

JAPAN'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THAILAND, 1970S-1980S

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การทูตวัฒนธรรมของญี่ปุ่นในประเทศไทยในทศวรรษ 1970-1980

นางทรายแก้ว ทิพากร

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรคดีบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2556

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ทรายแก้ว ทิพากร : การทูตวัฒนธรรมของญี่ปุ่นในประเทศไทยในทศวรรษ 1970-1980
(JAPAN'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THAILAND, 1970S-1980S) อ.

ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: รศ.ดร.สุเนตร ชุตินธรานนท์, 150 หน้า

วิทยานิพนธ์เล่มนี้เป็นงานวิจัยเอกสาร มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการดำเนินการทูตวัฒนธรรมของญี่ปุ่นในประเทศไทยและอิทธิพลต่อสังคมไทย วิทยานิพนธ์นี้ใช้การศึกษาจากเอกสารของไทยในยุคนั้นเป็นหลัก ผลการศึกษาสรุปได้จากการสัมภาษณ์นักวิชาการและข้าราชการในยุคสมัยนั้นประกอบกับสถิติจากแหล่งข้อมูลต่างๆ

ในช่วงทศวรรษ 1960-1970 เช่นเดียวกับประเทศอื่นใน ASEAN ประเทศไทยตกอยู่ภายใต้การแทรกแซงทางการเมืองและเศรษฐกิจจากสหรัฐอเมริกาและญี่ปุ่น การขาดดุลย์ทางการค้าและการชำระเงินทำให้เกิดความกังวลต่ออิสรภาพทางเศรษฐกิจ ความรู้สึกต่อต้านญี่ปุ่นเกิดขึ้นทั่วโลก ในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ เกิดการประท้วงต่อต้านการครอบงำญี่ปุ่นอย่างรุนแรง เพื่อตอบรับกับปัญหา ญี่ปุ่นเริ่มการทูตวัฒนธรรมอย่างจริงจัง

ได้มีโครงการแลกเปลี่ยนตัวบุคคลหลากหลายประเภท จำนวนโครงการและผู้เข้าร่วมโครงการเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างสม่ำเสมอ การแลกเปลี่ยนตัวบุคคลเป็นวิธีการที่ดีที่สุดในการนำเสนอวัฒนธรรมของญี่ปุ่นสู่ต่างชาติ และยังเปิดโอกาสให้ชาวญี่ปุ่นได้เข้าถึงวัฒนธรรมของชาติอื่นๆด้วย นอกจากนี้ยังมีโครงการช่วยเหลือแบบให้เปล่าทางวัฒนธรรม ซึ่งเป็นส่วนที่ส่งผลต่อการสร้าง soft power ของญี่ปุ่น

ในช่วงปลายทศวรรษ 1980 ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชาวไทยกับชาวญี่ปุ่นมีมิติที่หลากหลายและใกล้ชิดกันมากขึ้น ดอกผลจากการทูตวัฒนธรรมของญี่ปุ่นส่งผลกลับไปเป็นการร่วมมือของภาคประชาชนกันเองที่ริเริ่มโครงการแลกเปลี่ยนทางวัฒนธรรมเพิ่มมากขึ้น

สาขาวิชา...ไทยศึกษา.....

ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....

ปีการศึกษา...2556.....

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....

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The thesis was documentary research aimed at studying Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand, and its influence on Thai society. The researcher used mainly Thai documents of the period of study. Finding of the research was concluded from interview with scholar and government officials of that period and statistics from various sources.

During the end of 1960s and early 1970s, Thailand, like other ASEAN countries suffered from political and economic intervention by the US and Japan. Imbalance of trade and payment with Japan created the concern of national economic independence. Anti-Japanese sentiment happened all over the world. In Southeast Asia, violent protest against Japanese economic domination occurred in Thailand and Indonesia. In response to the situation, Japan seriously engaged cultural diplomacy.

Various forms of human exchange were conducted. Numbers of programs and participants increased steadily. Human exchange was the best method of conveying Japanese culture to the others. At the same time, it created opportunities for Japanese to have access to other cultures. Besides, Cultural grant aid projects were also granted. They contributed directly to Japan's soft power.

By the end of 1980s relationship between Thai and Japanese people was intensified and diversified. Outgrowth of Japan's cultural diplomacy gave feedback as cooperation among the people themselves in initiating more cultural exchange programs.

Field of Study:..Thai Studies...

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Cultural diplomacy in Thailand

Thailand has been a target of many countries' cultural diplomacy before the WW II. For example Alliance Francaise in Bangkok was founded in 1912. British Council started its office in Thailand in 1938. The US cultural expansion began early as well and its influence was evident during the Cold War onward. Asian countries' cultural diplomacy was begun by Japan. Japan Foundation, Bangkok was established in 1974. China and South Korea who realized the power of culture later, began their cultural expansion after the Cold War.

We may have never realized, until lately, that cultural diplomacy of these countries laid the foundation for many of their political diplomacy. It is difficult or impossible to establish a causal relationship between policy inputs and their outcomes. However, we can see many examples of foreign cultural influence in Thai society. We can also see favorable outcomes of some countries' cultural diplomacy. For example, Thailand supported the US policy during the war in Vietnam.

Each country has its own reason in carrying out cultural diplomacy in Thailand. This is due to the difference in their national interests. Also, their policy operations are different according to each country's national asset with consideration to the context of Thai society.

The relationship between Thailand and the western countries has been healthy both at the government level and the people level. European countries use language education as their major cultural policy implementation worldwide with Thailand included. Examples of European cultural organizations are the British Council, The Alliance Francaise, and the Goethe institut. These European

institutions are allocated some parts of their budget from their Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, their language education programs generate sufficient income to sustain their own operation. Apart from language education, their activities include exchange of music, drama, arts and films. They are in charge of technical assistance in some area of development cooperation. They also act as a channel for Thai students who wish further their study in these countries, and hence, advocating network of cultural expansion.

American government was famous for wielding its soft power in Thailand especially before and during the Cold War. Political and security interest could clearly be seen. Thailand was one of the most important strategic partners in Vietnam War. The US wanted not only for the Thai government to support the war. They also wanted Thai people to believe that the US was fighting a legitimate war. Hence, Thailand was the target of all sorts of the US public diplomacy. Especially, with the strength of American higher education system and efficient education exchange programs, Thai people welcome the US explanation of American value system.

In Thailand, relationship between Thai and Chinese people has always been in good term even during the cold war when the governments of the two countries were on the opposite side. Oversea Chinese in Thailand are good asset of China. Chinese cultural influence in Thai society was obvious. However, until recently, cultural expansion was not the concern of Chinese government.

China's Confucius Institute was begun as an attempt to counter western influence and cultural propagation and to spread Chinese language and culture to the world. It is common for any country who aims to become a superpower to pursue cultural diplomacy. Confucius Institute was established in 2004, under the Office of Chinese Language Council International. In 2010, there are more than 300 branches worldwide. Its primary focus is on language education. Because of

its close relationship with the PRC government, many countries are skeptic about Confucius institute's cultural propagation intention. At the moment, there are 12 Confucius Institutes affiliated to 12 universities. Plus, the Institute has established Confucius classroom in 11 secondary schools nationwide¹. It should be noted that the number of Confucius Institute in Thailand exceeds that in many other Asian countries, such as, Indonesia which has higher percentage of Chinese population.

South Korean government used 'hallyu' as a tool for reviving Korea's profile abroad after the economic crisis in 1998. Korean wave in Thailand started with the popularity of Korean soap opera. And Hallyu policy helped expand Korean tourism and cultural exports. However, the Korean cultural organization in Thailand is not very active. Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) office, which is the operating agency of Korean foreign aids scheme is not located in Thailand. This is understandable. In comparison to other ASEAN countries, Thailand is not South Korea's major economic partner. It explains the insignificant status of Thailand in South Korea's ASEAN policy.

In comparison, the western countries had more advantage over Japan in term of explaining their own culture to Thai society. The spread of western culture had been carried out through colonization scheme over many decades. Southeast Asia was under control of western colonialism until after the WWII. By the time these countries gained independence, western culture was established in some sector of these societies.

Japan had more difficulty than these western countries. Japanese military control over Southeast Asia was short life. Its early attempt to spread Japanese culture was seen as the attempt for cultural domination. After the WWII, Japanese economic activities caused imbalance of trade all over the region and the world. Japan's image was tainted again as the Southeast Asian believed that

¹ Confucius Institute Thailand. [Online]. 2012. Available from : http://college.chinese.cn/en/node_3742.htm [June 27, 2011]

Japanese military imperialism was transferred to economic imperialism. Japanese cultural diplomacy was a re-action to this event.

As a result, Japan did not start cultural diplomacy with the objective of strengthening of its bilateral relation. It was, instead, begun as a damage limitation measure.

In Thailand, Japan was the first Asian country that seriously launched cultural diplomacy. Japanese government delegated many experts to Thailand during the time of King Rama V to support many aspects of Thailand's development, especially, agriculture, education, and textile. Large number of Japanese was encouraged to resettle in Thailand. Relationship between Thai and Japanese people continued even after Thailand's policy shift to western model of development.

After the WW II, when Japan re-entered into Southeast Asia, Japan was still the first Asian countries who earnestly engaged cultural diplomacy in Thailand. Implementation of Japanese cultural diplomacy explained integrative effort of the government, business and other private sector. Its scheme was spearheaded by the government which incorporated Japanese general public. The outgrowth of Japan's cultural diplomacy was beyond the work of the government. Thai and Japanese who had access to its cultural exchange program became the agents for further cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the people level. These days the success of Japan could clearly be seen. Among the Thai people, Japan is the leader in technology, fashion, and modernization.

Definition

Cultural diplomacy

The term 'cultural diplomacy' composed of 2 words, 'culture' and 'diplomacy'. Anthropologist Edward B.Tylor² defined that culture is 'complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.' In short, culture is the full range of learned human behavior patterns.

According to the Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, 'diplomacy' is one of the instruments employed to put foreign policy into effect. It is described as institution of state-system itself. Theoretically, diplomatic means is separated from military means, but the actual practice has tended to blur the separating line. Traditionally, the main function of diplomacy is negotiation which means discussions designed to identify common interests and areas of conflict between the parties. To fulfill this function, some task must be done.

1) Representation. An emissary or ambassador is the permanent representative of the states.

2) Formulation of goals or objectives. Although this is the task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the view of the ambassador on location is crucial. After all, diplomacy includes the overall management of orderly relations.

3) Diplomacy is concerned about establishment and renewing of the rules and procedures which regulates the international system.

'Cultural diplomacy' as defined International Relations: A Concise Companion by David Weigall (2002) is the effort by a state to promote better knowledge about, and understanding of, its culture abroad. Examples include the British Council and the US Fulbright Programme. Such efforts have commonly been combined with other objectives, such as the promotion of Western values

² Dennis O'Neil. Human Culture : What is Culture?[Online]. Available from: http://anthro.palomar.edu/culture/culture_1.htm [October 21, 2010]

during the cold war. Milton C. Cummings' definition of cultural diplomacy is more widely referred to. It is the 'exchange of ideas, information, values systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding'³. Cultural diplomacy can be one-way communication if one nation concentrates its efforts on explaining its policies, and promoting the national language to other countries. Otherwise, it is widely accepted that cultural diplomacy implies two-way communication, because it is not by explaining that we will be heard. It is through listening and learning from different culture that we can create mutual understanding.

The United States concept of cultural diplomacy as reflected in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State (2008), culture spreads from individual to individual. It is made possible by international visitor and student exchange programs, ideas that we (American) hold dear -of family, education, and faith- cross borders, creating new ways of thinking. Listening is central to this effort. Like artists who engage in cultural exchange, to discover new methods and ways of working, they have to exchange with people whose worldviews differ from their own. American cultural diplomacy efforts require commitment of funds, expertise, courage, and time.

Cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is not a synonym of public diplomacy. Rather it is a part of public diplomacy. General meaning of public diplomacy is the transparent means by which a sovereign country communicates with publics in other countries aimed at informing and influencing audiences overseas for the purpose

³ Institute of Cultural Diplomacy. "What is Cultural Diplomacy"[Online]. Available from: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy [July 18, 2010]

of promoting the national interest and advancing its foreign policy goals⁴. Cultural diplomacy can be differentiated from public diplomacy by 1) Timeframe. While public diplomacy is about promoting understanding of one nation on the foreign countries, cultural diplomacy is concerned about long-term relationship. 2) Activities. Walter R. Robert⁵ in his article 'The Evolution of Diplomacy' thinks that cultural diplomacy is narrow term of public diplomacy because cultural diplomacy does not include international broadcasting and policy information functions.

Significance of cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is the essential source of Soft Power. Hence, it has a significant role in international relations where power is the indispensable tool of negotiation.

Joseph Nye, in his book 'Soft Power', explained that there were many kinds of power. He divided power into 2 categories, hard power and soft power.

Hard power is the ability or capacity to get the desired outcome by means of military, politics or economic might, while soft power is the power over opinion. Traditionally we believe that a country is powerful if it has a relatively large population, vast geographical area, a large stock of natural resources, economic strength, and military might. All of these still do not produce the desired outcome. For example, the United States is being blamed for the war in Iraq.

Soft power works by persuading and attracting people to want to do what we want. 'If a leader represents a value that other want to follow, it will cost less

⁴ U.S. Center on Public Diplomacy, University to Southern California. "What is Public Diplomacy?" Available from: http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/about/what_is_pd [September 13, 2010]

⁵ Walter R. Roberts, "The Evolution of Diplomacy," in **Mediterranean Quarterly** 17"3, 2006.

to lead.' In this sense, soft power involves attractive value. It is the power that can manipulate a political agenda in the manner that make others think their different agenda is not possible. On this basis, cultural diplomacy is a crucial part of soft power.

Furthermore, cultural diplomacy can be useful for many purposes. It contributes to government's diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy functions as an intrinsic part of the political diplomacy. When political diplomacy tries to produce tangible outcome in short period of time, it is cultural diplomacy that lay the foundation of its success.

Cultural diplomacy can contribute to correcting a country's wrong record, and create a new brand of the country. In this globalizing world, the receiver of cultural diplomacy is the people abroad. This could be both the foreign people and the people of the national diaspora. Although cultural diplomacy aim at the audience abroad, it can be useful for domestic policy. By the way that it can create 'nationalism', it assists in both foreign and domestic policy.

Culture, popular culture and Soft Power

Joseph Nye mentioned that sources of soft power are⁶;

- 1) Culture (where it is attractive to others)
- 2) Political values (where the country lives up to them at home and abroad)
- 3) Foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having authority)

Culture is one of the three key element of soft power. Referring to the above-mentioned definition of culture, culture exists in our mind. The language,

⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. **Soft Power : The Means to Success in World Politics.** (New York : PublicAffairs, 2004) p.11.

traditions and other man-made inventions are only products of culture. In this term, exchange of human is the best exchange of culture. Any activities that create opportunity for people to know each other is cultural exchange activities. Students who graduated from one country, such as, the United States and Japan, and go back to their homeland are the stocks of soft power of these countries.

The power of culture in its contribution to soft power is not limited to high-culture. However, popular culture is often mistakenly considered as the main source of soft power. In this information age, information and entertainment are almost inseparable. Nye's book separates effective behavior of attraction from cultural resource. It may be the cultural resource that helps promote popular culture. Popular culture can produce political effect. But effectiveness of each power resource depends on the context.

On the other hand, if we digest the cultural activities by its practice, there are many aspects of culture; educations, art, sports and science and technology. Popular culture is also one side of culture. Government can use either of these for the purpose of its national interest. In this sense, popular culture can be used to create soft power.

Practice of cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy works better in democratic countries. In the dictatorial system, where public opinion means little to the national policy, cultural diplomacy may not be useful. In the environment where the leader has to listen to the public opinion, with many interest groups fighting for their own share, cultural diplomacy will be necessary.

Cultural diplomacy happens abroad, and it must be deliberate effort. It is the act of the government in sending the nation's culture abroad to serve foreign policy. Nation's culture means wide range of field, including art, sports,

literature, science and technology, as long as such cultural exchange lead to equal communication and create mutual understanding between cultures involved. Simon Mark thinks that a government's support of another country's cultural activity in the host country is also cultural diplomacy, if it serves to advance the goal of the government or link with its diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is carried out to support foreign policy and diplomatic goal. Naturally it must involve ministry of foreign affairs, either the activities are conducted by the ministry or they are somehow related to the ministry.

The Institute of Cultural Diplomacy divides the actors of cultural diplomacy into 3 groups⁷:

The Public Sector. Governments or other politically motivated organizations for the promotion of national or regional interest. The organization has a clear intent to promote its native values and culture.

Civil Society. Non-governmental organizations and individuals, motivated by the opportunity to develop and encourage platforms for mutual cultural exchange.

The Private Sector. Private companies interested in the development of intercultural communication. Global businesses are not only an important conduit through which cultural exchange takes place, but are also increasingly interested in intercultural communication and cross-cultural learning as a means of improving their own effectiveness and practices.

To be more specific, 'cultural diplomacy' is about foreign policy. Hence, it is the business of government. The government can conduct the activities themselves or somehow support the activities. The private sector and civil society may carry out cultural exchange activities. But if the activities are linked by any

⁷ Institute of Cultural Diplomacy. "What is Cultural Diplomacy"[Online]. Available from: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy [July 18, 2010]

degree to the government support, it is cultural diplomacy. In many countries, government creates an independent organization to take care of cultural diplomacy, such as, The British Council and the Japan Foundation. Both receive, to some extent, financial support from their ministries of foreign affairs, or follow the direction of their foreign policy.

Scope of Study

After the WWII, Japan's economic-oriented policy towards Southeast Asian region was gradually confronted with major obstacle in 1970s. In response to the challenge, Japan shifted its policy direction. Fukuda Doctrine, proclaimed in Manila in 1977 was the evidence of Japan's commitment to enhance cultural aspect in its relationship with Southeast Asia. The Doctrine announce 3 characters of Japan's policy towards ASEAN : non-military, cultural and political orientation. It marked the new phase of relationship with the ASEAN countries. Japan's cultural policy was implemented continuously and seriously ever since.

By the end of 1980s, we could see more interaction between Thai and Japanese people. Thai society embraced more of Japanese culture. Thai society developed more tolerance towards Japanese. More Japanese and Thai private sector joined hand in cultural exchange activities. Beyond 1980s, regional situation changed. ASEAN were coming closer together socially and economically and became the focus of multilateral relationship of the region. Relationship between Thailand and Japan was under the influence of this multilateral Japan-ASEAN relationship as well. As globalization took place, Thai society had more intense access to foreign culture. The concept of culture itself was shifted. Business-related culture, such as, cartoons and pop music became culture of the postmodern era. Problems in the world became more inter-related. As a result, cultural diplomacy was supposed to be multi-functional in nature.

Therefore, this research will focus mainly on Japan's cultural diplomacy during 1970 – 1989.

As mentioned earlier, cultural diplomacy is the business of government. Therefore, this research will focus mainly on the government-sponsored cultural exchange programs :

1. The Japan Foundation
2. Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program
3. Japan's Society for Promotion of Science, Ronpaku Program
4. Japanese government scholarship program (Monbukagakusho Scholarship)

In addition, because of the changing situation of the war in Vietnam, Japan was compelled to take active role in this region. Official Development Assistance (ODA) was its primary tool in its foreign relations. Many grant aid projects were designated as cultural grant aid. Therefore, they will be studied in order to determine its influence as a part of cultural diplomacy.

However, we cannot ignore the act of private sector, such as, religious groups, NGOs and business groups, who also arranged cultural exchange program for their own different purposes. Their works have been supportive to the government's cultural diplomacy. And the government has utilized their contribution for the sake of Japan. As a result, the role of the private sector will be considered as supplementary to the government's program.

Hypothesis

Japan's cultural diplomacy provided opportunities for Thai people to appreciate Japanese culture.

Objectives

1. To explore Japan's cultural diplomacy policy and implementation towards Thailand.
2. To prove that Japan's cultural diplomacy provided opportunities for Thai people to appreciate Japanese culture.

Research Methodology

Researcher used documentary research method in gathering basic data. Statistics on Thailand-Japan trade and investment were collected from old journals that were published during the early 1970s. Information and statistics on Japan's cultural exchange programs were mostly collected from Japanese sources and some Thailand's old survey. Analytical part which consists of attitude and opinion of different groups of the Thais was gathered by interviewing some key informants. For example, a Thai representative in the trade negotiation was interviewed to find out position of Thai and Japanese governments during that period. Some grantees of Japanese scholarship were interviewed for the information on their attitude towards Japan and how they have contributed to mutual understanding between the people of the two countries.

Conceptual Framework

Referring to the definition of cultural diplomacy, a government conducts cultural exchange between people of different cultures in order to strengthen international relations. Although we cannot establish causal relationship between cultural policy input and its outcome, we can explain this phenomenon using social learning theory.

The theory explains that people learn from one another by observation, imitation and modeling. During cultural exchange programs, Thai and Japanese

people have a chance to meet each other and conduct activities together. Not only that the objective aspect of culture (houses, food, dresses, etc.) is transferred, the subjective culture (beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, etc.) is learned as well. In case of cultural diplomacy, the transfer of subjective culture is the goal.

When people of different cultures understand each other, they exercise more tolerance and become more generous towards each other.

Outline of thesis

Chapter 1 Concept, significant and implementation of cultural diplomacy will be explained. Hypothesis and objectives of the thesis are stated including literature review.

Chapter 2 This research will explore the background of Thailand-Japan relationship after the WWII until the early 1970s, when the economic conflict between the two countries intensified and anti-Japanese protest erupted.

Chapter 3 will discuss the arrangement of Japan's cultural diplomacy as reaction to the anti-Japanese sentiment around the world. Details of the establishment of the Japan Foundation will be explored. This includes the management of the Japan Foundation in order to ensure the desirable outcome.

Chapter 4 Detail of the operation of the Japan Foundation in Thailand and other government-sponsored programs, such as government scholarship, will be explored. The role of private sector, both business sector and non-business sector, in promoting cultural exchange between the Thais and the Japanese will be analyzed.

