

## Japanese Studies from the South Pacific: Present and Future Prospects as Seen from the University of the South Pacific

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This essay discusses the current status and future prospects of Japanese studies in the Pacific Island countries with a special focus on the University of the South Pacific (USP), the largest tertiary institution in the region. At present, there is no provision for Japanese-language tuition or Japanese studies at degree level or by a dedicated department. However, Japan has had a well-established presence in the region over the years at the governmental and grassroots levels, including USP. This could potentially be a foundation for the future development of Japanese as well as Asian studies.

**Keywords:** The University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Islands, Kuranai Doctrine, diplomacy, youth exchange

In the late 1970s, the travel writer Muro Kenji visited Suva, the capital of Fiji. Muro took a special liking to the main campus of the University of the South Pacific (hereafter USP). He visited the campus twice on his return journey. He declared: “The University of the South Pacific is the most attractive university of all universities I know. First, the name is cool.”<sup>1</sup> Muro sensed that the campus was filled with an energy and optimism directed at creating new knowledge for and by the Pacific Islanders. This endeavor had the clear political purpose of dispelling the centuries-old legacy of colonialism in the wake of decolonization across the Pacific nations.<sup>2</sup> Nearly thirty years later, shortly after I arrived at the university in 2012 to take up a lectureship in history, I was reading Muro’s travelogue to glean any useful ideas about Fiji. Unsurprisingly, what got me excited even more was Muro’s views on the university. Muro’s brief impressions led me to wonder about the creation of knowledge that binds the South Pacific to the whole of the Asia-Pacific Rim, including Japan. In this essay, I will outline the unique nature of USP and the state of Japanese studies and then turn to potential opportunities for Japanese studies at USP. Some contents draw on my

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1 Muro Kenji 室謙二, *Kaeranai tabi: Supein, Morokko, Fiji 帰らない旅：スペイン、モロッコ、フィジー*, Tokyo: Kyōiku Kenkyūsha, 1980, p. 152.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–155.

experience of working at the university from 2012 to 2021.

A recent visit to USP by Japan's foreign minister, Kōno Tarō, in August 2019, was a significant moment in his tour of the Pacific nations. In his speech, Kōno was conscious that his tour, the first in thirty-two years since his predecessor, Kuranari Tadashi (1918–1996), could reinforce and reinvigorate the continuing relations between the Pacific Island nations and Japan. Kuranari's visit was, in a few crucial respects, a product of his time. He served under the third cabinet of Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro (22 July 1986 to 6 November 1987).<sup>3</sup> By the time Kuranari became the foreign minister, Nakasone had developed an interest in the Pacific Island nations as diplomatic partners and set his sight on curbing the presence of the Soviet Union in the Pacific. After touring the Pacific in 1987, Kuranari saw that Japan had established its presence in the Pacific as an overseas development assistance (ODA) donor in previous decades, and believed that the time was ripe for a clear guideline for Japan's Pacific policy.<sup>4</sup>

Kōno emphasized the mutual oceanic Pacific connections between the Pacific Island nations and Japan and reiterated the Kuranari Doctrine, which is known as Japan's diplomatic stance towards the Pacific Island nations:

- 1) respect for independence and autonomy;
- 2) support for regional cooperation;
- 3) ensuring political stability;
- 4) assistance for economic development; and
- 5) promoting people-to-people exchange.<sup>5</sup>

Kōno went on to list the achievements of Japan's Pacific diplomacy through multiple projects at both the governmental and grassroots levels to strengthen ties between Japan and the Pacific region. In particular, Japan emphasizes dispatching volunteers to offer technical assistance and boost education in the primary and secondary sectors. While paying homage to Kuranari, Kōno was ambitious to make his own mark. He envisioned an "Active, Opportunities-filled and Innovative" program to promote a future for the people of the Pacific nations that make up part of the Indo-Pacific region. Kōno saw the Japanese and Pacific Island people work together towards building capacity in maritime issues, climate change, disaster management, and infrastructure development across the Pacific. Furthermore, he pledged an increase in people-to-people exchanges, which entailed the launch of preliminary Japanese-language courses at USP on a trial basis.<sup>6</sup>

