International Relations and African Studies in Japan: Focus on Historical and Institutional Factors

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Introduction

As with the discourses regarding Japan's international relations, history and area studies play an important role in the study of Africa¹. An overwhelming number of articles on Africa published in *Kokusai Seiji* ('International Relations', the flagship quarterly journal in Japanese, issued by the Japan Association of International Relations, JAIR) were written by Africanists. Leading scholars of African affairs in the JAIR have been area specialists and also members of the Japan Association for African Studies (JAAS), the main academic association of African studies in the country. For many researchers in the field of African politics, the two associations are seen as equally important, and the researchers tend to be active members of both. As a result, a number of joint projects on African politics have recently been conducted through the collaboration between political scientists and anthropologists.

While the importance of area specialists and their collaboration with anthropologists is generally observable in the field of African politics, in Japan the practice is quite common. It is evident from an analysis of the *Kokusai Seiji* that Japanese scholars have consistently been more interested in and focused on the internal and inherent logics of African politics rather than Africa in the global politics. Although there are many reasons for this preference, this paper explores the Japanese approach mainly from historical and institutional aspects. In particular, three factors—the JAIR's institutions, origins of researchers in African politics, and their relationship with JAAS—will be examined in detail.

The state of African studies in Japan has been already introduced for English readers (Peek 1990, Philips 1997), yet the focus of the publications has primarily been on anthropology and not political science or international relations. Yoshida (2007) was a rare exception for his introductory work on the political economy in African studies in Japan; however, his work lacked an in-depth discussion of the historical and institutional aspects. Who were the main contributors to studies of African politics in Japan? What were their backgrounds and how have they evolved over time? This paper particularly sheds light on these aspects.

¹ In this paper, Africa refers to the area including Sub-Saharan Africa and Maghreb countries. Egypt is not included.

The paper is structured as follows. The introduction is followed by the state of research on Africa in JAIR, explored through the analysis of Africa-related articles published in *Kokusai Seiji* to confirm that the overwhelming part of the articles concern the dynamics of politics of particular countries or comparative studies within the region, rather than the traditional international relations (IR) topics such as the state's relationship with external powers. Sections 2, 3, and 4 investigate the institutional settings within JAIR, the background of the main contributors to *Kokusai Seiji*, and the outline of JAAS as well as its relationship with JAIR, respectively. Finally, the author's reflections will be indicated in the concluding remarks.

1. Researches on Africa in JAIR

Established in 1956, JAIR is the oldest and largest Japanese academic association on international relations. With approximately 2000 members, it is one of the largest academic associations in Japan in social sciences and humanities. Not many JAIR members are interested in Africa. According to its online information system, 58 members have chosen African studies as one of their three specialties². The number is only less than three percent of the total registered members in 1957. Yet, compared with the number of members specialising in other major fields such as East Asian studies (240 members) and European diplomatic history (163 members), the number of Africanists in JAIR might be considered more significant than expected.

Indeed, JAIR has had continuous interest in Africa since its early stage. The first special issue on Africa in its Japanese journal, (*Kokusai Seiji*), was published in 1962 (no.18). Subsequently, three other special issues on Africa were published in 1988 (no.88), 2000 (no.123), and 2010 (no.159). The general titles and the editors of the issues are indicated in Table 1. All articles included in these special issues are listed in the annexure with their bibliographical information.

Table 1. Special issues on Africa in Kokusai Seiji

Volume (Year)	Title of the special issue	Editor
No.18 (1962)	Studies of Africa	M. MOMO
No.88 (1988)	Politics and International Relations in	H. ODA
	Contemporary Africa	

² Accessed on 6 February 2022. JAIR members are invited to register up to three majors/specialties. The information is open for all members.

No.123 (2000)	Africa: Towards the 21st Century	M. KAWABATA
No.159 (2010)	Africa in Globalization	M. ENDO

To understand the characteristics of African studies in JAIR, the author conducted an overview of relevant articles that appeared in *Kokusai Seiji* from (no.1) 1957 to (no.200) 2020, and selected 78 articles explicitly dealing with Africa³. From the analysis of these articles, three characteristics can be categorically discerned. First, the number of articles on Africa has increased over time. As shown in Figure 1, the number of Africa-related articles vary from decade to decade, yet, the increasing trend is evident. In addition, the number of Africa-related articles that were not included in the special issues has increased particularly since the 2000. Until the 1990s, topics on Africa tended to be considered peculiar, and such articles were rarely published except in special issues. However, recently, publication of Africa-related articles has become nothing special in the journal, as the topic has become common in IR, particularly since the 2010s. It is therefore safe to suggest that scholars on African politics have been steadily increasing among JAIR members.