Chapter 5 Direct result and outcome of Japan's cultural diplomacy will be explained. Attitude towards Japan among Thai society which had been changed will be analyzed in order to understand the influence of Japan's cultural diplomacy.

Chapter 6 Conclusion.

Literature reviewed

The topic, Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand, is the issue of Thailand – Japan relationship. This relationship is divided into political relations, economic relations, social and cultural relations and security relations. Generally, academicians on international relations do not pay much attention on the cultural aspect. They have the assumption that national community must share the same fate and sovereign states must be responsible of themselves and decide for themselves. Political scientists give more weight on the political economic aspect than the cultural aspect because they do not see the diversity of different cultures that are parts of the whole population. In other words, they have state-centered approach and ignore non-state actors, who according to their assumption, have no power and must rely on the state to protect them. In international relations, Walter R. Robert, in his article “Evolution of Diplomacy”, mentioned that before the WWII diplomacy was strictly a government-to-government relationship. Diplomatic activities stretched itself to government-to-people during the war and continued even after the war was over. This is because of the information technology revolution that gradually happened after the war. Now, political scientists have to pay more attention to the outside forces that affect domestic elements, and cultural aspect has become more relevant in the study of international relations.

Books on Thailand – Japan relationship clearly reflect this picture. Studies on relationship between Japan and Thailand mentioned this relationship only as a small part in Japan and Southeast Asian relationship. Japan’s imperialist policy led to the initiation of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere during the WW. After the war, war reparation and economic measures were the re-entering point. The war reparation, which was turned into ODA (Official Development Assistance), was followed by Japanese investment and later become the point of anti- Japanese

movement in 1970s. Details on Japan-Thailand relationship used state-centered approach with political economic point of view.

Prasert Jittiwatanapong did research and wrote many articles on Japan's government and Politics and Japan's foreign policy for many journals. His book "*Japan: Politics and Foreign Policy. A Collection of Articles by Prasert Jittiwatanapong*" by Siriporn Vajjawalku (ed.), focused on democracy in Japan, political parties and interest groups, Japan's defense and Self-Defense Forces and Japan's Official Development Assistance. His research on Japan-Thailand relationship focused on trade conflict and negotiation. The research explained situation of Thailand's trade deficit to Japan and futile negotiation to correct this deficit. This is due to the closed relationship between Japanese politicians, business groups, and bureaucrats. Japan's negotiator could not make decision without consulting the business groups. Japanese business circle was a closed network that it was impossible for foreign business to penetrate into the Japanese business circle. Agricultural sector was well-protected by the government because farmers were the main supporters of the ruling political party. Furthermore, the government's Official Development Assistance was designed to support Japanese business in Thailand. All Official Development Assistance projects were granted to Japanese construction companies. Thai construction companies could only become sub-contractors. There was no channel for Thai business to sell their products and improve the imbalanced trade.

Thai students looked at this situation as Japan's economic domination. They protested against Japanese business practices in many occasions during 1972-1985.

Prasert Jittiwatanapong proposed that the Japanese Government and business circle themselves had to adjust their policy making process in order to solve this trade conflict.

Three books on Thai-Japanese relations were written from the point of view of political scientists :

1. "*Thai-Japanese Relations: A Compilation of Diplomatic Documents*" by Chaiwat Khamchoo and Kamol Pensrinukul (1992). The book compiled diplomatic documents in Thailand-Japan relationship since 1887. The documents were:

1. Official letters between Japan and Thailand.
2. Official letters between officials of each side.
3. Diplomatic treaties.
4. Documents on foreign policy.
5. Memorandum of negotiation.
6. Policy speeches.

2. "*Thai-Japanese Relations in Historical Perspective*" edited by Chaiwat Khamchoo and E. Bruce Reynolds.(1988) The book consisted of 9 chapters written by Thai, Japanese and American scholars. These papers covered the period from pre-modern times to the present in diplomatic, economic and political-security dimensions of relationship

3. "*Thailand-Japan Relationship: Past, Present and Future*" by Chaiwat Khamchoo in Japanese Studies (1998). The article explained the development of Thailand-Japan relationship by dividing it into 4 periods: 1) early 17th century-mid 19th century 2) Modernization Period 3) before and between the WWII and 4) after the WWII

During the early period, Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu started the relationship by sending his representative to the King of Ayutthaya. The relationship during this period focused on friendship and trade. But it ended when Japan exercised isolation policy.

Japan and Thailand started the modernization during the same period. In order to learn from Japan, King Chulalongkorn started the formal relationship between the two countries. The Declaration of Amity and Commerce was signed during this period. The relationship was fruitful until the end of the reign.

During the WWII, Thailand exercised the minimal involvement policy. Thailand suffered economically from the war, but the effect of Japan's cultural assimilation was limited because the Thai government promoted Thai culture to counter the Japanese policy.

After the WWII, the relationship mostly on economic relations until the United States withdrew from this region, Japan was pushed to take more responsibility of the region. To Thailand, this responsibility included security roles. Cultural relationship was the extension of economic relationship. Due to imbalanced economic relationship, Japan used cultural exchange as a damage control measure. Such cultural exchange programs were students exchange through many programs of scholarship and youth exchange through 1) Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program and 2) Friendship for the 21st Century.

These four books stressed mostly on the act of the head of states and authorized representative of the states in the relationship between countries. Details on political, economic and security dimensions are presented. But cultural relationship is only a supplement to the economic policy.

"The 600 years of Thailand-Japan Relationship" by Ishii Yoneo and Yoshikawa Toshiharu gave a broad picture of the history of Thailand and Japan relationship started from the 14th century until the end of the WWII. The authors mentioned all aspects of relationship; political, economic and social relations. Relationship between Thailand – Japan was officially stopped in 17th century when Japan exercised isolation policy and allowed only Chinese and Dutch merchants to enter the country at Nagasaki. However, through the Chinese, trade between Thailand

and Japan continued. The roles and activities of Japanese, as an individual and as a group, in Thai society before the WWII were explained in detail. For example, Tetsuo Yasui was hired to help develop girl education system and Japanese experts helped improve the production of Thai silk. The book gave the picture of interaction between Japanese experts and Thai people. The information was provided as historical facts without analyzing these activities as a part of cultural exchange. However, the end of the book implies failure of Japanese cultural diplomacy during this period when Japan invaded Thailand in the WWII.

"*120 years of Thailand-Japanese Relations: Continuity and Change*" by Surangsri Tansiangsom is another historical book that explored the diplomatic relationship between Thailand and Japan from the year 1887, when the two countries signed the Declaration of Amity and Commerce, and divided the relationship into 4 periods.

1) The period of King Chulalongkorn – before the WW II

1.1) During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the relationship between the two countries was very supportive. The King was interested in the fast development of Japan and decided to hire Japanese experts and sent Thai government officials and students to learn from Japan. Several improvements that were the result of these exchanges were education, rice cultivation, silk production and the military.

1.2) Before the WWII period, Japan became one of the developed countries and began to be interested in Southeast Asia as a strategic area. Japan persuaded Japanese to come to Thailand to buy rice fields and invest in Thailand. When this caused fear among Thai people, Japan promoted cultural relationship through Japanese arts exhibition. Besides, Japanese and Thai co-founded The Association of Japan-Siam in 1935 to deepen the relationship and to promote trade between the two countries. In 1940, Thailand and Japan signed the Treaty

of Amity and Friendship between Japan and Thailand. The Treaty was to confirm the friendly relations and mutual respect of Each other's territorial integrity. Later, Japan offered to negotiate in the dispute between Thailand and France in order to expand its influence into the region.

2) During the WWII period. Thai government cooperated with the Japanese and allowed Japanese troops to pass through its territory. Japan's economic policy caused deterioration in Thai economic condition. Furthermore, Japan exercised cultural expansion policy in order to replace western culture with Japanese culture. Because of this policy, up to 246 Thai students were sent to Japan.

3) After the WWII -1970s. Thailand and Japan under the United States restored diplomatic relations, but economic relations brought about conflicts between the two countries.

4) After 1970s – present (2007). The changing environment in the global and regional levels pushed Japan to take more responsibility in this regional development. Surangsri Tansiangsom's article explained Thailand – Japan relationship during this period as only a part of ASEAN – Japan relationship.

Relationship between Thailand and Japan after the WWII involves mostly economic aspects. This trend influences research in Thai-Japanese relationship. Studies on Thai-Japan economic relations involves trade, investment and Official Development Assistance (ODA). Before the end of the 1990s most research on economic relations focused on the imbalanced trade and the reasons behind it, such as "*Thai-Japanese economic relations: Benefit and Impact*" by Supachai Manaspaibun, "*Japan's Multinational Corporations and Thailand's becoming NICS*" by Suwinai Paranowalai. Some research began to study the role of Japan's ODA to the development of Thailand, for example, "*Japan's ODA and Thai Development : A Successful Story?*" by Pranee Tinakorn and Patcharee Siroros. Later, during the

beginning of the 21st century, most research on economic relations focused on the FTA between the two countries and its impact on Thailand, due to the debate on the benefit of FTA with Japan during that time. For example, Thailand Research Fund granted a set of research projects to study the impact of FTA on different Thai industries. Now, recent trend of studies on Thailand – Japan relations focused on Japan's ODA, its impact on Thai society, and how to promote partnership between Japan and Thailand (an emerging donor) in granting ODA to a third country. There are 2 books that studied Japan's aid to Thailand :

1. *"Japanese Grant Aid to Thailand during 1954-1989 and Trend towards Increase of Cultural Aid to Thailand : A Case Study of Japanese Study Center, Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University:* by Supinya Niwasawat (1992). Grant Aid is a non-refundable aid which includes cultural aid and technical cooperation. The research explored Japan's Grant Aid Policies during each period of Japan's political and economic development. The study found that cultural aid had been used with Thailand since the Pre-war Period. The Japanese ambassador Yatabe used cultural policy in order to intervene into Thai politics and economics. His aim was to drive away western influence and replace it with a Japanese one. Thailand was the strategic location for Japanese imperialism.

During the 1970s, cultural policy was used in Thailand to clean Japan's damaging image. This is to pave the way for smooth economic expansion. Even Grant Aid policy was a part of economic expansion policy.

The end of the 1970s – early 1980s, Japan was concerned with its own security. All diplomatic measures were used to guarantee peaceful international order.

During the mid 1980s, Prime Minister Nakasone used Internationalization Policy with the assumption that Japanese was a unique culture. It is difficult for others to understand Japanese. Prime Minister Nakasone opened the country

economically and culturally. Buying more from other countries would lower discontent among other countries. However, cultural opening policy was criticized that it made others understand Japanese than vice-versa. This policy was reconsidered and reformed by the later Administrations.

This research analyzed cost and benefit of the Japanese Study Center project and concluded that Japan's cultural aid was used mainly to support economic goals.

2. "*Official Development Assistance and Sustainable Development : A Case Study of Grant Assistance for Grassroot Human Security Project (GGP) in Thailand*" by Siriporn Vajjawalku nad Karan Makapunyo (2008) studied the GGP program which was a branch of Japanese foreign aid designed to promote sustainable development in recipient countries by promoting people participation in aid provision process. The research explored ODA provision process by Japanese government, the GGP projects in Thailand during 1991-2005 and the outcome of the projects under the criteria partnership, ownership, and local participation. The result showed that partnership between Japanese government and the recipient who requested for the aid was guaranteed. Under the GGP, request for aid must be NGO, local administrative organizations (in Thailand, this included central government agencies with local offices and local government organizations) and community groups. After received the request, Japanese government discussed detail of the project with the owner of the project. In this term, partnership happened. But the group of people who submitted the project or the owner of the project may not be the true representative of the local people. As a result, ownership and participation may be low because the local people wanted to wait and see if the project would be successful and really benefited them.

Although the Japanese Study Center project was a kind of cultural aid and the GGP was grant for human security project, they were studied as a part of Japan's economic aid to Thailand.

Study on Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand is also a part of the study on Japan's foreign policy. During the past 2 decades, research on Japan's cultural diplomacy has been done extensively. Those researches can be categorized into 2 groups. One is Japan's soft power. Another is Japan's cultural policy implementation. The work of Joseph S. Nye, "*Soft Power*", stressed that culture was valuable asset of a country. Among Asian countries, Japan is the country with high potential soft power resources. Although Japan had economic downturn in 1990s, it did not erase these resources. Its culture influence has even grown wider than in 1980s.

Reinhard Drifte in *Japan's Foreign Policy for the 21st Century* evaluated Japan's hard power (military and economic power) and soft power. It explained that Japanese government started to pay attention to cultural aspect of diplomacy during 1960s – 1970s when Japan began to face more economic conflict abroad. To the Japanese, the conflicts were not derived from different economic procedure. Instead, the conflicts were based on the ignorance of the foreigners. As a result there should be an agency to promote Japan's cultural image. Since economic was the dominant issue of Japan's international relation, Japan Foundation was established with the endowment of both government and business organization, Keidanren.

Drifte focused on Japan's cultural diplomacy in Asia. Japan identified itself as 'Asia Pacific' only in term of security interest. At the same time, Japan's pro-Asian mood gave comfort to Japanese psychological complex which grew out of the fact that modernization took away part of Japanese identity.

Among the Asian people, Japanese culture itself did not attract the Asian, even with the government intervention. It was the implicit meaning of Japan as a successful model of economic development that accompanied 'low – brow' culture that attracted the Asian. In addition, although the government support of Japanese culture was directed at Japanese language, it was the powerful presence of Japanese economic interest that motivated the young people to learn Japanese. The work of Drifte suggested a deeper study into the linkage between the expansion of Japan's cultural power and its economic interest. In this changing global and regional environment, Japan would find that its economic power is facing with more and more limitation.

Regarding the economic interest, complicate relationship between Japan and the United States is always the focus of discussion. "*Soft Power Superpowers*", the book edited by Watanabe Yasushi and David L. McConnell studies Japanese and American soft power. It explained and compared cultural assets of the two countries, such as, education and pop culture. Both Japan and the United States wielded soft power towards each other. Both Japan and the United States wielded soft power towards each other. The book discussed each country's strategy and evaluated effectiveness of each measure.

The research by Kyoko Sato, "*Unsettled Foundation : Reading the Japan Foundation in a Globalizing World*", a dissertation of the University of Toronto, also discussed the US-Japan relationship in analyzing Japan's cultural diplomacy. The book explored the reasons behind Japan's cultural expansion policy and implementation from 1930s-1989. Institutional history of Japan's cultural agencies were divided into 3 crucial periods :

- 1) 1934, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai was established after Japan resigned from the League of Nations.

- 2) 1972, Japan Foundation was established during the time political and economic conflicts with the US intensified.
- 3) 1989, Japan Foundation was expanded globally when Japan was suffering from domestic political and economic crisis.

During each period, Japan faced with domestic and international challenges. Hence, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai and Japan Foundation were established in order to mobilize idealized national culture imageries of Japan to counter these problems.

None of these research paid attention to the role of Japan's cultural diplomacy in Asia. The incentive and economic interest of Japan were analyzed by using the global international environment or the US-Japan relations as background. There were only a few books that studied Japan's cultural policy in Southeast Asian region.

A research by University of Tokyo, led by Professor Kenishiro Hirano on *International Culture Exchange and Cultural Cooperation between Japan and ASEAN Historical Development and Present Situation* collected information on cultural exchange programs conducted by the Japanese government and non-governmental groups. The research categorized those programs into 9 activities:

1. Exchange of knowledge and wisdom
2. Exchange of academics and research
3. Educational exchange
4. Youth exchange
5. Sports exchange
6. Technical cooperation
7. Arts exchange
8. Cooperation for cultural heritage conservation
9. Grassroots exchange

The number of activities increased sharply during 1980s, by the initiation of Japanese non-governmental groups both within Japan and abroad. They not only created many new projects, but also new kinds of different activities that had never happened before. The research concluded that these cultural exchanges in the end could only make ASEAN people understand more about Japan than vice versa.

This research emphasized more on collecting different cultural exchange programs between Japan and ASEAN and explained the result of these exchanges in the concept of intercultural relations.

“Japan’s Postwar Cultural Diplomacy with a Focus on ASEAN”, a thesis of Saitama University by Ahmad Zaki Ansore in the concept of policy analysis. The writer analyzed Japan’s cultural diplomacy and its evolution with emphasis on the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, which was the pre-war cultural agency, and the Japan Foundation. Ansore explored Japan- ASEAN relationship after the WWII until 1994. By studying Japan’s cultural policy and implementation, the research explained that Japan’s cultural diplomacy was an imperative tool to contain feeling of animosity oversea, especially in the countries where Japan was dependent for imports or exports. However, the research focused solely on the act of government and Japan Foundation without considering the role of other programs and private sector.

The study on Japan’s cultural diplomacy in Thailand is a research on Thailand-Japan relationship. However, textbooks and research on this relationship elaborated mostly on government-to-government relationship. Interaction between people and effect of the interaction are not highlighted. This research will study another dimension of Thailand-Japan relationship. This cultural dimension of the relationship was purposefully supported by Japanese

government, or as we call it 'cultural diplomacy'. As a result, it is not purely people-to-people relationship. It is also government-to-people relationship.

There is not research, yet, on Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand. Thailand is mentioned only as a part of ASEAN in the relationship between Japan and ASEAN. Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand was begun for the purpose of economic interest, but it has extensive impact on Thai society.

Chapter II

Conflict in Thailand and Japan Relations

Regional condition

After decolonization of Southeast Asia, the region was submitted under the Cold War atmosphere. The conflict between the 2 superpowers occurred in the form of Vietnam War. The US involvement in the war started in 1954. As the war escalated, the US policy in Southeast Asia evolved and expanded. To the Southeast Asian people, American involvement in the region was the act of an imperialist which was another form of colonization.

The US Southeast Asia policy focused the effort on 1) military operation in Indochina and 2) regional development as a part of containment policy. The US exerted itself more on the military operation. While the regional development was carried out within the framework of US-Japan relations during 1960s.

During the same period, Southeast Asian countries were coming together as a regional group. Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) was their first attempt in 1961. The members were Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Then in 1964, we could see another in the form of the Maphilindo. The members were Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Finally the Association of Southeast Asian Nations was established in 1967. The US policy of bilateral relations with the Southeast Asian nations was replaced with regional cooperation.

During the early days of the Cold War, Japan's swift economic recovery was deemed necessary. Economic cooperation between the US and Japan was crafted. Japan was the country with industrial capability, but unemployment happened because of lack of raw material. Japan's industrial potential was matched with Southeast Asian raw material. To contribute to the 'Free World', Japan's potential should be used to increase production of raw material in

Southeast Asia. In addition, Japan would support the US in various economic aid projects in the region. This would create inter-dependency system in Southeast Asia.

As Japan was pressured to take a significant role, Japan's expanding economic role strengthened the US security policy and role in the region. Japan's economic role created 'soft wall' against expansion of communism in Asia. The image of Japan, therefore, was that of 'integrative imperialist'. The image of cooperation between the US and Japan was a part of capital imperialism with the US as its leader and Japan as the second leader.

Brief history of Thailand – Japan relations

The Thai monarchy and Japanese shogunate began to establish contact from the 17th century. Large number of Japanese merchant and adventurers came to live in Ayutthya. Some of them, such as, Yamada Nagamasa, became influential persons in Thai political affairs. During Japanese Edo period, the Shogun exercised isolation policy. Japan closed the country from foreigners except the Dutch and Chinese. Japan-Thailand relation carried on only at unofficial level. Official diplomatic relations was resumed in 19th century during the time of King Chulalongkorn. Declaration of Amity and Commerce between the two countries was agreed on September 26, 1887 with the status of most favored nation extended to each of them. In 1898, Thailand and Japan signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and Treaty of Navigation. The Treaty of Navigation granted protection to the rights and property of the parties thereto while residing in the respective member country. Each of them was also granted navigational rights to enter into another country's territorial water.

The unequal treaty began during this period. Annexation of the Treaty of Navigation stipulated that Japan had extra-territorial rights in Thailand. Also,

Thailand was required to limit the tariffs and duties for Japanese merchandise in the same manner as Thailand had agreed with other western countries.

In 1899, Thailand and Japan exchanged diplomatic envoys to each other capitals. The bilateral relationship was closer before and during the WWII when Thailand considered Japan as a model for development and Japan wanted Thailand's cooperation in its plan of establishing Japanese empire. Thailand abstained when the League of Nations passed a resolution condemning Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Japan supported Thailand's demand of the return of Battambang, Siem Reap, and Sisophon from France, and supported Thailand in its conflict with France over Indochina. By the end of the WWII, Thailand took Japanese side and granted permission for Japanese troops to transit Thailand.

After the WWII, with the support of the United States, Thailand and Japan normalized the relationship after Japan signed San Francisco Peace Treaty.

Until the end of 1960s, economic aspect was primarily the character of Thailand and Japan relationship. Japan used economic measure as the tool for its foreign relations. Other aspects, such as, political relationship and relations at the people level were not given as much consideration. As a result, when there was conflict in economic aspect, it spilled over to other aspects of relationship. Therefore, it was important to clearly understand economic interaction between Thailand and Japan.

Thailand-Japan economic relations after the WWII

After the WWII, economic cooperation was Japan's re-entry point into Southeast Asia. With the expansion of communism in East Asia, the US decided that Japan shift its source of raw material and market from China and Mongolia to

Southeast Asia¹. Japan's economic relation with Thailand was a part of this US policy. During the same period, economic development was the main target of the Thai government. It was for the purpose of both development and a method against the expansion of communist insurgency. Therefore, the ruling regime had drawn up the first national economic development plan which took effect in 1961. These plans became the road map for the development of Thai economy until these days. According to the first plan, the aim of the development was to raise the per capita income and the standard of living. This could be achieved by expanding the production sector which, in turn, would foster employment. The government intended to allow the private sector to be in charge of the production while the government itself would focus its effort only on infrastructure, such as, irrigation, electricity, roads, and etc. However, the main obstacle was capital, both material capital and financial capital. Thailand's saving increased only 8 percent per year, which was only 14-15 percent of national income. In order to promote industrial production, Thailand should increase the capital, both material capital, such as, heavy machine, and financial capital. Japan was in good position to fulfill this need.

The economic cooperation between the two countries can be categorized into 1) trade, 2) investment, and 3) Official Development Assistance (ODA).

