Japanese Perspectives on Independence of African Countries in the Late 1950s and the Early 1960s: A Preliminary Investigation

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1 Introduction: purpose of this paper

Interdependence of all the world peoples and the collective endeavour for global peace and security are obligations on all of us, if we are to ensure our survival as the human species. And this obligation is proportionately heavier on Japan, as an economic superpower, in order to positively contribute to the reconstruction of an international framework to facilitate the rightful and equitable participation of the non-western world in the global political economy. Africa is an essential part in this non-western world. It is the aim of this paper to historically delineate the political movement towards independence in Africa and to examine the stance that Japan has taken in relation to the decolonization process in the continent.

Presumably, owing to the relatively low level of political and economic interactions between the African continent and Japan, which are, in turn, a consequence of the physical barriers of geographical distance and the fact that Africa was partitioned with executive colonial spheres of influence between European powers the continent has remained a relative blind spot in the Japanese consciousness. However, it is imperative for Japan to consciously relocate Africa in its world scenario, in this period of global crisis and the thoroughly reassess her perspective vis-à-vis the economic dynamism within African countries.

In this regard, it is meaningful that the Third Meeting of Tokyo International Conference of African Development (TICAD III) has taken place in October 2003. In this occasion it is of critical importance for Japan and Japanese people to be properly aware of the role to play and the position to hold in globalizing world in general and Asia-African context in particular. Looking at striking trends that recently Japan has played an important and active role in the construction of an elaborate and highly sophisticated system of international relations, it is an essential requirement to extend the state of our knowledge in order to put this international scheme into effect.

This paper forms a part of wider study on the issue of how Japan and Japanese people faced with Africa and African people from the partition of Africa to the age of decolonization. This work is only indirectly about international relations in the sense of relations between the states. Rather, it is about the image of foreign societies that shapes our attitudes and policies toward them. Specifically this is an exploration of attempts by opinion makers in Japan to construe the meaning and implications of African independence for their readers. At one level, foreign policy making may consist of setting general goals and asserting broad principles, but in application such goals and principles have to be related to conceptions of foreign reality. In recent time, works on international relations have been stressing the importance of perception and cognition as well as the connections between domestic
politics and foreign policy. The domestic connection is usually interpreted as referring to political and economic pressure groups, while the cultural and intellectual strand is ignored. This work is about Japanese intellectuals and about Africa and an attempt is to show their views of foreign societies as an approach not only to understanding the cognitive undergrowth of foreign policies but also illuminating rival views about what is valuable and basic in the domestic society. (4) The main purpose of this paper is to examine how Japan and Japanese people reacted and responded towards the independence movement or the building of new states on the African continent in the period of the late 1950s and the early 1960s since the Afro-Asian Conference held at Bandung in Indonesia in 1955. (5) This study is mainly based on the contemporary documents published within Japan. (6) The order of discussion in this paper will be as follows.

Firstly various issues existent between the post-war Japan and Asia and Japan’s position in the context of post-war world politics is to be investigated briefly. The second thing attempted is a survey of main articles which appeared in the leading Japanese newspapers such as Asahi and Mainichi in order to know how the Japanese press reported African affairs. Thirdly, official and unofficial recognition of the political upheavals on the African continent will be examined. Special attention will be paid on the Diplomatic Blue Books of MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the White Paper on International Trade of MITI (Ministry of Trade and Industry) and reports which appeared in the periodicals published by business organizations. The fourth to be considered was the views held by those Japanese intellectuals who were interested in the development of African affairs and tried to disseminate their knowledge of Africa into the ordinary people in Japan. Lastly, issues to be challenged by Japan today will be suggested.