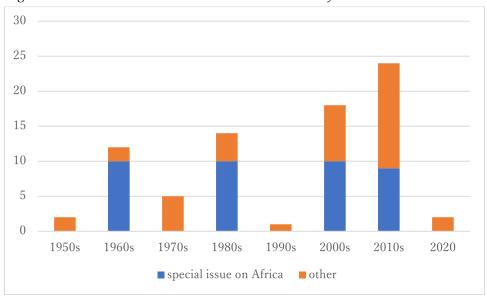


Figure 1. Number of articles on Africa in Kokusai Seiji

Source: Created by the author

Second, a significant portion of the articles, 32 according to the author's counting, focused on specific cases relating to specific African countries. The 'single country analysis'

³ The author picked articles mainly focusing Africa or those including at least one related case study.

was particularly conspicuous among researchers in the early stage of the association. As shown in the annexure, the first special issue on Africa in 1962 included the analyses of political issues that attracted wide attention at that time, such as the war in Algeria, the crisis in Congo (Kinshasa), and the racial problem in South Africa. In the second special issue on Africa in 1988, almost all the articles can be considered as 'single country analysis', and dealt with current issues including the Inkatha Movement, anti-Apartheid movements, and Namibian independence. These articles were written by researchers with a keen interest in 'what [was] actually taking place in Africa', and were based on the interest of the area specialists. This was a common characteristic of the articles on Africa that appeared in the *Kokusai Seiji*.

While majority of the contributors to *Kokusai Seiji* were through area specialists until recently, some changes have been observable in the composition of the group as the number of the published research based on a single country study has been decreasing. This is the third finding of the analysis. Instead of a single country study, the number of articles with topics suitable for the traditional IR studies, such as external relations and regionalism, have clearly increased since the 2000s. This may correspond to the general tendency in JAIR. When JAIR was established in 1956, majority of its members were historians and specialists of Japanese diplomatic history among others (Oyane 2020, 89). In the early stage of the study of international relations in post-war Japan, history and area studies were much projected. It was only later that theoretical analysis gained influence among the JAIR members, in general. The evolution of the research methods applied by the Africanists also follow this trend.

2. Institutional factors in JAIR

The discussion in the previous section demonstrates that the majority of articles on Africa published in the *Kokusai Seiji* were authored by area specialists who mainly focused on a particular country or region. One important background of this is the JAIR's institutional arrangement, which has influence over the publication of the journal. In fact, JAIR's academic activities, including the annual meeting and the publication of *Kokusai Seiji*, are characterised by its bottom-up organisational settings based on the Section (*bunkakai*), which are classified into four Blocs, namely Bloc A (history), Bloc B (area studies), Bloc C (theory), and Bloc D (non-state actor, or new topics). The Section was created and developed as a unit of researchers with similar interests since the early stage of the JAIR. There were around 20 Sections in the 1990s, which were reorganised into the four Blocs in 1999⁴. The current

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⁴ According to the first JAIR newsletter, issued in April 1977, the association then had 15 Sections; three in historical studies (History in Japanese diplomacy, History of East Asian

composition of Sections and Blocs is as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Composition of Sections in the four Blocs as of November 2021, in JAIR

Blocs	Sections	
A (History)	History in Japanese diplomacy	
	History in East Asian international politics	
	History in European international politics	
	History in American politics and diplomacy	
B (Area Studies)	Russia and Eastern Europe	
	East Asia	
	South-eastern Asia	
	Middle East	
	Latin America	
	Africa	
C (Theory)	Theory and methodology	
	International integration	
	Security studies	
	International political economy	
	Decision making	
D (Non-state actors)	International exchange	
	Transnational studies	
	United Nations studies	
	Peace studies	
	Gender studies	
	Environment studies	

Source: JAIR website

Intentionally or not, the balance of the four Blocs is considered when organising the annual meeting as well as in the selection of editors of the journal. The JAIR annual meeting is mainly composed of two types of conferences, the Session (*bukai*) and the Sectional meeting

international politics, and History of European international politics), four in area studies (East Asia, Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Southeastern Asia, and Middle East, and Africa), seven in theoretical studies (International integration, Transnational studies, International political economy, Decision making, System linkage, Security studies, and Quantitative politics), and one in peace studies.