¹ ไชยวัฒน์ คำชู, “ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น : อดีต ปัจจุบัน อนาคต” ใน ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา 2541, (สถาบันเอเชียศึกษา จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2541) หน้า 8-21.

*Trade**Significant of Thailand in Japanese Economy***Table 1** Percentage of Japan's Export to Thailand (Value : 1,000 US\$)

Year	Total Value of Japan's Export	Value of Japan's Export to Thailand	Percentage of Total Export
1966	9,776,391	300,838	3.07
1967	10,441,572	340,991	3.26
1968	12,971,662	365,448	2.81
1969	15,990,014	433,841	2.71
1970	19,317,687	449,195	2.32
1971	24,018,881	445,031	1.9
1972	28,500,000	570,500	2.0
1973	36,915,000	737100	2.0

Source: Japan's Ministry of Finance in สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์ ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 สิงหาคม-

ธันวาคม 2518 p.193

Table 2 Percentage of Japan's Import from Thailand (Value : 1,000 US\$)

Year	Total Value of Japan's Import	Value of Japan's Import from Thailand	Percentage of Total Import
1966	9,522,702	153,225	1.60
1967	11,663,087	160,039	1.37
1968	12,987,243	147,023	1.13
1969	15,023,536	167,417	1.11
1970	18,881,168	189,589	1.00
1971	19,711,749	229,878	1.2
1972	23,440,000	233,000	1.0
1973	38,303,000	417,750	1.0

Source : Japan's Ministry of Finance in สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 สิงหาคม-

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Significant of Japan's Trade in Thai Economy

Table 3 Balance of Trade between Thailand and Japan (Value : million baht)

Year	Value of Import		Value of Export		Trade Deficit with Japan	Total Trade Deficit with All Trading Partners
	Value	Percentage of Total Import	Value	Percentage of Total Export		
1966	6,743	36	2,940	21	-3,803	-4,405
1967	8,046	36	3,000	21	-5,046	-3,022
1968	8,274	34	2,874	21	-5,400	-10,424
1969	9,515	35	3,192	22	-6,323	-12,169
1970	10,107	37	3,770	26	-6,337	-12,237
1971	10,093	38	4,277	25	-5,816	-9,513
1972	11,401	37	4,660	21	-6,741	-8,384
1973	14,742	35	8,355	26	-6,387	-9,741

Source : Thailand Customs Department in สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์ ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 สิงหาคม-ธันวาคม 2518 p.192

According to the above tables, Japan was Thailand's most important trading partner. Imports from Japan constituted 38% of total imports in 1971, but as high as 26% of total export was designated to Japan. Trade with Japan was very important to Thai economy, while trade with Thailand had very small percentage in Japanese economy. This caused unfavorable trade balance for over the years. University scholars had tried to study the character of Thailand-Japan

trading relations and concluded that the main causes of this imbalance of trade were² :

1. Thai goods were agricultural in nature, but imports were primarily industrial, with the price difference between the two kinds of goods being vast. Moreover, production of agricultural goods was not stable, dependent almost completely on weather condition.

2. Thailand was undergoing development and required large amount of capital goods which was expensive.

3. Japanese commercial first extended long credit to buyers, which was a factor influencing Thai merchants, who imported Japanese goods for sale and then utilized the proceeds for business purposes before paying the bills.

4. There were numerous Japanese trading companies in Thailand which imported goods from Japan.

5. Japan had procedures and organization which promoted and supported exports from Japan to Thailand in an effective manner, but Thailand had no such organizations with the same standard of efficiency to export Thai goods to Japan.

6. Japanese rules and regulations and legal procedures concerning imports such as quotas set for certain categories of goods (e.g., tapioca flour), tariff barriers and protectionism made it difficult for Thai goods to reach the markets in Japan.

7. Some Thai goods were overly dependent upon Japanese markets, enabling the Japanese to depress prices.

8. Japanese traders were a tightly knit group and formed a cohesive force, with great power in matters of capital and bargaining while Thai merchant groups

² Khien Theeravit. "Japan in Thai Perspective," in Japan and Thailand : New Dimensions of Dialogue. Proceedings of the First Japan-Thai Symposium in Tokyo, (December 1979) pp.16-18.

were not united but competed to buy and sell, causing them usually to come out on the losing side against Japan.

Investment

Taking all international investment as a whole, Japan invested in Thailand more than any other nations. Japanese investment increased drastically from 1960-1970, especially in promoted industries. After the Investment Promotion Act B.E. 2503 took effect, Japanese investment accounted to 11.23% of total promoted investment³. More than half of the investment was in industries, trade, construction, banking and services respectively. Most of industrial investment was in textiles, chemicals, pulp & paper, food product, cars, motorcycles and electrical machinery⁴. The reasons for Japanese investment in Thailand were⁵ :

1. To seek, hold and develop market. Many Japanese factories were established for the purpose of winning market from other foreign companies.
2. To benefit from the labor cost in Thailand which were still comparatively cheap.
3. To seek benefit inherent in conducting business.
4. To evade internal problems in Japan, such as, reaction and protest against environmental pollution
5. Japanese firm could use Thai export quotas for exporting their product to some other foreign countries where Japanese rights to export quotas were exhausted.

³ สุภชัย มนต์ไพฑูลย์, “ความสัมพันธ์ทางเศรษฐกิจระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่น : ผลดีและผลเสีย,” *วารสารสังคมศาสตร์* ปีที่ 10 ฉบับที่ 2 (เมษายน 2516) : 125.

⁴ จุลชีพ ชินวรรณโน และสมศักดิ์ เต็มบุญเลิศชัย, “การลงทุนของญี่ปุ่นในประเทศไทย และแนวโน้มในทศวรรษ 1980,” ใน *ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น 10 ปีหลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น* (สถาบันญี่ปุ่นศึกษา), หน้า 109.

⁵ Khien Theeravit, “Japan in Thai Perspective,” *Japan and Thailand : New Dimensions of Dialogue* (Tokyo : The Japan Center for International Exchange, 1979) p.20.

These investments created jobs for Thai employees. However, the impact upon Thailand was severe.

1. In many cases, Japanese investment destroyed small-scale industries that failed to cooperate with the Japanese in joint-venture projects.

2. Most Japanese investment was in the form of import-substitutes. They required imports of raw materials and parts from Japan for Japanese assembly firms in Thailand. This form of investment did not solve the trade deficit with Japan. It even resulted in more dependent of Thailand economy upon Japan.

3. In agricultural investment. Contract farming with Japanese companies meant that agricultural produce were exported directly to Japan or supplied to Japanese food factories in Thailand, for example, sugar and canned fruits, and finally exported to Japan. This provided stable market for Thai agricultural produce. However, this practice had to be done with cautious, because on the other hand, when Japanese firms invested broadly in agriculture, they dominated the trade of Thai agricultural produce as well. Moreover, Thai regulations regarding environmental protection was not as mature and advance as in some developed countries. Japanese could use some loopholes in Thai environmental laws for their own benefits, for example, the leakage of fertilizers and insecticide into natural water sources.

One important character of Japanese trade and investment was general trading company or Sogo Shosha. Sogo Shosha was multinational corporations, such as, C.Itoh, Mitsubishi and Mizui, whose network of business covered a wide range of production and services, such as, investment banks, consultant and construction companies, department stores, shipping companies and import-export companies. When the Sogo Shosha invested in other countries, they created captive customers with the purpose of expansion of export from headquarter. Captive customers were the joint-venture enterprises, such as, Thai-

Japanese joint venture, which purchased materials from Japanese headquarter, processed in Thailand, and sold only to customers within its network. Relationship between captive customers and the headquarter included price and payment privilege, which made it impossible for other enterprises to intervene or penetrate into the group. The top ten biggest Sogo Shosha had invested in Thailand as early as before the WWII. This practice created strong bond between Thailand's imports and Japan's exports which caused higher trade and payment deficit. In 1973, 35.3% of total import of Thailand came from Japan. Of this number, 97.7% was carried out by Japanese companies.⁶ During 1972-1973, Japanese general trading companies controlled approximately 40% of Thai import and took control of 50% of Thai export⁷.

Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Foreign aid was supposed to be economic assistance program from developed countries for the purpose of improving quality of lives and economic well-being of recipient countries. However, Japanese ODA benefited Japanese firms significantly. Procurement under these ODA projects was tied to Japanese industrial goods. Products provided under the grant and loan program created further demand for Japanese goods in local market.

After the WWII, Thailand and Japan started the negotiation on war reparation-like grant in 1955⁸. The total of 15 million yen grant was divided into 5.4 million yen in cash and 9.6 million yen in the form of economic cooperation.

⁶ ณรงค์ เพชรประเสริฐ, “การผูกขาดทางการค้าของญี่ปุ่นในประเทศไทย,” *สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์* ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 (สิงหาคม – ธันวาคม 2518) : 112.

⁷ สุทธิ ประศาสน์เศรษฐ์, “การค้าระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่น : ลักษณะและกลไกแห่งการพึ่งพา,” ใน *ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น 10 ปีหลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น* (สถาบันญี่ปุ่นศึกษา) หน้า 89.

⁸ It was not war reparation because Thailand was not defeated. During the war, Japan asked that Thailand paid in advance to Japanese soldiers who operated in Southeast Asia with the promise that Japan would redeem.

The money would be paid in English Pound through Thailand's account in England. The amount of 5.4 million yen was paid installment annually from August 1955- May 1959. Negotiation on the 9.6 million yen was finalized later and began in 1962. Detail of the agreement was :

1. The 9.6 million yen would be paid in Japanese Yen. The annual payment of 1 million yen would be done in May during 1962-1968, and the last 2.6 million yen in 1969.

2. The money must have been used for purchasing of Japanese products and services from Japanese or Japanese judicial persons.

3. There would be a designated bank to be responsible of money exchange and transfer. The bank would receive the money from Japanese government and pay to Japanese companies.⁹

Because of this Japanese operating system, the 9.6 million yen was never delivered into Thai money market. Thailand received only Japanese goods and services, which started the cycle of continuous demand for spare parts and services from Japan.

Beside the reparation-like grant, Japan under the Colombo Plan, began technical assistance program with Thailand in 1955. The technical assistance was the kind of aid that provided experts to the recipient countries or sending local trainees to Japan. Until 1966, Japan provided 210 experts to Thailand and 950 scholarships for Thai people.¹⁰

During the 1970s, Japanese economic assistance to Thailand could be divided into 2 parts, non-repayment assistance and concessionary loan. Non-

⁹ สุทธิญา นิวาสวัสดิ์. ความช่วยเหลือแบบให้เปล่าจากประเทศญี่ปุ่นต่อประเทศไทยในช่วง ค.ศ.1954-1989 และแนวโน้มการเพิ่มความช่วยเหลือทางด้านวัฒนธรรมต่อประเทศไทย : กรณีศึกษา ศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์. (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทฉบับพิเศษ สาขาการระหว่างประเทศและการทูต คณะรัฐศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ พ.ศ. 2535) หน้า 96.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 97.

repayment assistance comprised of technical assistance and grant aid. The non-repayment assistance was handled by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) in cooperation with Thai counterpart, Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation. While Japanese loans from Japan's Oversea Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) and Export-Import Bank (EXIM) were handled by various government agencies and state enterprises under the supervision of the External Debt Policy Committee.

Thailand started receiving grant aid from Japan in mid-1950s as part of quasi-reparation agreement and concluded it in 1962¹¹. It was the beginning of government-to-government economic cooperation that brought in more Japanese involvement in Thai economy later. Before the anti-Japanese movement in November 1972, Thailand received 2 batches of Japanese loan. The first bilateral loan started in 1969¹² with total amount 1,200 million baht. One part was given through the EXIM bank, another was through the OECF. The second batch was 4,500 million baht in 1972. During that period, although Japanese loan was not specified for certain project in particular, it was stipulated that the money must be used to purchase goods and services from Japan. In other words, Japanese loan was 'tied aid'.

After the hostile protest in late 1972, Japan adjusted its position. Some obligations of the second loan were lifted. For example, some part of the loan could be used for purchasing products of other countries, and the interest rate was reduced. Japan also adjusted its aid provision scheme during the early 1970s due to the shifting global political and economic situation. The loan under the 4th Economic Development Plan was specified to certain projects on an annual basis,

¹¹ Keiko Hirata. Civil Society in Japan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.166.

¹² Pranee Tinakorn and Patchree Siroros, "Japan's ODA and Thai Development : A Successful Story?" in Japan's Official Development Assistance and Asian Developing Economies (Bangkok: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1991), p.50.

through OECF as the sole fund administrator, with debt repayment extended from 20-25 years. The new aid provision scheme allowed Japan to closely monitor effectiveness of its aid. A thorough feasibility study must be done first, mostly by Japanese consultants. Consequently, technological requirements of each project were based on Japanese standards. Finally, although it was no obligatory to buy only Japanese products, in the new scheme, only Japanese or Japanese-Thai joint ventures could win the bidding.

According to the Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation (DTEC), Japan started economic cooperation with Thailand during Thailand's 2nd Economic and Social Development Plan (1967-1971).

Table 4 Economic cooperation from Japan in the Economic and Social Development Plan (Value : 1,000 US\$)

Development Plan	Amount
1 st Plan (1961-1966)	-
2 nd Plan (1967-1971)	7,900.6
3 rd Plan (1972-1976)	12,772.9
4 th Plan (1977-1981)	210,091.0
5 th Plan (1982-1986)	416,168.2
6 th Plan (1987-1991)	618,911.7

Source : Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation

Influence of Japanese trade, investment and economic cooperation on Thai economy.

The role of trade, investment and Official Development Assistance (ODA) intertwined in Japan's economic relation with Thailand. From Thailand's point of

view, Japan's attempt to dominate and control Thai economy was systematic. It started with Japan's ODA scheme that brought in Japanese technical experts and business groups. These experts studied Thai business environment and prospects. Then they prepared Thailand's infrastructure for Japanese investment through Japanese ODA, which included 'tied loan'.

As the National Economic Development Plan and the Investment Promotion Law took effect in the early 1960's, Thailand welcomed foreign investment as the major mean of development. The import-substitution industries were expected to closer the gap of trade deficit. However, it went the opposite way.

In the construction business, when Japanese business entered Thailand via the tied loan, they brought in heavy machinery which could be for multiple uses. Those companies then formed a joint-venture with Thai partners and bid for Thai government's construction project against 100% Thai companies. The Japanese-Thai joint-venture, having the advantage of better heavy machinery with higher technologies, usually won the bidding. Thai construction companies became small sub-contractors of those projects. In most cases, Japanese investors hired only Japanese-Thai joint-ventures within the same business group. Therefore, in the construction industry, Japanese loan gave benefit to Japanese companies. Thai government construction projects benefited Japanese-Thai joint-ventures. And the money from Japanese investors benefited their captive customers.

In other industries, Japanese entrepreneurs were interested in the loosened regulation of the promoted industries. Machines imported under the Investment Promotion law were exempted of tax, but import of machines caused higher payment deficit. When the products were import-substitutes, the sale of products could not help lower the deficit. Moreover, import and export of materials and products were carried out within the group of general trading

companies. It seemed that there was not possibility at all that Thailand could balance the deficit with Japan.

Trade negotiation

The imbalance of trade became the issue of Thailand-Japan relations. In 1968, the Thai Prime Minister, Tanom Kittikachorn, visited Japan resulting in the Tanom-Sato joint communiqué. It established the Thailand-Japan Joint Committee on Trade. The first meeting started in 1968, in Bangkok. Until the Thai government issued 'White Paper' in 1985 with the purpose of restructuring Thai –Japanese economic relations and lowered the significant of trade negotiation, there were 11 rounds of meetings.

During the 17 years of negotiation, the imbalance of trade in general continued to grow rapidly. Negotiation could help solving Thailand's problems only in some period. Each time, it was coupled with other harsh measures. In 1969-1970, the Minister of Commerce, Dr. Bunchana Uttakor issued a warning that if Thai deficit was not improved, there would be retaliatory measures, such as, restriction on imports. In February 1970, there was cancellation of the Treaty of Commerce and in November 1970, an import restriction warning was issued. The trade imbalance was curbed in 1971. The boycott of Japanese products campaign in 1972 led to many reactions from Japan, but did not contribute to significant improvement in the following year, due to the structure of Thai import and export from Japan.

Trade deficit continuously worsened until the early 1980s. During this period, negotiations could not close the gap between the attitude of the Thai and Japanese officials towards the problem. In 1983, Thai deficit was at record high of

42 billion.¹³ There was fear that an anti-Japanese movement could erupt again. The situation encouraged the Japanese government to call an emergency meeting. However, the Japanese government could only express readiness to consider Thai requests, but could not respond to the requests. This resulted in Thai students calling for an anti-Japanese products movement again, but the situation was different from the one in 1972.

The last bilateral trade negotiation was in 1984, because it was obvious that it was useless. In addition, the Thai government changed its track in its economic development. In the late 1970s, the Thai government switched its plan from trade to export-oriented industries. Consequently in 1985 the Thai government issued a “White Paper” which reflected a new initiative in correcting the imbalanced trade. The objectives of the White Paper were 1) to reduce the deficit in Thai trade with Japan through increases and diversification of Thai export 2) to reexamine the terms and conditions of Thai-Japanese joint industrial investment 3) to restructure Thai industrial production in order to make it more export oriented 4) to improve Thai investment climate and technical cooperation with Japan in order to ensure compatibility with the Thai aim of restructuring its trade investment and industrial production.¹⁴ Instead of putting the effort on selling agricultural product, the government would focus on producing and exporting industrial products. Thus, the bilateral trade negotiation was ended.

Conflict over economic relation between Japan and Thailand could not be solved only through economic measure. The conflict escalated and became social and political issue.

¹³ Suelo Suelo, “The Politics of Thai-Japanese Trade Relation: A Study of Negotiation Behavior,” in Thai-Japanese Relations in Historical Perspective (Bangkok : Institute of Asian Studies, 1988), p. 226.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 227

Japan was branded as the 'Yellow Threat'. The Yellow Threat was linked to corrupting behavior of some Thai authorities. Some academician expressed their concern through articles that the 'Yellow Threat' was not different from other threat that Thai society had had experienced before. Japan was a part of 'White Threat', such as, some western countries which was as much frightening. This threat could penetrate into Thai society because of our economic policy of attracting foreign investment. On the other hand, the situation gave a feedback to Thai society. Public opinion leaders gave reflection that we blamed Japan and Japanese for our economic problems. Actually, it was the Thai people who allowed this economic domination to happen. The imperialism could not have gain strength and control over Thai society without the help of some officials and business people. It was the government and business people that brought in Japanese investment. It was them who helped concealed the social and environmental impact on the people in the surrounding area of any development programs. And if the Thai people did not buy Japanese products, their business would not have survived either.

Nationalism issue was raised. But nationalism that happened during that period was not only the antagonism against foreign countries and foreign people, but also against the corrupting official who allied themselves with the foreigners. Articles from journals and newspapers expressed opinion that the officials and business people who gained personal benefit from cooperating with foreigners should be called 'traitors'.

Early 1970s Japanese imperialism

Japan's economic expansion brought about the idea of imperialism that stirred up nationalism in Thai society. Although Japan was called economic imperialist, the idea of the re-emergence Japan as militaristic state was

understandable. In early 1970s, some academic journals published articles on Japan's Self Defense Force and military ambition. When considering Japan's economic might together with American military policy, the threat from Japan was intensified. An article translated by Saneh Chamarik on 'Japan's military industry : the unknown yellow threat' gave the detail of how Japanese military industrial complex participating in the Korean War and Vietnam War could restore their business vitality. The heavy industrial group, such as Mitzui and Mitsubishi, which was the Zaibatsu, beneficiary of the WWII, could adapt themselves to the demand of Cold War and thus restore their status and role in Japanese society and the global arena. In 1970, the Keidanren's Committee on Production for Defense issued a document opining on the country's defense instrument and capabilities. The document proposed that the private sector should be invited to participate in government's security meetings especially during budget consideration. Behind this proposal was the true intention of the business leaders. 'It was necessary to expand weapon market outside Japan. Greater East Asia Co-prosperity was the right decision. The problem at that time (the WWII) was that Japan thought only of itself. From now on Japan needed to rethink its provision of foreign aid'¹⁵. This suggested that, among Japanese business circle, East Asia was Japan's domain. Continuation of war (somewhere outside Japan) was desirable and economically beneficial to Japan. The articles might express irrational fear for Japanese militarism. However, considering the Japan-US alliance during that period, it was probable that the fear could materialize. The memory of Japanese militarism during the WWII coupled with its rapid economic expansion brought back the image of the aggressive intruder who would never stop the attempt to take control of Thailand.

¹⁵ เสน่ห์ จามริก แปล, “อุตสาหกรรมทางทหารของญี่ปุ่น : ภัยเหลืองที่ควรตระหนัก,” ใน สังคมศาสตร์ ปีที่ 12 ฉบับที่ 3 (มีนาคม 2517) : 78.

University scholars analyzed Japanese and American influence in Southeast Asia as ‘Integrative Imperialism’. The term meant ‘closed inter-dependency system of the Far East’ which is a part of ‘capital imperialism with the US as its leader, and Japan as the second leader’¹⁶. Accordingly, as the US influence in Thai politics and government grew, Japanese economic influence must have been closely monitored.

Cultural domination

Beyond the fear of economic and military imperialism, Thai society was worried of Japanese cultural domination and the idea of Japanese superiority. Thai scholars believed that economic and military imperialism and cultural domination were inter-related. They were concerned that the Japanese industrial complex believed in Japan’s military might as a tool for international negotiation which in turn would empower their economic power. Japanese products were dumped into Thai market, followed by propaganda that stimulated consumerism. Beside propaganda, the nationalist believed that Thailand was bombarded with Japanese culture, such as, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, Japanese music, and gardening. Japanese films and cartoons could capture popularity among Thai children. Admiring and adopting foreign culture was common for the Thais. However Japanese culture could do more. It had a part in persuading the Thais to buy Japanese.