2 Post-War Japan in Asia

Post-War Japanese diplomacy is discussed centering on the relations with the United States. Negotiation between occupied Japan and the United States concerning peace and security constructed the political, economic and international framework of post-war Japan. Thereafter discussion on the Japanese foreign policy, either cooperation with or autonomy to the United States was developed primarily centering on relations with the United States. Under the Cold War system, Japanese behavior was defined by the Japanese alliance with the United States. (7)

It is frequently pointed that post-war Japanese policy toward Asia has consistently toed the United States line. For instance the most important issue for the post-war Japanese foreign policy toward Asia was Chinese issues but Japan could not move until reconciliation between the United States and China in 1970s. During the World War II Japan invaded and occupied Asia under the reckless strategy of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity but her defeat excluded Japan from this area. Only after the San Francisco Peace Treaty Japan regained her independence and it was in Bandung Conference in 1955 that Japan faced with Asian and African countries directly.
Invitation of Japan to the Bandung Conference was a product of international political dynamism in Asia. This Conference is widely known as the arena of the union of newly independent Asian and African countries that hoisted the flag of anti-colonialism. In reality this conference was strongly coloured by the Cold War system in which Asian countries of liberal camp defended against offensive move by communist or neutral countries like India and China. India tries to call China to the conference. On the contrary Pakistan, who was in the liberal camp and opposed to India, schemed to invite Japan, an important figure as anti-communist, in order to put a check on the India-China leadership in this conference. Japan tries to survive this difficult situation by the passive political stance but her existence itself had already become an important part of international politics regardless her intentions.

Japan’s return to Asia was confined to South-East Asia because of being shut out of Japan-China relations under the Cold War. The beginning of Japan’s return to Asia coincided with the final settlement of the negotiation of war reparations in the latter half of 1950s. Among others special attention should be paid on Japanese reparations to Indonesia in 1957. Because the reparation to Scarno had a significant political meanings for the United States, who secretly intervened with the civil war in Indonesia in order to plot to overthrow the Scarno government. However, in the end the United States approved Japan’s reparation even though it meant to support the Scarno government, because the United States was afraid about such development in which Soviet Russia and China went into the vacancy which appeared after the collapse of the Nederland’s power in the decolonization process. Therefore, Japan’s reparation to Indonesia was situated in the political crossroad of the Cold War, decolonization and Japan’s Return to Asia.

It was in the mediation process of an outbreak of Malaysian dispute in the first half of 1960s when Japan stepped into the political affairs. Great Britain, who could no longer sustain her colonies, integrated former Malaya and Singapore into new state, Malaysia. Scarno blamed this development for Britain’s conspiring an encircling net toward Indonesia and militarily conflicted against Malaysia and Britain. Japan tried to mediate in several ways as the only state of the liberal camp which had close relations with Indonesia. Eventually it proved to be difficult to conclude this mediation itself successfully. However, it might be thought that this happened in the process which British influence was reversed by the rise of Japanese presence in this area even though Britain as an empire mainly based on Singapore still kept prominent position in South East Asia.

Britain, who had been annoyed by the nightmarish memory of Japanese southward movement in the pre-war and during the war, was unpleasant to Japan who stood on Scarno side and intervened into this dispute. Nevertheless Britain was no longer influential toward Japan. Then Britain tried to put pressure upon Japan in collaboration with the United States as the most effective way. Britain reluctantly realized that the United States expected Japan, who had two faces both as a member of liberal camp and as a member of Asian and African countries, had played a significant role in order
to mediate radical communism and socialism into moderate one rather than took risks to keep pace with Britain who was criticized as imperialist and colonialist. Thus the United States stood behind Japanese active mediation. Finally Britain found the way out of this dispute by entrusting the leadership to Japan. South East Asia shifted to the period of “economic development” under the political stability or suffocation as a result of collapse of Scarno rule owing to the coup in fall of 1965.

“The Age of Economy“ in Asia which emerged since the latter half of 1960s might be called as the phenomenon like “Japanization of Asia”. Newly independent Asian countries after the World War II did hope both political independence and economic prosperity. And as the means to materialize these purposes rightist and leftist ideologies and political systems had great relevancy. Japan, who was once completely destroyed during the War, advanced the way to “high economic growth” which was expected to cope with class struggle. Another means against this line was “revolution”. In Asia the representative state which challenged to construct its polity by means of revolution was the People’s Republic of China. Revolution in China was very much influential to all over South East Asia because of the existence of extensively scattered Chinese diaspora. (10)

