

The Social History of Occupied Japan: Some Sources and Problems

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British Writings on Japanese History

by

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Preface

Dr Gordon Daniels, Reader in History at the University of Sheffield, presented his paper on the Social History of Occupied Japan at a one-day workshop on the Teaching of Japanese Economic and Social History, held at the Suntory-Toyota International Centre on 16 May 1990. We are grateful to Dr Daniels for allowing us to reproduce his paper here.

The bibliography of British writings on Japanese history was compiled in response to a request for information from Professor Haruko Wakita.

Keywords: Social history; occupied Japan; economic history; bibliography; British writings on Japanese history.

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THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF OCCUPIED JAPAN: SOME SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

by Gordon Daniels

For the past decade and a half the history of Occupied Japan has been a major theme of international research and controversy. The opening and microfilming of vast quantities of documents in Japan, the United States and Britain have stimulated much new writing, while the holding of major international conferences at the MacArthur Memorial, Amherst, Stanford, the Smithsonian and the Suntory-Toyota Centre has produced a species of new historical consensus. These developments may suggest that Occupied Japan is already a conquered academic frontier.¹ But this appears doubtful as soon as one ventures beyond diplomacy and politics, to explore the social history of these turbulent years.

In the last 15 years what has been learnt and understood about Occupied Japan? Certainly we possess much more factual information about American decision-making and politics. Such works as Michael Schaller's The American Occupation of Japan and William Borden's The Pacific Alliance² have synthesised much diplomatic and economic material, and our knowledge of many aspects of policy has been enriched by the publication of a magnificent collection of English-language documents by the Japanese Finance Ministry.³ We also know far more about the subtle half-secret interplay between American and Japanese men and women of influence - whether in the sphere of women's rights, currency policy, budget-making or the drafting of the Constitution.⁴ No doubt these gains represent major historical advances - but equally one might question whether this process

is not, in fact, an escape from as well as an encounter with historical reality. In both Japan and the United States there has been a subconscious desire to write the pre-history of the American-Japanese Alliance rather than to understand the occupation in terms of its own times and values.⁵ Furthermore Japan's recent power, prosperity and affluence may have distracted historians' attention from many humiliating and painful aspects of the immediate postwar years. Such observations are amply justified if one compares the writings of early commentators on postwar Japan with writings in the 1980s - whether by radicals or supporters of a liberal capitalist consensus.

Early works such as Mark Gayn's Japan Diary were preoccupied with the human realities which form the foundation of any political society - whether it be authoritarian or democratic. On his first page Gayn wrote:

'Before us, as far as we could see lay miles of rubble. The people looked ragged and distraught. They dug into the debris to clear space for new shacks. They pushed and dragged carts piled high with brick and lumber. But, so vast was the destruction that all this effort seemed unproductive. There were no new buildings in sight. The skeletons of railway cars and locomotives remained untouched on the tracks.'⁶

Gayn's concern with physical austerity, and the raw edges of pain, cold and hunger was distinctive but it was not his only preoccupation. He also described an atmosphere of corruption, and semi-criminality which were the natural results of moral and social confusion, and economic distress. This aura of corruption, shortage and immorality also characterised one of the first muck-raking memoirs to be written by an occupationaire,

Harry Emerson Wildes' Typhoon in Tokyo, which appeared in 1954.⁷ This book's morose and bitter tone was in part a reflection of personal disappointments but this work was not without its important truths. In particular Wildes chronicled the sexual excesses of occupation forces and the shabby, fly, and flyblown aura of much low level American activity.