(bunkakai). Generally, the former is a bigger gathering than the latter. Recent annual meetings included around 15 Sessions and 25-30 Sectional meetings. The Sessions are organised by a committee whose members are designated by the Board. They are, therefore, designed in a top-down fashion⁵. Meanwhile, the Sectional meetings are organized from the bottom-up, as individual members are requested to submit proposals for a presentation or a panel to each Section. The Bloc plays an important role in terms of the planning of the Kokusai Seiji. Three of the four yearly publications are special issues, for which each editor, who is a member of JAIR and selected by the Board in consideration of the balance between the four Blocs, calls for papers under a specific topic. It is safe to say that the Sections and the Blocs are the basis of JAIR's academic activities and indispensable for the smooth management of the annual meeting and the journal publication.

Research groups on history and area studies have taken dominant positions in the Sections and Blocs. As shown in Table 2, they currently account for two out of four Blocs (A and B) and ten out of twenty-one Sections⁶. As a result of their dominant position, history and area studies tend to have a greater chance to provide editors to the Japanese journal and the Sectional meetings at the annual conference, compared to other approaches. This does not necessarily mean that the research areas have attracted the keenest attention from the members. It rather signifies that they had organised themselves as a Section in the earlier stage of the JAIR's history. Once established, a Section functions as a stable device for representing a research group in the JAIR's academic activities. Since many JAIR members have identified history and area studies as their preferred research methods, such perception has been supported and reinforced by the JAIR's institutional settings.

3. Origins of Africanists in IR

Despite the fact that African studies has been a small minority in JAIR, the research in this field has constantly appeared since the 1960s. Who are the authors of these researches and how have they evolved in the academic institutions in Japan?

In terms of their academic background and credentials, three types of authors are

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⁵ In JAIR's annual meeting, a proposal for an individual presentation is not allowed for the Session, in principle. Although members have a right to submit a panel proposal, only a few proposals are accepted. As for the Sectional meetings, members are able to submit individual and panel proposals, which are collected and arranged at each Section.

⁶ The ten Sections are classified into Bloc A and B by geographic order rather than methodology.

observable in the first special issue on Africa in 1962 (Kokusai Seiji, no.18). The first was the researchers who had originally studied about colonial administration. The editor of the first special issue, Minosuke Momo, was a professor at Nihon University, and had given lectures on the administration of colonies in the pre-war period. Indeed, this was a topic that was extremely important among Japanese academia at that time. Tatsuo Urano, another contributor to the volume, and later the chairperson of the Middle East and Africa Section in the JAIR, was a student of Momo at Nihon University. Another contributor to the issue, Katsu Yanaibara, was an economist at Keio University and the son of Tadao Yanaibara, a prominent scholar of colonial administration at the University of Tokyo. The second group was composed of researchers of West Asia and Islamic Studies, including Hajime Kobayashi, who was one of the pioneers of Islamic studies in Japan (*Nihon Arab kankei kokusai kyodo kenkyu kokunai* iinkai jimukyoku, 1982). Kobayashi taught Islamic studies at several universities and the junior military academy (Rikugun Yoka Shikan Gakko). In the post-war period, he played an important role in the establishment of the Middle East Institute of Japan (MEIJ) in 1960. Hiroshi Iwanaga, another contributor to the journal and a specialist in oriental studies, succeeded Kobayashi as the head of research at the MEIJ. Hiroshi Kagaya, another contributor to the journal, was a specialist in Urdu and history of West Asia. The third group consisted of researchers at the National Diet Library (NDL). Although there was no specialist on Sub-Saharan Africa in any Japanese university at that time, the research section of the National Diet Library served as a source of information about the area. Terutaro Nishino and Hiromitsu Nakamura belonged to the NDL7. At this stage in the early 1960s none of the published articles were based on field research.