Japan’s mediation to Malaysian dispute strongly aimed at detaining Scarno’s rapid rapprochement to Chine in order to construct Beijing-Jakarta axis. The communist party in Indonesia had been gaining its influence and at the beginning of 1965 schemed to withdraw from the United Nations and construct “the Second United Nations” in corporation with China. Although Scarno was leaning toward accepting the proposal by Shojiro Kawashima, vice president of Liberal Democratic Party, Chou En-lai persuaded him to reconsider Japanese proposal. In the post-war Asia, Indonesia was one of the typical state building cases where there was no common ground except for the former Netherlands’ colony. It was symbolic fact that, Japan and China that tried to materialize the two different ways of state building in the post-war Asia played at tug-of-war. (11)

In due time in the first half of 1970s China steered to the dramatic US-China reconciliation. Recently diplomatic documents of US-China Talks toward Nixon’s visit in 1972 was opened to the public. It is very impressive that in those days political leaders in China were strongly conscious of the pressure of Japan. Political leaders of China recognized the US-China rapprochement as the effective means to put a check on the Soviet Russia and at the same time was remarkably precautious against Japan who attained high economic growth and emerged as a prominent economic power because they had suffered bitter memory during the World War II.

On considering the post-war China-Japan relations, China consistently situated this relation as a factor of her world strategy but Japan recognized it in the framework of bilateral relations. From the Chinese point of view her peace offensive to Japan in the 1950s and thereafter was a strong measure which reflected both her world strategy and domestic and overseas political struggles. In contrast in the post-war international politics Japan considered her foreign policy solely based on bilateral
relations, in particular witnessed in the US-Japan alliance. Looking at US’s prominent position in the post-war world, it might be thoughtful that it was an inevitable preference for Japan. However, thinking exclusively from such a framework, one may lose sight of the reality of the post-war Japan. It is necessary to acquire the viewpoint of Japan within multi-lateral relations and the recognition of her position in the international political arena.

In the post-war international politics Japan was drawn as if she were silent and absent except for Japan-US relations because it unconsciously reflected the feelings of Japanese people who burned their countries and neighborhood to the ground during the World War II and kept a distance from the reality of international politics. When Japan was extremely small country in terms of population and economic viability, her absence and silence was likely to be. However, the state which has more than one hundred million people and the worldly prominent industrial and economic power inevitably became an essential factor of the international politics in Asia. It is no doubt that economic and political behavior by Japan in terms of bilateral relations substantially influenced the dynamism of international order in Asia.(12)

3 Reports of Independence of Africa in the Leading Japanese Newspapers

As it is generally thought that newspapers play a significant role in forming public opinion and ordinary peoples’ imaginations about the contemporary African affairs, it is worthwhile to examine the way Japanese newspapers treated the independence of Africa. At present in this paper a survey is given only on the reports of African affairs which appeared in the two leading Japanese newspapers -Asahi and Mainichi- and some features will be indicated. It was during the decade of 1950s when Libya, Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia achieved their independence, the war broke out in Algeria, and the wave of political independence in North Africa lapped the shore of Sub-Saharan Africa. Gold Coast was independent from Great Britain in 1957.

The general survey on these two newspapers is summarized as follows.(13) Firstly in the first half of the 1950s, quite a few articles regarding African affairs appeared in the Japanese newspapers. However, in the latter half of the same decade, specifically after the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung the quantity of articles increased and interpretative articles of specific issues were also reported.

Secondly as far as North Africa and Sudan are concerned, an outline of the process of political development to independence could be understood solely by reading the articles which appeared in the Japanese newspapers. However, the reports of the Japanese newspapers about West, Central, East and Southern Africa were too fragmentary for one to gain a systematic understanding of the problems that arose in each area.

Thirdly valuable information based on reports on the spot and interpretative reports by Japanese correspondents steadily increased and were offered to the ordinary people in Japan. Regrettably, by
today’s standard some of their reports contained inappropriate terms and expressions, primarily based on stereotyped imagination invented by the Europeans in early times.

Fourthly it had already become a well known fact in the late 1950s that on the “Dark Continent” there had appeared an awaking of nationalism and the rise of liberation struggles to pursue independence against colonial rule. It was particularly after the Afro-Asian Conference that the reports which clearly and precisely showed these developments to the Japanese people became remarkable.

