. C. Dillon for information received.
- 10 For information on the work of the Japan Library Group, see the article by Yu-ying Brown in *Japan*

- Forum* 5/2 (October 1990, pp. 257-261. Financial support for the Group since 1973: see fn. 8 above. The question of library resources and data bases for Japanese Studies is explored in the paper by Koyama Noburo in Session D of the Kyoto Conference on 19 October 1994.
- 11 See *Sunday Times*, 20 March 1994, 'Diplomatic Row over GCSE Cuts' and *Japanese in Schools Newsletter* (Spring 1994, pp. 1-2. Japanese has been taught at over 100 schools and numbers taking the examination have risen to over 900, or more than double the figure for 1989. This has entailed the winding up of a programme run by the Cardiff Business School ostensibly on behalf of the Welsh Secretary (who sits for an English constituency). Ironically, six school pupils studying Japanese at different schools in the UK 'had the very good fortune of travelling to Japan in the company of Mr. Major' in September 1993. The cost of such an exercise would almost certainly have covered half the expense of maintaining Japanese in the GCSE curriculum for one year.
 - 12 The ESRC Government-Industry Relations Programme was co-ordinated by Maurice Wright of Manchester University and Stephen Wilks of Exeter University. Professor Wright is currently completing research on Japan's budgetary system, Professor Gow (Sheffield) on telecommunications and Professor Neary (Essex) on biotechnology.
 - 13 The USA suspected that there was a secret military agreement attached to the Anglo-Japanese alliance and opposed the despatch of a UK naval/ air mission to Japan, which transferred technologies connected with aircraft-carrier operations in 1923. See the diary of Captain Malcolm Kennedy, Vol. 2, Part 9: Sheffield University Library.
 - 14 See the author's revisionist essay on 'The Imperial Japanese Navy and the North-South Dilemma' in John Erickson and David Dilks, eds., *Barbarossa: The Axis and the Allies*. (Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 150-206. The UK naval attaché in Japan was reported by Japanese officers attending a reception in the US Embassy in July 1941 as saying: 'The dropping of [German] bombs on cities would never bring Britain to its knees in view of the remarkable attitude of the Labour Party.' J.W.M. Chapman, ed., *The Price of Admiralty*. (Saltire Press, 1984), vol. 3, p. 474.
 - 15 The Conservative Party was reduced to 27.83 per cent of the UK vote in the elections to the European Parliament (18 seats). The bulk of the UK seats was captured by the Labour Party with 44.24 per cent of the votes cast. With 62 seats and 1 for the allied SDLP group in Northern Ireland out of a total of 87 seats, the Labour Party became the largest group within the European Socialist Party and its leader, Mrs. Pauline Green, was elected leader of the ESP at Strasbourg. The ESP is the largest grouping in the parliament, whose powers have been increased under the Maastricht Treaty and a member of the German Social Democratic Party was elected as speaker. The rival European People's Party (EPP) consists mainly of Christian Socialists and is a confederation with some 172 votes, as opposed to about 194 for the ESP grouping. The author is grateful for information received from the office of the European Parliament in the UK. A public opinion poll in the *Daily Telegraph* on 5 August 1994 confirmed the lowest level of support for the Conservatives (23%) recorded in the history of Gallup polls.
 - 16 This is one of the areas of research of the Centre for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics, which has produced a number of occasional papers by Professor Ronald Dore dealing with the Japanese macro-economic situation in comparative terms.
 - 17 The UK-Japan 2000 Group organised a conference on 'Britain and Japan: The New Era' in London on 17-18 January 1994 at which discussions about the possibilities for the second decades of the Group's activities were held. Although opposition and trade union spokesmen were invited, the bulk of the delegates came from the traditional right-wing groups and business associated with the promotion of Anglo-Japanese relations over the past decades. The chairman of the economic workshop, Lord Howe, a former Conservative deputy prime minister, who was responsible for the banning of trade union activity at GCHQ, blocked an attempt by the head of the AEEU, Bill Jordan, to air the perfectly reasonable question of the policies of multinationals to labour relations among the various national societies in which they operated. For information on the activities of the UK-Japan 2000 Group, see *Japan Forum* 5/1 (April 1993), pp. 131-138 and 6/1 (April 1994) pp. 103-104.

- 18 The author is grateful for information received from the offices of James Moorhouse MEP, Glyn Ford MEP, Sir Jack Steward-Clark MEP, Sir David Steel MP, Dr. Jack Cunningham MP, and Allan Rogers MP. It does not appear to square entirely with the claim made in the information sheet of the Japanese Embassy in London reporting the UK Foreign Secretary at the opening of the Daiwa Foundation Japan House (which is an extremely welcome move) as 'speaking to an audience representing the entire spectrum of Anglo-Japanese relations'. *Japan*, No. 574, 2 August 1994, p. 1.
- 19 Of interest in this context are the research findings of Carl Aaron (Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, Oxford) which look at Japanese inward investment policies in the OECD and have included a number of interviews in the localities where investment has been conducted. Conservative MPs in constituencies along the south coast of England have attempted recently to attract Japanese investment in areas heavily hit by recession. However, the effects of recession on the Japanese economy have been quite severe and in many countries Japanese assets abroad, especially in real estate, have been sold off and repatriated to cover severe domestic losses. Conservative MPs, however, have not been prominent in attracting Japanese manufacturing investment in their constituencies, almost certainly because they fear that it would entail the inward movement of unionised workers more likely to vote for opposing political parties.
- 20 On the Honda-Rover controversy, see the letter by Geoffrey Goodman to George Bull, editor of the *Anglo-Japanese Bulletin*, 7/3 (January-April 1994), pp. 19-20.
- 21 The availability of Japanese-language books and materials abroad has increased substantially in the past decade in North America, Southeast Asia and elsewhere overseas, particularly with the opening of a number of bookstores by Kinokuniya and other companies.
- 22 The most recent detailed survey of teaching Japanese in the UK may be found in *Japanese-Language Teaching at British Universities and Centres of Higher Education: A Survey*. (London, UK-Japan 2000 Group, December 1993).

