

国際会議参加報告

第 49 回国際軍事史学会大会の概要

千々和 泰明

2024（令和 6）年度の第 49 回国際軍事史学会大会は、ポルトガルにおけるカーネーション革命（1974 年）から 50 周年にあたることから、「政治的移行における軍の役割」を共通テーマとして、9 月 1 日から 6 日までの 6 日間にわたり、ポルトガル・リスボン市のポルトガル国防大学にて開催された。ヨーロッパ諸国を中心に、セネガル、カメルーン、南アフリカ、イスラエル、UAE、インドネシア、中国、韓国、米国、ブラジルなどから 68 名の研究者が発表をおこない、200 名以上が聴講した。日本からは小官および他に大学教授 2 名が参加した。

開会式では、マッシモ・レオナルディ国際軍事史学会会長、テオドロ・マイオ・ポルトガル国防大学学長らからの挨拶に続き、ヌーノ・メルオ・ポルトガル国防大臣から祝辞が述べられた。

本会議では、21 のワーキングセッションにおいて、合計 68 の発表が行われた。たとえば、南北戦争後の南部再統合の過程や、第一次世界大戦後のドイツ再軍備、冷戦終結前後のドイツ軍の変容など、「政治的移行における軍の役割」という共通テーマに沿った各国戦争史・軍事史研究について発表がなされ、活発な質疑応答が見られた。

本大会プログラムではさらに、リスボンやその近郊の史跡研修の機会も提供され、サン・ジュリアン・ダ・バーハ要塞、海軍博物館、マフラ宮殿（陸軍学校）、「ウェリントン・テレグラフ」の丘などを見学できた。

本会議への参加を通じて自身の研究成果を発表し、各国の研究者に対して日本の安全保障政策史への理解を促進できたと同時に、各国の戦争史・軍事史研究者らと意見交換を行うことで諸外国の近年の研究動向を把握し、人脈を構築することができた。また、本年度の共通テーマからは、政治と軍事の関係やシベリアン・コントロールなど、日本国内外の防衛・安全保障政策を考察する上での重要な示唆を得られた。

最後に、総会において、今後 2 年間の開催地とテーマが次の通り発表された。

2025 年 ダカール（セネガル） 「反乱、分離と主権：1800 年から現在まで」

2026 年 フォズ・ド・イグアス（ブラジル） 「境界：統合と調和、あるいは分離と紛争」

（防衛研究所戦史研究センター安全保障政策史研究室主任研究官）

## The Changes of Government and National Security Policy in Postwar Japanese History

千々和 泰明

### 【要約】

戦後日本では長らく自民党が政権の座にあったが、自民党が結党される以前、あるいは自民党結党後も、政権交代が起こっている。自民党政権は日米同盟を重視し、漸進的な防衛政策をおこなってきたが、政権交代により、憲法改正・自主防衛を掲げる政党や、かつて非武装中立を掲げた政党が与党となった場合もあった。これらの政権交代によって、安全保障政策や政治と日本の自衛隊の関係はどのように変化したのかを、1954 年の自由党から民主党への政権交代時の自衛権解釈、1993 年から 1994 年にかけての非自民連立政権から自社さ連立政権にいたる政権交代と防衛大綱、2009 年の自民党から民主党への政権交代時の安全保障政策を題材に考察する。

結論として、日本では政権交代が安全保障政策に大きな変化をもたらすことはほとんどなかった。その理由として、軽武装・経済優先のいわゆる「吉田ドクトリン」グループ、改進黨系の憲法改正・自主防衛グループ、社会党に代表される非武装中立グループのどのグループも多数派を形成できないという構造的な背景があり、その結果、それぞれのグループがお互いに妥協し合わなければならず、漸進的な変化とコンセンサス形成のなかで安全保障政策が進められることになり、政治と自衛隊の関係が急激に変化することはなかったことが挙げられる。

なお、カーネーション革命の 4 年前の 1970 年に、世界的に著名な作家である三島由紀夫によるクーデター騒ぎが起こったが、これに自衛隊が同調する動きはまったくなく、日本におけるシビリアン・コントロールの定着を示しているといえる。

### Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between changes of government and national security policy in Japan after World War II.