To be added finally, it is thought that it is of decisive importance to ascertain what kind of relations defined the Japanese framework to recognize and approach Africa by conducting a minute investigation into what information and knowledge was brought or was not brought to Japan in order to understand Japanese perceptions of Africa in the context of global decolonization processes. (14)

4 Japanese Official and Unofficial Recognition: MITI, MOFA and Private Economic Organizations


In 1951 the Ministry of Industry and Trade published the first issue of a White Paper while the Minister Ryutaro Takahashi took office. Exports surplus to Asia and special procurement by the Korean War could not upset the unfavourable international payments owing to 50% of total imports from the United States and unfavourable invisible trade. In coping with this situation the MITI not only externally promoted exports to the dollar areas, exploitation of the new import market, and cooperation to industrialization and development in Asian countries, but also internally pursued its policies to encourage the heavy chemicals industry in order to facilitate the exports of capital goods.(15)

Looking through each volume of the White Papers from the mid 1950s to 1960, a significant proportion of Japan’s trade with the Sub-Saharan Africa was accounted for by British West Africa, British East Africa and the Union of South Africa. In these years such ministers as Tanzan Ishibashi, Mikio Mizuta, Shigesaburo Maeo, Tatsunosuke Takasaki and Hayato Ikeda arrived at the office one after another. (16) It is very interesting in the sense that the White Paper published under the Minister Etsusaburo Shiina expressed an expectation of an increase of exports to newly independent Africa. In 1960, 17 independent states were given birth in Africa and formed their influential spheres in world politics. Although these newly independent countries had close economic connections with such former metropolitan countries as Great Britain and France and a significant proportion of their overseas trade depended upon those countries, each country tended to push forward their nationalist policy in order to build autonomous economies.

The White Paper in 1961 indicated like this. “Immediately after their independence the political situation in African countries is not stable and there are not fully stable markets for Japanese exports.
However, when Japan makes more efforts to develop their markets, including generous economic assistance, these are changed into the promising markets in the long run.”(17)

(2) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Diplomatic Blue Book*

It was in 1957 when the first issue of the *Diplomatic Blue Book* was published and in the same year Ghana was born. In this issue such topics as economic assistance to West Africa and correction of Japan’s one-sided trade with Ghana and Nigeria were taken up and reported. The minister of Industry of Eastern Province and the minister of Development of Western Province visited Japan from Nigeria in 1955 and 1956 one after another.(18)

The fourth volume of *Diplomatic Blue Book* in 1960 is particularly impressive precisely because in 1960 it reported that Africa was awakening politically, Britain’s Prime Minister Macmillan traveled around Africa where he delivered his well known speech of “Wind of Change”, and diplomatic exchange with Ghana and its friendly mission visiting Japan. In these events it is unfailingly recognized that an active diplomacy of Japanese government developed in this period. The administrative and investigative activities toward Africa were also strengthened in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Coordination among each section in the MOFA was promoted in order to adopt thoroughgoing measures to plan Japan’s diplomacy and to prepare for the necessary information and sources to analyse the state of affairs on the African continent. In 1960 in Sub-Saharan Africa, a consulate general was newly founded in Salisbury, the capital of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. And Tokyo decided to raise the consulate of Nigeria to the status of the embassy after independence. Moreover the first meeting of the heads of Japanese diplomatic missions to Africa was held in London in order to establish a basic policy to judge Japan’s relations with Africa. In this *Diplomatic Blue Book* such reports were found as Japan’s economic cooperation with Africa, negotiation of trade agreements between Japan and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and a trade conference on the issue of cotton imports from Egypt.(20)

(3) Kansai Economic Federation

Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) was born in August 1946, to help to reconstruct the war-devastated Japanese economy and Nikkeiren (Japan Federation of Employers’ Association) was created in April 1948 as an umbrella organization of industrial and regional employers’ associations to build a sound labour-management relationship in Japan.(21) This paper takes up an interesting article which appeared in the *Monthly Keizaizin (Homo Economicus)* published by Kankeiren (Kansai Economic Federation) which was established in October 1946(22) and suggests what areas Japanese business circles were concerned with and what kind of recognition it had shown about the economic, political and social development in those areas.

