

JAPANESE STUDIES IN THAILAND: ISSUES AND TRENDS*

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Japan and Japanese culture have been the subjects of interest in Thailand for a long time. Japan's modernization during the Meiji period, its rise to the major power status before the Second World War, its tragic defeat after that War, and its subsequent success in the economic reconstruction, have also been the topics of analysis by many Thai scholars. At present, Japan is regarded as the world financier and through her foreign investment is playing an important role as an "engine of development" to various developing countries including Thailand.

Three years ago in 1987, Thailand and Japan celebrated the centenary of the establishment of their formal diplomatic relations in memory of the signing of the Declaration of Amity and Trade between Siam and Japan of 1887. Though the formal relation may be seen as a recent phenomenon, the informal and cultural relationship between the two countries, in fact, dated back much earlier.

Professor Yoneo Ishii had presented several fourteenth century records on the trade between the Thai kingdom of Ayudhaya and the Ryukyu islands some six hundred years ago.¹ In the seventeenth century, Siam

and Japan enjoyed cordial relations, as seen from diplomatic correspondences and commercial dealings. Moreover, during this period, Yamada Nagamasa, a famous Japanese warrior-merchant served the Ayudhaya Court as a soldier and later became a governor of a southern province.² As a result of some unruly conducts of the Japanese settlers in Siam, and the Shogun's policy of closing the country, the relationship between the two countries was suspended in the mid-seventeenth century for almost two hundred years until 1887.

Since then the relations between Japan and Thailand have been categorized as warm and friendly. Now Japan is the biggest investor and aid-donor to Thailand, far surpassing any countries including the United States. More and more Japanese business men have come to Thailand for joint-ventured investment, and more and more Thai students have studied Japanese language or gone to Japan to further their studies. Consequently, the interests in Japan and Japanese society have been enhanced by these interactions which led to the development of Japanese studies in Thailand.

This paper will discuss the origin and development of Japanese studies in Thailand.

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as well as the curriculum and research on Japanese studies in Thai universities. The discussion will include the present problems and the future prospects of Japanese Studies in Thailand as well.

Japanese Studies in Thailand : Origin and Development

Japanese studies is one of the area studies being popularized in Thailand recently. Others include Thai studies, Chinese studies and American studies. It is expected that in the near future, ASEAN studies, Indo-chinese studies as well as European studies will be developed, so that the Thai students and Thai people will have better and more comprehensive knowledge of other countries and regions.

Area Studies, in my opinion, constitutes a study of one particular country or several countries in a region with geographical proximity, similar cultural background, and similar pattern of socio-economic or political development. Thus, the Japanese studies should constitute the pursuit of knowledge and understanding about various aspects of Japan: political, economic, socio-cultural as well as foreign relations.

The approaches in the pursuit of the knowledge on area studies should be based upon the studies of the culture and language and should also be multi-disciplinary as well as inter-disciplinary. However, Japanese studies in Thailand tends to be only multi-disciplinary, not yet inter-disciplinary, as a result of its development which has been disciplinary-oriented.

In order to understand the development of Japanese studies in Thailand, one has to analyze the internal factors especially Thai

domestic politics and situation as well as the external factors including the Thai-Japanese relations, and the role of Japan in this region. This paper will focus on the development of Japanese studies in the post Second World-War period up to the present time which may be divided into three sub-periods as following:

1. The Incubation of Japanese Studies (1946-1969)
2. The Politicization of Japanese Studies (1970-1979)
3. The Popularization of Japanese Studies (1980 to the present)

I. The Incubation of Japanese Studies (1946-1969). In the twenty-five year period after the Second World War, Japanese studies slowly developed into a field of academic studies in Thai universities. In fact, there was not much interest in Japanese studies in the first twenty years until after 1965, even though the relationships between the two countries continued to be warm and cordial. Two reasons would be put forward to explain this phenomenon. One of them concerned Japanese foreign policy and her role in the region. The other was the rather limited development of the Thai academic community during this period.

After the defeat in 1945, Japan was occupied by the United States and did not play any role in the regional or global politics. Normal diplomatic relations between Japan and Thailand did not resume until April 1952 when Japan's independence was restored. It also appeared that the main theme of Japanese foreign policy in the post-War period emphasized the separation of economic considerations from political ones (*seikei bunri*)³. This policy enabled Japan to keep low profile in international as well as regional political and security affairs.