It was exactly in this period that Japan began to foster specialists in African affairs. Two initiatives deserve mention in the field of politics in Africa. The first was at Keio University, which established a full-time teaching post in African politics in 1965 at the Department of Political Science in the Faculty of Law; Hideo Oda was assigned to the post and stayed there until 1997. Oda played an active role in JAIR and became a member of its Board of Directors between 1996 and 1999. As a professor of African politics, Oda significantly contributed to the development of Africanists. Among the authors of the second special issue on Africa in 1988, of which Oda was the editor, three (Kazuyoshi Aoki, Kazuaki Inoue, and Emi Kaneko) graduated from Keio University. In addition, current leading scholars of African politics, including Takehiko Ochiai and Akiko Sugiki, were also trained under his supervision.

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⁷ Later, Nakamura moved to the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) and stayed in Nigeria for fieldwork.

The second important initiative was the founding of the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) in 1958⁸. Being reorganised as a special corporation⁹ in 1960, the IDE was founded as a semi-governmental research institute, specifically covering developing countries. Young students just after obtaining BA or MA were recruited and trained to be area specialists in the field of social sciences. In the 1960s, IDE had several specialists in Africa, and all of them were sent to African countries for one to three years for research. Although their research focus varied, many emphasised field research. Their main academic association was JAAS rather than JAIR, which was considered less fieldwork-oriented. The exception was Koji Hayashi, who studied South Africa but was not permitted by the Apartheid regime to stay in the country to conduct research. In the 1970s, he organised research projects on the liberation movements in Southern Africa, at the IDE, with Oda, Aoki, and Inoue, all of whom contributed articles to the second special issue on Africa in 1988.

Published twenty-six years after the first issue, the second special issue had markedly different characteristics in terms of the focus of the articles and the background of the authors. All the articles in this volume focused on Sub-Saharan African countries. All the authors had started their research career in the post-war period, and four authors, including the editor, were from Keio University, while two belonged to IDE. In short, this volume reflected a generational change regarding those researching about Africa and the development of African studies in Japan.

The same period also witnessed Africanists graduating from outside renowned institutions such as Keio University and IDE. Masahisa Kawabata¹⁰ and Mitsuo Ogura were prominent precursors. Having graduated from Kyoto University and the University of Tokyo, respectively, Kawabata and Ogura experienced a long fieldwork in Africa (Tanzania and Zambia), and became active members of JAIR. They also made significant contributions towards fostering next generation scholars at Ryukoku University and Tsuda College, where Kawabata and Ogura respectively taught.

⁸ An idea of establishing a research institute specializing in developing countries (particularly Asia) was conceived among academia, business community, and government officials in the early stage of post-war Japan. IDE, whose Japanese name is *Ajia Keizai Kenkyujo* (literally, Research Institute for Asian Economies), was created under the supervision of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), after a fierce debate between MITI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) regarding which ministry should supervise this research institute.

⁹ A special corporation stands for a category of public agencies.

¹⁰ President of JAAS between 2011-2013.

Diversity in terms of the institutions producing scholars of African politics has increased over time. This is clearly observable from the composition of contributors to the third and fourth special issues of *Kokusai Seiji*. A symbolic case is that of Mitsugi Endo. After obtaining a BA and MA at the University of Tokyo, he obtained a Ph.D. at the University of York, and assumed a post in IR at his *alma mater*. A contributor to the third special issue on Africa in 2000, Endo edited the fourth special issue ten years later. Continuously appointed to the post in the Board of Directors since the mid-2000s, he has played significant roles in the management of JAIR. As a professor at one of the most renowned IR programmes in Japan, Endo has educated a number of young scholars.

4. Japan Association for African Studies (JAAS)

JAIR has been the centre of African politics in Japan. However, it has never been the only centre, as JAAS has also made important knowledge contributions in the field. In fact, the overlapping of and the approach between the two academic associations has resulted in meaningful development of the study of African politics in Japan.

Established in 1964, JAAS is the largest academic association of African studies in Japan, with currently more than 800 members. JAAS has been strongly characterised by its interdisciplinary membership including not only the humanities and social sciences, but also natural sciences such as zoology, primatology, botany, soil science, geology, medical science, etc (Philips 1997). The remarkable variety, as indicated in Table 3 and 4, can be traced back to the birth of the association, which was created by integrating mainly three research groups in different regions in Japan. In the 1960s when most of the African countries attained independence, research groups on Africa sprung up all over Japan.

There were three core groups. In Kanto (the area around Tokyo), a couple of organisations launched African studies. In particular, the University of Tokyo had anthropologists and geographers who had strong interest in Africa. IDE was already engaged in research on African political economy. In the metropolitan area, the interest in African affairs also grew outside the academic circles, as journalists and officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) were eager to seek information about the newly emerging countries of the region, and closely collaborated with researchers to help promote research at the academic institutions.