What has been lost in much recent writing is not simply the suffering, hunger and drabness of the occupation years but almost any sense of what was happening in large areas of Japanese society. Historians may have gained comfort and esteem by taking a hygienic elevator to the written and oral archives of men in high places but they have forfeited much else in the process. Thus, apart from Japan Diary and Typhoon in Tokyo we have little concrete description or analysis of what was taking place across Japan's four main islands. When did food supplies become tolerable? When did they become agreeable? Where was food most and least difficult to obtain? Did or did not people starve? How did Japan's repatriated people return to a settled life of equilibrium? When did air-raid evacuees return to Tokyo, Osaka or Nagoya? How quickly, and on what financial basis did temporary or permanent housing appear in bombed-out cities, country towns and villages? How did patterns of marriage, childbirth, disease and death fluctuate and stabilise between 1945 and 1952? What was the chronology, geography and organisation of the black market, crime, demonstrations and strikes during this period of American reform, which culminated in the establishment of conservative political hegemony. In most academic writing far more attention is paid to Joseph Dodge's economic policies than to their social consequences - and the

regional variations and periodization of their human impact. These many profound and often quantitative questions are not merely important because they constitute major historical omissions. They are also inextricably linked with major political, diplomatic and economic themes which historians customarily examine with great care and attention. Clearly election results partially reflect some of these social forces. A more important issue is when and how did education, health, employment and family life achieve sufficient stability to enable the Japanese people to think beyond immediate needs and begin the national collaborative process which culminated in economic advance.

In part the answers to such sweeping questions can only be constructed by a new generation of scholars - often with specialisms - such as medicine and public health - which differ from those of most present-day historians of Japan. Sophisticated solutions to these questions also call for the synthesis of much secondary material in Japanese - histories of towns and prefectures, companies and government agencies and of particular areas of official action. However, some initial steps can be taken by simply examining and re-examining large volumes of American material which are readily available in major British libraries. One major source for the years 1945 to 1948 is the monthly series Summations of Non-military Activities.⁸ These elaborate compendia of data on social, economic and political trends contain much largely neglected information which is of value to the social historian. For example, the second issue of the Summation series contains over 130 pages of socio-economic information embracing such themes as labour, religion and public

welfare. In this instance the single heading 'Public Health and Welfare' covers material on disease incidence, repatriation, relief, hospital administration, and contemporary prison statistics.⁹ In particular the Summations furnish more than simple narratives of American policy. They are valuable repositories of statistics, charts, maps and diagrams which can aid the process of historical synthesis. Such material can also form a valuable basis for undergraduate and graduate seminars and class discussion.

A second major source which is less objective but nevertheless invaluable is the unpublished official History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan which is available on National Archives microfilm.¹⁰ Despite their profoundly American outlook and triumphalist tone these 55 thematic volumes have several major advantages. Their thematic layout enables one to locate material on neglected social issues with relative ease; and, in contrast to the Summations, these historical monographs often survey events up to 1950 or 1951. Thus they come close to covering the reconstruction as well as the reform period of occupation administration. Furthermore, these studies often contain large quantities of statistics, copies of important regulations and decrees, as well as background data on the wartime and pre-war periods. Should anyone doubt the historical value and interest of these official histories one might note that until the mid-1970s eleven were completely classified as their contents were politically sensitive. For example, the once classified volume on population policy clarifies the influence of the Roman Catholic Church upon SCAP's often ambiguous attitudes.¹¹ The existence of over 400

pages of material on health and welfare, and a similar amount of data on the pricing and distribution of food and non-food products may suggest the value of this series for the study of social history.

Undoubtedly these histories pay undue attention to SCAP's self-image, and America's role in confronting social and economic difficulties, but discerning academics can mine these sources for statistical information, and read between what are, historiographically, very well-spaced lines.

It will be many years before scholars construct a social atlas of occupied Japan but the summations and official histories will assist in beginning its compilation. Even a cursory or superficial reading of such material suggests the basis of some re-interpretation of the occupation period. Despite Washington's bitter criticisms of SCAP policy in 1947 and 1948 it would appear that significant social gains had already been made.¹² This was notably true of food relief and the suppression of infectious diseases. These major achievements were crucial to the welfare of the Japanese people but of less interest to businessmen and cold-war strategists.

There is no smooth short road to an understanding of the intricate social realities of occupied Japan. Such works as Bruce Johnston's monograph on wartime food policy and Jerome Cohen's early study of Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction, provide little coverage of the postwar years.¹³ However, the imperfect American documents which I have described can still help scholars to return to the ashes and early rebuilding which were the true beginnings of postwar Japan.