However, the victory of the Chinese Communist Party on mainland China in 1949 and the subsequent Korean War in the early 1950s led the United States to extend the containment policy to Asia.⁴ Consequently, the United States decided to boost the recovery of Japanese economy and to make Japan an anti-Communist bastion in Asia. Both countries realized that Southeast Asia was strategically and economically important not only because of its location but also because of the food and raw materials it supplied to Japan as well as to many other countries.⁵

Thus, in the mid 1950s Japan negotiated and concluded the reparation agreements with several countries in Southeast Asia. Japan, in 1955, agreed to settle Thailand's claims of 1,530 million baht that Japan borrowed from Thailand during the Second World War. Accordingly Thailand would be paid back a total of US\$ 15 million by Japan until the year 1959. Another agreement was concluded in 1962 whereby Japan would have paid a total amount of US\$ 27 million to Thailand over a period of eight years, most of them in the form of Japanese goods and equipments.⁶ These payments, similar to the Japanese reparation to other Southeast Asian countries, gave Japan access to Thailand's internal market and paved the way for Japanese economic activities in Thailand. By the end of 1960's, Japan had slowly and gradually return to Thailand but her role was rather limited and not yet visible.

Another reason for the low interest in the Japanese studies in this period was the limited and undeveloped nature of Thai educational system and academic community. Thailand in the 1950's had the population of less than 20 million and a few national universities. Most of the lecturers were

bureaucrats or retired bureaucrats who taught from their experiences. Moreover, the courses tended to be limited and focussed only on the "practical" rather than "intellectual" matters. The Thai government tried to improve the scope and quality of higher education by sending many bright young men and women to study abroad, especially in Europe or the United States. Only a few went to study in Japan then. Most of them returned to the Ministries during this period to be bureaucrats, and only a few returned to the universities to teach social sciences. Thus the scholars in the early period tended to look at Japan from the western perspectives.

Consequently the field of Japanese studies was slowly developed. Few courses on Japan and Japanese society were taught in Thai universities, most of them were about Japanese history or Japanese civilization under the course-titles of "Oriental Civilization" or "East Asian Civilization".

Not many books were written about Japan in the pre-War or post-War period. One of the best and well-known was Sathien Pantarangsee's *Bushido: The Ethics of the Warriors and the Spirit of Japan* (1935). Five years earlier, Laung Vichit-vatakarn, a scholar-bureaucrat wrote a chapter on Japanese history in his *World History Book 8* (1930).

After the Second World War, few books were published on Japan. In 1951, Boonchoi Srisawad, a journalist wrote a book on *Travel in Japan*. A decade later, M.R. Kukrit Pramoj, a famous journalist and scholar, published a book titled *Japanese Scenes* (1962). These seemed to provide only general information about Japan after the Pacific War to the Thai public. Nevertheless, they had some impact in generating interest on Japan.

The Japanese Studies really started in Thailand in the mid 1960s when Thai scholars started returning from their studies abroad, especially from the United States. Dr. Khien Theeravit, a Harvard University educated political scientist played an important role in promoting the study on Japan in this period. His book titled *Evolution of Japanese Politics* (1965) was widely read and used as textbook in the universities. His other books on Japan in this period were *Japanese Political System* (1966) and *Japanese Foreign Policy* (1968). Dr. Khien also contributed several scholarly articles on Japan in various journals including the scholarly *Journal of Social Sciences*.

There were also many translation on Japanese history, for example, Khien Theeravit et al translated J.K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer's *East Asia: The Great Tradition*; and Petcharee Sumitr et al translated Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig's *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* (1968). In 1969, Chamnong Tongprasert published his translation of William Theodore de Bary's *Sources of Japanese Traditions*.

It appeared that the interest on Japanese studies was quite low during the initial period after the Second World War. However, the interest seemed to increase as Japan increased its economic activities in Thailand and in Southeast Asia in the 1960s. By mid 1960s, the interest on Japanese studies was developed and expanded somewhat as the knowledge of Japan was formally introduced in the academic community through the Western eyes via translation of books on Japan written by Western scholars or publication of books written by Thai scholars who were educated in the West.