Kōno's Pacific plan shows traces of evolving geopolitical dynamics surrounding the Pacific Islands between the 1980s and the 2010s. The Cold War dominated the Western diplomatic

3 Nakasone Yasuhiro (1918–2019) was prime minister of Japan from 1982 to 1987.

4 H. D. P. Envall, "The Pacific Islands in Japan's 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific': From 'Slow and Steady' Strategic Engagement?," *Security Challenges* vol. 16, no. 1, 2020, p. 66; Kobayashi Izumi, "Japan's Diplomacy Towards Member Countries of Pacific Islands Forum: Significance of Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting (PALM)," *Asia-Pacific Review* vol. 25, no. 2, 2018, pp. 91–93; William J. Long, "Nonproliferation as a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance," *Asian Security* vol. 39, no. 2, 1999, pp. 331–332.

5 Kōno Tarō, "Three Pillars for We the People of the Pacific to Build an Active, Opportunity-filled and Innovative (AOI) Future," speech given at the University of the South Pacific, 5 August 2019, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000504747.pdf>.

6 Ibid.

agenda in the Pacific. Japan under Nakasone pursued a pro-American stance. What followed was the Free and Open Indo-Pacific in response to the more assertive stance that China has taken in the region, particularly in the past decade or so. Kōno's Pacific plan falls in line with Japan's strategic concerns and commitment to its allies, most notably the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Weighing the similarities and the differences between Kuranari and Kōno raises many questions about the future prospects of Pacific-Japan relations, such as "To what extent does Kōno's Pacific diplomacy replicate or depart from the Kuranari Doctrine?" and "How do Pacific Island nations respond to Kōno's overture?" These are the questions international relations and political science specialists can better address. A more pointed question about the state of Japanese studies is, will Kōno bring any tangible and consequential results for the development of Japanese studies in the Pacific Islands, and more specifically at USP? This is one "litmus test" issue that shows the results of Japan's commitment to the Pacific Island nations with wide-ranging ramifications.

Before elaborating on the state of Japanese studies, I wish to explain the unique nature of USP.<sup>7</sup> One rare distinction USP can claim is its regional orientation. USP is one of two regional universities in the world (the other is the University of the West Indies). Established in 1968, departing colonial powers anticipated the need for developing the young and the able in post-independence Pacific nations. The total landmass of the twelve member states is close to the size of Denmark, but the total area including the ocean is 33 million sq. km, roughly three times the size of Europe. The total population of the USP region stands at around 1.3 million—ranging from Fiji, with nearly 900,000 people, to Tokelau, with 1,600 people.<sup>8</sup> Today, USP has grown to around twenty thousand students enrolled in diploma, undergraduate, and postgraduate degree programs at fourteen campuses in twelve Pacific Island nations.<sup>9</sup> The largest campus is in Suva, the capital city of Fiji. Students study on campus and by distance—the latter has grown as the university has made a greater commitment to online teaching. Just as the composition of the students reflects regional diversity, the academic staff come from not only the Pacific Islands but also many other countries. The university, its academics, and students are strongly committed to cultivating what they call "Pacific consciousness" to counter the profound legacy of colonialism and even neo-colonialism. There are also several colleges and private and national universities elsewhere in the Pacific. Furthermore, Papua New Guinea, West Papua, and U.S. territories operate their own education systems. The French territories of New Caledonia and French Polynesia run their own tertiary education institutions: Université de la Polynésie Française, in Tahiti, and Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, in New Caledonia. The former offers a preliminary course in Japanese. The latter offers a Bachelor's degree program in the Japanese language.<sup>10</sup>

7 This description of the university comes from Nishino Ryōta, "Taiheiyō sensō no kioku to rekishi o kashika suru: Minami Taiheiyō kara miru Higashi Ajia" 太平洋戦争の記憶と歴史を可視化する：南太平洋から見る東アジア, in Araki Hiroshi 荒木浩 et al., eds., *Japanese Studies: Perspectives from the Pacific Rim* 環太平洋から「日本研究」を考える, Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2021, pp. 101–106.

