

OCCASIONAL REPORT No. 22

THE TOYOTA FOUNDATION June 1996

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Regionalizing Southeast Asian Universities

On March 4, 1996, five of the finest national universities of the Southeast Asian region signed a Memorandum of Understanding that aspires to promote Southeast Asian studies in their respective institutions. The signing ceremony was held in the vicinity of the lush green campus of the University of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Representing their universities were Dato' Dr. Hj. Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, University of Malaya; Professor Noranit Setabutr, Rector, Thammasat University, Thailand; Professor Dr. M. K. Tadjuddin, Rector, University of Indonesia; Dr. Rolando P. Dayco, Vice-Chancellor for Administration, University of the Philippines; and Professor Dr. Ir. Boma Wikan Tyoso, Deputy Rector, Academic Affairs, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia. They signed a multilateral memorandum that initiated a new and vibrant phase in interuniversity relationships.

This humanities and social sciences initiative was adopted as a unanimous resolution at the "International Conference on the Promotion of Southeast Asian Studies in Southeast Asia," organized jointly by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and the Toyota Foundation and held in Jakarta, November 3-5, 1993. The conference recognized the importance of regional studies within the region and noted with concern the decline of Southeast Asian studies in the United States, Europe, and other centers outside the region.

The background of the initiative

A distinct shift in open regionalism has been adopted by the nations of Southeast Asia. In recent years the captains of industry, trade, and commerce have moved to create regional economic entities. The opportunities arising from changing global political and international relations have been seized by national leaders to collectively advance the cause of regionalism. The academic community of Southeast Asia is central to the creation of a regional entity.

The postwar origins and development of Southeast Asian studies as an area studies program was rooted deeply in security concerns of power blocks

outside the region. "Save the Balkans of the East, which would fall like dominoes" was once the clarion call of scholars, researchers, and government policy-makers outside the region. The era of suspicion and international tension has been eclipsed by mutual cooperation and mutual respect. The development of Southeast Asian studies based on indigenous cultures and social development of Southeast Asia by Southeast Asians is a long-term human-resource development program of an academic community engaging in open agendas for research and teaching.

A small group of scholars committed to the above ideals organized themselves to develop among participating universities a blueprint for the acceleration of Southeast Asian studies in the region. The group included Professor Maria Serena I. Diokno, University of the Philippines; Professor Taufik Abdullah, Indonesian Institute of Sciences; Professor Charnvit Kaset-siri, Thammasat University; and Professor Shaharil Talib, University of Malaya. A series of planning meetings that were held in Tokyo, Manila, Bandung, and Ayuthia culminated in the Kuala Lumpur memorandum.

The scope of the initiative

In his opening comments, Dato' Dr. Hj. Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, said that a comprehensive and complementary reciprocal program among the five universities will develop a larger human-resource pool from which universities and the region can select. He added that serious consideration must be given to rapidly expanding the group to include other universities from the region. The fields of science, engineering, medicine, dentistry, and other applied sciences could also undertake similar initiatives.

The core areas of cooperation outlined in the memorandum include language training, staff exchange, and collaborative research. It is recognized that the ability to read, write, comprehend, and communicate in another Southeast Asian language is an important component in Southeast Asian studies. Postgraduate research grants will be awarded to staff members and enrolled postgraduate students in the humanities and social sciences. Staff members of each of the universities will be supported to engage



Left to right, Dr. Rolando P. Dayco, Professor Dr. M. K. Tadjuddin, Dato' Dr. Hj. Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, Professor Noranit Setabutr, and Professor Dr. Ir. Boma Wikan Tyoso exchanging the Memorandum of Understanding on behalf of their universities

in teaching at another university on a short-term basis. The participating universities hope to cultivate organized research for mutual benefit and understanding.

The above multilateral program is supported by the Toyota Foundation under its Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP). Previously the Foundation has been active in the region, funding cultural research on a bilateral basis; however, the Kuala Lumpur memorandum adds a new dimension and challenge to the Foundation's globalization efforts. This regional effort has attracted the participation of the Japan Foundation Asia Center, which is a newcomer to Southeast Asian studies. The Toyota Foundation and the Asia Center will collaborate in the support of Southeast Asian studies in the region. The sum of \$500,000 has been allocated for the current year's budget. (*Shaharil Talib, Professor, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya*)

Symposia on the Japanese Occupation in Southeast Asia

In commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, the symposium "The Japanese Occupation in the Context of Southeast Asian History: Evaluation and Interpretation" was held at the Shonan Village Center, Japan, in November 1995. Researchers in Southeast Asian studies previously established three forums that received foundation-

initiative grants from the Toyota Foundation: the Forum for the Survey of Records Concerning the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia, which received grants in fiscal 1985, 1986, and 1988; the Forum for the Survey of Records Concerning the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines, which received grants in fiscal 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993; and the Forum on the Japanese Occupation of Malaya and Singapore, which received grants in fiscal 1992, 1993, and 1995. The scholars in these forums collected extant historical records, prepared chronological tables and bibliographies, and periodically presented their findings. The symposium in November 1995 was intended to consolidate the results of all three forums.