Moreover, in this period of incubation during the 1960s, several universities started to offer courses on Japanese language. Thammasat University was the first university in Thailand which offered Japanese language courses as minor subject in 1965, with the assistance of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in sending Japanese teachers to teach these courses. A year later Chulalongkorn University offered courses in Japanese language, also taught by Japanese teachers. In 1968 Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Arts recruited Thai teachers to teach Japanese language. The interest in learning Japanese language was not very high but this prepared the groundwork for further expansion.

II. The Politicization of Japanese Studies (1970–1979). In the early 1970s, more and more Thai scholars returned from abroad and started their teaching in various Thai universities. Scholars like Dr. Likhit Dhiravegin at Thammasat University or Dr. Warin Wongharnchao of Kasetsart University were very active in doing research and other scholarly pursuits. Interests in Japan and Japanese studies continued to develop further especially on the issues of economic relations between the two countries, as Thailand continued to have huge trade deficit with Japan.

The Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University set up a small research unit, "the Institute of Asian Studies," where Dr. Khien Theeravit was very active in doing researches on Japan and China as well as their relations with Thailand. At Kasetsart University, Dr. Warin Wongharnchao, a Cornell-trained economist, set up a "Thai-Japanese Studies Group" to monitor Japanese trade and investment in Thailand.

In 1976 this monitoring group was moved to the Institute of Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University.

Japanese studies in this period became very politicized and Thai scholars were vocal and critical at the Japanese economic's role in Thailand. Their research findings, academic articles and opinions expressed during their lectures were very influential and had great impact on Thai Student movement.

In this period, Thai students began to organize themselves under an organ called, "the National Students Center of Thailand" (NSCT). In 1972, the NSCT led the people to boycott the Japanese products sold in the department stores in Bangkok.⁷ This boycott was supported by the Bangkok consumers and proved somewhat successful. A year later, the student movement developed into a popular uprising which overthrew the military dictatorship regime in October 1973. The subsequent democratic experiment led to mass participation, several demonstration, worker unrests and general confusion between 1974 and 1976.

During this period, Thai journalists, intellectuals as well as university professors accelerated their criticism against Japanese investment and business in Thailand. They published critical articles and aired their opinion about Japan's role to the public. The Social Sciences Association of Thailand's journal *Social Science Review* published a special issue on Japan–Thailand relations and called the Japanese "Pai Leung" or "Yellow Perils." Issara Suwnabol wrote a critical book titled *Sumeitai – The Japanese* in 1973, and the Environmental Club of Thammasat and Chulalongkorn University also published a book on Japan's pollution a year later.

Dr. Khien Theeravit contributed with two critical research works on Japan, one of which was the *Economic Relations between Thailand and Japan* (1974) and the other was the *Perceptions of the Thai People toward China and Japan* (1975). In the same year, Professor Seneh Chamarick translated an interesting book on *Japanese Imperialism Today* written by Jon Holliday and Gavan McCormack.

When Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan made an official visit to Thailand in January 1974, he encountered a massive demonstration organized by the NSCT and supported by the public to show their discontent against the alleged Japanese domination over the Thai economy. This event shocked the Japanese people and officials in Japan. Japan then tried to reassess her roles and activities as well as to improve her image overseas.

The Japanese studies in this period developed and expanded significantly as a result of being politicized. Students who previously knew nothing about Japan, started to know something about Japan. The critical views on Japan in fact made Japan a household word not only in Bangkok but also all over the country. In addition, more and more scholars became interested in Japan or Japan-related issues.

More and more students took Japanese language courses. In 1974 Chulalongkorn University offered Japanese language as a major in the Faculty of Arts. Kasetsart University offered undergraduate courses in Japanese language. In 1979, Thammasat University started to broadcast a radio program of teaching Japanese language, which was quite popular then. The interests in Japanese studies continued even Thai domestic

politics changed with the bloody coup d'état in October 1976 and the subsequent coup which overthrew the ultra conservative regime in 1977.

III. The Popularization of Japanese Studies (1980 to the present) Japanese studies in Thailand in this period changed for the better and became even more popular. More courses were offered on Japanese studies and languages in many universities both national and private ones, and more students were taking Japanese language courses. This did not mean that Thai people were not critical. Many Thai scholars continued to be critical, but not as emotional as in the past. Moreover, the critical comments in this period did not manifest in the front pages of the daily newspapers like in the past but appeared in the academic researches or were presented in the international or bi-lateral seminars and conferences.