In Chubu, Nagoya University was eager to engage in African studies. According to Kaneyoshi Suwa, a geologist and the JAAS president between 1993-95, the interest in Africa started with the initiative by students for an expedition to the African continent in 1962. In support of this, the university asked Suwa, then a young lecturer, to accompany the students

(Suwa 2015). In collaboration with Isao Matsuzawa, one of the founding JAAS Board members, Suwa's group made Nagoya University the Japanese centre of geological studies in Africa.

In Kansai, Kyoto University had already launched expeditions to Africa since 1958, under the strong initiative of Kinji Imanishi, a prominent biologist and one of the founding JAAS Board members. Based on his passionate interest in human evolution, Imanishi led a group to undertake large-scale and long-term research in Africa in the field of primatology and anthropology (JAAS 2013).

Table 3. Members of the JAAS Board of Directors (1964)

Name	Affiliation	Major
Kinji IMANISHI	Kyoto U. (University)	Biology, Primatology
Masao OKA	Meiji U. (formerly, U. Tokyo)	Anthropology
Iwao KOBORI	U. Tokyo	Geography
Shozen NAKAYAMA	Tenri U.	Theology
Terutaro NISHINO	National Diet Library	Contemporary history
Hideharu HASEGAWA	Gunma U. (formerly, U. Tokyo)	Medical Science
Isao MATSUZAWA	Nagoya U.	Geology
Hideo YAMADA	Hitotsubashi U.	Economic history

Source: JAAS (2013)

Despite its diversity, JAAS members collectively recognise the importance of fieldwork through which they developed intimate friendships (based on their research experiences in Africa) irrespective of their institutional affiliation and disciplines, particularly in the early stages of the association. In the period when few Japanese visited Africa for research, JAAS members shared a comradeship through their experiences in Africa. In the beginning, scholars of African politics were a minority within JAAS, as the appearance of such specialists, namely scholars like Oda and Hayashi, began only in the late 1960s. Nevertheless, the few scholars in the discipline made significant contributions to the management of JAAS, as Oda served as the president of the association between 1996-98(Table 4), and Hayashi was the Director for General Affairs during that period.

Table 4. Presidents of JAAS (1964-2021)

Year	Name	Major
1964-73	Hideharu. HASEGAWA	Medical Science
1974-84	Isao MATSUZAWA	Geology

1984-89	Hideo YAMADA	Economic History
1990-92	Junichiro IDANI	Primatology
1993-95	Kaneyoshi SUWA	Geology
1996-98	Hideo ODA	Political Science
1999-2001	Jiro TANAKA	Anthropology
2002-04	Masaoki MIYAMOTO	Literature
2005-07	Katsuhiko KITAGAWA	Economic History
2008-10	Mitsuo ICHIKAWA	Anthropology
2011-13	Masahisa KAWABATA	Political Science
2014-16	Shuhei SHIMADA	Geography
2017-19	Itaru OHTA	Anthropology
2020-21	Eisei KURIMOTO	Anthropology

Source: Compiled by the author through investigation of JAAS's journal, Afurika Kenkyu

From the 1990s, political issues began to attract much attention among scholars in other disciplines, particularly anthropology. Debate about orientalism as well as post-colonialism forced scholars to reassess their understanding of history and politics and their relevance to their own research. Consequently, issues regarding ethnicity and politics attracted the attention of leading anthropologists in Japan (Kawada and Fukui 1988), and their works had strong impacts on the scholars of IR and political science (Kurimoto 1996). In addition, the growing relations between anthropology and political science in terms of methods, was further accelerated by their intimate working relationship within JAAS. Indeed, the intimate exchange of ideas between different disciplines within JAAS has helped establish a number of interdisciplinary research projects. The 'African Potential', a comprehensive joint research project with two phases (2011-2016, 2016-2020), led by two scholars of Kyoto University (Itaru Ohta and Motoji Matsuda), was a representative case. More than 100 JAAS members were mobilised for the project, which produced numerous research publications ¹¹. A number of scholars in African politics were also involved in the project, leading to the publication of two books in Japanese and in English (Endo 2016, Endo et al. 2021).