Economic organizations of Kansai (Western part of Japan) were very much involved in the trade with, interested in and concerned with East, Central and South Africa. A good example is the article on “Three African Problems – Central Africa, Union of South Africa and Kenya –” placed in the
Monthly Keizaizin (July, August and September 1953). The discussions in this article written by Shotaro Miyano and Naoko Asada is summarized as below.(23)

Anti-colonialism movement on the African continent has become an obviously established fact at last. In Tunisia, Morocco and Kenya indigenous people resorted to force. In Central Africa, African people disagreed with the building of the Central African Federation and the situation seemed to move from the stage of negotiation to the one of action. In these circumstances on the continent the general election of the Union of South Africa was carried out on 15 April in 1952 and its curtain closed in the victory by the Nationalist Party under the leadership by Daniel Malan who campaigned the election by his slogan of strengthening racist policy. On the background of this extreme racist policy in South Africa, fear was sensed by the South African whites against the colored people living not only there but also the whole continent and its policy has been deeply connected with questions of the labour market in which white industrialists and agriculturalists keenly longed to acquire stable and abundant black labour that formed an essential basis of the political economy of the Union. The rebelling by the colored people against the racist policy had already started in the moderate form to improve their political and economic life since the beginning of 20th century, but in 1952 this movement was organized on a nation wide scale and resorted to more positive action.

In the Central African Federation the direct and the most serious fear for indigenous peoples was loss of their land accompanied with the advance of industrialization by economic integration. The problem of this Federation became one big turning point not only to define the indigenous peoples’ course of action but also to decide the fate of the historical process in this area.

In Kenya Mau Mau continued the battle against the British Army and lots of life, money and goodwill seemed to be lost in this area. It can never be thought that Mau Mau was suppressed by the armed forces. The Kikuyu peoples’ fight meant not only an anti-British struggle but also all the coloured peoples’ fight against white peoples. Although Britain viewed the position of this area in the world economy as relatively low compared with Central African Federation and the Union of South Africa and depended less upon it in terms of economic relations, this area was the only one where secondary industries developed relatively among the three British East African dependencies. Moreover this area was very important as a strategic base to secure the safe route to the Indian Ocean.

Japanese business circle paid much attention to the development in these areas as a trade market and Japanese advancement to this market primarily based upon the Anglo-Japanese economic and political relations. To be added at the same time the Japanese business world turned its attention to the change of indigenous peoples’ lives simply because they were consumers of Japanese merchandize in both the pre-war and post-war period.(24)

5 African Independence and the Japanese Intellectuals
Japanese academics and journalist “discovered” Africa in the late 1950s and 1960s, when its colonial empires collapsed and more than forty new states were established. All at once intellectuals in Japan were faced with the challenge of investigating and interpreting the meaning of African nationalism and self-government. This paper is a preliminary inquiry into the nature and causes of the different ways that Japanese opinion makers reacted to events in newly independent Africa.

In Japan many people were interested in Africa in the period of independence and tried to disseminate the knowledge of this movement. Three prominent intellectuals are taken among these and very briefly introduced in this paper.

(1) **Terutaro Nishino** (1914–1993)

Nishino was born in Tokushima and was a specialist of Asian and African Studies. In 1937 he graduated from Kyoto University and worked at Hokoku Fire Insurance Company. After this Nishino served in the naval attaché office and became a special researcher in the State Library of the Japanese Parliament. He made an enormous effort in establishing African Studies in Japan. Nishino modified the image of Africa as the “Dark Continent” by publishing his book of *Africa Breaks the Chain* (1954) and introduced the African peoples fight against imperialism and colonialism. He also collected and classified works written about Africa by Japanese and traced the history of political, economic and cultural exchange between Japan and Africa. Among many works written by Nishino, *Africa at Crossroad* (1967) and *Newly Emerging States and their Pains* (1968) were highly recommendable as valuable enlightening books. Additionally Japanese edition of *Awaking Africa* written by B. Davidson (*Africa no Mezame*, 1959) was translated by Nishino.

(2) **Kanjiro Noma** (1912–1975)

Noma was born in Kobe and left many works as a prominent writer. While a student in the Medical Department of Keio University, he was arrested against violating the Peace Preservation Law and imprisoned for four years immediately before the World War II. Because in the pre-war period Noma worked as an editor in Kaizosha Publishing Company, which played a significant role to disseminate progressive ideology including Socialism and Marxism in the pre-war Japan. In the post-war period Noma worked as an editor in Iwanami Publishing Company. After these services he started writing and introduced the independence movement and state building in Africa to the ordinary people in Japan.