8 The University of the South Pacific, "The USP Region," [https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=usp\\_introduction](https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=usp_introduction).

9 The member states are the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

10 <http://www.upf.pf/fr/formations/preparation-l'expression-orale-et-ecrite-en-japonais-0>; <https://unc.nc/en/formations/bachelor-of-applied-foreign-languages-degree-lea/>.

In addition to Japan's overseas development assistance to the Pacific Islands, Japan has had a long association with USP in the provision of infrastructure and opportunities for aspiring students. Since 1988 the Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund Scholarship has offered Masters and PhD scholarships to suitably qualified candidates in the social sciences and humanities.<sup>11</sup> The Japanese financial commitment to the university accelerated in the 2010s. The Japanese Grant Aid Project provided 3,133 million yen (about US\$28.4 million as of July 2021) to build the ICT Centre with the satellite and internet infrastructure to support online learning across all the member nations of USP and its campuses. Adjacent to the ICT Centre is a multi-purpose four-hundred-seat lecture theater.<sup>12</sup> During the 2010s USP launched youth-oriented initiatives such as study tours named Kizuna and JENESYS programs.<sup>13</sup> Political scientist and President of Japan Society for Pacific Island Studies (Taiheiyō Shotō Gakkai 太平洋諸島学会) Kobayashi Izumi believes that the expansion of these programs is “a countermeasure against China” who was flexing its diplomatic muscle in the Pacific region in the 2000s.<sup>14</sup> Suffice to say that the Confucius Institute opened its door on the Suva campus in 2012 and is now offering a minor program in Mandarin and setting up satellite centers on USP campuses outside Fiji.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, despite the steady people-to-people initiatives, or to put it more bluntly, measures to “win the hearts and the minds” of the Pacific people, teaching about Asia is still lagging behind.

The abovementioned context paints a picture of the macro-level partnership between the university, the region, and Japan occurring at the infrastructural and grassroots levels. Indeed, Japan's material presence across the Pacific Islands today is ubiquitous at schools and the university. But this raises questions: Does the university teach anything about Japan or Asia? What is the state of Japanese and Asian studies at USP? The short answer is that it is still in its infancy. The absence of a dedicated department or center for Japanese or East Asian languages and studies means that there is an unfortunate lack of focus for Asia-oriented researchers and students, with the notable exception of the Confucius Institute founded by the Chinese government that opened in 2012. The university currently offers two undergraduate courses on East Asia: one on post-1945 international relations of East Asia in political science; the other, which I created and coordinated, is a history of East Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Part of my role at USP was to create a history course on East Asia to enhance students' “Asia literacy.” A critical and historical awareness of East Asia, as I envisaged, would enable the graduates to better engage with people of East Asia.

The shortage of academic staff with the requisite expertise in Asia presents challenges in producing undergraduates who will pursue further studies or professional careers in Asia-related

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11 “The Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund [Sylff] Scholarships,” <https://www.sylff.org/institutions/the-university-of-the-south-pacific/>.

12 “Japan Pacific ICT Centre–Multipurpose Theatre–Laucala Campus,” <https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=11599>. It is significant and symbolic that Kōno delivered his speech in this lecture theater.

13 “The JENESYS Programme,” <https://international.usp.ac.fj/programs/jenesys/>.

Both Kizuna and JENESYS programs are Japanese government initiatives with the view to promote mutual friendship and understanding between Japan and the participating nations in East Asia, Oceania, and North America.

14 Kobayashi, “Japan's Diplomacy towards Member Countries of the Pacific Islands Forum,” p. 99. Envall agrees with Kobayashi's assessment. Envall, “Free and Open Indo-Pacific,” p. 67.