1. Since 1975, The MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia 23510, has published six conference volumes with the following titles. The Occupation of Japan and its Legacy to the Postwar World, The Occupation of Japan: Impact of Legal Reform, The Occupation of Japan: Economic Policy and Reform, The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform, The Occupation of Japan: The International Context, The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture. The Smithsonian Conference papers are reproduced in Robert Wolfe (ed.) The Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952 (Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1984). The Suntory-Toyota International Centre (L.S.E.) has published two pamphlets in its International Studies series. Ian Nish (ed.) The British Commonwealth and the Occupation of Japan (1983) and Ian Nish (ed.) Aspects of the Allied Occupation of Japan (1986).
2. Michael Schaller: The American Occupation of Japan, The Origins of the Cold War in Asia (Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1985). William S. Borden: The Pacific Alliance, United States Economic Policy and Japan's Trade Recovery, 1947-1955 (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984).
3. Ōkurashō Zaiseishishitsu: Shōwa Zaisei-shi, Shūsen Kara Kōwa Made. Vol.20 (Eibun Shiryō). (Financial History Section, Ministry of Finance: The Financial History of Japan, The Allied Occupation Period, 1945-52. Vol.20 English Documents). (Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, Tokyo, 1982), 851 pp. This volume is divided into the following sections: 1. Pre-Occupation - General, 2. Pre-Occupation - Economics, 3. General Policy, 4. National Security and External Relations, 5. Political and Social Reform, 6. Economic Reform, 7. Economic Disarmament and Reparations, 8. Economic Control and Planning, 9. Aid and Trade, 10. Finance, 11. The 'Dodge Line', 12. Money and Banking, 13. U.S. Occupation of Germany.
4. E.g. Helen Hopper, 'Kato Shidzue, Socialist Party MP, and Occupation Reforms Affecting Women, 1945-1948: A Case Study of the Formal vs. Informal Political Influence of Japanese Women' in T.W. Burkman (ed.) The Occupation of Japan, Educational and Social Reform. (MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia, 1982), pp.373-399.
5. One might note that Robert E. Ward and Frank J. Shulman's excellent bibliography, The Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952. An Annotated Bibliography of Western Language Materials (American Library Association, Chicago, 1974), 867 pp. had its origins in a meeting of a subcommittee of the Department of State's Committee on Educational and Cultural Relations with Japan and a counterpart group from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, ibid. p.xv.
6. Mark Gayn: Japan Diary (William Sloane Associates, New York, 1948), p.1. A reprint is now available from Charles Tuttle, Tokyo.

7. Harry Emerson Wildes: Typhoon in Tokyo: The Occupation and its Aftermath (MacMillan, New York and London, 1954). A reprint was issued by Octagon Books, New York in 1979).
8. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers: Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea. September/October 1945 - February 1946. Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan. March 1946 - August 1948 (Total - 35 issues). (Available on microfilm from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.).
9. Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea. Number 2. November 1945, pp.147-176.
10. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Statistics and Reports Section: History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan, SCAP, Tokyo, 1952. (Available on microfilm from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.). The volume titles are as follows:
 1. Introduction, 1945-1951.
 2. Administration of the Occupation, 1945 - July 1951.
 3. Logistic Support, 1945-1951.
 4. Population.
 5. Trials of Class 'B' and 'C' War Criminals.
 6. Local Government Reforms, 1945 - December 1950.
 7. The Purge, 1945 - December 1951.
 8. Constitutional Revision, 1945 - December 1951.
 9. National Administrative Reorganization, 1945-1949.
 10. Election Reform 1945 - November 1951.
 11. Development of Political Parties, 1947 - November 1951.
 12. Development of Legislative Responsibilities, 1945 - October 1950.
 13. Reorganization of Civil Service, 1945-1951.
 14. Legal and Judicial Reform, 1945 - December 1950.
 15. Freedom of the Press, 1945 - January 1951.
 16. Theatre and Motion Pictures, 1945 - December 1951.
 17. Treatment of Foreign Nationals.
 18. Public Welfare, 1945 - December 1949.
 19. Public Health, September 1945 - December 1950.
 20. Social Security, 1945 - March 1950.
 21. Foreign Property Administration.
 22. Reparations.
 23. Japanese Property Administration.