In *The Origin of Discrimination and Treason: Apartheid State* (1969), racial discrimination of South Africa was described in detail and cries by political offenders were included. In the 1970s Noma introduced to Japanese people the reality of armed struggle in Portuguese Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique and organized supporting campaigns for the liberation struggle camps. Moreover a series of Noma’s translations of Kwame Nkrumah’s writings into Japanese should be added, including *Ghana : An Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (1957) and Jomo Kenyatta’s *Facing Mount Kenya*(1938).
Noma was the Japan’s anti-apartheid leader and described the origins of the formation of this group. Noma summarized like this.

“My first meeting with South Africans took place in 1963 in Moshi at the foot of Mt Kilimanjaro in East Africa. It was the third Asia-Africa Peoples’ Solidarity Conference and the South African delegates asked for a special meeting with the Japanese delegation. The South African side was represented by seven men, including Oliver Tambo and Moses Kotane. The Japanese group included the Socialist Party Dietman Mineo Tanaka, his wife Sumiko, a member of House of Councillors, myself and five others. The South African delegation charged that Japan, a non-white nation, ignored moves to cut off diplomatic relations with South Africa or to impose economic sanctions suggested in the UN resolutions and was in fact the only non-white nation to have diplomatic relations with South Africa. The atmosphere was not tense but the criticism was severe, and we felt it was a challenge to Japan’s progressive forces. I had heard of apartheid but was not well aware of how terrible it was. On behalf of the group, Tanaka said that when we returned to Japan, we would make efforts to fulfill their expectations but it was an embarrassing moment for us. After this external appeal The South African Anti-Apartheid Planning Committee was set up under the auspices of the Asia-Africa Solidarity Committee of Japan but the Japanese anti-apartheid movement was soon faced with a serious internal crisis. Because the deep rift between China and the Soviet Union caused Japanese left-wing organizations either divide along pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese ideologies or to go independently. Then Noma managed to extricate the anti-apartheid movement to create his own independent group, called the South African Problem Discussion Group.” (29)

(3) Koshiro Okakura (1912 –2001)

Okakura was born in Tokyo and a specialist of international politics. In 1936 he graduated from Tokyo University and engaged in Indian studies at the Institute of East Asia Studies. Since 1947 he was very much involved in the study of the US world policy and the nationalist movement in Asia. Then Okakura taught at Doshisha University, Osaka University of Foreign Studies and Daito Bunka University. In 1961 he founded the Institute of Afro-Asian Studies. The purpose of this Institute is to advance Asia-Africa-Latin America Studies and bring up the promising specialists in Japan. He left a lot of academic works, and among them, A Introduction of Asia-Africa Problems (1962) and An Introduction to the Study of Nonaligned Movement (1961) were published and widely read in the early 1960s. (30)

In his introductory book to Asia and African problems, Okakura notified the Japanese people how the people of Asia and Africa and their leaders fought against Imperialism and colonialism in order to hasten independence, construct peace and democracy, and promote social reform. Also in his articles such as “Asia, Africa and Japan” (1961) and “An approach to Asia and African Problems” (1962) Okakura warned that Japanese people who seriously learned the movement in Asia and Africa should watch the state of affairs in Japan in the same manner. (31)
Although after opening the country to overseas in the mid 19\textsuperscript{th} century, Japanese devoted themselves to imitate and import systems and cultures of advanced countries, they seldom showed their interests in the countries that achieved independence after the Meiji Restoration. Japanese intellectuals in the first half of Meiji period were very much concerned with the colonization process in Asia and Africa by the invasion of European Imperialist countries and warned the Japanese people in fear of the influence to Japan. However, they did not study the countries that newly emerged in the latter half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

If one put up an exceptional example, one cannot help paying attention to Nichinan Fukumoto(1857-1921) and his book on \textit{New State Building (Shin Kenkoku in 1900)}. This book is a highly admired one in the sense that it considered the economic weakness in which such new states as the Republic of South Africa (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State tried to exploit gold and diamond by depending upon foreign capital investment and to accomplish capitalist economic development in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century when Imperialist invasion was predominant. This book might be thought as the first one in which newly emerging states were discussed by Japanese.\cite{32}

As far as Japanese government and its ruling classes had always turned their eyes mainly to such advanced countries as Europe and the United States, prominent figures outside of government who wrote about newly emerging states tended to stand in critical manner against government. This tendency seemed to be sustained until the period immediately after the World War I but seemed to disappear under the suppressive measure taken by the authorities concerned.