15 “Confucius Institute at the University of the South Pacific,” <https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=10988>.

fields. Despite the lack of opportunities to study about Asia, the Pacific Islanders know much about Asia through sustained contact with itinerant and permanent migrants and business. Today, ports dock vessels from Asia; streets are awash with Japanese and Korean cars; Tonga exports pumpkins to Japan; and some students study on scholarships at tertiary institutions and gain work experience in East Asia. Furthermore, rugby players from Tonga and Fiji on Japanese teams make part of global athlete migration. The trades stand in contrast to the shortage of “Asia experts” in the Pacific. This is a sobering indication of the economic power between metropolitan nations and developing nations.

The absence of dedicated Japanese studies or East Asian departments does not mean a complete absence of Asia- or Japan-minded researchers.<sup>16</sup> One of the most dedicated researchers on Pacific-Japan relations is political scientist Sandra Tarte whose expertise is in the international relations of Pacific Island nations and East Asia. Tarte’s *Japan’s Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands* looks into the rise of Japan as an aid donor nation to the Pacific Islands during the 1980s. She demonstrates how Japan’s long-standing interests in fisheries—tuna in particular—underpinned Japan’s policy. In the mid-1980s Japan aligned its aid policies with the United States to contain the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Pacific Island nations have found themselves having to balance how best to enhance national self-interest and regional interest. The Pacific Island nations’ negotiations with Japan’s fishing quota is one example of this tension between the national, regional, and international domains.<sup>17</sup>

Following Tarte, a former professor of Pacific studies at USP, Ron Crocombe (1929–2009), turned his attention to Pacific-Asia relations towards the end of his decades-long academic career. In *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (2007), Crocombe argues that the growing presence of Asians in the Pacific suggests that the Western powers can no longer assume dominance in strategic and economic spheres as a historical continuation of the colonial era.<sup>18</sup> The changing circumstances led Crocombe to call on Pacific Islanders to plan for a future in which relationships with Asian states gain more significance. He is quick to point out that the relationships rest on a centuries-long trajectory. Crocombe distinguishes four major waves of historical connections between the Pacific Islands and Asia. The first is the migration of the original Pacific Islanders from Taiwan. The second is a small number of migrant laborers from Asia after the eighteenth century that came with the Western colonial powers. From the vantage point of the mid-2000s, at the time of writing, Crocombe recognizes that the Pacific Islands were on the cusp between the third and the fourth waves. In the preceding forty years, low- to semi-skilled workers from Asia came to the Pacific to work in primary and service industries. The fourth and current wave of informal and mostly unquantified migrants fall through the cracks of formal systems of migration and governance and engage in the extraction of natural resources—both on land, such as forestry and minerals, and marine resources in the vast Pacific Ocean.

Then, as if to pick up where Tarte left off, Crocombe outlines the Asian states’ overtures over the Pacific Island countries through aid and loans. In particular, the checkbook diplomacy of

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16 Nishino, “Taiheiyo sensō no kioku,” p. 102.

17 Sandra Tarte, *Japan’s Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1998.

18 Ron Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West*, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies Publications, 2007.

Taiwan and China, as he observes, reflects the intense rivalry between the two nations and their desire to gain diplomatic and economic advantages. Crocombe further cautions against a new Cold War emerging between China and the United States, which possesses military bases and strategic interests in the region. Crocombe's words turned out prescient as the Pacific Island nations have found themselves embroiled in the intensifying geopolitical rivalry. The imbalance in scale between Asian states and Pacific Island states can even accentuate the facile assumption of fragile, vulnerable Pacific Island states, much to the detriment of the political agency that Pacific Island nations can exercise individually or as a collective.<sup>19</sup>