24. Elimination of Zaibatsu Control, 1945 - June 1950.
25. Deconcentration of Economic Power, 1945 - December 1950.
26. Promotion of Fair Trade Practices, 1945 - October 1951.
27. The Rural Land Reform, 1945 - June 1951.
28. Development of the Trade Union Movement, 1945 - June 1951.
29. Working Conditions, 1945 - September 1950.
30. Agricultural Cooperatives, 1945 - December 1950.
31. Education, 1945 - December 1949.
32. Religion.
33. Radio Broadcasting, 1945-1951.
34. Price and Distribution Stabilization: Non-Food Program.
35. Price and Distribution Stabilization: Food Program.
36. Agriculture, September 1945 - December 1950.
37. National Government Finance, 1945 - March 1951.
38. Local Government Finance, 1945 - March 1951.
39. Money and Banking, 1945 - June 1951.
40. Financial Reorganization of Corporate Enterprises.
41. The Petroleum Industry, 1945 - June 1951.
42. Fisheries, 1945 - 1950.
43. Forestry, September 1945 - January 1951.
44. Rehabilitation of the Non-Fuel Mining Industries.
45. Coal.
46. Expansion and Reorganization of the Electric Power and Gas Industries, 1945 - March 1950.
47. The Heavy Industries, 1945 - 1950.
48. Textile Industries, September 1945 - December 1950.
49. The Light Industries, 1945 - March 1951.
50. Foreign Trade.
51. Land and Air Transport.
52. Water Transportation, 1945-1951.
53. Communications, 1945 - December 1950.
54. Reorganization of Science and Technology in Japan, 1945 - September 1950.
55. Police and Public Safety, 1945 - October 1951.

11. Ibid. volume 4.
12. e.g. J.L. Kauffman: 'Report on Conditions in Japan as of September 6, 1947', reprinted in Ōkurashō Zaiseishitsu: Shōwa Zaisei-shi. Vol.20 (Eibun Shiryō), pp.368-378 and Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan No.33, June 1948, p.289.
13. Bruce F. Johnston: Japanese Food Management in World War II (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1953), pp.213-237, 'Japan's Postwar Food Shortage'. Jerome B. Cohen: Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction. (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1949). Reprinted by Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn. 1973), pp.417-504, 'The Economy Under Occupation'.

British writings on Japanese history by Janet Hunter and Ian Nish

We have been asked to prepare a select list of British books on Japanese history. We took on this task without a full appreciation of the difficulties of definition which it would present. Because of pressure of work and the time limit imposed we have not been able to do a comprehensive listing, and have had to confine ourselves to a selection. We have tried to be catholic in our definition of history, but it may well not prove satisfactory to many scholars. We have in general, but not invariably, included the writings of those in post in institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom, and scholars who have spent long periods on research in Britain. This means that we have included the names of resident American and Japanese scholars, with the exception of very recent arrivals. We have likewise included some Britons resident abroad. We have not confined ourselves to those with a knowledge of the Japanese language, although we feel that most of those on our list would have some claim to being a 'Japanologist'. The works cited here have been produced over the last thirty years, and we have made no attempt to extend our coverage to the substantial British scholarship on Japan of earlier years.

Where a scholar has written books, we have included that book to the exclusion of articles he or she may have written. Where a scholar has not written books of which we are aware, we

have included articles known to us. Our object has been to indicate the field of research of the scholars mentioned, even though the scholar in question may have moved on to fresh fields of enquiry. Japanese language publications are not included.