The Shonan symposium

More than a year earlier, members of the above-mentioned forums had called for such a symposium. Planning got underway when an organizing committee was formed by six representatives of the forums: Yoji Akashi, Ken'ichi Goto, Setsuho Ikehata, Midori Kawashima, Aiko Kurasawa, and Michiko Nakahara. With the support of a fiscal 1994 foundation-initiative grant, the committee met frequently to define the purpose and theme of the November 1995 symposium and to propose participants and themes for papers to be presented. Regrettably, Yoji Akashi was unable to participate in the symposium because he was hospitalized following an accident in late October. The symposium was held November 3–5 at the Shonan Village Center, in Hayama, Kanagawa Prefecture.

The Japanese occupation evolved differently in the various Southeast Asian countries, depending on their historical background, ethnic composition, economic importance, and so forth, but in every case it had wide-ranging effects on local society. Some effects were experienced in all occupied areas, but many differed from area to area and had a different significance to the postwar societies of the respective areas. The aim of the symposium was to consider—from the perspectives of both Japan and the Southeast Asian countries—the position of the Japanese occupation period in the history of each Southeast Asian country, clarify the meaning that the occupation of Southeast Asian countries has in modern and contemporary Japanese history, and ascertain whether historical interpretations and perspectives have changed in those countries with the passage of time.

The topics of the symposium's five sessions were (1) the continuity and transformation of the governing structure and leadership; (2) the mobilization of hu-

man and material resources and the response of local societies; (3) culture and society under the Japanese occupation; (4) the Japanese occupation in multi-ethnic societies; and (5) the Japanese occupation in the context of modern and contemporary history, with an emphasis on comparison and evaluation. The sessions were attended by not only researchers in Southeast Asian studies but also researchers in economic history and the history of neighboring areas, such as Japan and India. Twenty-four research papers were



Panelists addressing a session of the Shonan symposium on the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia

presented. Eleven of the presenters were women, an indicator of the active participation of women in the field of Southeast Asian history in recent years.

Since the working language of the symposium was Japanese, most of those presenting papers were Japanese. But the presenters also included Ricardo T. Jose, a Filipino who received his degree in Japan, and Chua Ser Koon, a Singaporean who studied in Japan and currently teaches at Tsuda College, in Tokyo. In the fifth session, they described the current state of research on the Japanese military governance of their countries and how this period is viewed there today. A small number of researchers other than the presenters were also invited to the symposium, and a total of about fifty people stayed at the Shonan Village Center for the duration of the symposium, participating in intensive discussions.

The Singapore symposium

While preparations for the November symposium were underway, a similar symposium was being planned in Singapore to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the war's end, and the organizers of that symposium were eager to have Japanese cooperation. Chiefly through Yoji Akashi, the organizing committee for the symposium in Japan kept in touch and coordinated activities, and the date of the Singapore symposium was set for December 1995. This symposium, which received a special grant in fiscal 1995, was organized under the leadership of Paul H. Krotoska, senior lecturer in the history department of the National University of Singapore and managing edi-

tor of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. Japanese participants in the Singapore symposium who also attended the symposium in Shonan included Fujio Hara, Yasuko Kobayashi, Aiko Kurasawa, Hakko Kozano, and Motoko Shuto, all of whom presented papers. Yoji Akashi, who had been instrumental in the preparations, was not able to attend this seminar either.

The Singapore symposium was held December 16–18. On the first day, participants toured war-related sites; the next two days were devoted to presentations. A total of nineteen people from Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States participated in the symposium and presented papers.

The significance of the symposia

In summarizing my impressions of these symposia—it is an ironic coincidence that each was held in a place called Shonan (Shonan was the Japanese name of Singapore during World War II)—I was struck by the rapid development in Southeast Asian studies of the Japanese military-occupation period in the past twenty years or so.

European and American scholars began studying this period of Southeast Asian history in relation to decolonialization quite early, in the 1950s, but mainly from the perspective of political history. Most of the papers in the 1966 work *Southeast Asia in World War II*, edited by Josef Silverstein of Yale University, reflected political viewpoints. In contrast, the research papers collected in *Southeast Asia Under Japanese Oc-*



Participants in the symposium "The Japanese Occupation in the Context of Southeast Asian History"

cupation, edited by Alfred W. McCoy and published in Yale University's Southeast Asia Studies series in 1980, approached the subject from the perspective of socioeconomic history. This work included several papers by Asian researchers, demonstrating the growth of research in this field in the countries directly involved.

Although Japan was one of the countries directly involved, comprehensive research on this period started relatively late in Japan, only in the 1970s. Progress was slow, and the number of researchers in the field remained small. In 1986 the Toyota Foundation began funding forums on historical records. The significance of this funding is great, since until then this period had tended to be studied only by specialists in the occupation by Japan. But the grants awarded by the Toyota Foundation ended this and encouraged researchers with wide-ranging topics working in varied disciplines to participate in research, and as a result breathed new life into the field.