The political environment also contributed to the positive development. This trend came about as a result of more channels of communication and dialogues have been established to air one other's views. Japan also tried hard to improve her image. The so-called "Fukuda Doctrine" which Prime Minister Fukuda announced in Manila after participating in the Second ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur in 1977, showed Japan's sincerity in her relationship with ASEAN.⁸ The increase in cultural and academic exchanges, sponsored by the Japan Foundation and other Japanese agencies also contributed to the further development of Japanese Studies in Thailand.

Moreover, more and more Thai scholars, who studied in Japan under the Japanese scholarship, returned to Thailand in this period and played important roles in promoting

Japanese studies in various disciplines. Through the Japan Foundation fellowships and the JSPS scholarships, many Thai scholars had opportunities to do research works in Japan. Some were invited to teach in Japanese universities as visiting professors.

During this period, especially in the early 1980's. Thammasat University had recruited several faculty staffs who graduated from Japanese universities, to name a few; Prasert Chittiwattanapong in the Faculty of Political Science, Banyat Surakarnvit and Suwinai Pornnavalai in the Faculty of Economics. These scholars organized a Japanese Studies Club or Group in 1981, under the leadership of Professor Dr. Phaisith Pipattanakul, a Todai-educated law Professor so as to promote Japanese Studies at Thammasat University. In 1984, the Japanese Studies Club was renamed Japanese Studies Center and was established officially as one of three-studies centers within the **Institute of East Asian Studies**. A year later, the Japanese Studies Center Building was built at Thammasat University's Rangsit campus in Pathumthani Province with the grant of 115 million baht from the Japanese government. Moreover, the Japanese Studies Center is also a joint partner with Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University in the "Core-university program" on Japanese Studies and Thailand - Japan Relations. Through this program, a yearly conference was organized either at Kyoto or Bangkok, so that Thai scholars and Japanese scholars could exchange views and opinions. Proceedings from these conferences were also published for dissemination to the general public.

At present, there are only two research institutes which focus on Japanese studies,

the "Japanese Studies Program" of Chulalongkorn University's *Institute of Asian Studies*, and the "Japanese Studies Center" of Thammasat University's *Institute of East Asian Studies*. Although they have separate administration and policy, they often cooperate in promoting Japanese studies. Each year both Institutes jointly-sponsored a three to five day training program for highschool teachers on Japanese studies. Scholars from both institutes would give lectures or present some up-to-date analysis and information on the political, economic and social development and change in Japan. The joint training program aimed at improving the knowledge on Japan of the highschool teachers in the provinces and rural areas, where not enough information were available.

Through various academic activities, the Japanese studies has been increasingly popular. One of the evidences is the increasing numbers of national seminars or international conferences on Japanese studies. Some of the topics of the seminars in the past were "Comparative Development between Japan and Thailand" or "Thailand-Japan Economic Relationship," and "Japanese investment in Thailand." In March 1990, Thammasat University's Japanese Studies Center would organize an international conference on "The role of Japan in the Pacific Economic Cooperation."

Several basic texts on Japan in English as well as Japanese languages were translated in this period. Amara Pongsapich et. al. translated and published Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* in 1982. Wuthichai Moolsilp and Supathra Nilvajara translated Edwin Reischauer's *The Japanese*.

Wai Jamornman translated Nakamura Hideichiro's *Chosen Suru Chushokigyo* (The Small and Medium Business Enterprises) in 1989.

More and more in-dept researches and textbooks on Japan written by Thai scholars were published including Dr. Likhit Dhiravegin's *The Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) and the Chakri Reformation (1868-1910) : A Comparative Perspective* (1981); Dr. Thawee Theeravongseri's *Political Relation between Thailand and Japan* (1981); Surichai Wangaeo et. al.'s *Japanese Assistance : Its Impact on Thai Development* (1983). Dr. Khien Theeravit continued to be active and contributed a significant research on "*Japanese Construction Business in Thailand : Its Impact on Thailand Development and Thai-Japanese Relation*" in 1989.

To sum up, the development of Japanese studies in Thailand has passed through several stages. From the **incubation stage** in the 1960's, one saw a few scholars teaching a few courses on Japanese History or Japanese Politics and using a few textbooks translated from the West; to the **period of politicization** in the 1970's, both professors and students were very much interested in Japanese studies but their interests seemed to narrow to a few issues, mainly the economic relations between Thailand and Japan. In the 1980's, the Japanese studies has been developed and covered a variety of issues and the analysis was less emotional. More and more students are learning Japanese languages. More and more scholars are teaching or engaging in researches on Japanese studies. Nevertheless, some problems still exist in the curriculum and researches which will be discussed next.