Concluding remarks

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For the results in the second phase, see the following URL;

https://www.africapotential.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/mms/research-achievement

Results of the first phase can be consulted in the following URL; https://www.africapotential.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/outcom.html

This paper has demonstrated the important role played by area specialists of African politics in Japan. Both the nature of African politics and post-war (historical) circumstances of Japan's IR have contributed to the dominant position of area specialists in Japan. Although a detailed discussion of how intertwined African politics is with global politics, was avoided in this paper; it is important to note that African politics indeed has intrinsically international characters. In any major topic regarding African politics including the state, market, and civil society (Mustapha 2006), internal and international factors are intricately connected, which demand an in-depth knowledge of history and society to appropriately understand the trail of events. In addition, it has been argued that actors in African politics tend to use their connections with external forces to leverage their own interests. As Bayart (1993) has argued "extraversion" is a phenomenon in African politics (Bayart 1993). In this context, African studies has been in a privileged position of analysing African politics based on in-depth information and knowledge of the African societies and their history.

African studies, in fact, have made unique and important contributions to the IR in Japan. Where IR has been under the marked influence of the way of thinking of major powers and often takes the existent world order for granted, African studies can provide a different world view. Focusing on African agencies and presenting a perspective from the periphery, African studies offer alternative interpretations of the world order. Such an alternative perspective has cardinal importance, as the international system is becoming increasingly multi-polar.

Hence, this paper sheds light on historical and institutional reasons in Japan to explain why area specialists have been dominant in JAIR. It highlights the diverse origins of specialists of African politics. Although a special issue of *Kokusai Seiji* on Africa was published as early as 1962, the majority of the contributors then were scholars of colonial administration and West Asia. While the fostering of area specialists of Africa was late in Japan, by the 1960s the initiative had begun at Keio University and the IDE. As the number of area specialists increased, they became the main contributors to the JAIR's journal in the 1980s. Though scholars of African politics subsequently emerged at different universities, the area studies and history have remained dominant in their methodology until now.

In Japanese IR, researchers of area studies and history rose earlier than those in theoretical studies (Oyane 2020). In the case of African politics, the tendency has been rather reinforced through the close relationship between the JAIR and the JAAS as well as the JAIR's institutional setting based on its sections and blocs. However, despite the tendency to emphasise history, diversity in methodology has been increasing in the research on African politics in JAIR. This trend is natural and desirable, and therefore will continue. At the same

time, researchers of area studies and history also need to be mindful of the enduring importance of theory and methodology.

Acknowledgment

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ANNEXURE: Articles included four special issues on Africa of Kokusai Seiji.

No. 18 (1962) Studies of Africa

Momo, M. "Africa in the World Politics"

Kagaya, H. "Development of Islam in Africa"

Nishino, T. "Trend of African Nationalism"

Iwanaga, H. "Problems of England in Africa"

Nakamura, H. "Character of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland"

Umezu, K. "Problems of France in Africa"

Kobayashi, H. "Algeria Question"

Yanagisawa, E. "Problems of Congo and Angola"

Urano, K. "Racial Problems in Union of South Africa"

Yanaibara, M. "Economic Development in Africa"

Urano, T. "Bibliography of the Politics in Africa"

No. 88 (1988) Politics and International Relations in Contemporary Africa

Oda, H. "Introductory Note on Politics and International Relations in Africa Today"

Hayashi, K. "The Inkatha Movement in the Republic of South Africa"

Horie, K. "Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa: A Case of the United Democratic Front"

Aoki, K. "The Namibian Issue: Its Political Developments and the Current Situation"

Inoue, K. "Nation-Building in Zimbabwe: The Restructuring of ZANU (PF)"

Kojima, S. "The Trade Union Movement and the Asians in Kenya"

Sasaki, T. "A Note on Politics in Modern Nigeria: The Beginning of Nigerian Federalism"

Mochizuki, K. "Introduction of Nigeria's Foreign Relations 1960-1985"

Kaneko, E. "The Congo Conflicts and the Search for Pax Africana"

Okuno, Y. "Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement"

Kawabata, M. "Africa and Food Aid"

No. 123 (2000) Africa: Towards the 21st Century

Kawabata, M. "Africa: A New Vision for the 21st Century"

Endo, M. "'Civil Society' Auguments on Africa: A Reflection on Recent Development"

Sato, M. "Civil Society in African Studies: South Africa as a Case"

Mochizuki, K. "Emergent Actors in Socio-political Sphere of the African State"

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