The findings of this research supported by the Toyota Foundation are richly varied and cover a broad range of topics. In particular, researchers specializing in this region were able to conduct original research using documents and data in local languages, taking such basic factors as social and economic structure and political culture into consideration. The findings of their research are very persuasive. The research papers presented at the two symposia—covering not only political but also social, economic, and cultural viewpoints—well illustrate the variety and range of the supported research. Moreover, some papers took an interdisciplinary approach, not confining themselves narrowly to political or economic history, for

example. This research will develop further with the participation of specialists in Japanese history who employ a painstaking approach.

Since Japanese-language documents are inaccessible to most foreign researchers, Japanese researchers are expected to play a major role not only in introducing the documents to other countries but also in analyzing and interpreting this period from a Japanese perspective. In that sense, the fact that some of the re-

search findings presented at the Shonan symposium were introduced at the Singapore symposium established a link between Japanese researchers and those abroad, an achievement of no small significance. (Aiko Kurasawa, Professor, Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University)

Addendum

The proceedings of the Shonan symposium are to be published by Waseda University Press in 1996. This year, too, some papers presented at the Singapore symposium will be published by Macmillan or will appear in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, published by the National University of Singapore. The portions of the research results from the earlier forums that have already been published are listed below. Further publications are scheduled.

Shogenshu: Nihon Senryoka no Indonesia [An Anthology of Testimony: Indonesia Under Japanese Occupation]. Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 1991. 763 pp. ISBN 4-8447-8339-4. In Japanese.

Nihon Senryoki Indonesia Nempyo [A Chronology of Indonesia During the Japanese Occupation Period]. Osaka: Indonesia Kenkyu Kai, 1993. 435 pp. In Japanese.

Fukkokuhan: Hito Chosa Hokoku [A Survey Report on the Philippine Islands: Reprint Edition]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, Tokyo: 1993. Vol. 1, 473 pp. Vol. 2, 433 pp. ISBN 4-8447-6362-8. In Japanese.

Intabyu Kiroku: Nihon no Firipin Senryo [A Catalogue of Interviews: Japan's Occupation of the Philippines]. Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 1994. 709 pp. ISBN 4-8447-8370-x. In Japanese.

Boei Kenkyujo Shozo: Nihon no Firipin Senryo Kankei Shiryo Mokuroku [A Bibliography of Historical Documents on the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines in the Possession of the National Institute for Defense Studies]. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1994. 110 pp. In Japanese.

A Study of *Ketoprak*, a Javanese Popular Performing Art

The following report by Budi Susanto, S.J., a director of the *Lembaga Studi Realino* (Realino Center of Studies), in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, is based on research conducted as part of "Ketoprak: The Politics of the Past in Present-Day Java," a project supported by international grants in fiscal 1993 and 1994.

During the last ten years, the study of popular performing arts in Indonesia has been doubly handicapped. First, because of a basically elitist orientation, some government officials have held that these arts are by no means a legacy of the country's proud past, its exotic Golden Age. Second, because of their noisy and unpolished theatrical performances, these arts have been considered an ineffective contribution to the ruling class's modern Indonesian *Pembangunan* (economic development) program.

However, my two years' research (1993–95) on *ketoprak*—one of the best-liked Javanese popular performing arts—prompts the following observations. A *tonil* (modern Western-style drama) appears realistic, but it's not. A *bioskop* (motion picture) does not appear realistic, and it certainly is not. A *ketoprak* does not appear realistic, but it certainly is!

Born in the late 1920s under the influence of spectacular Western theater, *ketoprak* gradually became closely allied to the well-known Javanese *wayang* (shadow puppet) theater, which has interpreted and shaped mass culture in Indonesian society, in Javanese communities in particular. *Ketoprak*, however, borrowed only the *wayang* forms that supported its own agenda.

Previous studies of *ketoprak* have acknowledged that this traditional Javanese popular theater normally stages plays inspired by interest in local history, that is, the Javanese kingdoms of the past. Yet since the stories are actually based on peoples' memories (their recollection of images), *ketoprak* is vulnerable to the ideologies introduced in the course of its society's history.

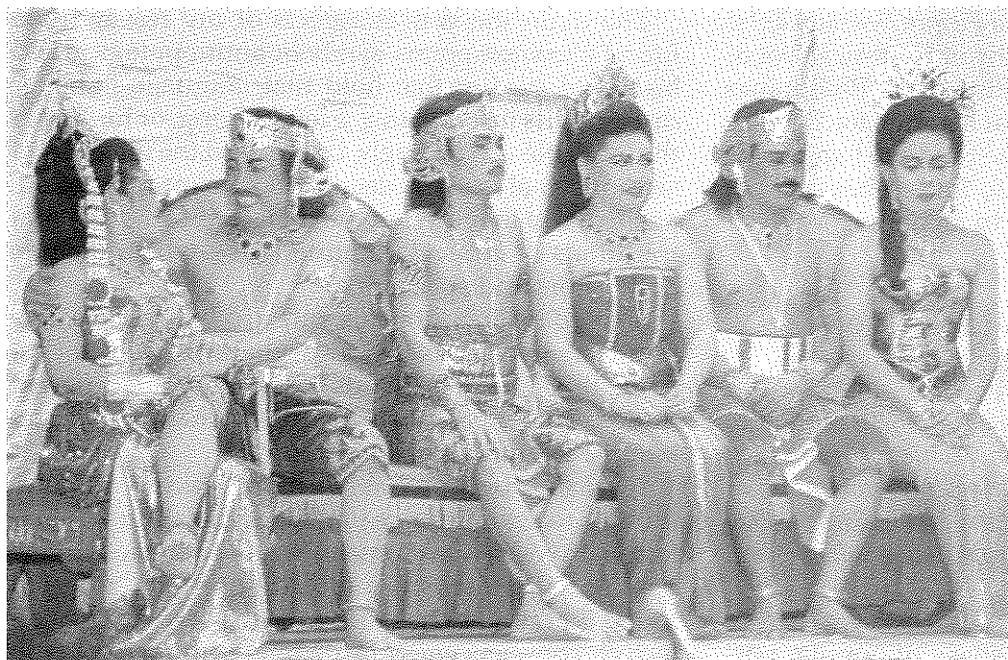
The main theoretical aspects of my research are found in contemporary symbolic anthropological and historical studies that hold that language is better discerned as instantiating, exemplifying, or hinting at the ineffable. Accordingly, I have used the methods of semiotic analysis and deconstructive interpretation, particularly in studying the daily press and the oral traditions of *ketoprak* communities—which include both actors and spectators.