Curriculum on Japanese Studies

There are many courses on Japanese studies offered in various faculties of Thai universities. In 1985, Banyat Surakarnvit and Piyakamol Sindhavananda of the Japanese Studies Center, Thammasat University conducted a comprehensive survey on undergraduate courses on Japanese Studies offered in 16 Thai universities.⁹ Many of their finding then continued to remain so. At present, 18 institutes of higher education in Thailand offer courses on Japanese studies, six of them are private colleges and universities (Krung-thep University, Dhurakijpundit University, Payap University, Krirk College, Rangsit College, and Assumption University or ABAC) and the rest are government universities (Chulalongkorn, Thammasat, Ramkhamhaeng, Kasetsart, Chiangmai, Silpakorn, Khon-Kaen, Prince of Songkla, Srinakarinwirot, Sukhothai Open University and King Mongkut's Institute of Technology).

Among the government universities, nine of them offer courses on Japanese language, of which only three (Chulalongkorn, Thammasat and Kasetsart) offer them as major subject in the undergraduate curriculum. At present, all private colleges and universities offer Japanese language courses, to respond to the increasing interest of the students. However, problems still exist which hinder the qualitative improvement of Japanese language teaching. One of them is the insufficient numbers of qualified teaching staffs, and the other is the lack of suitable materials and language textbooks.

As for these two problems, the Japanese Studies Center of the Institute of East Asian Studies at Thammasat University had set up the "language training program" for Thai

teachers who teach Japanese language. Moreover, the Center also produces Handbooks on teaching Japanese language. Nevertheless, long term solutions are needed to solve these two problems.

As for the social science courses on other aspects of Japanese studies, the older and more established universities seem to have more advantage in terms of a variety of courses and more qualified staffs. Only four universities namely Chulalongkorn, Thammasat, Kasetsart and Ramkhamhaeng offer wide range of courses on Japan in several faculties including economics, politics, history, philosophy, literature, religion, culture, geography sociology, arts and architecture, mass communication and law. Among those in the provinces, Chiangmai University has more social science courses on Japan than any other provincial universities. Recently-established universities, especially the private ones have fewer courses and fewer qualified staffs.

It appears that there are two basic problems in the teaching of Japanese Studies courses. The first problem is the lack of broad and wholistic program on Japanese studies. As the educational system in Thai universities tends to be highly departmentalized into different faculties, students in each faculty usually take courses in their own discipline and rarely register courses on Japanese studies taught in other faculties. Thus, the students do not get a wholistic knowledge on Japan. The second problem is the lack of good textbooks on many aspects of Japanese studies in Thai language. It is too difficult for Thai students to read English or Japanese language textbooks. Recently more translated works have been published and some of them are translated directly from Japanese language texts or English

language books written by Japanese scholars. Nevertheless, there is still a need for Thai language text-books written about some aspects of Japanese studies such as contemporary Japanese politics, or Japanese Foreign Policy, or Japanese Culture and Ways of Living.

At present, none of the universities in Thailand is offering a Japanese Studies program as a major subject in the undergraduate level. Thammasat University is the first and the only university in Thailand which is offering a multidisciplinary program on Japanese studies as a minor subject. Students who want to minor in this program have to take at least 8 courses, two of which are required in Japanese language. Six other courses can be chosen from the fields of Japanese history, culture, literature, politics foreign policy and economics. It is hoped that Japanese Studies program as a major subject will be offered in the near future.

Research on Japanese Studies

It is very difficult to estimate how much research have been done on Japanese studies. From 1972 to 1983, forty - two research projects on Japanese studies were registered with the government. The real numbers may be higher as many Thai scholars did their research works with the financial supports from foreign organizations or Foundation and did not register their projects with the government. It is estimated that not less than 100 research projects had been carried out on Japanese studies in the 1980's. Most of these projects have been done by the Faculty members in the Faculties of Economics at Chulalongkorn, Thammasat and Kasetsart Universities. Research topics tend also to focus on the economic relations between Thailand and Japan including trade and

investment, since Thai - Japanese economic relations have been very close and still have many problems. Recent research topics also include Japanese aid or ODA, and the transfer of technology. There seem to be fewer research on Japanese politics, Japanese foreign policy or even Japanese literature and culture.