The President of BAJS, Professor J A A Stockwin, has reiterated the commitment of UK scholars in Japanese Studies to continued co-operation with the European Association for Japanese Studies on the eve of its triennial conference in Copenhagen on 22-26 August 1994, stressing the importance of healthy growth. 'Japanese Studies in the UK,' *Japan*, No. 569, 17 May 1994, p. 3.

BAJS organised serial publication of European research in Japanese Studies in 1988 after the EAJS turned down earlier proposals on the ground that it did not have a strong administrative infrastructure. Japan Foundation support for a permanent EAJS secretariat for its first five years of operation began at the University of Leiden in April 1994. It is hoped that EAJS will opt for the broad admixture of public and private support already adopted by BAJS in order to maximise financial and scholarly independence.

Many of the Euro-Japanese organisations founded since the 1970s, however, have tended to operate in the lobby culture of Brussels and it has been extremely difficult to provide a genuine Europe-wide forum where ideas can be generated outside the narrower concerns of various economically and politically partisan interests. The current initiative of the Belmont Foundation in Brussels, which is trying to build a more broadly based dialogue with Japan, has come at an opportune moment and it is to be hoped that can obtain the right balance of public and private support to succeed where others in the past were prevented from doing so.
- 23 See Iokibe Makoto, *Chitsujo henkakuki no Nihon no sentaku* (Tokyo, PHP Institute, 1991) and 'Shin sekai muchitsujo ron o koete,' *Asuteion* (Winter 1993), pp. 16-33.

APPENDIX
SELECT LIST OF JAPANESE STUDIES RESEARCHERS IN THE UK*

Arts/Humanities

Trevor Astley (Sheffield); Carmen Blacker (Cambridge); Brian Bocking (Bath); Tim Clark (British Museum); Marie Conte-Helm (Northumbria); Oliver Impey (Oxford); Nobuko Ishii (Edinburgh); Nicola Liscutin (Cambridge); James McMullen (Oxford); Helen Parker (Edinburgh); Brian Powerll (Oxford); Ian Reader (Stirling); Tim Screech (SOAS).

Anthropology/Sociology

Ron Dore (LSE); Roger Goodman (Oxford); Ian Neary (Essex); Joy Hendry (Oxford Brookes); Rick Siddall (Sheffield); Hiroko Tomida (Sheffield).

Economics/Economic & Social History

Douglas Anthony (Cardiff); Francesca Bray (Manchester); Jenny Corbett (Oxford); Penny Francks (Leeds); Janet Hunter (LSE); Anil Khosla (Sheffield); Sarah Metzger-Court (Aston); Osamu Saitô (Cambridge); Kaoru Sugihara (SOAS); Michael Weiner (Sheffield).

History

ordon Daniels (Sheffield); Helen Dryburgh (Sheffield); Earl Kinmonth (Sheffield); Stephen Large (Cambridge); Peter Lowe (Manchester); Margaret Mehl (Edinburgh); Joe Moran (Stirling); Ian Nish (LSE); John Pritchard (Manchester); Richard Sims (SOAS); Ann Waswo (Oxford).

Industrial Relations/Management

James Babb (Newcastle); David Cairncross (London/ IC); Harukiyo Hasegawa (Sheffield); Michael Jenkins (Bath); John Kidd (Aston); Alice Lam (Kent); Kevin McCormick (Sussex); Lola Okazaki-Ward (Cranfield); Mari Sakô (LSE); Young-chen Wang (John Moores).

Language

Suzuko Anai (Essex); John Collins (John Moores); Jiri Jelinek (Sheffield); Joyce Jenkins (Bath); R. Sakamoto (Essex); Lone Takeuchi (SOAS); Nick Tranter (Sheffield).

Law

Bob Ackroyd (Aston); Frank Bennett (SOAS); Hiroshi Oda (London/UCL).

Literature

Richard Bowring (Cambridge); Drew Gerstle (SOAS); Philip Harries (Oxford); Miriam Jelinek (Sheffield); Mark Morris (Cambridge); Irena Powerll (Sheffield); Mark Williams (Leeds).

Politics/International Relations

Kweku Ampiah (Stirling); John Chapman (Sussex); Lesley Connors (Sheffield); John Crump (York); Saki Dockrill (London/KC); Reinhard Drifte (Newcastle); Ian Gow (Sheffield); Glenn Hook (Sheffield); Barry Keehn (Cambridge); Wolf Mendl (London/ KC); Yoko Sellek (Sheffield); Arthur Stockwin (Oxford); Robert Taylor (Sheffield); David Williams (Sheffield).

- * This list is by no means complete and it does not take into account the fact that individual researchers work on issues that combine with or move into other disciplinary areas.