Shaped by its historical context, a *ketoprak* play acknowledges that its theatrical rhetoric need not assume that thoughts, words, and reality are different things. This means that there is no hierarchical relationship among the three terms.

A *ketoprak* play probably tries to reassure its community, to acknowledge that modernization—an unfamiliar world—has somehow caused the loss of the past social consensus and harmony. My research found that *ketoprak* has been a means of creating a collective conscienceness in people without access to



The goddess in Ratu Kidul bidding her departing husband farewell



Ketoprak actors in the exaggerated costume of aristocrats of Java's Golden Age

bureaucratic or other institutionalized forms of political muscle.

The allure and paradox of modernization

In the first decades of the twentieth century, even the ordinary people of the Netherlands East Indies—that is, Indonesia under Dutch colonial rule—realized that they were living in a time of rapid and radical social change. Yet they apparently did not really understand that such change would inevitably be reflected in their society and shape their lifestyles. Ironically, a growing interest in Indonesia's (if not Java's) history, its Golden Age, was encouraged by several Dutch philologists and archaeologists and their indigenous colleagues who had been trained in the Netherlands. In fact, archaic images were engineered to maintain the "native" status of educated indigenes, to control their progressive attitudes, and to situate them in the class hierarchy of colonial society. This was an attempt to convince the indigenous peoples that they would never match their ancestors' greatness or challenge colonial knowledge and power.

Indeed, the daily reality for ruled people is that their families, the education system, the mass media, and cultural and political institutions somehow work together to perpetuate submission to the ruling ideology. Nevertheless, it is clear that the ruling ideology (committed to memory and staged in Western and exquisite Javanese court images) is reproduced precisely in all its contradictions in noisy

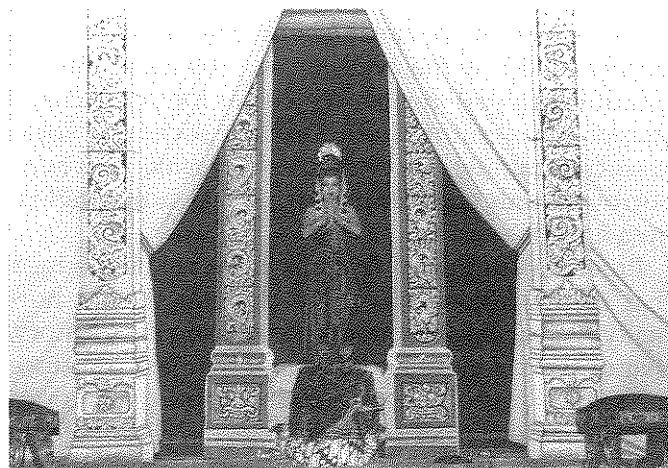
and unpolished *ketoprak* performances.

With its satires of aristocratic costume, music, and discourse, the *ketoprak* has been a means by which *ketoprak* communities differentiated and distanced themselves from the traditional social world in which they lived. Yet the *ketoprak* notion of a Golden Age indicated that the traditional prestige of the governing *priyayi* elite was declining precipitously in the eyes of the Javanese working class, which steadily joined *ketoprak* communities.

During the Japanese occupation of Java (1942–45), *ketoprak* plays were in fact

successfully manipulated by the military regime as part of its war propaganda. *Ketoprak* was suited to the creation of an idealized notion of the *Rakyat* (People, with a capital *P*) that was needed to lend credibility to the so-called nationalism of the time. The propaganda of the Japanese military was designed to silence both the Western Allies and their aristocratic Javanese collaborators in the colonial period.

Surprisingly, in the last five years Golkar—Indonesia's government-sponsored ruling party—has also orchestrated *ketoprak*, in an effort to win general elections. *Ketoprak* plays televised by the state-owned station unquestionably transmit messages and orders regarding the "promised land" of a successful modern



A spectacular scene from the popular *ketoprak* play *Ratu Kidul*

Indonesian *Pembangunan*. These television programs, which emphasize images rather than words, actually impose their pace on the viewers and invite not understanding but the sentimentality and pity that their ruler requires of them so that they can perform a ritual of pseudo-participation in events.