The uneven nature of research work on Japanese studies can be traced partially to the availability of financial support. Research fund on Japanese studies in Thailand comes from two sources, one is the government fund through the National Research Council, and the other comes from the foreign organizations such as the Japan Foundation. Thai scholars prefer to get research fund from foreign organisations because there are less paperwork requirement and fewer regulations.

Research work in the past used to be done by individual scholars. However, there are new trends toward team research and counterpart research, in addition to the individual research. A team research is a research done by more than one scholars. A counter part research is a research on the same topic done by two teams of researchers from two countries. The latter one not only provides an exchange of idea but also promotes a better understanding and personal comraderie among them.

Most of the researches on Japanese studies tend to be disciplinary-oriented, and concentrate in the field of economics. There are only a few research works which were inter-disciplinary or jointly-researched by scholars from different disciplines. Two teams of political scientists and economists have produced two interesting inter-disciplinary researches on Japan-Thailand economic relations. Dr. Likhit Dhiravegin and Dr. Narongchai Akrasenee had done a joint

research on the trade between Thailand and Japan,¹⁰ while Dr. Chulacheeb Chinwanno, a political scientist and Dr. Somsak Tambunlertchai, an economist, contributed an interdisciplinary research on the investment issue.¹¹ Moreover, the Institute of East Asian Studies at Thammasat University is also promoting a counter-part research with scholars and researchers in Japan. A Thai research group led by Thammasat Professors, Somsak Thambunlertchai, Wilaiwan Wannithikul, Patcharee Thanamai, Banyat Surakarnwit carried out a joint-research project on "Japanese Investment in Thailand" with the Japanese research counter-part group from Japan Economic research Center (JERC). The research was followed by a workshop in Japan where the Thai research group met with the Japan counter-part group and had a lively discussion about their research findings. This bilateral counter-part research project can be expanded into a trilateral or multi-lateral. These kinds of research should be encouraged so as to deepen the analysis and to present a more balanced and comprehensive findings.

Problems and Prospects

Although Japanese studies in Thailand has expanded significantly in the past decades, there are still some problems or issues which should be brought to attention. Four major issues will be addressed here as the following:

1. The lack of basic textbooks in Japanese studies. Although Japanese studies has developed for more than 30 years and many books on Japan have been translated or written, these books tend to be general knowledge on history. The urgent need to further understanding on Japan are to produce good basic textbooks for the

undergraduate level on various aspects about Japanese politics, economic and especially culture and society. The problem is how to find incentives for scholars to produce high-quality textbooks.

2. The lack of scholars in certain fields of Japanese studies. Although the quantity of Japanese scholars have been increasing, most of them tend to concentrate in the fields of Japanese language or economics. There are very few scholars who specialize on Japanese politics or foreign policy and even fewer in the fields of Japanese culture and society. It is important to promote more scholars in other fields of Japanese studies so that a more balance knowledge on Japan can be obtained.

3. The Uneven focus of research in Japanese studies. This problem is related to the above one, because the researches in Japanese studies in Thailand tend to concentrate on the bilateral economic relations and issues especially trade, investment and aid. The research should be expanded and involved topics in other fields, for example, culture, religion, politics, foreign policy, and technology.

4. The Inter-disciplinary issue of Japanese studies. Japanese studies, as an area studies, should have been studied through an inter-disciplinary approach.¹² However, as Japanese studies developed in Thailand, it tends to be multi-disciplinary not-inter-disciplinary. It is important that Japanese studies should be promoted as integrated inter-disciplinary program. This is not an easy task but it poses some challenges to those who are concerned with developing and promoting Japanese studies in Thailand.

Footnotes

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2. Khien Theeravit, "Japanese-Siamese Relations 1606-1629," in *Ibid.*, pp. 17-44.
3. The concept of "Seikei Bunri" was conceived in the 1950s as a means for Japan to trade with Communist China. See Masahide Shibuzawa, *Japan and the Asian Pacific Region: Profile of Change* (London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1984).
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8. On Fukuda Doctrine, see William W. Haddad, "Japan, the Fukuda Doctrine and ASEAN," in *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 2:1 (June 1980), pp. 10-20; and also Yano Toru, "The Fukuda Doctrine and Its Implications for Southeast Asia: A Japanese Perspective," in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1978* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1979), pp. 60-64.
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