After the World War II much attention was paid upon new countries in Asia and Africa. Many works were written in the mood of sympathy and praise to the liberation struggle against Anti imperialism and colonialism. Those who stood in this manner attempted to express that Japan which was ruled under the United States occupation should try to acquire national independence by learning the liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism and constructing solidarity with newly emerging states. However, it was concluded that all the domestic problems which new independent states had to solve were caused by the intervention of imperialist and colonialist. Therefore there emerged an optimistic view of liberation struggle in which the suffering of new independent states was solved by tightening their political solidarity and strengthening their voices in the international political arena. On the contrary the interests in new independent states by government and business world gave birth to another view of newly emerging countries. For government and business circles new independent states were the object of economic and technological assistance and trade and investment markets.\cite{33} In this regard, a genealogy of the theory of newly emerging countries lacked the ability to analyse sufferings objectively.

\section{Concluding Remarks}
In recent years historians have paid closer attention to the transnational dimensions of politics during the twentieth century. The field covers a vast amount of history, a part of which includes Africa and Japanese. Scholars have been examining closely the complex interactions between Japan’s economics, politics and foreign affairs and recently some works have appeared that specifically engage Japanese attitude toward Africa, colonialism, the Cold War and the Japan’s foreign policy during the mid-twentieth century.

This brief study complements and expands this growing body of literature by exploring the ways in which Japanese responded to the pivotal developments in Africa during these years. Examining more fully the international character of Japanese relations with contemporary Africa helps reshape our understanding of the forces informing that relationship. Historians have to show that throughout the course of Japanese history there have been ties linking Japanese to Africa and find the reason why the shape and the meaning of these links have varied and been transformed overtime.

It might be thought that ever-changing relations of Africa and Japanese had undergone fundamental transformations between the 1930s and the 1960s and the role and influence of contemporary Africa in Japanese lives can be traced back to the age of Italo-Ethiopian War. This research will investigate into such issue that over the course of a quarter century how the shadow of a series of specific events, major shifts in the salience and significance of contemporary Africa laid in Japanese intellectuals and political life.

NOTE
(1) This paper was presented at the Annual Conference of African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific held at Flinders University, South Australia, on 3 October 2003.
(3) Opening Remarks by Mr. Yoshiro Mori, Chairperson of TICAD III, 29 October 2003, Tokyo. Highlights of the Summary by the Chair of TICAD III. Closing Address by Mr. Yoshiro Mori, Chairperson of TICAD III, 1 October 2003, Tokyo. TICAD Tenth Anniversary Declarations, 1 October 2003, Tokyo.
Conference and Asia in the 1950s, Institute of Eastern Culture Studies, Daito Bunka University, Tokyo, 1986. and Daizo Miyagi, Bandung Conference and Japan’s Return to Asia: Between the U.S. and Asia, Soshisha, Tokyo, 2001.


(9) Miyagi, Bandung Conference and Japan’s Return to Asia, pp.20-57.


(11) Miyagi, Bandung Conference and Japan’s Return to Asia, pp.157-163.


Keidanren and Nikkeiren have maintained close contacts and performed their tasks. However, the times have changed during the half-century of postwar history. The economic agenda and labour issues have become inseparable and, coupled with the declining birthrate, aging of the population and diversifying interests among Japanese, emerging issues such as social security reform, employment and labour issues, and educational reforms have become ever more important for Japan’s business community. Against such a historical background, the two organizations amalgamated and the new Japan Business Federation (Nippon Keidanren) was born May 28, 2002.


Asahi Shinbun, December 31 1993.

Japanese edition of Nkurumah’s autobiography and Kenyatta’s *Facing Mount Kenya* was published in 1960 and 1962 one after another. Also see *Bibliographical Dictionary of Modern Japan*, p. 1249.


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