Ketoprak deconstructed

Rather than interpret modernization, a *ketoprak* community prefers to order and domesticate its facts and events. A sense of nihilist aesthetics (with controversies over sexuality, obsessive individualism, and a fragmented sense of self) has existed throughout the history of *ketoprak* plays.

A *ketoprak* play is actually concerned with the process of constructing meaning, not with the final product. The emphasis has constantly shifted away from the normal areas of interest of *ketoprak* plays—the school, police and military, media, and parent culture. This happens because of the nature of the modern pluralistic society, with definite social classes and religious and racial favoritism and discrimination, that flourished in certain circumstances in Indonesian society. For example, in conjunction with celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Indonesia's proclamation of independence in 1995, the *ketoprak* actors of Yogyakarta united to perform three plays set in Java's Mataram kingdom in the sixteenth century portraying the decline of the old king and the rise of the righteous new one.

The establishment is perpetually called into question in *ketoprak*. As it is depicted in *ketoprak* plays, its form is recorded not in a mechanical and commercialized world but in the ever fragile meaning that remains after the disappearance of usage and interchange. Thus the world of their ancestors has immediacy in the daily lives of *ketoprak* actors and spectators not because it provides a lofty example but because it exhibits all the defects of ordinary contemporary society.

Because of its proletarian nature, a *ketoprak* community cannot offer the Promised Land, but at least



Members of a traveling *ketoprak* troupe preparing for a performance

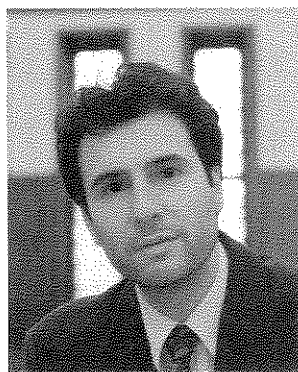
there is a purgatory in its idiosyncratic plays. On the *ketoprak* stage, everything is cursed and tangled. Everything nourishing is spoiled. In *ketoprak*—for example, in one of its most popular stories, *Ratu Kidul* (The South Sea Goddess Affair)—all sense of high art is missing: the intrigues, amours, and battles of the supposed Javanese past are played for all the thrills and comedy they are worth, nothing more. According to tradition, the goddess in *Ratu Kidul* was the wife of Hamengku Buwana, the ruling sultan of Yogyakarta. Thus both the past and its sense of a glorified hierarchy are desacralized. For the working-class and proletarian actors and spectators, *ketoprak* is not escapism; rather, it has been a means of surviving the allure and threat of modernization. Even if modern theater says, "Look, my play is like life," a *ketoprak* simply says, "Only my *ketoprak* will show you what everyday appearances conceal."

Law, Policy, and Public Health: A Study in Japan

Eric A. Feldman, author of the following report, received a J.D. from Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California at Berkeley, in 1989 and a Ph.D. from Berkeley's Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program in 1994. He was a Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Research Scholar at Yale University's Institution for Social and Policy Studies and a Visiting Fellow at Yale Law School from 1994 to

1996. He will become Associate Director of New York University's Institute for Law and Society in September 1996.

As a Fulbright Graduate Research Fellow, I traveled to Japan in December 1989 to undertake intensive language study and begin research on my doctoral dissertation. A J.D./Ph.D. student in the University of California at Berkeley's Jurisprudence and Social



Eric A. Feldman

Policy Program, I had concentrated my studies on law and medicine, and Japanese law and society. By 1991, when I was awarded a grant by the Toyota Foundation, I was immersed in my dissertation research but was not yet satisfied with either the theoretical or the empirical components of my work.

With the support of the Toyota Foundation, I was able to complete the research and writing of "Medicine and Individual Rights in Japan: A Legal and Policy Analysis of Controversies over AIDS and Brain Death," which served as the basis of my Ph.D. dissertation.

Studying the literature from history, sociology, political science, and law, I came to believe that claims to rights were an important aspect of social change in Japan. The first section of my paper provided a methodological framework, addressing the absence of established criteria for determining whether rights were understood by particular individuals or in specific locations, as well as the difficulty of using Western legal concepts to examine Japanese law. It also provided a working definition of "rights," traced the origin and translation of the Japanese word for "rights" (*kenri*), and discussed the individuals involved in melding Western legal concepts and Japanese law.

Peasant rebellions, the Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights, and the management of social protest by the state were the subject of the next section. I observed that many individuals and groups were making rights-like claims and assertions even without rights specifically enumerated and protected by law, and before there existed a Japanese word that could be translated as "rights."

After discussing the relationship between rights, culture, and legal/political change, surveying the scholarship on modernization, political and legal cul-

ture, and institutions, and examining Japanese citizens' movements aimed at securing "new rights," I introduced the contemporary patients' rights movement as a bridge to two policy studies. The first focused on the debate over the acceptance of a brain-death standard and the implementation of an organ-transplant program. As in the case of abortion in the U.S., the controversy over defining death in Japan has become a battle over personhood, religious values, professional authority, and legal rules.