It was widely mentioned that Japanese tourists came to Thailand by Japanese airline, took Japanese buses, dined in Japanese restaurants, shopped in Japanese department stores and stayed in Japanese hotels. Among the Thais, Japanese products were preferred to other brands because of the cheaper price,

¹⁶ กลุ่มศึกษาไทยกับมหาอำนาจญี่ปุ่น, “ญี่ปุ่นในเอเชีย จักรวรรดินิยมผู้รุกรานหรือบริวารสหรัฐฯ,” ใน *สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์* ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 (สิงหาคม-ธันวาคม 2518) : 26.

availability, and installment paying system. Japanese brand loyalty was even developed among some Thais. Japanese were also taking away some jobs that should be reserved for the Thais, such as, in construction industries, while Thai labors in Japanese factories were exploited with low wages, low quality of life and high risk of pollution exposure. Thailand's natural resources were being depleted and ecological system was destroyed.

The fact that we could see Japanese walking around everywhere in Thailand caused the concern of Japanese cultural intrusion. The case of 'Kick Boxing'¹⁷ amplified strong sense of nationalism in Thai society. The Thai felt that Japanese was stealing Thai culture. They even exerted the idea of Japanese superiority over Thai culture.

Anti-Japanese sentiment

The resentment against Japan appeared in many forms. Besides public lectures and seminars criticizing Japan's economic role in Thailand, there were many writing materials published in newspapers, journal, research reports and etc, that criticized Japan and Japanese. During 1970-1976, Japan was mentioned in 310 publications (out of total 756 publications during 1950-1980)¹⁸. Three journals of Sangkomsartparitad Shababpailuang (สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์ ฉบับภัยเหลือง) that was first published in 1972, was mostly referred to. The first was translated and circulated among Japanese, which gave some clue to the Japanese about the Thais sentiment.

¹⁷ Kick Boxing was a kind of self-defense developed from many forms of martial arts. It had some resemblance to 'Muay Thai'. Confusion between Thai martial arts and Japanese hybrid self defense led to misunderstanding that Muay Thai was a form of Japanese kick boxing.

¹⁸ บัญญัติ สุรการวิทย์, "ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น : ความช่วยเหลือหรือช่วยเหลือ," ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น 10 ปี หลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น. น. 52.

Anti-Japanese products movement

These harsh feeling and re-action happened mostly among academic circle and the educated level of Thai society. The movement against Japan and Japanese appeared in 1970, when approximately 100 students founded ‘Anti-Japanese Products Association’ in Kasetsart University¹⁹. The group tried to involve the public by campaigning against Japanese products and promoting Thai products, especially Thai textile. In 1972, the NSCT, which was newly formed during this period representing students from 10 academic institutions, campaigned for a week of not buying Japanese product during 20-30 November. Thai students were not alone in this attempt. They received moral support from student associations in other Asian countries. For example, student association in Hong Kong sent telegram to support Thai students. Taiwanese newspaper reported that students in Taiwan were planning to arrange the same activity. Thai students who traveled back from Singapore received the news that students in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur were working on protesting against Japan and Japanese as well²⁰. The anti-Japanese product movement, which appeared to be naïve and emotional in nature, was supported by most public opinion leaders. Kukrit Pramote’s article in Siamrat could represent their point.

“The attempt was like putting a goldleaf on a Buddha statue. Knowing fully well that the campaign would only temporarily halt people’s purchasing behavior, students still worked hard on it. Through this attempt, students had shown some concern and responsibility to the country’s affairs. However, trade deficit with Japan would continue. The letter to the Japanese Prime Ministry would not be able to alter Japan’s economic course. To correct this deficit, we must sell more Thai product and buy less Japanese. Although Thai government was

¹⁹ รัชัญญา ผลอนันต์, “การต่อต้านญี่ปุ่นจากยามาดาถึงทานากะ,” *สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์* ปีที่ 13 ฉบับที่ 3-4 (สิงหาคม – ธันวาคม 2518) : 16.

²⁰ “ทูตญี่ปุ่นบินกลับ พบทานากะกรณินศ.ไทยต่อต้านญี่ปุ่น,” *สยามรัฐ*. (12 พฤศจิกายน 2515) : 16.

very powerful in everything else, they could not handle the country's production and trade. Trading involved market force which was out of control of the government. It was the buyers' conscious if they would buy Japanese products and contributing to deeper deficit. Thus students were doing the right thing and their effort should be praised.²¹”

Kukrit Pramote was not the only one who expressed his opinion in support of student movement. The antagonism against Japan was expressed widely through newspaper. However, Thai military leaders were not satisfied with the protest. As the government, they understand that foreign investment was crucial to development of Thai economy. Besides, they were afraid that the protest could be out of control and became unrest of the whole country. The government, later, ordered a ban on publicizing of the protest through TV, radio and newspaper.

Different groups of people shared different opinion towards this movement according to their different attitude towards Japan. In 1975, an attitude survey of public opinion on Japan and Japanese by Khien Theeravit explained different opinion among different groups of people²².

1. Due to closed economic relationship such as trade and investment between Thailand and Japan, the Thais' perception of Japan was negative. Thai people (45.1%) believed that Thailand was exploited by the Japanese. The Thai people regarded Japanese behavior as an imperialist. Majority of the public opinion leader (87.5%) shared this same perception in both cases.

2. In comparison to other countries, small percentage of the masses (3.7%) believed that Japanese were honest. More than half of student leaders

²¹ ลีกุลฤทธิ์ ปราโมทย์, *สยามรัฐ* (10 พฤศจิกายน 2515) : 5.

²² เขียน วีระวิทช์, *ทรรศนะของคนไทยที่มีต่อจีนและญี่ปุ่น* (กรุงเทพฯ : สถาบันวิจัยสังคม จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2518), น. 51.

(55%) evaluated Japanese as being the least honest. Public opinion leaders (48%) perceived Japanese as the same as other nationalities.

3. Large proportion of the masses (45.1%), the public opinion leader (65%) and 90% of student leaders believed that Japanese grants and loans were motivated primarily by Japanese self-interest.

4. Higher proportion of every group, the masses 38.8%, public opinion leaders 42% and student leaders 80% perceived that Japanese investment in Thailand should be limited.

According to the survey, student leaders were the group that most paranoid and had the most negative image of Japan and Japanese. Public opinion leaders were the second. While majority of the general public did not have the negative image of Japan, they were not friend of Japan either. Men were pessimistic about Japan than women. The young Thais hated Japan more than the older ones. And the higher in education, the less trust they had towards Japan.

During a seminar at Chulalongkorn University in 1987 on 'Some observation on Japanese Studies in Thailand from the Perspective of a Japanese Historian', Yoneo Ishii, the Thai studies professor mentioned the attitude of Thai people during the early 1970s. Perception of the Thai people towards Japan was either negative or positive. Some groups of the Thais viewed Japan negatively, such as, Japan as an aggressor. Some groups viewed Japan positively, such as, Japan as a country with marvelous culture, for example, bullet train, and tea ceremony.

Different attitude towards Japan could be understood when we consider overall situation of Thailand during that period. Negative criticism about Japan happened in the same manner as the US was attacked. The US was singled out for its intervention in Thai foreign and military policies. Criticism against Japan was

done emotionally in connection to the US. An objective assessment of relationship between Thailand and Japan pointed out that Japanese trade and investment was necessary to Thai economy. Without Japan, Thai economic development could have suffered worse scenario. But anti-Japanese sentiment was a feeling out of nationalism, with concern of Thailand's national economic interest, pride and identity. Nationalistic feeling was coupled with idealism, such as public responsibility and social justice. These were values important for existence of any society. To the nationalist, foreigners who cooperated with corrupted government must be purged. The over presence of Japanese in the region during that period made it become an evident target.

Nevertheless, the incidence gave a chance for scholars to investigate more into the cultural aspect of relationship between Japan and the world including Thailand. Although relationship between the two countries could be dated for centuries, economic aspect of relationship was the domineering aspect. Most cultural relationship took place naturally, without plan or deliberation. It had never been adopted or emphasized as a potential contributing factor to the overall relationship. In response to this situation, Japanese government consolidated its cultural diplomacy.

Chapter III

Japan's Cultural Diplomatic Policy

Re-action from Japan

Japanese government always believed that Japanese investment in Thailand was beneficial to Thai economy and Japanese ODA contributed to the development of Thailand. They were not comfortable with the idea that Japan was being repelled from all over Asia. The Anti-Japanese Movement drew different responses from different sectors in Japan.

During the week of not-buying Japanese products, Japanese business association sent out a fact finding team of 19 representatives to Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong and concluded that¹ :

- Behavior of some Japanese entrepreneurs was not acceptable.
- Japanese meddled too much in retail business. This occupation should have belonged to the Thai people.
- Japanese partners took advantage and gained too much from Thai-Japanese joint-venture (74% in 1967 and 68% in 1969)
- Japanese business tried too much to sell unnecessary products.
- Too small proportion of Thai people was appointed to managing level in Japanese firms.
- Japanese business took advantage of the Thai weak point and exercise influence on Thai economy.

¹ เศรษฐศึกษา ร่วมกับ อมร. “10 ปีหลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น : ภาพพจน์ที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไป?” ใน ความสัมพันธ์ไทย-ญี่ปุ่น 10 ปีหลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น เอกสารประกอบการสัมมนา 10 ปีหลังการต่อต้านสินค้าญี่ปุ่น. มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ 26-27 พฤศจิกายน 2525. น .67.

- Japan never tried to engage cultural exchange in order to understand the local people.

From this finding, Japanese business circle tried to improve themselves in their interaction with the Thais. For example, they circulated information in the form of books about Thais' working habit and how to work with Thai employees. They also tried to improve relationship between labors and the management level.

One of the immediate responses was the Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) who, under the pressure of the Japanese government, set up guidelines for Japanese multinational corporations in June 1973. The major guidelines were endorsed by all major business organizations²:

1. Basic orientation: long-term investment for the benefit of both parties, with emphasis on recipients' development needs.
2. Promotion of business activities based upon mutual trust.
3. Promotion of employment and recruitment.
4. Proper selection of representatives to recipient countries.
5. Promotion of education and training.
6. Contribution to local industrialization.
7. Promotion of re-investment.
8. Co-ordination with the recipient countries' enterprises.
9. Co-operation and harmonization with the recipient countries.

At the national level consideration over this issue continued. In 1974, the Advisory Council on Overseas Economic Cooperation, chaired by Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry summarized their opinion on a new economic

² Suelo Suelo. The Fukuda Doctrine and ASEAN, p.128.

cooperation scheme. The business community agreed that some aspects of foreign aid must be improved³:

1. establishment of a basic policy for development assistance,
2. improvement of official development aid,
3. formulation of basic strategies according to designated groups,
4. improvement of the aid system for large-scale projects,
5. human development and promotion of consulting firms,
6. adjustment of the activities of foreign firms.

Among academic scholars, many seminars, workshops and symposium were arranged in order to study these phenomenon. Most of the studies concluded that the economic conflict between Japan and other countries was rooted from lack of understanding among foreigners of Japanese unique culture. Tsuneo Ayabe explained the research on Asian students in Japan that ‘the anti-Japanese sentiment frequently observed among the intellectual of Southeast Asian countries who have studied in Japan and returned to their homelands may have their origins in better experiences they had had in their youth while staying in Japan.’ This was due to the culture shock. Japanese culture should be called ‘radio receiver’. Japan absorbed foreign culture vigorously from abroad, but it did not send out her own culture. And it was important for Japanese to realize that it was this trait that brought about the conflict with the world.

Japan’s economic was the second in the world. ‘by selling its commodities only, Japan can express itself powerfully to peoples of other countries, but it does not give any explanation as to how its products have been produced and under what type of culture....Japan is neglecting to provide its own information, but is making strenuous efforts in collection information on foreign countries. This is

³ Ibid, p.129.

giving a very obscure impression to the people of those foreign countries who are buying Japanese goods.’⁴

In Japanese culture, human relations were characterized in strong vertical pattern. Insiders were separated from outsiders. Thus, conflict between Japanese and the people of Southeast Asian nations rooted in the structure of human relations inherent in Japanese culture. It was important that such misunderstanding be eliminated ‘not for the purpose of wiping out the reputation of economic animal or as a mean of alleviating economic frictions’.

Among the policy makers, the dissatisfaction expressed by the Southeast Asian people in 1972, and especially during the Prime Minister Tanaka’s visit in 1974, reaffirmed to them of Japanese image problem. The Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda mentioned that

“diplomacy towards Southeast Asia until now was contact through money and goods, It was not contact based on the policy of good friends acting for mutual benefit. Even when viewed from our country there was an impression of economic aggression and arrogant manners, and it was a situation which was symbolized by the expression economic animal.”⁵

Economic conflict between Thailand and Japan as described in Chapter 2 was a good example of Japan’s international relations during this period. After the WWII, Japan’s foreign relation was limited within the framework of the US’s foreign policy. Economic relation was the re-entering point into Southeast Asia,

⁴ Tsuneo Ayabe. “Foreign Students as an Important Channel for Cultural Exchange” in Ideas and Policies in International cultural Exchange. (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1983), p.181

⁵ Suelo Sudo, The Fukuda Doctrine and ASEAN, p.158.

causing the relationship to be focused mainly on economic dimension. When economic aspect was emphasized, actors in international relations became the powerful business community whose aim was to reap the most from their investment and hence causing economic conflict.

It seemed that by the end of 1960s – early 1970s, Japanese society realized that Japan was confronting with resistance from most of its trading partners. This realization became a supporting force behind the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to establish the Japan Foundation.

Mr. Fukuda expressed the urgent needs for Japan to communicate with the world. In his speech to the Diet in the attempt to establish the Japan Foundation, he explained that:

“The recent years have seen growing interests in Japan among other nations, while at the same time, there seem to be some who hold unreasonable vigilance and/or unjustifiable misunderstanding. I even heard some criticisms of our diplomacy suggesting that it tends to be biased towards the pursuit of economic gains, and the voices that fear the resurgence of Japanese militarism. Under such circumstances, it is a pressing task at hand for our diplomacy to transmit the true face of our nation which seeks to be a ‘peace nation’ and ‘culture nation’ in order to correct a wrong perception. Such a task seems even more pressing for our nation, especially considering the fact that,

due to our unique cultural tradition and a language barrier, it is difficult to communicate with foreign countries.”⁶

Takeo Fukuda was, then, the Foreign Affairs minister. In his attempt to respond to Japanese image problem, he played a significant role in the establishment of the Japan Foundation. However, such international organization could not have been established without cooperation of every sector of the society. As it was described, the business community, the policy makers and the academic circle agreed that in order to alleviate economic conflicts, they needed to explain Japanese unique culture to the world.

In the past, Japan had experienced this similar situation. In 1931, Japan crafted its invasion into Manchuria leading to Japan being condemned by the international society during the Paris Peace Conference. In 1933, Japan resigned from the League of Nations, and became isolated. Japan perceived of the situation as being the victim of misunderstanding.

Noticing that propaganda was indispensable, Prime Minister Hara began to consolidate Japan's external public relations and started cultural diplomacy. In 1934, Japan was the first non-western country that established an international cultural exchange organization, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai: KBS (The Japan Cultural Society). The objectives were to explain to the world of Japan and Japanese culture. The work of the KBS was not considered a success. It casted a hideous image of Japan when it was used as a tool to create Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

After the WWII, the KBS was revived. Several other government agencies and private groups conducted international cultural exchange activities, for

⁶ Kyoko Sato. “Unsettled Foundations: Reading the Japan Foundation in a Globalising World,” (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, University of Toronto, 2006), p.22.

example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through their specific programs, and the International House of Japan. Therefore, the idea of cultural exchange was not new to Japanese society. The main consideration during the early 1970s was the international cultural exchange organization must not make the same mistake. It must serve Japan's foreign policy, while being financially independent with stable source of income.

Japan Foundation

Japan needed to consolidate its international establishment of a large-scale cultural exchange agency. After the WWII, Japan's international cultural exchange activities were conducted by several government agencies and some, private groups, such as, the International House of Japan. In fact, throughout 1960s some cultural exchange program by government agencies were in operation, for example, receiving and dispatching students and scholars oversea by the Ministry of Education, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs was established in 1968. However, it would be better that the new organization in the form of a foundation was established with permanence and the financial stability with independent financial resource.

Although primarily this plan was to tackle conflict and obstacles in Japan-US relations, it was extended to Southeast Asia as Japan's second target. Takeo Fukuda, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, started the maneuver to create a cultural exchange institution and proposed the draft of Japan Foundation Law in September 1971. In the process of establishing the Japan Foundation, the discussion during Diet deliberation was focused on 5 issues:

1. Foreign Minister Fukuda expressed the sense of an urgent need that the passage of the law should not be postponed. It was reaction to the prevailing situation, "dramatic increase in request from around the world for the

establishment of an organization to promote and co-ordinate cultural exchange”⁷
 It was perceived that some reaction was in critical need.

2. Cultural diplomacy was seen as a tool to eliminate misunderstanding resulted from Japan’s emergence as an economic superpower. The rising imbalance of trade and the over-presence of Japanese business were seen as threat to economic independence and survival of domestic business in Southeast Asian countries. Besides, Japan had been proud that its ODA contributed to economic development in other countries. But strong protest around the world made Japan realized that its economic diplomacy brought about reverse effect.

3. The mistrust among its neighboring countries escalated to suspicion of Japan’s militaristic ambition. As an objective of Japanese diplomacy was to dispel this mistrust, Japanese leaders stressed that the cultural diplomacy was to correct this perception and promote better understanding of Japan.

4. In the international arena, Japan was branded as the faceless superpower. This was because after the WWII, Japan kept low profile posture and focused only on economic growth. The cultural diplomacy was to present Japan’s character to the international community and restore Japan’s international prestige.

5. It had always been Japan’s ambition to be one in the western camp. Japan’s cultural exchange organization should be comparable to that of other developed countries.

The issues of deliberation explained that the 2 areas of concern for Japan were the US and Southeast Asia. The US was and always has been the central of Japan’s cultural diplomacy considering its economic relationship with Japan and its role in Japan’s security. The significant of the US can also be seen in the organization of Japan Foundation administration. American Advisory Committee

⁷ The Japan Foundation Annual Report 1973. (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1974), p.1

was one of the three key councils that gave advice to the Japan Foundation President. The Committee consisted of 16 American scholars who would offer opinion in regard to the whole range of cultural exchange between the two countries.

Southeast Asia was and has always been Japan's market and resources. In 1973, Japan Foundation started liaison offices in Jakarta, Indonesia and Bangkok, Thailand. Indonesia was the biggest country in the maritime Southeast Asia with large oil and gas reserve. The liaison office in Jakarta was upgraded to a Cultural Centre in 1979. Thailand did not have oil reserve, but it had the largest amount of Japanese investment in Southeast Asia. Thailand was also the only country in Southeast Asia that joined hand with the Japanese Government during the WWII. Besides, Thailand was the frontline country in Vietnam War. Establishment of an office in Thailand served both economic and political purposes.

Japan Foundation was officially established on October 2, 1972, simultaneously, the KBS was dissolved. Japan Foundation took over some of the activities, personnel, facilities and oversea offices of the KBS. Article 1 of the Japan Foundation Law stated that its purpose was to "efficiently carry out activities for international cultural exchange and thereby to contribute to the enhancement of world culture and the welfare of mankind, with a view to deepening other nations' understanding of Japan, promoting mutual understanding among nations, and also to encouraging friendship and goodwill among the people of the world."⁸

The ultimate objectives were to contribute to the advancement of world culture and human welfare, to deepen understanding of Japan abroad and

⁸ Date Kuniyoshi. International Cultural Exchange and Japan. in Ideas and Policies in International Cultural Exchange (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1983), p.244.

promote mutual understanding among nations, and to encourage friendship and goodwill between the people of the world. The concrete activities included⁹:

1. The dispatching overseas, and the invitation to Japan, of qualified persons who will contribute to the promotion of cultural exchange/

2. The promotion of Japanese studies abroad by such means as the provision of grants for institutional development, the sending of specialists overseas, the distribution of reference materials, and the furnishing of financial assistance to researchers.

3. The encouragement of Japanese-language studies in foreign countries through the training and assignment of teachers, the provision of support for methodological research, and the development, production, and distribution of teaching materials.

4. The sponsorship and support of a wide range of performances, exhibitions, lectures, and seminars designed to contribute to the promotion of international cultural exchange, and/or participation therein.

5. The production, collection, exchange, and distribution of materials to introduce Japanese culture overseas and to promote international exchange.

6. The implementation of surveys and research for the planning and improvement of cultural exchange programs.

7. Other activities that bear upon the ultimate objectives of the Foundation. For example, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs deems necessary, the Foundation may assist those educational and cultural programs of other organizations that are designed to promote mutual understanding and international goodwill.

Among these activities, first priority was given to exchange of persons and support for the teaching of Japanese language. Funding for exchange of persons

⁹ The Japan Foundation Annual Report 1985-1986 (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1974), p.8

amounted to 30% of the total budget of 1979. In addition, support for Japanese language programs received 18% of the same fiscal year¹⁰. Second priority was given to performing and visual arts program, which was aimed at introducing Japanese culture abroad.

Budget

Its original endowment from the government was 30 billion yen and additional 6.1 million yen from Keidanren (Japan Federation of Economic Organizations) and 15 companies. This sum constituted the capital base of the Japan Foundation. It also received annual subsidies from the government including some allocation from ODA budget.¹¹

Sources of income

1. Income and earnings from endowment capital.
2. Government subsidies
3. Private contributions
4. Others

It was the intention from the inception of Japan Foundation that the ultimate goal was to deepen the mutual understanding and foster lasting friendship between people. The Foundation thus sought widespread support from broad segment of the society, including industries, organizations and individuals especially in the form of financial support. Supports to the Foundation were divided into two categories: contributions and donations. Donations were further divided into 3 categories: general donations, specified donations, and special donations. *General donations* (the donation from the ‘Association for the Support of the Japan Foundation’) were assigned to the budget for general cultural activities.

¹⁰ Date Kuniyoshi, *International Cultural Exchange and Japan*.p.246.

¹¹Japan Foundation Annual Report 1975 Edition (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1976), p.37.

Specified donations were assigned to cultural exchange programs in countries, organizations or activities specified by the donors. *Special donations* were allocated for the promotion of cultural exchange with the Middle East in the area of sports¹².