In Japan, the Liberal Democratic Party had been in power for a long time. However, before the LDP was formed, or even after the LDP was formed, changes of government occurred. The LDP was a party that firmly maintained the Japan-U.S.

alliance and promoted a light defense capability, but due to changes in government, party that advocated autonomous defense and full-scale rearmament, as well as party that advocated neutrality and disarmament, had also become ruling parties. So how did national security policy change as a result of these changes in government? Or did it not change?

# 1 From the Liberal Party Government to the Democratic Party Government (1954)

Before the establishment of the LDP, a political party called the Liberal Party was in power. The Prime Minister was Shigeru Yoshida. He was the leader who signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 and reintegrated Japan into the international community. Yoshida did not try to change Article 9 of the Constitution, which was created during the allied occupation of Japan and stipulated that “land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential (*senryoku*), will never be maintained.” After Japan lost the war and was disarmed, it rearmed, but in the process it only attempted to carry out limited rearmament. Instead, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was signed in 1951, and the U.S. military was stationed in Japan to ensure Japan’s national security. Yoshida’s Liberal Party administration adopted the idea of maintaining a light defense capability and prioritizing the economy, spending as little money as possible on defense. In response, the opposition Kaishinto Party called for amending the constitution and carrying out full-scale rearmament without relying on the U.S.

The people grew tired of Yoshida’s long-term government, and he resigned in 1954. The Democratic Party, which evolved from the Kaishinto Party, took power. This was the Ichiro Hatoyama Cabinet. Behind the Democratic Party’s backs, there was also a group of former military personnel who advocated the revival of the former Imperial Army and Navy. So, with the change of government from the Liberal Party to the Democratic Party, did the government change from prioritizing a light defense capability and the economy to constitutional revision and full-scale rearmament? It was not. Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama explained the constitutionality of the Self-Defense Forces by changing the interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution without amending the Constitution itself.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the Yoshida Doctrine was inherited.

---

<sup>1</sup> “Omura boeicho chokan, shugiin yosan iinkai, showa 29 nen 12 gatsu 22 nichi,” Nishihara Masashi and Asagumo Shimbun Shuppan Gyomubu eds., *Wakaru Heiwa Anzen Hosen: Nihon to*

One reason was that the Democratic Party was a minority ruling party, so it had to make concessions to the opposition party, that was, the Liberal Party. The other was the need to oppose the leftwing Socialist Party. At that time, in addition to the Liberal Party, which prioritized a light defense capability and the economy, and the Democratic Party, which advocated constitutional reform and full-scale rearmament, the Socialist Party, which advocated unarmed neutrality, were powerful. The Liberal Party and the Democratic Party cooperated because of the need to counter the Socialist Party. The following year, in 1955, the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party joined together to form today's LDP. As a result of the election, the LDP remained in power. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, also became the main opposition party. The political situation in Japan that continued for a long era after this time was called the "1955 System."

During this period, civilian control was fully established within Japanese society, including the Self-Defense Forces. In 1970, 4 years before the Carnation Revolution, an incident occurred in which Yukio Mishima, a world-famous writer, barricaded himself in a Self-Defense Force facility and called for a coup d'état to the Self-Defense Forces. However, none of the members agreed.

## 2 From the LDP Government to the Non-LDP Coalition Government (1993)

After the Cold War ended, the rivalry between the LDP and the Socialist Party became old-fashioned. Furthermore, as a result of the LDP's political funding problems and power struggles within the LDP, some members of the LDP left the party and formed a Shinseito Party or Sakigake Party. New political parties such as the Nihonshinto Party and traditional opposition parties such as the Socialist Party and Komeito Party joined this framework, and as a result of the election, a non-LDP coalition government was formed.

A non-LDP coalition government headed by Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa was called a "disarmament cabinet" in terms of national security.<sup>2</sup> The idea was that since the Cold War had ended, the Self-Defense Forces should also be downsized. In

---

*Sekai no Heiwa no tameni Hatasu Jieitai no Yakuwari* (Tokyo: Asagumo Shimbunsha, 2015), pp. 101-102.

<sup>2</sup> Akiyama Masahiro, *Nichi Bei no Senryaku Taiwa ga Hajimatta: Anpo Saiteigi no Butaiura* (Tokyo: Akishobo, 2002), p. 32.

