

Abstract

NSC の創設について

——何が変わったのか

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日本は、健全な政軍関係の構築に失敗し続けてきた。戦前は統帥権の独立の建前の下で軍が暴走して、300 万の日本人が命を失い、大日本帝国は崩落した。戦後は、国民の赤心の平和主義が旧軍人の政治的復活を忌避し、また、冷戦開始後に立ち上がった 55 年体制では東側に立ち位置を取った日本社会党、日本共産党が反日米同盟、反自衛隊の立場を取った。吉田、岸両総理が日米同盟の礎を築いた後、政治指導者は安保問題を避けるようになり、経済成長に専心するようになった。その結果、健全な政軍関係の構築は難しくなった。しかし、90 年代から、国連 PKO 活動への参加、北朝鮮核危機に際しての対米軍後方支援、9.11 事件後のアフガン戦争やイラク戦争後の人道復興支援への自衛隊派遣等、自衛隊の任務が増え、活動が本格化した。総理官邸に安全保障機能を付与することは時代の要請であった。本稿では、NSC 創設が、日本の政軍関係の正常化にどのような役割を果たしたかを検討する。

Japan has failed to establish a sound politico-military relationship stemming from the Showa era. Before the Second World War, the military, using the authority of the Emperor as supreme commander, refused to cooperate with the government. The reckless military adventures of the Imperial Army and Navy made the empire of Japan collapse with three million lives lost. After WWII, a strong pacifist sentiment grew in Japan, and the Japanese people refused to allow the ex-Imperial military people to return to the center stage of Japanese politics. With the advent of the Cold War, the Japanese socialists and communists sided with Moscow and tried hard to minimize Japanese military capabilities. Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida and Nobusuke Kishi bravely established the Japan-US alliance, but the following prime ministers avoided security issues and concentrated their political energy on economic expansion. In this setting, any progress toward a sound politico-military relationship could not be achieved. But the 1990s saw the participation of the SDF in UN PKOs, the North Korean nuclear crisis and

the participation of SDF in the non-combat operations of the Afghan War after the 9.11 terrorist attack as well as in the humanitarian reconstruction operations after the second Iraqi war, symbolizing the expansion of the role and mission of the SDF. An establishment of a sound politico-military relationship became a MUST for the GoJ. An NSC became necessary. The article examines how the NSC changed the decision-making process with regard to national security policy formulation.