As a part of generating support from broad-based participation of the general public, the Association for the Support of the Japan Foundation was established in January 1975. The Association had 2 categories of membership: Regular membership ¥50000 or more per year, and Special membership ¥250000 or more per year. Members were eligible to the Foundation's publication, lectures, exhibitions, and the right to use its library. Donations from members would be allocated for cultural exchange programs only, and not for administrative expenses.

Operation of the Foundation

Offices of the Japan Foundation included its headquarters, branch offices in Japan, and branch offices abroad. The headquarters was responsible of all operations, activities, planning, and research. Supervision of these activities was the responsibility of the President who was assisted by 4 Directors. Its financial affairs were reviewed by the Auditor. There were 3 councils established to support the Foundation's work.

Advisory Council. Members of up to 20 persons were nominated by the President for 2 years, renewable terms and approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Council advised the President on budget projections, program, and endowment plans.

Special Advisory Board. This board was composed of distinguished members from business communities.

¹² Japan Foundation Annual Report 1985-1986, p.15.

American Advisory Committee. Because American-Japanese cultural exchange was of high priority, this Committee, consisting of 16 American scholars, was established to give opinion and advice regarding the whole range of the Foundation's programs in the US.

Overseas offices They were divided into Cultural Institute, Cultural Centre, and liaison offices. The Cultural Institutes and Cultural Centres had more autonomy with regards to their work in comparison to the liaison offices. Overseas offices works consisted primarily of collecting local information, conducting surveys, expediting programs initiated at the headquarters, and participation in local cultural programs.

Japan Foundation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had indirect control over the Japan Foundation, through budget and personnel management. First, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided for 3 sources of Japan Foundation income;

- 1) endowment capital of 5 billion yen on the establishing year and later in subsequent years,
- 2) fund from general account of the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs primarily for personnel and other administrative expenses,
- 3) fund for implementation of programs from Official Development Assistance, which was also provided from general account budget of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Japan Foundation proposed their programs requesting for the budget annually. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs would scrutinize the programs, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, and allocated the budget accordingly.

Second, the President of Japan Foundation was authorized to appoint advisory council members. But they were subjected to approval of the Minister of

Foreign Affairs. Although this could be considered a loose control, it provided a chance of intervention, if necessary.

We can conclude that in order to counter economic conflict and anti-Japanese sentiment around the world, Japan engaged a new dimension of diplomacy, cultural dimension of diplomacy. The policy was stated clearly in the Fukuda Doctrine in 1977, although its mission was begun earlier in the establishment of the Japan Foundation in 1972. This explained the sense of urgency within Japanese society that something must have been done in order to contain the bad image that was spreading widely and affecting its economic activities. The large sum of financial contribution from business community in the endowment of the Japan Foundation to establish stable and independent source of income implied that they saw the necessity of creating an organization to operate the international cultural exchange program. In addition, this new organization, to some degree, must be under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This reflected special feature of Japan's foreign relations in Southeast Asia. The relationship between Japan and other countries had been focused mainly on economic aspect which was the domain of the business circle and the ministries on economic affairs. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had little control over the business circle who was another main actor in foreign relations. Therefore the Japan Foundation should be under the supervision of the Foreign Affairs Ministry in order that its activities corresponded to the foreign policy. In addition, this decision will put international cultural affairs into the constituency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The intention to engage cultural diplomacy was expressed again in Fukuda Doctrine in 1977 when Japan needed to commit itself deeper into the changing regional political, economic and security environment. Takeo Fukuda, this time as

the Prime Minister, repeated his government's intention to elevate cultural aspect of relationship to the international level.

Fukuda Doctrine

On the occasion of Takeo Fukuda's visit to Manila during the second ASEAN summit meeting, Fukuda announced the 'three pillars' of the Doctrine on August 18, 1977:

“First, Japan, a nation committed to peace, rejects the role of a military power, and on that basis is resolved to contribute to the peace and prosperity of Southeast Asia, and of the world community.

Second, Japan, as a true friend of the countries of Southeast Asia will do its best for consolidating the relationship of mutual confidence and trust based on “heart-to heart” understanding with these countries, in wide ranging fields covering not only political and economic areas but also social and cultural areas.

Third, Japan will be an equal partner of ASEAN and its member countries, and cooperate positively with them in their own efforts to strengthen their solidarity and resilience, together with other nations of like mind outside the region, while aiming at fostering a relationship based on mutual understanding with the nations of Indochina, and will thus contribute to the building of peace and prosperity throughout Southeast Asia”¹³.

¹³ Suelo Suelo. The Fukuda Doctrine and ASEAN, p.178.

This speech explained Japan's new policy towards Southeast Asia. It also implied the victory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over Asia policy. Although the Doctrine was characterized by its political posture, social and cultural aspect of relationship was promoted and these two aspects were strongly within the domain of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Once it was seriously commenced, Japan's cultural diplomacy continued and became an integral part of its foreign policy. Japan's cultural diplomacy was adjusted to serve its shifted national interest because of changes in global and regional situation at different period of time.

Japan's cultural diplomacy during 1978-1984

During the end of 1970s, the new political and economic condition influenced Japan's new expected role. The growing interdependency between economics and politics of different countries in the world was a significant factor of consideration. At the regional level, the invasion of Vietnam into Cambodia in 1978 was the cause of security concern in the region. Japan as an emerging economic superpower was expected to take more responsibility to the stability of the region at the wake of the US withdrawal from Southeast Asia. As Japan could not engage its military activity, it has to increase its diplomatic and economic measures.

In addition to the economic aid, cultural assistance was increased.

1. The government increased its donation to Japan Foundation in addition to its annual budget.

2. More Japanese experts were sent to join in international organizations' operations, UNESCO.

3. In 1978, Japan donated 5 billion yen to ASEAN Cultural Fund which was established by the ASEAN for cultural exchange among its members.

4. As a part of human resource development purpose of Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, Japan planned to give scholarship at the amount \$US 1 million within 1 year to ASEAN youth program which was to begin in 1980.

5. During 1981-1983 Japan concluded cultural agreement with 89 countries. Japan gave cultural grant aid to support education and culture in 51 developing countries during 1980-1981¹⁴.

Japan's cultural diplomacy during 1985-1989

As Mikhael Gorbachev became the Prime Minister of the Soviet Russia in 1985, threat from communism began to recede. Economic conflict was more severe both between developed countries and underdeveloped countries. Protectionism was widely practiced. Japan became the economic superpower and its economic became even more dependent on the world peace, economic stability and market. Japan could not afford any more obstacle of free trade or anti-Japanese movement. Prime Minister Nakasone announced 'internationalization policy', which opened Japan to the world economically and socially. Culturally, Japan would learn to accept and become more tolerance to other culture. The government's policy was to :

1) expand teaching of Japanese language activities through the Japan Foundation in 1989.

2) Increase two-way communication by introducing other cultures to Japanese and not to introduce only Japanese culture to others.

¹⁴ สุกัญญา นิवासวัต. ความช่วยเหลือแบบให้เปล่าจากประเทศญี่ปุ่นต่อประเทศไทยในช่วง ค.ศ. 1954-1989 และ แนวโน้มการเพิ่มความช่วยเหลือทางด้านวัฒนธรรมต่อประเทศไทย : กรณีศึกษาศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, น.64

3) Increase more activities on Japanese studies such as exchange of personnel, youth, student leaders and newsmen¹⁵.

Official Development Assistance as a tool of foreign policy

Official Development Assistance could not be overlooked in the study of Japan's cultural diplomacy. In principle, foreign aid was economic assistance that donor countries provided for social and economic development of the recipient countries. The foreign aid was supposed to be given without attachment. Japan's aid was called economic co-operation which was categorized into 3 types:

Grant aid – non-repayment aid

Yen loan – low-interest loan with long grace period projects

Technical Assistance – projects that Japanese experts were sent to foreign countries or local people from recipient countries were sent for training in Japan.

Official Development Assistance has been used as a tool of Japan's foreign policy. Started as a part of war reparation process after the San Francisco Peace Treaty, ODA was developed as a tool of resource diplomacy during the early 1970s after 'oil shock' crisis.

In order to understand influence of Japan's ODA, we have to understand Japan's economic development scheme.

Cooperation between business community, the bureaucrats and politics was the center of Japan's economic development. ODA, which was originated from war reparation scheme, was the key to Japan's oversea economic expansion. Many ODA projects were the initiation of Japanese firms who had connection with local bureaucrat. The grant of many ODA projects was negotiation between Ministry of Finance, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Behind the negotiation was the influence of the

¹⁵ สุทธิญา นินาสวัสดิ์. ความช่วยเหลือแบบให้เปล่าจากประเทศญี่ปุ่นต่อประเทศไทยในช่วง ค.ศ. 1954-1989 และแนวโน้มการเพิ่มความช่วยเหลือทางด้านวัฒนธรรมต่อประเทศไทย : กรณีศึกษาศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, น. 85.

business community. Network of the business community went beyond the control of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore in order that ODA could be used to serve both economic growth and foreign policy, cooperation from the business community was necessary. Because of the anti-Japanese sentiment in Southeast Asia, Japanese business community began to realize that cooperation between the government and business sector was indispensable. Their business expansion Southeast Asia had been out of control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which caused haphazard diplomacy. They now agreed to cooperate more with the government's new Asia policy, the Fukuda Doctrine.

We could see that at each period of time, as political and economic situation in the world and the region had changed, Japan's cultural policy was adjusted in response to those changes. The shift in the policy implied the adjustment of the involved government agencies, independent agencies, such as the Japan Foundation, and the business sector. They reorganized and coordinate their effort according to the government's direction.

Chapter IV

Japan's Cultural Diplomacy Operation in Thailand

From the point of view of a Japanese ambassador to Thailand, during 1988- 1992, Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki¹, Japan's investment had greatly benefited Thai economy. Mr.Okazaki believed that the anti-Japanese movement was actually targeted at the dictatorial government and Japanese economic expansion that was related to the corruption in Thailand. The reason that Japan was selected as the target was because the US was too big and important for Thailand. Behind the campaign against the Japanese was the influence of the western media or the War winner and the oversea Chinese. These people were afraid that the loser in War would return to power again.

Moreover, Japan was a new comer. After the WWII, American and Chinese had always been in Southeast Asia, while Japanese were a stranger who inserted themselves too fast. During the early 1970s, Japanese business made a big presence, when Japanese names and language were not widely understood. Japan would have to allow some time for the Thais to get used to it.

The Anti-Japanese products movement was a futile attempt if there was no replacement. Without Japanese products, there was no other comparable product in Thai market. Japanese products were high in quality, at cheap price, with good service. They had competitive market potential. However, Japanese should be aware that behind their back, people always talked of Japanese in negative tone. If one day Japanese products lost their competitive power, Japan would be in trouble. At the moment the Southeast Asian countries knew that they were dependent on Japanese investment. Therefore, the anti-Japanese movement was

¹ อิซาฮิโกะ โอคาซากิ. ยุทธศาสตร์ใหม่ของญี่ปุ่นต่อภาคพื้นเอเชีย. แปลโดย สุรชัย ธรรมทวีธิกุล . กรุงเทพฯ : ศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, 2538.

kept at minimum level. It was important that Japan step up its public relation activities to prevent wrong image or idea of Japan in the future.

The anti-Japanese movement happened both in Thailand and Indonesia. Although they were partially induced by various domestic factors within each country, they compelled Japan to re-consider its Asian Policy. During the mid-1970s, Japan's Asian policy faced 3 crucial tasks. 1) The end of the Vietnam War and the change in international political structure in Asia where conflict among the US, China and the Soviet Union were at play. 2) The emergence of the newly industrialized countries and Japan's significant economic growth necessitated Japan to restructure its economic relation based on the new international division of labor. 3) the anti-Japanese sentiment revealed the fact that the traditional policy of politicization of economic aid was no longer tenable.

The third task was the crucial task that rendered Japan to develop a new dimension in its relationship with Southeast Asia. Japan's policy towards Thailand was within this framework. Japan's cultural diplomacy towards Thailand could be divided into different periods according to different political and economic situation of the regions.

The first period 1960s-1977

This period covered 3 of Thailand's economic and social development plan (The first plan 1961-1966, the second plan 1967-1971, and the third plan 1972-1976) Thailand was to accept foreign assistance both in the form of economic aid and technological assistance. The government promoted import substitution industries that utilized local resources and labor. According to these plans, foreign direct investment and economic assistance were necessary. This policy allowed Japan to offered economic aid and increased direct investment in the country.

Hence, in 1970s, Thailand became the prime destination of Japanese investment.
(Table 5)

Table 5 Japanese joint-ventures in Southeast Asia (March 31,1971)

Business	<i>Thailand</i>	<i>Malaysia</i>	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Indonesia</i>	<i>Total</i>
<u>Food</u>	8	4	2	2	5	21
<u>Textiles</u>	29	3	8	2	6	48
<u>Paper pulp</u>	1	8	2	0	0	11
<u>Chemicals</u>	16	8	10	1	6	41
<u>Metals</u>	12	6	8	3	5	34
<u>Machinery and Tools</u>	5	2	3	0	1	11
<u>Electronics</u>	12	7	2	3	3	27
<u>Transportation Equipment</u>	8	2	5	0	1	16
<u>Other Equipment</u>	12	11	14	2	3	42
<u>Agriculture and Forestry</u>	0	6	0	1	9	16
<u>Fishery</u>	0	4	0	1	5	10
<u>Mining</u>	7	13	0	6	0	26
<u>Construction</u>	4	2	2	0	1	9
<u>Trade</u>	34	3	11	6	1	55
<u>Finance and Insurance</u>	3	2	1	2	1	9
<u>Other Services</u>	13	1	5	2	1	22
<u>Total</u>	164	82	73	31	48	398

Source: สุภชัย มนต์ไพฑูริย์ “ความสัมพันธ์ทางเศรษฐกิจระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่น : ผลดีและผลเสีย”
ใน วารสารสังคมศาสตร์ ปีที่ 10 ฉบับที่ 2 (เมษายน 1973) น. 124 (Economic Relationship between
Thailand and Japan : Pros and Cons)

Thailand was indispensable to Japan's economic expansion in the region.
Therefore, the cultural policy during this period was to deal directly to the anti-

Japanese sentiment. When Japan Foundation started its oversea operation, Bangkok was selected as city for its liaison office.

Japan Foundation, Bangkok

In Thailand, Japan's cultural diplomacy began long before 1970s in the form of scholarship for Thai students to study in Japan. Evidently the serious effort began in early 1970s. Although Japan's cultural diplomacy towards Thailand was actually a part of its policy towards Southeast Asia, Bangkok office was one of the first two oversea offices in Asia. As a part of foreign policy, Japan Foundation was the primary operating agency under the guidance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As liaison office, Japan Foundation, Bangkok carried out some limited activities: film showing, exhibitions, support programs, library and film library. Most of these activities were arts exhibition type of activities, which was for general public who may not have much interest in Japanese culture. The deeper level of cultural exchange, such as, exchange of persons and Japanese studies, was conducted by Japan Foundation headquarter in coordination with the oversea branch.

Exchange of persons. There were 3 types of invitation to Japan: long-term invitation, short term invitation and group invitation. Outstanding Thai scholars were invited to Japan regularly. In comparison to other Southeast Asian countries, scholars from Thailand were invited in large number. Group of Thai secondary school teachers were invited to Japan under group invitation program.

The Foundation also sent Japanese experts to Thailand both in long-term and short-term program for different purposes of visit: good-will tour, lectures,

research and study, attendance or participation in international conference or seminars, and discussion or research for the promotion of cultural exchange.

Human exchange was substantial to Japan's cultural diplomacy. It allowed the change for foreigners to understand Japanese and for the Japanese to have access to foreign culture.

Promotion of Japanese Studies. Japanese studies was intertwined with the international dissemination of the Japanese language. During the early years of the Japan Foundation, Japanese studies were given more weight than teaching of Japanese language. This was due to side effect of its cultural offensive technique applied before and during the WWII. The Japanese Studies Department's activities included two main themes:

1. Encouragement of Japanese studies abroad

1.1 sending scholars and specialists to lecture in Japanese studies at academic institutions abroad,

1.2 providing assistance to researchers and academic research projects abroad.

2. Assistance to Japanese Language Programs

2.1 sending Japanese language instructors abroad,

2.2 donating Japanese language teaching equipment and materials, such textbooks, dictionaries, reference materials and audio-visual aids,

2.3 providing financial assistance to instructors teaching at Japanese language institutions abroad,

2.4 inviting Japanese language teachers from abroad to Japan to improve their knowledge of teaching techniques,

2.5 inviting outstanding students of the Japanese language to Japan to improve their knowledge of Japan and the Japanese language,

2.6 developing Japanese language teaching methods, aids and materials,

2.7 training Japanese language teachers to teach foreign students.

Chulalongkorn and Thammasat University were the two primary recipients of these activities during the early years. Japan Foundation provided Japanese studies expert from Japan, and teaching materials and books. In 1973, Chulalongkorn University received 620 volumes (out of total 1,480 textbook distributed all over Asia and the United States) of teaching materials. Thai outstanding students of Japanese language were invited to Japan to learn more of Japan and Japanese language. Although during the 1970s, Japanese language teaching was not widespread in Thailand, in 1973, 2 Thai students were invited under this program². This number was also comparatively high among Southeast Asian invitees.

The Foundation anticipated that promoting Japanese studies would contribute to international cultural exchange and foster deeper understanding and knowledge about Japan.

Scholarship and grant. The Japan Foundation offered

1. grant to Japan-related research by university scholars,
2. grant for seminar,
3. scholarship at undergraduate level for students who took Japanese as their major,
4. field trip in Japan for groups of college students,
5. support for publication of Japan-related books and textbooks on Japan.

Arts exhibition. The Japan Foundation, Bangkok arranged stage performance and visual arts exhibition for the purpose of introducing Japanese culture to Thai people. The show included traditional and folk arts, music, and dances. Japanese film festival was arranged annually. In addition, the Foundation arranged sports competition between Japanese and Thai.

² The Japan Foundation Annual Report 1973, p.36.

Library services. A library was established at the office of the Japan Foundation to provide service of Japanese and English books and journals, animation and movies. The library also offered some posters on Japanese culture and cultural events, such as, festival, food, and Buddhism, for academic institutions who wish to borrow for any exhibition on Japan.

One may say that the work of Japan Foundation in Thailand was well-planned and systematic. The activities could be categorized into 3 groups

Arts and craft exhibition – aimed at people who began to be interested in Japanese culture. Economic activities used to be the only face of Japan. Arts and craft exhibition could show other sides of Japan, such as, beauty and discipline.

Teaching Japanese language – aimed at people who were interested more in Japanese culture. Teaching Japanese language was not only to teach the language, but also to teach Japanese logic as well.

Intellectual exchange – aimed at intellectual elites of the countries. This was the chance to learn from Thai scholars and exchange the idea regarding the issues that were of common interest. It was an opportunity for Japan to express itself and push its agenda to be discussed among circle of intellectual elites of the region.

Beside the Japan Foundation, another large cultural project that began to take shape in 1972 was the Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program (SSEAYP). Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka proposed the program during his visit of the original 5 ASEAN countries in January 1972.

Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program (SSEAYP)

The Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program (SSEAYP) was begun in 1974. The Program was another attempt of the government to promote exchange of the young generation of East Asia for better understanding of Asian different

culture. The idea of using 'ship' to promote human exchange was not new in Japan's society. There had been some domestic program of similar concept, such as, Japan Youth Goodwill Cruise. Oversea Study Tour was the program that selected young Japanese from different Prefectures travelled abroad. Ship for World Youth was the program for Japanese youth to travel abroad, while foreign youth from each destination were invited to meet them on the ship. Along the journey, there were activities that promoted exchange of culture and unity among the members.

The SSEAYP was initiated during Kakuei Tanaka's government. The Program was the agreement between government of the original 5 ASEAN members (Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand) and Japan. Therefore, it was cooperation at the government level. This meant that it was the responsibility of governmental agencies that took care of children and youth affairs in each country. (in Japan, the Cabinet Office and in Thailand, the Prime Minister's office.) All details of the program came from discussion and agreed upon by every country, although Japan was responsible of all its expense. Each country selected its own 28 youth, plus one country leader who usually was a government official. All participants stayed together throughout the program for 53 days. They flew to meet each other in Japan to embark on the Nippon Maru. In Japan, they spent 9 days in Tokyo and other prefectures. Several exchange activities were arranged. Ship participants met and discussed with Japanese youth leaders of each locality. They also had home-stay activities with Japanese families. During the journey, activities were composed of 2 main activities : on board activities (when the ship sailed) and Country Program (when the ship made a port call). The on board activities consisted of:

Discussion Participants had to join in group discussion based on different theme. Topics of discussion were of regional concern, such as, environmental

protection, poverty, health and welfare. Participants had a chance to exchange information among different countries and situation. This could be seen as an attempt to inculcate in the youth the responsibility towards common problems of the world.

Solidarity Group Activities Participants were grouped with other participants from different countries. They got involved with many self-initiated activities. This was to create stronger mutual understanding.

Club activities Representatives from each country were to share their cultural knowledge by teaching and demonstrating to participants from other countries.

Cultural Performance and Exhibition Cultural performance on board was played in a large hall specially designed for stage performance.

Country program was arranged by the government of each country. Mostly participants had a chance to meet with the leader of every country.

Outgrowth of the SSEAYP

There were more than 10,000 SSEAYP alumni all over ASEAN countries and Japan. These alumni established 'SSEAYP Alumni Association' in each country. Apart from assisting the government in arranging the reception of the Ship while making a port of call in each country, they created their own program for the benefit of the people within their own country.

There are more than 2,000 SSEAYP alumni in Thailand. Domestically, they arranged many ship-related programs for Thai youth in the provinces. For example, 'For Hopeful Children' was the program for the disadvantage children to participate in activities and exchange their experiences by the seaside at Rayong. 'The Junior Thai Youth Ship' was the program for selected Thai youth from different provinces to go on the Andaman Princess for one week. Activities on the ship were imitated from that of the SSEAYP.

