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## 論文内容の要旨

氏 名 ( LI YUANSHENG )

## 論文題名

Navigating the Post- Cold War World: The Japanese People's Responses to the US-Japan Alliance, 1990-1997 (冷戦後の世界における日米同盟と日本民衆)

## 論文内容の要旨

After the end of the Cold War, the US-Japan alliance, which had lost its common enemy the Soviet Union, faced challenges regarding its continuity as an alliance and uncertainties posed by the new global situation. Previous studies on the political, economic, security, and diplomatic aspects of US-Japan relations in the 1990s, following the Cold War, have extensively analyzed the topic from a national perspective. Similarly, there has been a significant body of political science research on alliance theory. However, research on the history of US-Japan alliance relations in the 1990s from the perspective of the Japanese public is still in its early stages. Given the significant influence of public opinion on a nation's foreign policy formulation and international exchanges, it is particularly important to analyze the relationship between countries from the perspective of the public. This thesis adopts a historical research methodology, collecting and examining diplomatic documents between the US and Japan in the 1990s, commemorative records of Japanese public organizations, mainstream Japanese media newspapers, local newspapers, memoirs of relevant individuals, and oral history records from personal interviews. The aim is to analyze the role played by the Japanese public in the drifting and redefinition of the US-Japan alliance relationship after the Cold War and to reexamine US-Japan alliance relations in the 1990s through their perspective.

During the Gulf War period, the United States requested not only financial assistance from Japan but also manpower support. Under pressure, the Kaifu Cabinet sought to implement the UNPCC bill, but it was ultimately abandoned due to widespread protests by the Japanese public. Japanese citizens formed groups to resist the Japanese government's actions and, as organized entities, engaged in correspondence and exchanges with the US government and its citizens to express their commitment to pacifism. I argue that the Japanese public played a role in overseeing the Japanese government to prevent it from deviating from its post-war pacifist stance. At the same time, they hoped to gain understanding from the U.S. side, even if they held different ideological views regarding the Gulf War.

Following the failure of the UNPCC bill, the Miyazawa Cabinet continued to pursue the PKO bill, despite initial resistance from the Japanese public. However, it eventually passed. I argue that, while international public opinion led by the US was one driving force behind this process, it was also the result of the aspirations of the Japanese public, ruling party, and opposition party for a "normal country" status, as well as the contradictions and compromises arising from the preservation of pacifism and constitutionalism. These factors ultimately facilitated the enactment of the PKO bill.

By the year 1993, the 55-year system, which had endured for 38 years, collapsed. I argue that the Japanese people's disillusionment with the long-standing one-party rule of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was one of the significant driving forces behind this collapse. Additionally, the deterioration of US-Japan relations led to a loss of confidence from the US side in the LDP's governance. US leaders were not concerned about or even hoped for a change from the LDP's rule, and this contributed to the breakdown of the 55-year system. Furthermore, internal conflicts and divisions within the LDP also played a role in the collapse of the 55-year system. However, the succeeding Hosokawa cabinet failed to adequately respond to the public's expectations, and its mishandling of US-Japan relations led to a continued drift in the bilateral relationship.

The 1995 Okinawa incident of the sexual assault by US military personnel further exacerbated the "drift" in the US-Japan alliance. The anti-US military activities led by Okinawan women's groups spread to mainland Japan. This chapter argues that Okinawan women's groups made an indelible and significant

contribution to the protest movement, and this large-scale resistance had far-reaching implications, bringing global attention to the suffering of the Okinawan people. However, the "temperature difference" between Okinawa and mainland Japan proved difficult to change, and the asymmetrical nature of the US-Japan alliance remained unchanged. Okinawa, positioned as a "pawn" caught between the US and Japan in the alliance, found it challenging to effectively assert their rights through resistance, despite their voices being heard worldwide. In contrast, the US-Japan alliance was strengthened through a process of redefinition.