The second study addressed AIDS and focused on the complex struggle over the AIDS Prevention Law. It sought to explain the emergence and political mobilization of groups affected by HIV, particularly hemophiliacs, their invocation of a rhetoric of rights, and the creation of a government financial-compensation scheme for HIV-positive hemophiliacs. In both policy studies, emphasis was placed upon the assertion of rights and its impact upon the process and substance of contemporary policy making.

The final section of my paper concentrated on litigation—criminal complaints against transplant surgeons and tort actions by HIV-positive hemophiliacs against pharmaceutical companies and the government. These demonstrated that rights assertion is not limited to the policy-making arena but also leads to litigation aimed at creating social change.

My initial research on litigation by hemophiliacs over the distribution of HIV-contaminated blood has led to an international, multidisciplinary research project for which Dr. Ronald Bayer (a political scientist at Columbia University's School of Public Health) and I have received a major grant award from the Toyota Foundation. With additional support from the Center for Global Partnership, the Merieux Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, we have assembled a group of twenty-five researchers from Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America to spend two years studying and comparing different national experiences with HIV-tainted blood. Our first meeting will be held in July 1996; it will be followed by a December 1996 conference and a June 1997 meeting at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Study and Conference Center in Italy. We hope to conclude the project with a press conference and research-dissemination meeting in Tokyo.

Framing our research are events in the United States. In 1982, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) identified blood as a medium that could transmit the as yet unknown etiological agent responsible for AIDS. From that moment, the collection, distribution, and consumption of blood

have been subject to bitter legal and political disagreement internationally. During the period between the shared recognition that AIDS could be transmitted by blood and the moment when the safety of the blood supply was improved by testing all blood donors or donations or by heat treatment, all consumers of blood or blood products were at risk for HIV infection.

In order to distill and articulate the central issues raised by this public health tragedy, our research will explore the events in five countries—Canada, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States—that have experienced (or are experiencing) conflict as the result of HIV-contaminated blood. In some cases, the conflict has been deep and sustained. An additional group of countries—Denmark, Great Britain, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Thailand, and Zimbabwe—will be examined to deepen our understanding of specific issues raised by the primary country studies.

Hemophiliacs in every country have made accusations against government and corporate officials; new regulatory schemes for the blood system have been discussed and/or implemented; and there has been innovative and insistent litigation to establish both culpability and compensation. Has the pace and timing of each nation's response been unique? Has there been cross-national learning? The answers to these questions are unclear; we will be the first group to undertake the needed analysis. We will write a book based on the research for publication in both English and Japanese; we also intend to write blood-policy guidelines with the help of project participants from the World Health Organization and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

The conflict over HIV and blood in Japan is of central importance to our work. In the mid-1980s officials at the Ministry of Health and Welfare, like government bureaucrats in many other countries, were aware of the possibility that blood products might transmit HIV to Japanese hemophiliacs. But a number of factors created an environment in which the ministry acted cautiously (some would say with excessive caution) in banning potentially contaminated products in favor of those that were heat treated, a process that was approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and was believed to kill the HIV virus. Those factors included complex regulations covering the testing and approval of new pharmaceutical products, concern about creating shortages that would deprive hemophiliacs of life-sustaining medication, a close relationship between the minis-

try and the pharmaceutical companies it regulated, and a history of drug-related injuries caused by products approved by the ministry.

Plaintiffs in the negligence litigation against the ministry and pharmaceutical companies argue that corruption, greed, and incompetence caused the distribution of HIV-contaminated blood products and the infection of 40 percent of Japan's 5,000 hemophiliacs. Two groups of plaintiffs in the Osaka and Tokyo District Courts have been seeking more than one million dollars each and an official apology from the defendants. In October 1995 the courts recommended an informal settlement; in the ensuing months, evidence that ministry and corporate officials acted inappropriately mounted. A newly appointed Minister of Health and Welfare publicly apologized in February 1996, and in March the formal legal claim was settled. Yet the conflict, with ramifications for the organization and control of the pharmaceutical blood systems in Japan, implications for the growing patients' rights movement, and lessons about the relationship between law, medicine, and society, is far from resolved.

Funds Raised for Conservation Of Important Champa Site

To commemorate its twentieth anniversary, the Toyota Foundation sponsored the exhibition "The Maritime Silk Road: Artifacts and Culture of the Champa Kingdom," which traveled to five cities in Japan between September 1994 and February 1995. The kingdom of Champa, which flourished from about the fourth century through the end of the seventeenth century, extended over central and southern Vietnam and was a major center of maritime trade in Southeast Asia.

In conjunction with the traveling exhibition, the Foundation established a special fund-raising program called the Indochina Cultural Cooperation Fund, which raised about ¥2 million to be used for cultural projects, such as the conservation and preservation of the cultural heritage of Indochina. Since this money was raised at an exhibition of artifacts from Champa sites, the fund-management committee decided to use the funds for conservation of the largest Champa site, the former Champa capital My Son, near Da Nang, in central Vietnam.

Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, which has jurisdiction over the My Son site, plans to nominate the site for registration by UNESCO as a world heritage

site. Thus it is urgent to survey the site and plan for its restoration.