Beside their domestic activities, the Alumni Association was a partner to the ‘SSEAYP International’ who cooperated for the benefit of international exchange of youth. For example, SSEAYP International General Assembly arranged activities that all members, who flew to meet each other in a host country, could contribute in social activities as a symbol of international cooperation. The Council of Presidents Meeting was convened 4 times annually to coordinate their works towards the receiving of new SSEAYP participants on board and in each country.

SSEAYP was the program that operated across Southeast Asian region where Japan’s economic interest was focused. Since it was the youth that was the spearhead of the anti-Japanese movement in Southeast Asia, it was important to conduct cultural diplomacy with this group. Moreover it was important for Japan’s future that the future leader of Southeast Asia had at least positive attitude towards Japan. In Thailand, Japan’s support of SSEAYP conjured better than minimum result. The fact that many programs arranged by the alumni for domestic Thai children were miniature of SSEAYP explained that Japan’s managerial concept and Japan’s concept of international exchange had been disseminated to wider circle.

Along with the large cultural projects, Official Development Assistance (ODA) was another tool of Japan’s diplomacy. During the time of Prime Minister Fukuda, in 1977, Thailand was granted 2 cultural aid projects³:

1. The supply of gymnastic apparatus to Sri Nakharinwirot University

February 10, 1977 US\$ 61,875.- (Baht 1,237,500.-)

³ สุกัญญา นิवासวัสดิ์, ความช่วยเหลือแบบให้เปล่าจากประเทศญี่ปุ่นต่อประเทศไทยในช่วง ค.ศ. 1954-1989 และแนวโน้มการเพิ่มความช่วยเหลือทางด้านวัฒนธรรมต่อประเทศไทย : กรณีศึกษาศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, น.113.

2. The supply of equipment for language laboratory system to Borpitpimuk College

October 28, 1977 US\$ 54,450.- (Baht 1,089,000.-)

The second period (1978-1984)

Geographically Thailand was in the middle of Southeast Asia. It was convenient for Japanese corporations to set up their Southeast Asian offices in Thailand. However Thailand was also located next to Indochinese countries where security condition was being fragile. The intrusion of Vietnam into Cambodia meant the extension of the Soviet Union influence in the region. Thailand became the frontline country in the war against communism. In addition, the influx of Indochinese refugee was a concern for Thailand's stability. The region was important not only as the source of raw material and market, but also the route of oil and gas transportation from the Middle East to Japan. Stability of Thailand was crucial to stability of every country around Malacca Strait. Thailand was thus designated as priority for Japan's foreign aid in Southeast Asia.

Beside many economic aid projects and cultural activities through the Japan Foundation, large amount of budget was allocated to cultural projects. This was a part of integrated economic and security policy in order to foster understanding between the people of the two countries. In addition, cultural grant aid (ODA budget) was increased dramatically both in the number of projects and in term of the amount of money. (See appendix)

As a part of Prime Minister Nakasone's internationalization of Japan policy, in 1984 some program were announced :

1. The government planned to increase the number of scholarship to 100,000 foreign students before the end of 20 century.

2.The government planned to send cultural delegation to visit ASEAN countries.

3.The government initiated ‘Friendship Youth for the 21st Century Program’. The program, begun in 1984, was cooperation between Japan and the government of ASEAN countries to send 150 youth (18-30 years old, selected by professions) to visit Japan for 1 month. Each year Japan would specify the profession of the participants with one local government official as the leader of each group. The program was originally planned for 5 years period, but it has been renewed and adjusted to fit the changing situation and continued until these days. The purposes of the program were⁴ :

- 1)To promote friendship and understanding between youth of ASEAN and Japan.
- 2)To equip ASEAN youth with new experiences and knowledge for the development of their countries according to their expertise in the future.
- 3)To allow opportunity for the ASEAN and Japan youth to exchange their experience and culture.
- 4)To promote better relationship and cooperation between Japan and ASEAN countries.

By the end of 1990, 1,050 Thai youth participated in this program.

During the time of Prime Minister Nakasone, some resentment against Japan erupted in some groups of Thai people. On May 3, 1983, university students protested at the Japanese ambassador’s residence and campaigned for not buying Japanese products. The students were concerned about Japanese economic

⁴ Ibid, p.131.

influence on Thai economy, ecological impact from technology and Japan's increasing political and military activities in the region.

Japan's Foreign Minister responded through an interview in Japan that the situation of anti-Japanese sentiment in Thailand and ASEAN was Japan's mistake. And Japan, both government and private sector, already tried to improve the situation by promoting more economic and cultural cooperation. As a result, 10 years afterwards people of ASEAN had better attitude towards Japan.

Another series of protests happened again in December 1984 by university students. This time the Japanese ambassador responded by expressing understanding towards students' concern. The ambassador expected that Japan, by importing more of Thai agricultural products, would help improve the balance of trade between the two countries.

Another strong protest came from the group of construction industry. In early 1980s, demand for construction sector in Japan was shrunken. Many construction companies moved out for bigger market in Southeast Asia. Many Japanese construction companies came in through Japan's foreign aid projects. Once they came into Thailand, they established joint venture which re-created them as Thai companies. This allowed them to be able to work in Thailand according to Thai laws. They had many advantages over the local companies due to their larger amount of capital, technological advancement and network all over the region. Thai construction entrepreneur complaint that Japanese joint venture took away their local jobs, while Thai companies could not compete in JICA's grant aid project either.

These protests happened 10 years after the first anti-Japanese movement and Japan's serious engagement of cultural diplomacy. The small scale protest and Japanese light response explained that Thai nationalism against Japan had been

dissipated. The protest by Thai construction industry was the symptom of trade conflict which could be solved with trade and economic mechanism.

The Third Period (1985-1990)

As the superpower of the world, Japanese society needed to be opened to the world. Japanese needed to understand more of the world and allowed the global society to understand more about Japan. Internationalization of Japan became the core of Japan's cultural policy. The theme of Japan's international cooperation was :

- 1) Increase of its Official Development Assistance
- 2) Promotion of international cultural exchange
- 3) Cooperation for world peace.

In Thailand, the resentment over Japanese aid provision process continued and spread into larger scale. During that period, Japan's foreign aid was called 'tied aid'. The tied aid meant that term of bidding was stipulated so that only Japanese technology could meet the criteria. It was clear that the recipient countries would get only the materials and buildings, but the money would be circulated only within Japanese circle. It should be noted that as Japanese oversea investment increased, its economy became more and more dependent on foreign markets and resources. Japan could not afford any obstacle to having access to these markets and resources. Therefore, when several protests took place in 1987, during the time of 100th year celebration of Thailand-Japan relations, Japanese government continued to increase its ODA to Thailand, and the 'tied aid' scheme was improved.

Other cultural diplomacy programs

Japan Foundation was the primary agency responsible of cultural diplomacy. Nevertheless, cultural diplomacy was also carried out by other agencies through other programs. The government scholarship which was carried out by the Ministry of Education through the Japanese embassy in Thailand, and the Japan Society for Science Promotion were two other significant cultural diplomacy projects. Although the scholarship had been commenced much earlier than the Japan Foundation, the government increased its budget and activities which signified the increasing importance of these programs as cultural diplomacy towards Thailand.

Japanese Government Scholarship

The Japanese government's record of the first scholarship for Thai students began in 1954. However, a research by Worawut Jirasombat confirmed that the first group of Thai students studying in Japan under Japanese government scholarship went to Japan in 1942, during the World War II after Thailand declared its alignment with Japan. There were 2 batches of students. The first group, 7 students from Bangkok, left Thailand in 1942. The second group, 6 students from different provinces, left Thailand in 1943. These students were selected by the Thai Ministry of Education under the expenditure of the Japanese government.

After the war, Japan resumed the scholarship program again in 1954, especially with Southeast Asian students with 2 types of scholarships: 1) research students and 2) under graduate students who wished to obtain Master or Ph.D. degree in Japan. There were only 5-10 scholarships annually because during that time the degree in science was not available for foreigners. The undergraduate student scholarship (10-15 scholarships annually) was for secondary school

students who wished to obtain a Bachelor degree in Japan. These students must have had at least lower level Japanese language proficiency.

Applicants to these two types of scholarships applied to the Japanese embassy. After the examination process, the embassy sent a list of the potential candidates to Japan's Ministry of education for the final selection. The research students scholarship increased every year from 30 - 40, and peaked at 50 scholarships per year (as shown in Table 1). The number decreased to 35 scholarships in 2011. These scholarships were non-binding, meaning that after graduation students could either apply for jobs in Japan or return to Thailand.

Table 6 Number of Thai Students during 1954-1994

Year	Number of Students	Year	Number of Students	Year	Number of Students
0	17	1967	13	1981	32
1954	3	1968	21	1982	42
1955	9	1969	15	1983	55
1956	4	1970	13	1984	58
1957	4	1971	17	1985	57
1958	9	1972	17	1986	56
1959	6	1973	23	1987	64
1960	7	1974	21	1988	73
1961	19	1975	17	1989	31
1962	19	1976	24	1990	68
1963	19	1977	24	1991	55
1964	23	1978	28	1992	71
1965	18	1979	19	1993	63
1966	21	1980	27	1994	52
Grand Total 1234					

Source : ทำเนียบนักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลญี่ปุ่น 1954-1994 (Record of Japanese government scholarship alumni)

The number of government scholarships was increased continuously both in types of scholarships and number of scholarships as Japan's economic growth expanded. By the end of the 1980s, there were scholarships for

Japanese Studies Students (1979)

Teachers Training Students (1980)
College of Technology Students (1982), and
Professional Training College Students (1982).

The Japanese studies scholarship was for undergraduate students with some Japanese language proficiency to further their studies in Japan for 1 year, and return to graduate from Thai universities. Applicants applied through the Japanese embassy.

Teacher Training Students, College of Technology Students, and Professional Training were the scholarships that the Japanese government allowed Thai Ministry of Education to select its own candidates with participation of the Japanese embassy. The final consideration was the Japanese Ministry of Education.

After Mr. Tanaka's visit to Southeast Asia, which was heavily protested and Mr. Nagasone's internationalization of Japan, the number of scholarships to foreign students increased drastically. During the early 1980s, some Japanese university alumni began to insert influence on the government for more scholarships and cultural exchange. Sommai Hoontragul who had good connections with Keio University asked the Keio President to grant one each scholarship to Chulalongkorn and Thammasat University students.

Since then, in addition to government scholarships to Thai students in Thailand, the government pushed Japanese private universities to grant scholarships to ASEAN students. As a result, there were 1-2 scholarships per year from the university whose president was the chairman of Council of University President. Besides, some students who already studied in Japan on private scholarships could be selected for government scholarships as well. Before the period of Prime Minister Nakasone in the mid-1980s, Japanese government did not paid attention to their scholarship awardees. Ph.D. degrees in social sciences

in Japanese universities were exceptionally rare, because of very tough requirements. But some foreign students who studied under scholarship needed to get Ph.D. Degree as a part of their scholarship requirement. It was after Nakasone's trip to ASEAN countries that the government began to take into consideration the students well-being. Nakasone had a meeting with foreign students in Japan and tried to help solving the problem of Ph.D. students. Finally some universities allowed foreign students to receive Ph.D. degree at minimum requirement which was different standard from that of Japanese students. Some Thai alumni played an active part in this revision of regulation. This means that the effect of cultural exchange could be seen both in short term and long term.

Table 7 Number of Students Classified by Duration of Stay in Japan

Time Duration (year)	Number
0-1	59
2-4	252
5-6	184
7-8	107
9-10	48
Not Available	584
Grand Total	1234

Source : ทำเนียบนักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลญี่ปุ่น 1954-1994 (Record of Japanese government scholarship alumni)

Majority of students stayed in Japan longer than 2 years, which was long enough to understand Japanese way of life.

Table 8 Number of Students Classified by Degree Attained

Degree Attained	Number
Bachelor	124
Bachelor, Master	106
Bachelor, Master, Ph.D.	31
Master	160

Master, Ph.D.	53
Ph.D.	75
Others	167
Not Available	518
Grand Total	715

Source : ทำเนียบนักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลญี่ปุ่น 1954-1994 (Record of Japanese government scholarship alumni)

Most students studied in undergraduate and Post – graduate level which explained their career path in academics and offices, and their potential influence on Thai society.

Table 9 Number of Students Classified by Occupation

Occupation	Number
Employee	216
Academics	214
Government Official / Public Enterprise	105
Business Owner	54
Housewife	13
Freelance	36
Others	165
Not Available	431
Grand Total	1234

Source : ทำเนียบนักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลญี่ปุ่น 1954-1994 (Record of Japanese government scholarship alumni)

Large number of Japanese university graduate worked in academic circle, employee and government official. This meant that they were in the position to disseminate Japanese technology, wisdom and positive attitude to the society at large including the younger generations.

Table 10 Number of Students Classified by Discipline

Discipline	Number
Japanese Language / Japanese literature / Japanese Studies	79
Economics	101
Business Administration	42
Sociology/ Anthropology	7
Laws/ political Science	43
Medical Science	47
Engineering	199
Architecture	5
Agriculture	46
Dentistry	5
Science	26
Education	60
Pharmacology	10
Others	22
Grand Total	687

Source : ทำเนียบนักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลญี่ปุ่น 1954-1994 (Record of Japanese government scholarship alumni)

Large proportion of Thai students were in economics and engineering. It implied that in the Thais' viewpoint, Japan was excellent in these 2 disciplines.

The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) was founded in 1932 as a non-profit foundation through an endowment granted by Emperor Showa. It became a quasi-governmental organization in 1967 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (Monbusho), for the purpose of contributing to the advancement of science in all fields of the natural and social sciences and the humanities. (Since 2001, under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.)

By the end of the 1980s, purposes of the JSPS were to⁵

- aid scientific research,
- provide financial support for scientists,
- encourage international cooperation in scientific fields,
- conduct programs relating to the promotion of science.

In order to promote international exchanges in scientific fields, JSPS arranged two exchange programs

General international exchanges. This included :

-The invitations to foreign scientists are extended to overseas scientists on the application of their Japanese counterparts. The JSPS provided round-trip air fares and allowance during their stay in Japan. The invitees were divided into short-term fellowships and long-term fellowships. Short-term fellowships were senior researchers with outstanding records invited to Japan to take part in discussions and exchange views with Japanese scientists, and to give lectures. The number of this type of fellowship could be approximately 200 annually, and the length of stay could be as long as 4 months.

Long-term fellowships were active senior and junior researchers invited to stay in Japan for extended period of time to engage in joint research program with Japanese researchers. The length of stay was between 6 months to one year.

-Sponsoring of Japanese scientists on visits abroad

-International joint research projects provided travel and research expenses for Japanese researcher who conducted joint research on specific topics in cooperation with foreign researchers.

⁵ Kasagi Saburo, "The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and its Activities," in Ideas and Politics in International Cultural Exchange, (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1983), p.200

-Support for international scientific meetings. The program subsidized the cost of holding small international workshops in Japan held by Japanese researchers on specific topics with the participation of leading overseas scientists.

Bilateral scientific exchanges. This included exchanges of scientists, joint research, and holding of scientific workshops in cooperation with specific scientific organizations. JSPS implemented bilateral scientific exchange programs with specific countries on the basis of agreements between the Japanese and foreign governments.

The Ronpaku program was under this category. The government realized that many developing countries became aware of the need to expand their research institution and universities and encourage their human resource development for research purposes. In 1977, the Ministry of Education's Science Council proposed a set of guidelines regarding scientific exchanges with developing countries. Memoranda were exchanged with counterpart organizations in Thailand and Indonesia in 1978, and the Philippines in fiscal 1979. JSPS supported the researchers of the developing countries seeking to complete their doctoral dissertations by inviting them to study in Japan.

Ronpaku program created the bond between Japanese as teachers and students from the developing countries. It also impressed the image of Japan as the leader of technology in the mind of the less developed countries. According to the Table 11, among Asian countries, students from Thailand took the largest proportion of the Ronpaku scholarship.

Table 11 Ronpaku graduates FY1978-2008

Country	Number
Thailand	181
Indonesia	121
Philippines	67
Korea, Rep.	59
China	46
India	24
Malaysia	20
Vietnam	16
Bangladesh	9
Singapore	3
Others	1
Total	547

Source: JSPS Annual Report 2009

In the field of social sciences and humanities, a core university system was adopted. In Thailand, Thammasat University was assigned to act as the focal point for exchanges with designated Kyoto University. As the focal point, Thammasat University was responsible of :

1. Arrangement of joint symposium between Thai and Japanese.
2. Consideration of Thai research projects.
3. Selection of Thai scholars to visit Japan for research purpose.
4. Planning academic exchange between Thai and Japanese scholars
5. Coordination among Thai university and academic institution.
6. Coordination with Japanese Kyoto University in the project administration and academic exchange.

Official Development Assistance as a tool of cultural diplomacy

Official Development Assistance or Japanese foreign aid could not be overlooked in the study of Japan's cultural diplomacy. In principle, foreign aid was economic assistance that donor countries provided for social and economic development of the recipient countries. The foreign aid was, thus, supposed to be given without attachment. This was not the case of Japan's foreign aid provision scheme. Japan's aid was called economic co-operation which was categorized into 3 types:

Grant aid – non-repayment aid

Yen loan – low-interest loan with long grace period projects

Technical Assistance – projects that Japanese experts were sent to foreign countries or local people from recipient countries were sent for training in Japan.

The grant of many ODA projects was negotiation between Ministry of Finance, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Behind the negotiation was the influence of the business community. Therefore, during 1970s-mid 1980s, Japan foreign aid was condemned as a tool for its own economic development. Hence, some projects caused conflict between some groups of the Thais and Japanese government. Nevertheless, the cultural grant aid played a significant role in Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand. Many projects contributed to continuation of cultural exchange between the people of the two countries until these days.

During 1980s, more cultural grant aid projects were granted and completed. Some projects had outstanding character that should be mentioned.

Japanese Studies Center of the Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University was the complete from of Japanese cultural dissemination. The two government exchanged note regarding the project on November 15, 1983. The Japanese government granted 1,150 million yen (115 million baht) for the

construction of Japanese Studies Center at Rangsit Campus. The purposes of the project were :

1.To become the center for research and studies on japan both at fundamenta level and as best practices for Thailand.

2.To support and promote teaching and learning about japan at every level, from below undergraduate level to higher than graduate level.

3.To support and promote scholars, students and knowledgeable person on Japanese studies to have opportunities to serve the society.

4.To disseminate knowledge about Japan to academic institutions, government and non-government agencies in the form of publications.

5.To promote better understanding between international and domestics academic institutions.

6.To be the center for collections of Japan-related statistics for further research on Japanese studies.

The Japanese Studies Center was equipped with a large conference room with audio-visual equipment, 2 seminar rooms, 1 Japanese house, and a language laboratory. There was library with 25,000 books donated from government and Japanese university. The Center was also a hostel with 30 double bedrooms, restaurant, and laundry service.

The second phase of the project was technical assistance through the Japan Foundation between 1986-1990. This grant was given to Thammasat University for Japanese studies affairs. During the second phase experts were sent from Japan, both in the form of Japanese language professors and Japanese lecturers in other discipline to teach in different faculties. Thai librarians, staff, member of executive committee, and long-term visiting researcher were invited to Japan.

This amount of technical assistance provided scholarship that allowed the Institute of East Asian Studies to select competent applicants for final approval

from the Japan Foundation. There was budget for seminar, research, and publication. Allocation of this budget was the cooperation between Thai government agencies and the Japan Foundation.

Thailand Cultural Center. Originally, the project was the initiation of the Tourism Authority of Thailand who was authorized by the government to build an international conference center. The government requested for Japanese ODA support. But the project was denied and the Japanese government offered another project for education and cultural activities. Therefore the new project, named the Social Educational Cultural Center was not under any responsibility of any government agency and hence was assigned to the Department of Fine Arts, Ministry of Education. It was stipulated to be for the purpose of celebration of the King's 60th birthday and the 100th year of Thailand-Japan relations. The building would be the center for international cultural exchange in Thailand. The total amount of 638 million baht included the construction and installment of audio-visual equipment.⁶

The building was finished and delivered to Thai government in 1987 and the Center was renamed Thailand Cultural Center.

Ayuthya Historical Center. Originally, Thai-Japanese Association wanted to develop and restore Japanese village in Ayuthya for tourism purpose. They proposed the project for Japanese ODA support through Ayuthya governor. But the project was rejected and Japanese government offered a larger, national level project.

In September 30, 1987, Thai and Japanese government signed an agreement on the cultural grant project, worth 999 million yen (170 million baht)

⁶ Ibid, p. 134.

to develop a research institution, museum on Ayutthya history and Japanese village. The project was also to commemorate the King's 60th birthday, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior. The purposes of the project were:

1. To establish a national research institution on Ayuthya studies, especially Thai history during Ayuthya era.
2. To establish a national museum on Ayuthya history, especially presentation on result of research findings on Ayuthya.
3. To establish a library and information center, especially on Ayuthya history.

The two projects were under heavy criticism among university scholars, the Association of Siamese Architecture, Thai Contractor Association, the Engineering Institute of Thailand, and the Consulting Engineer Association of Thailand because design, materials and construction of such cultural buildings was completely in the hand of Japanese companies without consultation with the Thai architects. It was the term of agreement between the two governments that Japanese companies would be responsible throughout the projects. The protesters voiced their concern that Thailand should have had more choices in accepting or rejecting any foreign grant aid. The government should not have allowed Japanese to conduct any project regarding Thai culture and history without any consultation with Thai experts.

However, these three cultural grant aid projects bore some significant outcome in Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand. They were cultural projects at national level. And they were institutionalized and continued to function as a part of Thailand's international cultural relations scheme until these days.

Cultural exchange through private sector

Business sector

On the part of business sector, cultural exchange happened unintentionally as a part of the human resource development in the under-developed countries including Thailand. As Japanese investment poured into Thailand to benefit from low wage rate, a strong pool of human resource was needed, both in the line of management know-how and technology. Human resource development was carried out systematically, both by the companies themselves and through cooperation between Japanese government and business sector.