Journals and Periodicals

A number of specialist journals and periodicals are published in Britain which contain important articles on aspects of Japanese history. These include:

Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, which appeared from 1976 to 1988, published from the Centre for Japanese Studies, University of Sheffield

Japan Forum, issued twice yearly by Oxford University Press on behalf of the British Association of Japanese Studies, starting in spring 1989

Bulletin of the Japan Society [of London], discontinued during the war, but published from 1952 to date

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Modern Asian Studies, published from 1967 four times a year by Cambridge University Press

Tsuru, edited by Paul Norbury for Japan Airlines from 1971 to 1975

Pacific Review, published by Oxford University Press from 1988

Nissan Occasional Papers, issued by the Nissan Institute for Japanese Studies, Oxford University, from 1986

Sheffield University Occasional Papers, issued by the Centre of Japanese Studies, University of Sheffield, from 1988

International Studies Discussion Papers, issued by the Suntory-Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, London School of Economics, from 1978

Japanese Studies Discussion Papers, issued by the Suntory-Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, London School of Economics, from 1987

European Conference Proceedings

Another important source for writings by British and European scholars is the publication of conference proceedings by the European Association for Japanese Studies. These are:

W.G.Beasley (ed.) Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature and Society (London, 1975) (papers from the 1973 Oxford conference)

Charles Dunn & Ian Nish (eds.) European Studies on Japan (Tenterden, Kent, 1979) (proceedings of the 1976 Zurich conference)

P.G.O'Neill (ed.) Tradition and Modern Japan (Tenterden, Kent, 1981) (proceedings of the 1979 Florence conference)

Gordon Daniels (ed.) Europe Interprets Japan (Tenterden, Kent, 1984) (proceedings of the 1982 Hague conference)

Ian Nish (ed.) Contemporary European Writing on Japan (Ashford, Kent, 1988) (proceedings of the 1985 Paris conference)

Erich Pauer (ed.) Silkworms, Oil and Chips (Bonn, 1986) (proceedings of the 1985 Paris conference)

Peter C.Lowe & H.J.Moeshart (eds.) Western Interactions with Japan: Expansion, the Armed Forces and Readjustment, 1859-1956 (Folkestone, Kent, 1990) (proceedings of the history section of the 1988 Durham conference)

R.Goodman & K.Refsing (eds.) Japan: Ideology and Practice (forthcoming) (proceedings of the sociology/anthropology section of the 1988 Durham conference)

Books and Articles

The following are books and articles by individual scholars:

G.C.Allen - Short Economic History of Modern Japan
(London, 1st.ed. 1946, final ed. 1982)
Japan's Economic Recovery (Oxford, 1958) (later issued as Japan's Economic Expansion)
Japan as a Market and Source of Supply (London, 1967)
Japan's Economic Policy (London & Basingstoke, 1980)
The Japanese Economy (London, 1981)
Appointment in Japan (London, 1983)
The Industrialization of Japan and Manchukuo 1930-1940 (with E.B.Schumpeter, E.F.Penrose & M.S.Gordon) (New York, 1940)
Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic

Development: China and Japan (with A.G.Donnithorne)
(London, 1954)

L.Allen - The Years of Triumph (London, 1971)
Sittang, the Last Battle: the End of the Japanese in
Burma July-August 1945 (London, 1973)
The End of the War in Asia (London, 1976)
Singapore 1941-42 (London, 1977)
Burma: the Longest War 1941-45 (London, 1984)

D.W.Anthony - 'The Economic and Political Background to Recent
Proposed Changes in Japan's Anti-Monopoly
Legislation' in Proceedings of the British
Association for Japanese Studies vol.1, pt.2
(Sheffield, 1976)
'The Itinerary of the Iwakura Embassy in Britain'
(with G.H.Healey) (Sheffield Occasional Papers, 1,
1987)

H.J.Ballhatchet - 'The Missionary Approach to Japan: Walter
Denning, a Case Study' in Proceedings of the British
Association for Japanese Studies vol.1 (Sheffield,
1976)
'The World Missionary Conference of 1910, and
Japanese Religions' Proceedings of the British
Association for Japanese Studies vol.3 (Sheffield,
1978)
'Confucianism and Christianity in Meiji Japan: The
Case of Kozaki Hiromichi' in Journal of the Royal
Asiatic Society 1988, no.2
'Asia' in J.McManners (ed.) Oxford Illustrated
History of Christianity (with K.Ballhatchet)
(Oxford, 1990)