The Pacific region's quiet turn to Asia proves Crocombe's forecast to be prescient. However, the recent situation does not instantly remove the legacy of colonialism that took root in local societies, such as the use of the English language and Christianity. Indeed, years of independence may have fostered local as well as regional Pacific identities. Encapsulating the desire for the Pacific Islands to be united was the famous assertion by another former academic at USP, Epli Hau'ofa (1939–2009). Following decades of independence of a number of Pacific countries up to the 1980s, Hau'ofa called for a renaissance in the mindset of the Pacific Islanders away from the Western legacy of geographical divisions of the Pacific Islands into Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia and urged us to think of Oceania as a more holistic alternative. This is no mere name change. He considers the ocean to be the waterway that connects the islands.<sup>20</sup> In retrospect, Hau'ofa recalled that his reorientation was a reaction to the stereotypical assumptions steeped in the colonial and imperial imagination of the Pacific as “too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations.”<sup>21</sup> Hau'ofa inspires a regional Oceania but, as with all grand political projects, it is a work in progress. Meanwhile, imagining meaningful engagement with the “big neighbors” may be the next step as sustained interactions between the Pacific and Asia continue.

The USP scholars are well aware that geopolitics and the economy of scale are key determiners in the Pacific-Asia and Japan relationships. The Pacific-Japan relationships at governmental level and the people-to-people interactions mean that given the opportunity, Japanese studies, or Asian studies for that matter, has the potential to flourish. Of a plethora of potential suggestions and strategies, one possibility lies in forging institutional connections between USP and Japanese institutions and academics, and a sizable number of Japanese scholars have conducted studies on the Pacific Islands. For instance, Japan has academic associations dedicated to the study of the Pacific Islands, especially in fields such as anthropology, development studies, and political science,<sup>22</sup> and these strengths are reflected, for example, in the publication of three reader-friendly

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19 Two recent documentaries that most clearly illustrate the conditions of the Pacific Island nations and the people are journalist John Pilger's *The Coming War on China* (2015), <http://johnpilger.com/videos/the-coming-war-on-china>, and filmmaker Nathan Fitch's *Island Soldier* (2017), <https://www.islandsoldiermovie.com/>.

20 Epli Hau'ofa, *We are the Ocean: Selected Works*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, p. 32.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

22 Examples of these are associations are the Taiheiyō Shotō Gakkai 太平洋諸島学会 (Japan Society for Pacific Island Studies) and Nihon Oseania Gakkai 日本オセアニア学会 (Japan Society for Oceanic Studies).

anthologies on the Pacific Islands.<sup>23</sup> Despite the valuable work of these scholars, the audience is limited to Japanese-speaking scholars at the expense of those who lack the requisite proficiency in Japanese to appreciate how the Japanese scholarly community “do” Pacific studies. So, what can we do?

If past scholarly endeavors can be of any useful indication, a collective report published in 1991, “Prospect for Demilitarization and Autonomy in the South Pacific,” could provide inspiration to the present and future generations of scholars in Japan and the Pacific region to work together towards productive ends. At the center of the initiative was Satow Yukio at Hiroshima University. The project arose out of mutual interest and concern that the Pacific Island countries and Japan unfortunately bear the brunt of nuclear weapons and pollution and have developed strong anti-nuclear sentiments. In Japan, the memories of the atomic bombs galvanized pacifist sentiments bolstered by an anti-nuclear stance—the latter was reinforced by the Lucky Dragon incident in 1954.<sup>24</sup> The escalation of the Cold War and nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific beset the Pacific Island countries with anxiety over the health and welfare of their populations. Such concerns grew into the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty in 1985. Of the six contributors to the report, Vijay Naidu and Satendra Prasad were from USP, and the other four (Satow Yukio, Katsumata Makoto, Ronni Alexander, and Sato Motohiko) from Japanese universities. The report is a testament to the multiple challenges the issue of nuclear weapons has created.<sup>25</sup>

In today’s globalizing and highly integrated world, the imminent and tangible threats of climate change and increased vulnerability to natural disasters demand concerted action and the pooling of collective wisdom. Rising sea levels across the Pacific Islands pose serious threats to the livelihood of the people, as nuclear testing and its ongoing legacy cast a long shadow over the islands today. Japan also faces a similar combination of environmental hazards and nuclear radiation. The triple disaster that devastated the Tōhoku region on 11 March 2011, cast grave doubt on the nuclear power plants that had oiled the cogs of the global economic system that ultimately contributed to climate change. The common problems both Japan and the Pacific Islands face today demonstrate the insidious political economy of nuclear energy. Addressing the double perils of climate change and the nuclear legacy deserves solutions based on global cooperation.