Taking a comprehensive view of the US-Japan alliance from the perspective of the Japanese public between 1990 and 1997, this dissertation argues that a transformation occurred in their attitude towards the alliance, shifting from resistance and compromise to a default stance, inadvertently assuming the role of unconscious promoters of the strengthening of the US-Japan alliance. The Japanese public's evolving mindset was influenced by various factors, including their unease regarding the post-Cold War global landscape, their incomplete resistance against war, the contradiction between their expectations of Japan's "normalization" as a nation and their commitment to constitutionalism and pacifism, their aspirations for a change in the political regime following the collapse of the 55-year system, and their powerlessness in the face of the growing conservative forces in reality. Additionally, the "temperature difference" between the Japanese public and the people of Okinawa, who were unable to fully empathize with their struggles, inadvertently contributed to the drift of the US-Japan alliance after the Cold War, gradually leading to its redefinition and strengthening.

## 論文審査の結果の要旨及び担当者

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## 論文審査の結果の要旨

この博士号請求論文は、4つの章及び序章と終章から構成されている。第1章（“Stop the War and Protect the Peace Constitution!”: Japan’s Anti-War Movement during the Gulf Crisis, 1990-1991）は、1990年の湾岸戦争勃発後における、平和主義思想を持つ日本市民の反戦運動（特に国連平和部隊法案反対運動）及び彼らとアメリカ市民との交流を分析した。その結果、反戦運動に参加した日本市民は、自衛隊海外派遣に関する日本政府の行動を制限することに成功したと結論付けた。しかし、これらの市民は、湾岸戦争に関する異なるイデオロギーにも関わらず、冷戦後の世界における不確実性への不安から、アメリカが日本の平和主義を理解することを条件に、同国と日本が緊密な関係を維持し続けることも望んでいたと明らかにした。

第2章（Japan as a “normal country” to join the PKO）は、宮澤喜一内閣期におけるPKO法案の成立過程について論じている。政治家として経験豊富な宮澤は、政権発足当初から、国民の高い期待を得た。しかし、彼が発表したPKO法案は、平和主義思想を持つ左派民衆と野党の猛反発を招いた。その結果、宮澤と自民党は自衛隊海外派遣の条件を厳格化するなど法案内容を修正し、野党側と左派民衆も、戦後日本の「普通の国（Normal Country）化」を実現するため、互いに妥協した結果、PKO法成立に至ったことを論じた。

第3章（The Collapse of the 55-Year System and Its Reverberations）は、いわゆる「55年体制」の崩壊に関する内容である。冷戦終結後の日米関係と日本政治の状況を論述した後、日本市民の自民党に対する失望感、当時の日米関係における米国の日本に対する冷淡な態度、及び自民党内部の派閥闘争が、55年体制崩壊の原因だと論じた。しかし、新たに成立した細川護国連立政権は国民の期待に応えられず、対米関係の処理にも失敗したため、冷戦後の日米同盟は55年体制崩壊後も不安定な状況が続いたと結論付けた。

第4章（Fighting for a Young Life: Okinawan Women’s Groups’ Response to the 1995 Tragedy）は、1995年の沖縄少女暴行事件に関する研究である。事件発生後、沖縄の女性団体が先頭に立ち、反米軍・反基地運動を行った。彼女たちの影響を受け、沖縄の他団体や個人も反対活動に積極的に参加した。この運動は本土にも広まったが、当時の資料とインタビュー調査を通じて、沖縄と日本本土の温度差は依然として明らかであり、冷戦後の世界において日米同盟という指針を失いたくない本土の意向により、結果として、日米同盟は逆に強化されたと結論付けた。

本論文については、主に次のような欠点も指摘された。まず、日本の民衆・市民について、左派だけではなく、主流派を形成していた右派にも注目する必要がある。次に、日本の左派民衆の日米同盟に対する態度が反抗から妥協、そして黙認へと変化した過程を、より実証的に論証する必要がある。

このような課題は残されているものの、本博士論文は外交文書等の公文書の公開が進んでいない1990年代の日米関係史について、本土、沖縄双方の新聞・雑誌記事等を渉猟し、現地（沖縄）の女性団体関係者にインタビューも実施した上で、おおむね説得的に議論を展開している。その意味において、十分な学術的貢献がなされていると判断できるため、審査委員会は一致して、提出された論文は博士（国際公共政策）の学位を授与するに値すると認定した。