G.Barnes - (tr. & adapted) Mikio Fumio's Haniwa (New York, 1974)
(ed.) Windows on the Japanese Past: Studies in
Archaeology and Prehistory (with R.J.Pearson &
K.L.Hutterer) (Ann Arbor, 1986)
(tr.) Recent Archaeological Studies in Japan (ed.
K.Tsuboi) (Tokyo, 1987)

P.Barr - The Coming of the Barbarians (London, 1967)
The Deer Cry Pavilion (London, 1968)

W.G.Beasley - Great Britain and the Opening of Japan (London,
1951)
Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy
1853-1868 (London, 1955)
The Modern History of Japan (London, 1963, revised
edition, 1990)
The Meiji Restoration (Stanford & London, 1983)
Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945 (Oxford, 1987)
(ed.) Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature
and Society (London, 1975)

C.Blackler - The Japanese Enlightenment - a Study of the Writings

- of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Cambridge, 1964)
The Catalpa Bow (London, 1975)
(ed.) Divination and Oracles (with M.Loewe) (London, 1981)
- R.Bowring - Mori Ogai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture (Cambridge, 1979)
Murasaki Shikibu: her Diary and Poetic Memoirs (Princeton, 1982)
- J.Breen - 'Heretics in Nagasaki, 1790-6' in Nish (ed.)
Contemporary European Writing on Japan (Ashford, Kent, 1988)
- B.Bridges - 'Yoshizawa Kenkichi and the Soviet-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact Proposal' Modern Asian Studies vol.14, no.1 (1980)
'Mongolia in Soviet-Japanese Relations 1933-36' in STICERD International Studies 1982/II (LSE, 1982)
'The Bamboo Islands - A Chronic Case of Neuralgia?' in Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies vol.11 (Sheffield, 1986)
- S.A.Broadbridge - Industrial Dualism in Japan (London, 1966)
- R.Buckley - Occupation Diplomacy: Britain, the United States and Japan 1945-52 (Cambridge, 1982)
Japan Today (Cambridge, 1985)
- J.W.M.Chapman - The Price of Admiralty: the War Diary of the German Naval Attache in Japan 1939-1943 (Ripe, Sussex, 1990)
Japan's Quest for Comprehensive Security (with R.Drifte & I.Gow) (London, 1983)
- O.Checkland - Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan 1868-1912 (Basingstoke, 1989)
- R.Clark - The Japanese Company (New Haven & London, 1979)
- L.A.Connors - The Emperor's Adviser - Saionji Kinmochi and Pre-war Japanese Politics (London, 1987)
- M.Conte-Helm - Japan and the Northeast of England (London, 1989)
- M.Cooper - They Came to Japan: an Anthology of European Reports on Japan 1543-1640 (London, 1965)
Rodrigues the Interpreter: an Early Jesuit in Japan (New York, 1974)
(ed.) The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan (Tokyo & Palo Alto, 1971)
(tr. & ed.) This Island of Japan: Joao Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth Century Japan (Tokyo, 1973)
- H.Cortazzi - Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan (New York & Tokyo, 1983)