23 The following three volumes are part of the Area Studies Series by Akashi Shoten 明石書店: Ishimori Daichi 石森大知 and Niwa Norio 丹羽典生, eds., *Taiheiyō shotō no rekishi o shirutame no 60-shō* 太平洋諸島の歴史を知るための60章, 2019; Intō Michiko 印東道子, ed., *Mikuronesia o shirutame no 60-shō* ミクロネシアを知るための60章, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2015 [2005]; and Yoshioka Masanori 吉岡政徳 and Ishimori Daichi 石森大知, eds., *Minami Taiheiyō o shirutame no 58-shō: Meraneshia Porineshia* 南太平洋を知るための58章:メラネシア ポリネシア, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2010.

24 In March 1954, a Japanese fishing vessel named *Daigo Fukuryūmaru* 第五福竜丸 (“Lucky Dragon no. 5”) was sailing near the Marshall Islands at the time of the Castle Bravo nuclear weapon test conducted on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. All twenty-three crew members on *Daigo Fukuryūmaru* were exposed to and suffered from the nuclear fallout. See, for instance, Ōishi Matashichi and Richard Falk, “The day the Sun Rose West: Bikini, the Lucky Dragon and I,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* vol. 9, issue 29, no. 3, 19 July 2011, <https://apjif.org/2011/9/29/Richard-Falk/3566/article.html>.

25 Satow Yukio, ed., “Prospect for Demilitarization and Autonomy in the South Pacific,” *IPSHU Research Report Series* 16, Hiroshima: Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, 1991. The second report published in 1994 and also edited by Satow Yukio has only one contributor from USP, Satendra Prasad. To the best of my knowledge no subsequent report has been published.

What, then, could I do? What did I do? In 2012, a Japanese organization asked me to form a delegation of Pacific Island students to attend a youth exchange conference in Japan. Initially I was skeptical that it might be a mere window dressing exercise in which “the rich nation” plays generous host to garner support from small and poor island nations. However, I took it as an opportunity to put Hau’ofa’s ethos into practice and sharpen the students’ awareness of soft power diplomacy. In one pre-trip meeting, one student then told me, “We get a lot of things from the West and Japan, but what we need are more opportunities to study.” Certainly, I was delighted to assist the students to expand their horizons and to hear of the success of the conference. However, I could not help feeling woeful about being party to a paradox. I was instrumental in arranging this rare opportunity for a few select students at the expense of many others who probably needed similar, if not the same, experience. The lesson for me was that such interactions are not or should not be the end point; it made me more motivated to prepare students to gain a more sophisticated “Asia literacy” to build human capacity and the skill base of the Pacific nations. This helps bridge not just the psychological distance but also enables the Pacific nations and people to engage in dialogue less as unequal economic powers, but as equal partners to think about a common and shared future with Asia. When we see graduates from USP with the linguistic and cultural capability to interact with the people of East Asia with confidence, we can see a closing of the gap between the outer and the inner circles of the Asia-Pacific Rim.

## 南太平洋地域における日本学の現状と展望

——南太平洋大学を中心に——

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本稿では南太平洋地域で最大規模の高等教育機関、南太平洋大学（The University of the South Pacific, USP）を中心に日本研究の現状と将来の展望を述べる。現在の南太平洋大学では日本語教育や日本研究が学部・学科単位で行われていない。しかし、日本と南太平洋地域間の政府レベルと USP を含む草の根レベルで交流が長年にわたり維持されていることを考慮すれば、将来の日本およびアジア研究へ可能性が見込めるであろう。

キーワード：南太平洋大学、太平洋諸島、倉成ドクトリン、外交、青年交流

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