Surveying and debris clearance at the site got underway in September 1995, under the supervision of the Department of Culture and Information of Quang Nam-Da Nang Province. The My Son site has been divided into eight sectors; brush is currently being cleared and fences built in three sectors. Surveying, brush and debris clearance, and fence construction will be completed in all sectors within two years.

In addition to brush, undetonated bombs (remnants of the Vietnam War) and venomous snakes must be cleared from the area. Because Japanese high school students helped raise funds for the project, the provincial Department of Culture and Information plans to ask high school students in the My Son area to help with brush clearance, giving them an opportunity to learn about their history and cultural heritage at first hand.

The Budget for Fiscal 1996 and The Major Program Changes

The Board of Directors of the Toyota Foundation approved the annual grant and operational programs and the budget at its seventy-sixth meeting, on March 13, 1996.

Financial prospect

The outlook for the Foundation's financial condition over the next three years was presented to the board, which was informed that the financial outlook is serious and the overall expenditures, including grants, have to be trimmed accordingly. For this year, the program budget is reduced by about 10 percent over last year's budget.

The endowment income for this fiscal year is expected to be ¥660 million (it was ¥715 million in 1995), and grant program expenses will be ¥407 million, compared with ¥435 million in 1995.

The Foundation derives its income from management of its endowment. With the interest rates in the Japanese financial market still at a historic low, the Foundation faces the daunting task of finding the best placement for high-yield bonds that are maturing relentlessly.

The Foundation has been struggling to absorb and defer the impact of this financial pressure for some time, but it's out of our hands and we have to take measures for survival with a view to preserving the core components of the Foundation's programs.

I am given much food for thought as I see that foundations in the United States—whose portfolios consist mainly of stocks—have been successful in enlarging their endowments and increasing their overall operations.

Here, we operate under a more stringent framework, and stock investment is virtually prohibited for decent foundations because of the safety-first criteria for foundations in Japan.

It is keenly felt, however, that there should be some room for exploration in the financial operations of Japanese foundations, heading perhaps for somewhere between the American approach and the Japanese one. Given that expectations of foundations have grown both at home and abroad, I believe the NPO sector should be a bit more aggressive in terms of fund operations even within the non-speculative guidelines.

Major changes in the programs

Research Grant Program No major changes will be made in this program, which now marks the third year since the introduction of its new framework. In order to increase the research results' visibility, project reports will be publicized regularly in our Japanese-language *Toyota Foundation Report*.

Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP) SEASREP, one of the Foundation's programs related to Southeast Asia, will begin full-scale operations this summer.

The initiatives of the SEASREP Council have made this challenging program possible, and we have gained a distinguished supporter. The Japan Foundation Asia Center is now cosponsoring this program. It is rewarding to see that the resources and programs the Foundation has developed are now being put to good use in a broader dimension, and I really hope that this project will be a prime case to show that private initiatives are in the vanguard in addressing cultural and social issues.

NPO networking in Asia It has been a long-time dream of the Japanese philanthropy sector to develop an international network, but it has been shelved so far and not much work has been done except for some test cases, such as the Asia-Pacific Philanthropy Consortium, which puts more emphasis on network building per se.

At this time, however—with a view to exploring the possibility of building a coalition or alliance to develop a common agenda for major social issues,

such as the global environment, human rights, cultural identity, and so on in the face of the rapid social changes in Asia—a couple of staff members from Japanese philanthropic organizations and a few private individuals volunteered to join a research team that visited ten countries to conduct a basic survey in relation to the objectives set out above.

This survey was sponsored by the Asia Center again, and I appreciate the initiatives and the advice from the Center. We have to wait for the report by the team for further details of the studies, but I anticipate that this is going to be a monumental task taking us to the twenty-first century and urging us to work closely in the Asian community.

Civil Society Programs The major changes in our programs this year concern this section. The Grant Program for Citizen Activities awarded grants twice a year, in May and December, but this year we will have only one leg, in December. Instead, a new program, the Civil Society Project, will be inaugurated this year to foster the self-support of NGOs, a matter that has been a continuing and troubling issue in Japan. I believe this experimental project goes a step beyond past programs in promoting and enhancing these groups' capabilities.

This brief overview outlines the Foundation's annual plans in the current fiscal year. Budget limitations are threatening our base line, but we will explore new directions while maintaining the existing programs to respond to the surging expectations of the global community. (*Chimaki Kurokawa, Managing Director*)

Workshop on Asian Plant Resources

Some twenty participants attended the small-scale workshop "Asian Plant Resources: Creating a Database and Gauging Its Social Significance" on November 17, 1995, at the Foundation Library Center of Japan, in Tokyo. The workshop was held to present reports on two projects on Asian plant resources that were supported by Toyota Foundation grants, and to discuss the technical feasibility and social significance of creating a database of scholarly research materials, which was the goal of both projects. Participants invited to the workshop included specialists in botany and information systems and people engaged in CD-ROM publishing.

The first report, on the results of joint research

conducted by a Japanese-Indonesian project team, "A Study of Traditional Medicine in South Sulawesi Through Investigation of *Lontar*" (led by Professor Izuru Yamamoto, of the Tokyo University of Agriculture), was presented by Professor Takehisa Nakamura, of the Tokyo University of Agriculture. This project was supported by research grants awarded in fiscal 1990 and 1992. *Lontar* are old Indonesian palm-leaf manuscripts, although most appear to have been recorded in relatively recent times, and the goal of this project is to examine and catalogue their numerous descriptions of traditional medicines in the light of modern medical science.