Japan, the state of defense force was expressed in a document called the “National Defense Program Guidelines.” This is the current “National Defense Strategy.” Then it is necessary to take a look at the NDPG, which was created in 1995 after the change of government.

After post-war demilitarization and rearmament, Japan placed emphasis on building up its defense capabilities. Therefore, operation became secondary.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the idea of “Basic Defense Force Concept” was adopted, which emphasized the building up of defense capabilities.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the 1995 NDPG followed the “Basic Defense Force Concept” of the LDP administration time. How should we explain this fact?

The Hosokawa Cabinet collapsed in a short period of time due to political funding issues, and was replaced by the Tsutomu Hata Cabinet, based on the almost same coalition framework. However, unlike the Hosokawa Cabinet, the Hata Cabinet started out as a minority ruling parties with the Socialist Party and Sakigake Party leaving. The Socialist and Sakigake, who were outside the framework of this non-LDP coalition government, teamed up with the LDP, resulting in a coalition government of the LDP, the Socialist Party, and Sakigake Party. The leader was Tomiichi Murayama, chairman of the Socialist Party. In other words, there was a political situation in which the cabinet was replaced and the coalition was reshuffled in a short period of time, and the LDP returned to power, albeit as a coalition government. Although the Socialist Party called for cuts to the defense budget,<sup>5</sup> it aligned with the LDP on defense concept and the Japan-U.S. alliance.

### 3 From the LDP Government to the DPJ Government (2009)

In 2009, the Democratic Party of Japan won the election, partly due to voters growing tired of LDP’s long-term rule. The DPJ mentioned here: a different political party from the Democratic Party of the 1950s that was mentioned earlier in this paper. The new DPJ was formed by Yukio Hatoyama, grandson of Ichiro Hatoyama of the old Democratic Party in the 1950s.

<sup>3</sup> Omori Keiji, *Waga Kuni no Kokubo Senryaku* (Tokyo: Naigai Shuppan, 2009), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Chijiwa Yasuaki, *Anzenhoshō to Boeiryoku no Sengoshi 1971-2010: Kibanteki Boeiryoku Koso no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chikura Shobo, 2021), pp. 83-86.

<sup>5</sup> Boeisho Boei Kenkyujyo eds., *Oraru Hisutori, Nihon no Anzenhoshō to Boeiryoku (14) Sato Ken* (Tokyo: Boeisho Boeikenkyujyo, 2024), pp. 64-67.

The DPJ administration suspended the work to revise the NDPG that was underway during the LDP administration. The NDPG, created in 2010 under the DPJ government, called for a departure from the Basic Defense Force Concept and a transition to the new concept of “Dynamic Defense Force” which emphasized operation. In that sense, Japan’s national security policy appeared to have changed under the DPJ administration.

On the other hand, continuity from the time of the LDP government was also important. This was because the 1995 NDPG had already removed the idea of “repelling limited and small-scale aggression without external assistance,” which was a component of the Basic Defense Force Concept. The idea of repelling limited and small-scale aggression without external assistance was not an operational plan, but the logic behind acquiring budget for the defense buildup.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in the 2004 NDPG during the LDP administration, the idea of a “Multi-Functional, Flexible, and Effective Defense Force” was introduced along with the Basic Defense Force Concept. This was an approach that emphasized the use of defense capabilities, such as cooperation in the “war on terrorism” after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, and the introduction of missile defense to counter North Korean missile launches. Therefore, the DPJ government did not suddenly change from the Basic Defense Force Concept that emphasized defense buildup to the Dynamic Defense Force concept that emphasized operations. Things had changed little by little since the time of LDP government.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that in Japan, a change in government often did not bring about major changes in national security policy. In fact, within Japan, there were three groups concerned with security: the constitutional revision group, the Yoshida Doctrine group, and the unarmed neutral group. However, the situation had continued for a long time in which none of these groups had a majority. As a result, a situation arose in which each group had to compromise with the other. In this way, national security policy proceeded through gradual changes and consensus-building in spite of changes in government. Therefore, there was no sudden change in the relationship

---

<sup>6</sup> Chijiwa, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-85.

between politics and the Self-Defense Forces.