- Dr. Willis in Japan 1862-1877: British Medical Pioneer (London, 1985)
- Victorians in Japan: In and Around the Treaty Ports (London, 1987)
- The Japanese Achievement (London & New York, 1990)
- (ed.) Mitford's Japan: The Memoirs and Recollections, 1866-1906, of Algernon Mitford, the First Lord Redesdale (London, 1985)
- (ed.) Mary Crawford: A Diplomat's Wife in Japan: Sketches at the Turn of the Century (New York, 1982)
- (ed.) Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings (with G.Webb) (London, 1988)
- J.Crump - The Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan (Beckenham, Kent, 1983)
- G.Daniels - (ed.) A Guide to the Reports of the US Strategic Bombing Survey (London, 1981)
- (ed.) Europe Interprets Japan (Tenterden, Kent, 1984)
- (ed.) Europe and Japan: Changing Relationships Since 1945 (with R.Drifte) (Ashford, Kent, 1985)
- Report on Japanese Studies (with P.Harries) (DTI)
- P.N.Davies - The Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries A History of their Modern Growth (with T.Chida) (London, 1990)
- R.P.Dore - City Life in Japan: a Study of a Tokyo Ward (Berkeley, 1958)
- Land Reform in Japan (London, 1959)
- Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley, 1965)
- British Factory - Japanese Factory (London, 1973)
- The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development (London, 1976)
- Shinohata: a Portrait of a Japanese Village (London, 1978)
- Structural Adjustment in Japan 1970-1982 (Geneva, 1986)
- Flexible Rigidities: Industrial Policy and Structural Adjustment in the Japanese Economy 1970-1980 (London, 1986)
- (ed.) Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan (Princeton, 1967)
- (ed.) Japan and World Depression (with R.Sinha) (Basingstoke, 1987)
- R.Drifte - Arms Production in Japan (Boulder, Col., 1986)
- Japan's Foreign Policy (London, 1989)
- Japan's Rise to International Responsibilities: the Case of Arms Control (London, 1990)
- (ed.) Europe and Japan: Changing Relationships Since 1945 (with G.Daniels) (Ashford, Kent, 1985)
- (ed.) Japan's Quest for Comprehensive Security (with J.Chapman & I.Gow) (London, 1983)
- B.Eccleston - State and Society in Postwar Japan (Cambridge,

1989)

- E.W.Edwards - British Diplomacy and Finance in China 1895-1914 (Oxford, 1987)
- B.Entwistle - Japan's Decisive Decade: How a Determined Minority Changed the Nation's Course in the 1950s (London, 1985)
- P.Francks - Technology and Agricultural Development in Pre-war Japan (New Haven & London, 1984)
- I.T.M.Gow - Okinawa, 1945: Gateway to Japan (London, 1986)
Japan's Quest for Comprehensive Security (with J.Chapman & R. Drifte) (London, 1983)
- J.Halliday - A Political History of Japanese Capitalism (New York, 1973)
Japanese Imperialism Today (with G.McCormack) (Harmondsworth, 1973)
- M. & S.Harries - Sheathing the Sword: the Demilitarization of Japan (London, 1987)
- P.Harries - Report on Japanese Studies (with G.Daniels) (DTI)
- J.Haslam - 'Soviet Aid to China and Japan's Place in Moscow's Foreign Policy, 1937-1939' in STICERD International Studies 1982/II (LSE, 1982)
- M.P.Hayes - 'The Japanese Press and the Emperor, 1945-46' in Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies vol.3 (Sheffield, 1978)
'The Revival of the Japanese Communist Party 1945-46' in Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies vol.5, pt.1 (Sheffield, 1980)
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- S.Henny - (ed.) Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History (with J-P. Lehmann) (London, 1988)
- J.E.Hoare - 'The Bankoku Shimbun Affair: Foreigners, the Japanese Press and Extraterritoriality in Early Meiji Japan' in Modern Asian Studies vol.9, no.3 (1975)
'The Chinese in the Japanese Treaty Ports, 1858-1899: the Unknown Majority' in Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies vol.2 (Sheffield, 1977)
'Japan Undermines Extraterritoriality: Extradition in Japan 1885-1899' in Nish & Dunn (eds.) European

Studies on Japan (Tenterden, Kent, 1979)

- S.Howarth - Morning Glory: a History of the Imperial Japanese Navy (London, 1983)
- J.E.Hunter - Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History (Berkeley, 1984)
The Emergence of Modern Japan: an Introductory History Since 1853 (London, 1989)
- A.H.Ion - 'British and Canadian Missionaries' Attitudes to Japanese Colonialism in Korea 1910-25' in Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies vol.1, pt.1 (Sheffield, 1976)
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