JODC (Japan Oversea Development Corporation) was an example of cooperation between Japanese government and business sector in the development of competent human resource in the third world. JODC was established with support from the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). Its objective was to develop industries of other countries in order that Japanese companies could grow and to promote Japanese SME to expand to the world market. JODC's mission was different according to different types of project. In the ODA projects, JODC sent experts to business and private sector in under-developed countries in order to nurture economic and industries to facilitate expansion of Japanese enterprises in those countries. For the SME projects, JODC supported two-third of the expenditure of sending Japanese experts to networks of SME for capacity building in under-developed and new industrial countries.

Technology Promotion Association (Thailand-Japan) : TPA was the outcome of the cooperation between Japanese government, business sector and their network in Thailand. After the anti-Japanese protest in Thailand, officers of the MITI, scholars and some business enterprises set up Japan-Thailand Economic cooperation Society (JTEC) in 1972. TPA itself was established by a group of Thai

technological trainees from Japan under the AOTS and ABK⁷ scholarship in 1973. Its objective was to promote technology transfer from Japan to Thai industrial personnel. TPA was financially supported by JTEC without strings attached. Its activities included 1) translation of Japanese technological books into Thai language. The published copied would be distributed free of charge to technical schools in Thailand or sold to the public; 2) arrangement of seminars and training courses with Japanese experts; 3) organizing Japanese language lessons for the Thais and Thai language lessons for the Japanese; and 4) issuing bi-monthly journal on technological progress⁸.

Another contribution of the business sector on cultural exchange was through their products and services. As Japan invested in Thailand to lower production cost. Thailand became a low-cost production base for market in the country and its periphery. At the beginning it was Japanese household products that were widely spread in Thai market. Although the quality was not comparable to western product, Japanese products were cheaper with attractive paying system. Availability and accessibility of the product was the key to its popularity. By early 1980s, Japanese technology improved along with Japan's status in the world arena. The new status added to the credibility of the products. Through these products, the Thais were impressed with Japanese modernization, technology and consumerism.

By the mid-1980s Asian technology caught up with that of Japan. Japanese consumer products faced higher competition. Japanese industries turned to cultural products, such as, anime, and cultural odorless products, such as,

⁷ Asian Student Cultural Association or Asia Bunka Kaikan

⁸ Prasert Yamklinfung, "Thailand-Japan Cultural Exchange: Past, Present and Future," in Dialogue Southeast Asia and Japan Symposium on Cultural Exchange (Tokyo : The Japan Foundation, 1977), p.80.

walkman, karaoke, and video games. The cultural odorless products did not present Japaneseness, but the value of 'Made in Japan' label guaranteed the high quality of the products. The products, then, became the symbol of higher social status. The culture embedded was that of luxurious as an ideal of life.

Japanese cultural product, such as, anime was shown through TV show since 1960s, according to the research on 'The Diffusion of Japanese Teenage Culture through Media in Thailand. Due to the inadequacy of Thai TV program during 1960s, TV station needed to buy foreign TV program either from the US or Europe. Japanese agencies could propose cheaper Japanese programs and they were welcome among Thai audience. In mid-1980s Japanese industries invested seriously in cultural commodities and entertainment. Japanese record companies collaborated and launched program for Thai market. Events relating to Japanese culture were organized continuously, covering Japanese songs and cosplay. Other cultural products, such as, food, fashion and lifestyle could widely be seen along with the growing internationalization of Japanese economy which promoted accessibility of Japanese culture. Japan's advance economic status became value-added to Japanese cultural products.

Many scholars studied the influence of Japanese popular culture on local society and concluded that consumers of songs and cartoons could understand without having to understand the meaning of the lyrics or read Japanese⁹. Import of Japanese culture could be separated from Japanese language which was considered traditional culture. Most Thais studied Japanese language because of job availability in growing number of Japanese enterprises. Japanese culture that expressed by the fans of Japanese artists were cosplay and organizing of events for a get-together in order to get themselves updated on the trend. The attractiveness

⁹ Reinhard Drifte. Japan's foreign Policy for the 21st Century. (Oxford : St. Anthony's College, 1998), p.163.

of Japanese culture at the deeper level was due to 'its combination of reification, superficiality, simulacra, and the waning of affect'¹⁰.

Other non-governmental organizations

Contribution from the non-governmental organization came mainly from 1)religious groups and 2) Japanese NGOs.

1. Religious groups. The expansion of the new religions oversea was a result of Japanese economic expansion which sent out Japanese to other parts of the world. Members of religious organizations who went abroad became the contact person in the local society. Japanese new religious organization started to expand into Thai society as early as 1960s, such as, Sekai Kyuseikyo. Its missionaries came to Thailand in 1968, but it could not make great progress until the beginning of 1980s. The rapid growth began in 1982 and its membership exceeded 60,000 in 1990¹¹. The success of Sekai Kyuseikyo and Soka Gakkai in Thailand was stemmed from enormous economic influence of Japanese businesses in the country. This included financial and spiritual support from Japan for the sake of propagation.

2) The NGOs. As the war in Indochina escalated, the Indochinese refugee crisis drew the attention of the Japanese people, especially, the young generations and the retirees. They began to join the NGOs as volunteers or full-time workers. Partially because of the government's new policy direction towards Southeast Asia, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, Japanese society grew in support of international aids, development and environmental protection. Many Japanese NGOs launched their activities in Southeast Asia, especially Thailand.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.164.

¹¹ Shimazono Susumu, "The Expansion of Japan's New Religions into Foreign Cultures," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, 18/2-3. 1991

Table 12 List of Japanese NGOs in Thailand

Name	Headquarter	Activities	Affiliation
1.Asian Friends Society	Osaka	Rural development, food, refugee	Osaka Prefecture
2.Asian Community Trust	Tokyo	Rural development, Life- long learning, Vocational training	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3.Asian Human Rights Foundation	Tokyo	Financial, expert, and information support, human rights education	
4.OISCA	Tokyo	Rural development, Vocational training, Health care	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of agriculture and Ministry of Labor
5.CARE, Japan	Tokyo	Rural development, Vocational training, Health care	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
6.International Volunteers	Saitama	Rural development	Ministry of Education
7.Sotoshu International Volunteers	Tokyo	Rural development, Vocational training, refugee	
8. Asia Health Training Foundation	Aichi	Hygien, food and women	Aichi Prefecture
9.Nihon Kokusai Minkan Cooperation	Kyoto	Rural development, refugee, medicine, education before	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
10.PHD Association	Kobe	Rural development, Vocational training, food, human rights	Hyoko Prefecture
11.Foundation to Protect Green Earth	Tokyo	Environmental protection	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of agriculture, Environmental

			agencies
12. Association to Retate to Weaving Rural peole	Sendai	Rural development, women development, local industrial development	
13. Salaa – Women’s Home	Yokohama	Emergency rescue of foreign women	
14. Volunteer Group “ขอบคุณมาก”	Chiba	Male hilltribe, local, women and children development	
15. HAND IN HAND	Chiba	Support Thai women in Japan’s court of justice	

Source : NGO Directory 1994, Japan NGO Information Center. อ้างถึงใน สุวิชัย วัฒนแก้ว “ญี่ปุ่นในยุคโลกาภิวัตน์ มิติสังคมและการแลกเปลี่ยนวัฒนธรรมของมหาอำนาจทางเศรษฐกิจ” น.4-20.

Contribution of cultural exchange through the act of non-governmental organizations was increase in inter-action between people of the two countries. It allowed the chance of reciprocating of cultural transfer.

During the 1990s, the Multinational Cultural Mission of the Japan Foundation funded a research by the University of Tokyo, led by Professor Kenishiro Hirano on International Culture Exchange and Cultural Cooperation between Japan and ASEAN Historical Development and Present Situation. The research aimed to collect all data on cultural exchanges and cooperation programs between Japan and ASEAN nations. According to the research, cultural exchange programs could be categorized into 9 activities:

1. Exchange of knowledge and wisdom
2. Exchange of academics and research
3. Educational exchange
4. Youth exchange
5. Sports exchange

6. Technical cooperation
7. Arts exchange
8. Cooperation for cultural heritage conservation
9. Grassroots exchange

These programs were conducted by the Japanese government and non-governmental groups. The number of activities increased sharply during 1980s, by the initiation of Japanese non-governmental groups both within Japan and abroad. They not only created many new projects, but also new kinds of different activities that had never happened before. The research concluded that these cultural exchanges in the end could only make ASEAN people understand more about Japan than vice versa.

Conclusion

Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand was systematically planned and engaged. We can conclude it in 3 parts : policy, organization, and implementation.

Policy

Cultural diplomacy was to be used as a damage control measure. It was to counter anti-Japanese sentiment which was happening around the world including in Southeast Asia. The policy was first expressed by the, then Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda, during the Diet deliberation of the Japan Foundation Law in September 1971. The concept was that Japan's diplomacy would aim at 'transmitting the true face of the nation which seeks to be a 'peace nation' and 'culture nation'¹². The task was to correct the wrong perception about Japan which had unique culture. The policy was reinstated again in the Fukuda Doctrine

¹² Kyoko Sato, Unsettled Foundations : Reading the Japan Foundation in a Globalising World, p.22.

which was announced by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda during his visit to Southeast Asia in 1977. According to the Doctrine, Japan repositioned itself in Southeast Asia:

- 1) Japan rejected the role of a military power.
- 2) Japan would consolidate its relationship with Southeast Asian nations based on mutual understanding.
- 3) Japan would be an equal partner with ASEAN countries and fostered a relationship with the Indochinese countries.

Organization

The government established the Japan Foundation to be the main agency responsible of Japan's cultural diplomacy. The Japan Foundation was under the loose supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It had its own budget and source of income in order to guarantee independence in its operation.

Beside the Japan Foundation, some other agencies also involved in exchange of human type of activities as well, such as the Ministry of Education, Science, Sport and Culture. the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) was the key agency responsible of the cultural grant aid which was a part of ODA scheme. The JICA was also re-organized during early the 1970s in order to serve the new policy.

Implementation

The mission of the Japan Foundation involved mainly exchange of persons both short and long term and in every level. The operation of Japan Foundation could be concluded in 3 categories :

- 1.Arts exhibition. For the people who had little interest of Japan, this was to explain Japan's arts to show other sides of Japan. It was to take the world's attention away from the economic side of Japan.
- 2.Japanese language education. This was to serve those who had more interest in Japanese culture. Japanese language could be the tool to understand more of Japanese culture. In addition it could be a channel to explain Japanese logic.
- 3.Exchange of students and scholars. This activity was for those who were interested in Japan and Japanese culture. It also served as the channel for Japan to explain its agenda to the world.

JICA's work on cultural grant projects provided instrument and infrastructure for cultural exchange. Furthermore, through all the years they continuously conveyed the message that Japan was superior country who supported Thailand's development.

Chapter V

Outcome of Japan's Cultural Diplomacy in 1980s

Direct Result

Direct result of Japan's cultural diplomacy was a stock of local professional, such as, engineer and businessmen, who graduated from Japanese universities. They understood both Thai and Japanese ways of life and also experts in their professions. They were capable of teaching and expanding knowledge and good impression about Japan to wider and wider population over the years. In 1976, the Japan Foundation arranged the first international conference on "the International Symposium on Cultural Exchange Between Japan and Southeast Asian Countries". Japanese and Southeast Asian scholars were invited to exchange their idea and propose their suggestion on cultural exchange. Their common opinion was that since culture was developed by mankind, human exchange was the core of cultural exchange. There could be many kinds of human exchange, such as, exchange of scholars, exchange of artists and intellectuals, and exchange of foreign students. In the broader sense the exchange could happen through people working in organizations and the general public. Above all, student exchange was the most important kind of human exchange. This was because foreign students were potential intellectual resources. They were expected to become leaders in their countries in the future. The foreign students were in general college students. They were building their own characters in the life pattern of the country where they were studying. The transfer of subjective high culture, such as, belief system happened at this level of exchange.

These intellectual had good knowledge of Thailand and could act as mediators for Japan in promoting mutual understanding between the people. As a result, we could say that exchange of foreign students led to exchange of

knowledge and exchange of system, which made foreign student exchange the best type of cultural exchange.

Another direct result was equipment and infrastructure for cultural exchange through ODA grant aid projects. Cultural grant projects were used as gesture of Japanese extension of goodwill to Thailand. Some projects were evidently granted for the purpose of Japanese cultural dissemination and cultural exchange, for example, the equipment for language laboratory system at Borpitpimuk School and Japanese Studies Center at Thammasat University. Some projects were not directly for the purpose of cultural exchange, such as, the supply of gymnastic equipment of Bangsaen Marine Science Center and the expansion of King Mongkut Institute of Technology. However, these projects continuously conveyed the message that Japan was the country with high technology and economic success. They later became the symbol of cooperation for social and economic development of Thailand. It was strategic communication over a long period of time which branded positive image of Japan. In other words, these projects contributed directly to soft power of Japan.

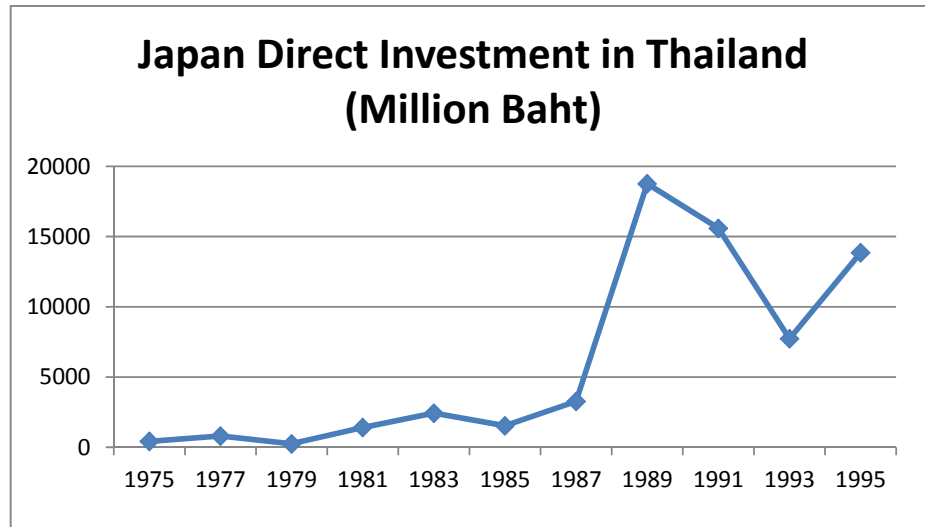
Outcome

By the later half of 1980s, some phenomena indicated changes in Thai society regarding attitude of the Thais towards Japan and Japanese.

1. Japan's investment continued to increase continuously even after strong protest against Japan. Some economist explained that it was the ratification of the Plaza Accord in 1985 which caused Japanese yen to appreciate significantly against the US dollar. It undermined the cost and price competitiveness in the world market of Japan. The multinational enterprises (MNEs) in Japan were forced to relocate their production bases and Thailand was their destination. Thailand's economic and political condition was relatively stable, with cheaper labor wage,

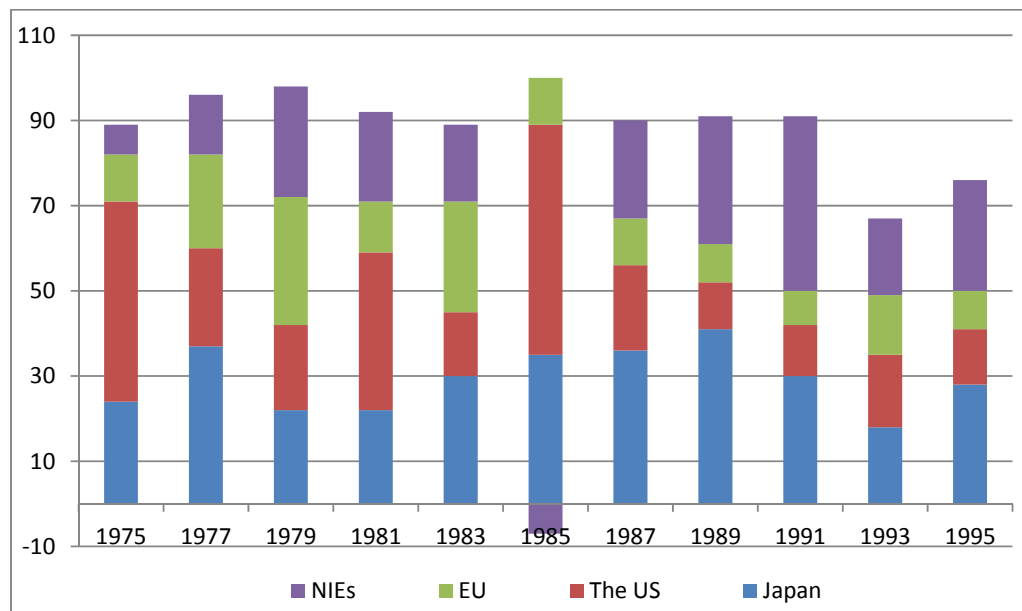
fixed exchange rate, as well as incentives from investment promotion policies toward exporting industries.

Figure 1 Japan Direct Investment in Thailand 1975-1995



Source : Permporn Sangiam. Japan's Foreign Direct Investment in Thailand : Trends, Patterns and Determinants, 1970-2003

Statistics showed that of the total foreign direct investment in Thailand, Japanese investment was the second largest.

Figure 2 Foreign Direct Investment in Thailand 1975-1995

Source : Permporn Sangiam. Japan's Foreign Direct Investment in Thailand : Trends, Patterns and Determinants, 1970-2003

Japan's aid to Thailand in 1986 almost double that of 1978.

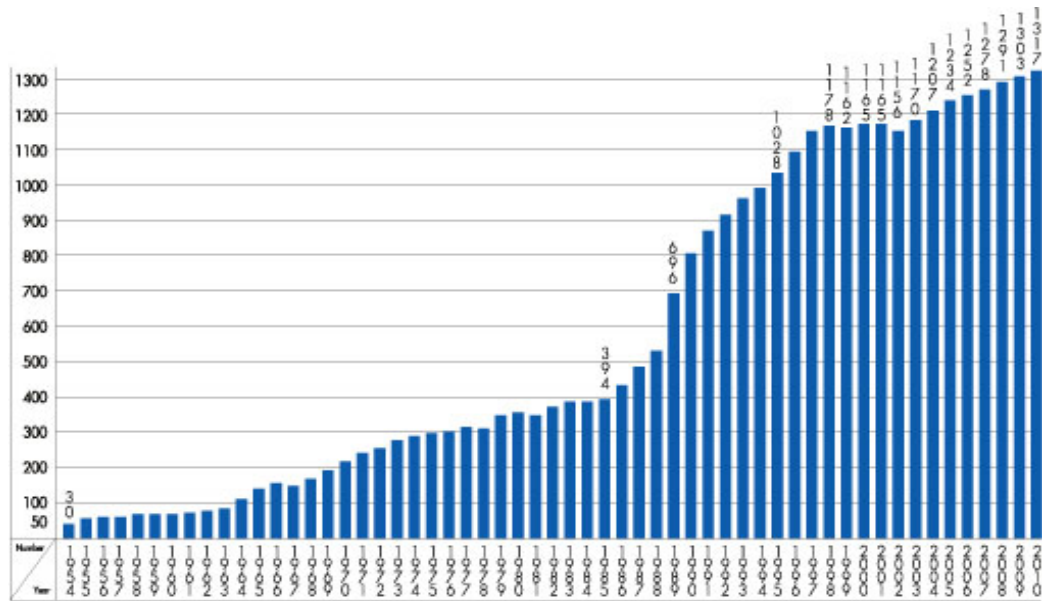
Table 13 Japanese ODA to Thailand 1980-1986 (million US\$)

Year	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Loan	Total
1980	44.0	26.2	119.3	189.5
1981	50.4	32.2	131.9	214.5
1982	33.7	27.5	109.1	170.3
1983	52.2	37.2	158.8	248.1
1984	50.2	40.2	141.6	232.0
1985	76.5	40.7	146.9	264.1
1986	71.6	54.2	134.7	160.4

Source: Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs อ้างถึงใน สุภิญญา นิवासวัต น.125

Number of Japanese enterprises enlisted with the Japan Chamber of Commerce increased sharply from 200 companies in 1970 to 696 companies in 1990.

Figure 3 Number of Japanese Enterprises in Thailand



Source : Japan Chamber of Commerce

This meant that, to some extent, Thai economy was dependent on Japanese investment. Therefore, when this proportion went higher, Thai economy went into deeper dependency. This situation caused certain alarm among Thai university students who set up sporadic protest during the mid-1980s. But it could not draw as much attention from the public as in 1970s. Thai social context during this period had already changed.

2. In 1987, Banyat Suragarnwit of Thammasat University conducted a survey of the attitude of the Thais towards Japanese and especially Japanese foreign aid. The survey revealed interesting results¹.

60.3% of the respondents were impressed with Japan's economic success.

20.8% of the respondents knew that Japan was Thailand's number 1 aid donor.

46.2% of the respondents believed that Japan was an untrustworthy country and not a true friend.

69.8% of the respondents felt that Japanese trade and investment had imperialist character.

48.2% of the respondents thought that Japanese economic aid benefited Japan more than Thailand.

21.1% of the respondents believed that Japanese economic assistance supported Thailand's development.

20.7% of the respondents believed that Japanese economic assistance were for mutual benefit.

These were signs of improvement from the earlier survey by Chulalongkorn University in 1974 which showed larger proportion of the Thais did not trust the situation on Thailand-Japan economic relations. Nevertheless, there were signs that the Thais were opened to more cultural exchange with the Japanese.

92% of the respondents thought that we should promote more Japanese tourists.

56.9% of the respondents supported more cultural exchange between the two countries.

¹ สุทธิญา นิवासวัสดิ์, ความช่วยเหลือแบบบีให้เปล่าจากประเทศญี่ปุ่นต่อประเทศไทยในช่วง ค.ศ. 1954-1989 และแนวโน้มการเพิ่มความช่วยเหลือทางด้านวัฒนธรรมต่อประเทศไทย : กรณีศึกษาศูนย์ญี่ปุ่นศึกษา สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, น.148.

66.8% of the respondents believed that Japanese cartoons and entertainment yielded both negative and positive effects to the Thais.

87.6% of the respondents thought that Thais and Japanese should have educational exchange.

47.7% of the respondents felt that they knew only a little of Japan and Japanese.