The second report was on the project "A Database of Plant Resources on the Indian Subcontinent," conducted by Professor Tetsuo Koyama, of Nihon University and the City University of New York. This project received a Foundation Initiative Grant in fiscal 1994. The project's aim is to determine the type of database to be created from the primary data that Professor Koyama gathered over a period of more than twenty years, while he was a curator at the New York Botanical Garden. The report cited numerous field studies conducted thus far and described the database prototype that is currently being developed.

In the second session of the workshop, Professor Masamitsu Negishi, of the National Center for Science Information Systems, in Tokyo, reported on the current state of the dissemination of scholarly information, describing the most recent databases and Internet access. Professor Negishi was followed by Tsuyoshi Matsumoto, managing editor at ASCII, a Japanese publisher of magazines and CD-ROMs, and Takumi Miyamoto, a staff member at ASCII who had been in charge of the publication of an encyclopedia of insects on CD-ROM. They discussed CD-ROM publishing and offered practical observations based on their experience in publishing a CD-ROM encyclopedia.

The presentations were followed by a general discussion. Although no conclusions could be reached in a single meeting, the workshop did provide an opportunity for participants from entirely different fields to exchange views. (*Masaaki Kusumi, Program Officer, National Division*)

Recent Publication Based on Foundation-Supported Research

Katalog Film Indonesia: 1926–1995 (A Catalogue of Indonesian Film: 1926–1995). Johanes Berchmans

Kristanto. Jakarta: PT Grafiasri Mukti, 1995. 426 pp. In Indonesian.

This work is a chronological catalogue of 2,261 Indonesian motion pictures from 1926, the year Indonesia's first film was made, to 1995. It includes information on these films' directors, casts, genres, and awards, together with film reviews.

A foundation devoted to the preservation of Indonesian motion pictures was established in Indonesia in 1975. Many films produced before then have been lost. It is estimated that less than 70 percent of the films listed in this catalogue are extant.

This catalogue provides valuable data for the study of motion pictures, which are excellent resource materials recording various aspects of society and reflecting views at the time of their production.

Johanes Berchmans Kristanto, editor of the arts page of a daily newspaper, spent more than five years compiling this catalogue. An international grant awarded in fiscal 1994 supported part of the compilation and publication costs.

Recent Foundation Publication

Culture in Development and Globalization: Proceedings of a Series of Symposia Held at Nongkhai, Hanoi, and Tokyo. Toichi Makita, ed. Tokyo: Toyota Foundation, 1995. 509 pp. Not for sale.

This book consists of the proceedings of three symposia sponsored by the Toyota Foundation in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of its establishment.

The three symposia—which dealt with a broad range of contemporary cultural issues—were held in Nongkhai, Thailand, in November 1994, in association with Thammasat University and the Foundation for the Promotion of Social Science and Humanities Textbook Project; in Hanoi, Vietnam, in November 1994, in association with the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities of Vietnam; and in Tokyo in January 1995, in association with the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, the International House of Japan, and the Ford Foundation.

This book contains papers by ninety-one symposium participants from Japan, other Asian countries, Europe, and the United States, whose numbers included researchers, people whose work is related to cultural concerns, and NGO activists. For further information, write to Toichi Makita at the Toyota Foundation.

About the Foundation

The Toyota Foundation, a private nonprofit, grant-making organization dedicated to the goals of realizing greater human fulfillment and contributing to the development of a human-oriented society, was endowed in October 1974 by the Toyota Motor Corporation.

The Foundation's total endowment is approximately ¥11.4 billion (roughly \$114 million). Chartered by the Prime Minister's Office, the Foundation relies on its endowment income. The decision making of the Foundation, governed by its Board of Directors, is independent of the corporate policies of the subscribing corporation or of any other institution.

Through various programs the Foundation provides grants for research and projects related to the human and natural environments, social welfare, education and culture, and other fields. Among these programs is the Research Grant Program, which supports projects that try to identify and solve problems faced by contemporary society and that focus on the following four priority areas: mutual understanding and coexistence of diverse cultures; proposals for a new social system: building a civil society; the global environment and the potential for human survival; and science and technology in the age of civil society.

The International Grant Program: Southeast Asia Program awards grants for projects that address various cultural issues in contemporary Southeast Asian society and are conducted by indigenous researchers. The Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP) provides grants to Southeast Asian researchers in order to nurture Southeast Asian studies in Southeast Asia. The "Know Our Neighbors" Programs support the translation and publication of Southeast and South Asian works in Japanese and vice versa, and of Southeast and South Asian works in other Southeast and South Asian languages.

The Toyota Foundation welcomes response from readers of the *Occasional Report*. Comments and questions should be addressed to the International Division, The Toyota Foundation, Shinjuku Mitsui Building 37F, 2-1-1 Nishi-Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 163-04, Japan. The articles in the *Occasional Report* reflect the authors' opinions and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Foundation.

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