41.7% of the respondents felt that they had moderate knowledge of Japan and the Japanese.

80.7% of the respondents felt that learning Japanese language was important.

77.9% of the respondents thought that Japanese language education in Thailand should be promoted.

62.4% of the respondents thought that it was necessary to promote Japanese studies in Thailand.

52.1% of the respondents thought that there should be a foundation to promote Japanese studies in Thailand.

81.0% of the respondents thought that Japanese should learn more about Thailand and the Thais.

This attitude survey expressed the respondents' realization that interaction with Japanese was unavoidable. Japanese investment was important to Thailand's economic development. Along with the investment, Japanese people and Japanese culture plunged into Thai society. Thus, it was important for the Thais to learn more about Japan and Japanese and vice versa.

3. Relationship between Thailand and Japan that became intensified and more diversified by the end of 1980s. Interaction between the people of the two countries increased as number of Japanese coming to Thailand increased. According to the statistics, number of Japanese entering Thailand increased

sharply over the decade. Japanese were the second largest group of tourists in Thailand, while the largest group was Malaysian.

Table 14 Number of top 5 nationalities of persons entering Thailand

	1977	1986	1987
Japanese	148,616	242,782	322,021
Malaysian	172,808	496,215	636,365
American	123,049	190,145	224,922
English	56,446	162,899	189,609
German	79,967	109,611	140,588

Source : สมุดสถิติรายปีประเทศไทย 2531 สำนักงานสถิติแห่งชาติ สำนัก
นายกรัฐมนตรี (National Statistics of Thailand 1988)

Table 15 Number of Japanese who were registered and resided in Thailand
1970 – 1989

Year	Number
1970	1,254
1972	1,589
1974	2,215
1976	2,480
1978	2,539
1980	2,536
1982	2,536
1986	2,539
1988	2,535
1989	2,534

Source : Alien Registration and Taxation, The Royal Thai Police Department,
Ministry of Interior. Figures collected from สมุดสถิติรายปี บรรพ 31 2517-2518,
บรรพ 32 2519-2523 และ บรรพ 37 2533

In addition to the Japanese investment, more Japanese visitors and increasing popularity of Japanese cultural product meant more jobs relating to Japanese. For this reason, more Thai students were interested in learning Japanese language. However, this did not mean that Thai students were interested in Japanese language only for business reason. Attractiveness of Japanese culture (both high culture and popular culture) also contributed to rising number of students learning Japanese language.

Table 16 Number of Japanese language institutions, teachers and students from 1975-1990

Year	Teaching Institutions	Teachers	Students
1975	24	58	3,512
1981	28	128	9,217
1987	34	155	13,282
1990	63	274	11,869

Source: compiled from Japan Foundation

<http://www.jpf.go.jp/j/japanese/survey/result/surveyold.html>

Learning Japanese language might not happen out of interest of Japanese culture, but in the end the transfer of Japanese culture naturally happened. Interest in Japan and Japanese could also be seen in number of Thai students who went to study in Japan on private scholarship. By the later half of the 1980s, Japan became an increasingly popular destination for Thai students to attain their higher education degree. Statistic from the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) indicated this trend.

Table 17 Number of Thai students categorized by scholarship 1983-1990

Year	Japanese scholarship	Private scholarship	Total
1983	256	163	418
1984	268	199	467
1985	293	307	600
1986	299	402	701
1987	337	399	736
1988	386	367	753
1989	418	413	831
1990	454	402	856
1991	448	450	898
1992	450	444	894
1993	480	512	992
1994	469	545	1,014
1995	480	530	1,010
1996	474	544	1,018
1997	457	535	992
1998	490	569	1,059
1999	508	599	1,107
2000	529	716	1,245
2001	556	855	1,411
2002	561	943	1,504
2003	622	1,019	1,641
2004	622	1,043	1,665
2005	611	1,123	1,734
2006	572	1,162	1,734

Source: Compiled from JASSO Statistics 1983-2006

4. Another interesting phenomena was Japanese cultural influence in Thai society. Anuch Apapirom studied the result of interaction between the Thais and the Japanese and concluded that the influence of Japanese culture on Thai society could be seen in 5 aspects.

1. *Political culture.* Among some groups of people, the idea of Japan Inc. was spread. Japan Inc. was the concept of the unity between government and business sector. With the government's support, the business sector moved forward and expanded into the global arena. It created Japanese economic miracle. Some groups of Thai people believed that for Thailand although political parties were not strong, the unity among the government, bureaucrat and business sector could be adopted. Thailand could become Thailand Inc.

2. *Technological culture.* Japanese technology was rapidly modernized and developed. Through the development of technology Japan could regain its economic strength. Japanese direct investment, such as, cars, electronic and textile industries in Thailand established the system that tied Thai industrial sector with Japanese technology development. This exchange of technological culture could have deep influence on Thai science and technology education in the future.

3. *Business culture.* Relating to technological culture was Japanese business practice. The core of Japanese business practice was networking and cooperation within the network. This business culture was also adopted and became an influence in Thai business culture. Attached to business culture was Japanese language and way of life. As the interaction between Thai and Japanese became close through trade, tourism, and student exchange, local culture was transferred. Japanese local products could be sold. Japanese government and business took this opportunity to promote Japanese language. While the Thai believed that learning Japanese would increase job opportunity, numbers of Thai students learning Japanese language went higher.

4. *Consumerism culture.* Japanese industrial investment flooded Thai market with the products that were competitive to western industrial products. With installment paying system, these products, such as motorcycles, electric home appliance and electronic devices, were accessible among the Thais. Together with Thai value of good appearance and material possession oriented, Japanese products were partly blamed for creating consumerism culture.

5. *Attitude and social value.* By the end of 1980s, Japanese popular culture was widespread in Thai society, especially among teenagers. It was the concern among the Thai society that Thai children would be affected by the value system expressed through Japanese cartoons, music, and other entertainment products. According to the study of Orathai Srisantisuk on influence of Japanese cartoon, such as, Doraemon, on Thai children, it was the children's demand that made publishing companies sell Japanese cartoon. It was the consumers who chose the messages from the media. The media did not have the absolute decision in imposing some messages to the audience.

According to this research, during that period there was no study specifically on this issue. These days clearer picture of the influence of Japanese popular culture could be seen. It seemed that Japanese cultural influence on Thai society was more on Thai consuming behavior. It explained the admiration of the Thai society towards Japanese economic success and Japanese way of life as a modernized society. The influence of cultural exchange between Japan and Thailand did not result in deep cultural transfer within the whole Thai society.

These phenomena explained the change in Thai people's image of Japan and Japanese. The fear of cultural domination did not resurface. The fear of Japan as economic imperialist was not apparent. It was replaced by the understanding that Japanese investment was necessary to Thai economy, therefore it was

important to learn more about Japanese culture. We could not conclude that cultural diplomacy was solely responsible of these changes. These phenomena were result of increasing interaction between the Thais and the Japanese, both through the act of private sector and the government's cultural diplomacy through time. The interest in Japan and Japanese culture could have happened out of admiration of Japan's economic success or out of job availability. We could conclude that Japan's cultural diplomacy was the dominant factor because :

- 1.It was carried out before the widespread of Japanese popular culture. It was operating during the time when interaction between the people of the two countries was limited and anti-Japanese sentiment was high.

- 2.It was conducted systematically with concrete policy, well-coordinated agencies and activities in accordance with the plan.

We could conclude that the function of Japan's cultural diplomacy was that it provided a basis for and supported those who were interested in Japan and Japanese culture. It provided opportunity for Thai people to appreciate Japanese culture. It nurtured the good relationship between Japan and this group of people. In the end, it strengthened the positive image of Japan and Japanese in the Thai society.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Discussion

Relationship between Thailand and Japan was a part of relationship between Japan and Southeast Asian countries. Thailand as a country in Southeast Asia had been effected by regional and global situations, such as, colonialism, the World Wars, and the Cold War. Japan was another superpower who tried to exercise its influence in this region. Although impact from these situations was similar in every country, but reaction to the impact was different. As Thailand was not colonized by the West, relationship between Thailand and Japan was different from Japanese relationship with the rest of the region.

Relationship between Thailand and Japan which began during Ayutthya period, could be characterized as formal relationship, between Thai court and Japanese shogunate. Relationship at the people level occurred around this formal interaction. Thailand and Japan resumed diplomatic relations in 1887. The Declaration of Amity and Commerce between the two countries was agreed on September 26. Until the end of King Chulalongkorn era, people-to-people relationship was not taken into consideration. It happened naturally and unplanned.

After the WWII, Japan was under the control of the United States, Its foreign affairs was limited to focus mainly on economic restoration. Cold War situation rendered great impact on Southeast Asian region. American intervention in the region brought Japan along. Japan's economy was to be integrated with Southeast Asian economic development.

During the same period, Thailand was facing both political and economic problems. Expansion of communist insurgency was the main threat to Thailand's security. The government believed that economic development in the poor rural

area should be able to ward off communism. But Thailand had neither technology nor saving to stimulate economic development. Thailand needed foreign investment, and Japan was in good position to fulfill the need.

Japanese economic cooperation was conducted in the form of trade, investment and Official Development Assistance. It was the government's oversea economic policy with the cooperation of Japanese business sector that weaved the ODA, trade and investment together. The ODA provided the local with infrastructure deemed necessary both for the local and for Japanese trade and investment in the region. With the support of the government, Japanese economic expansion was powerful. Japan became the most important trading partner of Thailand. Imports from Japan constituted 35% of total imports in 1971. Trade with Japan was very important to Thai economy, while trade with Thailand was very small percentage in Japanese economy. It caused unfavorable trade balance which grew larger over the year.

The idea that Thai economy was dependent on Japanese economy was enhanced with the condition of Cold War, which foreign intervention was evident. Thailand was not alone in this economic conflict. Throughout the region, Japanese business practice was being blamed for economic instability of the local. The idea stirred up economic nationalism in some groups of Thai population. Violent anti-Japanese protest happened both in Thailand and Indonesia. Japan was not expecting this challenge and was taken by surprise. In the case of Thailand, Japanese officers did not believe that the protest was driven out of economic conflict. Re-action from Japan was carried out both at the global and regional level. It was well coordinated and systematic.

Japan's cultural diplomacy after the WWII was seriously engaged in 1971. The policy was stated by Takeo Fukuda, the Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Diet deliberation of the law on the establishment of the Japan Foundation. The

policy was reinstated in the Fukuda Doctrine during Mr. Takeo Fukuda's visit to Southeast Asia as the Prime Minister. The Doctrine stressed Japanese commitment to Southeast Asia in 3 principles:

1. Japan would not seek the role of military power.
2. Japan would foster mutual confidence and trust in the relationship with Southeast Asian nations.
3. Japan would become an equal partner with ASEAN countries and fostered mutual understanding with the Indochinese countries.

This policy was observed and elaborated by many following Japanese Prime Ministers. Each following government adjusted its cultural activities according to the changing regional and global situation. As Japanese economic might have grown to the world's economic superpower, cultural diplomacy was given more attention.

New organization was established to take responsibility to cultural diplomacy, the Japan Foundation. Its activities involved all aspects of human and cultural exchange. ODA scheme was reorganized as well. JICA was remodeled to take care of grant aid and technical assistance. This signified that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was given more role in foreign aids. Therefore, cultural grant projects were aimed at both economic purpose and cultural relations.

Implementation of cultural diplomacy was done through many agencies. Although the Japan Foundation was the core agency responsible for cultural diplomacy, many other agencies took parts in the scheme, for example, the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture and other Ministries. They coordinated their works according to the Cabinet resolution.

Exchange of human contributed directly to cultural exchange which brought about deeper understanding between the people of the two countries.

Cultural grant aid was the provision of instrument and infrastructure for cultural exchange. It was the tool of strategic communication that continuously sending strategic message to Thai recipients. The message carried Japanese prestige as a generous donor with high technology who contributed to the economic and social development of Thailand.

Direct result of Japan's cultural diplomacy was both in the form of human resource and infrastructure. A pool of Thais who graduated from Japanese universities through Japanese scholarship was useful human resource for Thailand and Japan. They became the channel through which those interested in Japan and Japanese culture could have access. They were good connection between Thai and Japanese society. And the Japan Foundation continued to support this group's activities after the 'Old Japan Students' Association' was established. The human resource, together with the infrastructure, over the years, had influence upon the Thai society.

By the end of the 1980s, some phenomenon with regards to Thailand-Japan relationship should be noted.

1. The overall situation of Thai-Japanese relation improved. Politically, Thailand accepted the new role of Japan as a superpower of the region. Economically, Thailand grew more dependent on Japanese economic trade and investment. But widespread protest against Japan did not happened. The strong protest happened only among construction industry and this discontent was alleviated through economic measure.

2. Attitude survey of Thai people in 1987 showed that Thai people had better attitude towards Japan and Japanese. The Thais realized that Japanese trade and investment was crucial to Thailand's economic development. It was, thus, necessary to know more about Japan and Japanese.

3. Relationship between Thailand and Japan became intensified and more diversified. There were more Japanese tourists visited Thailand. Increasing number of Japanese resided in Thailand. More Thai students were interested in learning Japanese language and going to study in Japan.

4. Influence of Japanese culture in Thai society was not as profound as it had been feared. In general it was business-related culture, such as, technology, consumerism and business administration that was transferred through interaction with Japan and Japanese. Subjective high culture, such as, belief system was not transferred to the general public. This was not different from the case of influences of other western culture which interacted with the Thais through trade. It was by mean of capitalism that the business-related culture was spread.

Discussion

Japan's cultural diplomacy has evolved over the years since its conception. It started as a part of Japanese policy towards China in 1920s. In 1930s, Japan found it necessary to conduct multilateral diplomacy involving many actors in its international relations. The Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (KBS) was established. Its mission was in Europe as large part of Southeast Asia was still under colonial rule. However, its procedures and implementation in Southeast Asian region during the WWII gave a backlash. Japanese society learned the lesson. The process that the Japan Foundation was established explained the evolution of Japan's cultural diplomacy. For example, the relationship with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was designed so that the Ministry could oversee the organization, but not to have full control of it.

Japan's cultural diplomacy had influence not only on the Thai, but also on Japanese society. Japanese who participated or had access to various cultural exchange programs became aware of others, like Thai culture. Some of them

might develop understanding and acceptance of Thai culture. For example, Japanese university professors, who taught international students, learned about each student's culture and way of life and acknowledged the differences. Over the years, influence of this knowledge was spread. Japanese society itself developed more understanding about others. The case of Japanese NGOs in Thailand was a good example. Some groups of Japanese learned of problems in other part of the world and decided to organize some assistance. This phenomenon explained the outcome of cultural diplomacy that spread throughout the society.

In Thailand before 1970s, knowledge of Japanese culture was not planned or organized. It was not profound knowledge from Japanese perspective themselves. Japan's cultural diplomacy during the period of study established a body of knowledge about Japan and Japanese. For example, Japanese Studies Center at Thammasat University provided knowledges about Japanese culture. It arranged various activities, such as, teaching Japanese language, publication of Japanese studies journal. This provided opportunity for Japanese culture to be propagated to wide audience in Thai society. Alumni of these programs nowadays became the instructors themselves. This completed the cycle of cultural diplomacy that started by the government, affected some group of people of the recipient country, who later joined the effort of the government in spreading Japanese culture and hence mutual understanding could be realized.

We cannot establish causal relationship between Japan's cultural diplomacy and the change in the Thai's attitude. Neither could we conclude that Japan's cultural diplomacy alone was responsible of all these phenomena. However, Japan's cultural diplomacy was the first in systematically initiating intense interaction between the Thai and the Japanese. Therefore, we could conclude that Japan's cultural diplomacy was the dominant factor that catalyzed the change in the nature of relationship between the Thai and the Japanese.

Contribution and suggestion for further research

Many researches had been done on Thai-Japanese relations, both by Thai and foreign scholars. Many aspects of this relationship had been explored and explained. Nevertheless, studies on Japan's cultural diplomacy oftentimes were conducted on Japan-ASEAN framework. This research focused mainly on Japan's cultural diplomacy in Thailand by using Thai sources predominantly. It could be useful for other research work of the same nature in the future.

Moreover, this research explained a cultural phenomenon in Thai society. Interaction between foreign and Thai culture happened throughout history. Most of the time, it happened naturally. But Japanese cultural diplomacy was unnatural type of cultural exchange. It happened through Japanese policy mechanism. It created ripple effect to various sectors of Thai and Japanese society. The understanding of this phenomenon could be the basis of further studies on cultural diplomacy of other countries, such as, Korea and China.

This study focused on the act of the Japanese national government in implementation of cultural diplomacy. The acts of private sector, local governments, or non-governmental organizations were not thoroughly investigated. They were considered only as a part of the outgrowth of Japanese national cultural diplomacy. To fully understand the outcome of Japan's cultural diplomacy, deeper study should be done on the act of Japanese private sector, local governments, and non-governmental organizations as well.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Cultural Grant Aid from Japan (1978-1984)

Projects	Date of Signature	Value	
		US\$	Baht
(1978)			
1. The Supply of exhibits to the Science Museum (The Ministry of Education)	March 30, 1978	148,500	2,970,000
2. The Development Project of Kasetsart University	October 4, 1978	6,435,000	128,700,000
3. The Supply of Educational audiovisual and printing equipment to Chulalongkorn University	December 14, 1979	198,000	3,960,000
(1979)			
1. The Restoration and Preservation of Sukhothai Cultural Assets	September 14, 1979	247,500	4,950,000
2. The Establishment of the Youth Welfare Center	July 23, 1979	4,950,000	99,000,000
(1980)			
1. The Establishment of the Youth Welfare Center	July 21, 1980	8,075,000	161,500,000
(1981)			
1. The improvement of scientific and technological research equipment at the Chulalongkorn University	January 15, 1981	1,825.9	39,600
2. The Supply of gymnastic equipment Bangsaen Marine Science Center	June 8, 1981	10,493.1	227,700
3. The Radio Correspondence Project	November 5, 1981	2,304.1	50,000
(1982)			
1. Japanese Studies Audio Visual Center	February 11, 1982	152.2	3,500
2. Vocational Training and Development Center	February 11, 1982	2,521.7	58,000
3. The improvement of scientific and technological research equipment and agricultural machinery at Kasetsart University	May 14, 1982	2,173.9	50,000
4. Establishment of the Educational Broadcasting Production Center for the Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University	June 24, 1982	7,673.9	176,500
5. The Primary Health Care Training Center	October 29, 1982	7,826.1	180,000
6. The Supply of Stage Equipment	October 29, 1982	195.7	4,500
(1983)			
1. The Exhibitional Equipment for National Museum	May 3, 1983	187,000	4,300,000
2. The Sport Equipment for Youth Welfare Center (Bangkok Metropolitan Administration)	May 3, 1983	65,200	1,500,000
(1984)			
1. The Construction of the Social Education and Cultural Centre (Ministry of Education)	July 16, 1984	5,106,400	120,000,000
2. The Expansion of the King Mongkut's Institute of Technology (King Mongkut's Institute of Technology)	July 16, 1984	7,829,800	184,000,000

Source : Statistic and Report Sub-Division. Technical Service Division, DTEC. อ้างอิงใน สุกัญญา นิเวศวัด น. 129.

Appendix B

Cultural Grant Aid from Japan (1985-1990)

Projects	Date of Signature	Value	
		US\$	Baht
(1985)			
1. The Supply of Equipment for Electrical Engineering Research (Chulalongkorn University)	February 5, 1985	185,200	5,000,400
2. The Supply of Equipment for Language Laboratory (Khon Kaen University & Songkhla University)	February 5, 1985	185,200	5,000,400
3. The Construction of the Social education and Cultural Center (Ministry of Education)	July 10, 1985	10,592,600	286,000,200
4. The Expansion of the King Mongkut's Institute of Technology (King Mongkut's Institute of Technology)	July 10, 1985	7,888,9000	213,00,300
5. The Supply of Books for Education and Research to the Institute for Japanese Studies (Thammasat University)	October 4, 1985	74,100	2,000,700
6. The Sukothai Historical Park Development (The Fine Arts Department)	December 27, 1985	185,200	5,000,400
(1986)			
1. The Construction of the Social education and Cultural Center (The Fine Arts Department)	October 21, 1986	14,180,200	371,521,200
2. The Expansion of the King Mongkut's Institute of Technology (King Mongkut's Institute of Technology)	October 21, 1986	4,348,100	113,920,300
(1987)			
1. The Supply of Equipment for Sports Science Studies Project (Department of Physical Education)	May 13, 1987	293,100	7,562,000
2. The Supply of Equipment for Biotechnological Research (Mahidol University)	May 13, 1987	274,800	7,089,800
3. The Ayutthaya Historical Study Center (Ministry of Interior)	September 26, 1987	6,870,200	177,251,200
(1988)			
1. The Supply of Equipment for Electronical Engineering Research (Cultural Grant Aid: Chiang Mai University)	July 19, 1988	395,300	10,000,000
2. The Supply of Educational and cultural television programme (The Public Relations Department)	March 25, 1988	355,700	9,000,000
3. The Project for the improvement of Equipment at the Educational Broadcasting Production Centre of Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University	July 19, 1988	3,122,500	79,000,000
4. The Project for the improvement of Equipment at the Institute of Biotechnology and Genetic Engineering (Chulalongkorn University)	May 20, 1988	1,857,700	47,000,000

Projects	Date of Signature	Value	
		US\$	Baht
5. The Improvement of Equipment at the Educational Broadcasting Production Centre of Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University	November 15, 1988	2,143,200	54,200,000
(1989)			
1. Cultural Grant Aid (96 million yen)			
(1990)			
1. The Supply of the Astronomical Telescope and Instruments (Chulalongkorn University)	August 13, 1990	312,500	8,000,000
2. Project for Supplying Equipment to Bioscience Laboratories in Chulabhorn Research Institute (Phase I)			
3. Project for Supplying Equipment in Chulalongkorn University			
4. Cultural Grant Aid			

Source : Statistic and Report Sub-Division. Technical Services Division, DTEC. And Japan-Thailand Economic Relations (Embassy of Japan in Thailand 1991) อ้างอิงใน ศุภินญา นิवासวัต น. 151.

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