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研究課題名（和文）Why, When, and How Does Japan Get Involved in Diplomacy to Settle Conflicts? The Case of Conflicts in Southeast Asia during the Cold War

研究課題名（英文）Why, When, and How Does Japan Get Involved in Diplomacy to Settle Conflicts? The Case of Conflicts in Southeast Asia during the Cold War

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研究成果の概要（和文）：本研究では冷戦時代の東南アジア紛争解決のための日本外交の4つの事例を調査・比較することにより、地政学的・経済的要因、政治指導者の関心、日本の地域的役割の強化が、日本が平和構築に取組む決定を下した重要な要因であることが判明した。日本と米国の関係に関する配慮は、場合によっては平和のために行動するという日本政府の決定を形成する要因の一部となってきた。関係当事者間の対話の促進を目的として、しばしば日本は和平仲介者として包括的かつ非対立的なアプローチを採用する傾向を示した。舞台裏の外交、公表された取組み、「経済的インセンティブ」は、日本政府が平和外交を遂行するための手段の一つである。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This study fosters understanding of Japan's postwar diplomacy and potential for playing a larger peacemaking role. It challenges views in the literature that Cold War era-Japan shied away from international political affairs, and shows that Japan's role in Southeast Asia went beyond an economic one.

研究成果の概要（英文）：By investigating and comparing four cases of Japanese diplomacy to resolve Cold War-era conflicts in Southeast Asia, this research has sought to clarify the motivations and characteristics of Japan's role as a peace-broker. This study has found that geopolitical and economic factors, political leaders' interests, and the enhancement of Japan's regional role were important factors behind Tokyo's decision to engage in peacemaking. Considerations related to Japanese relations with the United States have, on some occasions, been part of the factors shaping the Japanese government's decision to act for peace. As a peace-broker, Japan showed a tendency to adopt an inclusive and non-confrontational approach, often aiming at facilitating dialogue among the concerned parties. Behind-the-scenes diplomacy, publicly announced initiatives, and "economic incentives" are among the instruments used by the Japanese government to carry out its peace diplomacy.

研究分野：日本外交史と国際関係

キーワード：Japan's peace diplomacy Japan and Southeast Asia Japan's foreign policy Conflict resolution Cold War

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1 . 研究開始当初の背景

Japan's diplomacy during the Cold War has often been described as passive on international political affairs. In line with the so-called "Yoshida doctrine", Japan prioritized its economic development, largely entrusted its defense to the United States, and maintained a limited amount of defense capabilities, while keeping a low profile on international security and political affairs. Regarding conflict-resolution diplomacy, previous studies have described Japan as beginning to engage in mediation efforts only with the waning of the Cold War in the late 1980s, when Tokyo became involved in the Cambodian peace process from 1989. Yet, an examination of Japanese diplomacy in Southeast Asia shows that, starting from the 1960s, on several occasions Japan acted as a peace broker to resolve conflicts, including the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, the Vietnam War, and conflicts in Cambodia. This Japanese engagement is meaningful also because it took place in a region where mixed feelings towards Japan existed due to its wartime military invasion of Southeast Asia. Against this background, the aim of this research is to investigate: what factors motivated Japan to act as a peace-broker on Cold War-era conflicts in Southeast Asia; what role Japan played; what were the characteristics of Japanese peacemaking diplomacy; and, how was Japan's role perceived internationally.

2 . 研究の目的

The findings of this research seek to make a threefold contribution: deepen understanding of Japanese postwar foreign policy by shedding light on one of its aspects, that is, conflict-resolution diplomacy; fill the gap in the literature on Japanese diplomacy for resolving conflicts, in particular, by contributing a comparative study of four cases of Japan's peacemaking diplomacy in Southeast Asia during the Cold War; shed light on the motivations, characteristics, strength and weakness of Japan's peace diplomacy, as well as of the potential for Japan's larger role as a peace-broker. The findings of this research are expected to contribute to the work of scholars and practitioners in the field of Japan's foreign policy and, particularly, peace diplomacy.

They also offer a new perspective on Japan's international role during the Cold War that challenges a recurrent description of Japan as reluctant to engage in international political affairs. To be sure, in that period Japan's role in the region remained predominantly focused on economic matters, and Japan contributed to peace and stability mainly through the provision of Official Development Assistance. Yet, the findings of this research show that on several occasions Japan played a substantial – and at times quite active – diplomatic role in regional political affairs by becoming involved in efforts to resolve conflicts.

3 . 研究の方法

Through an historical approach, this research has investigated four cases of Japanese involvement in efforts to resolve conflicts that broke out in Southeast Asia during the Cold War. The four case studies are: the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, the Vietnam War, the Cambodian crisis of 1970, and the Cambodian conflict that broke out in 1978. For each case, the investigation has focused on the motivations, characteristics and effectiveness of Japan's peace diplomacy, and on international reactions to it. This study draws largely on primary sources, in particular: declassified diplomatic documents from Japanese, American, Australian and other archives; memoirs of former diplomats and government leaders; official speeches and documents. Secondary sources and newspapers have also been examined as part of this research.

4 . 研究成果

In the literature, Japanese foreign policy during the Cold War era has often been described as reactive to external pressure, economy-focused, and reluctant to become involved in international political affairs. While recognizing that the so-called Yoshida Doctrine has significantly shaped Japan's policy towards other countries, and that Tokyo has prioritized economic aspects in its diplomacy, the findings of this research show that when Japan perceived that its national interest and foreign policy objectives were at stake, it did not shy away from becoming involved in regional political affairs and from playing a diplomatic role to shape the course of regional events. That was the case when conflicts broke out in Southeast Asia, a region that Japan highly valued for its geopolitical and economic significance: Southeast Asia was as a source of raw materials, a market, and a region crossed by sea routes through which Japanese trade,

and especially vital imports of oil from the Middle-East, was carried out. Japan had therefore a major interest in the stability, peace and prosperity of that region. Against this background, this research shows that when conflicts erupted in the 1960s and the 1980s, thereby undermining regional peace and stability, Japan engaged in diplomacy to resolve them. Addressing the central questions of what motivated Japan's decision to act as a peace-broker and of how Japan played that role, this research has shed light on the factors that, in addition to humanitarian motivations, contributed to the Japanese government's decision to undertake conflict-resolution efforts on the four cases of conflicts examined in this study. Among those factors, geopolitical and economic considerations influenced importantly the Japanese decision-makers. This research has also found that, on several occasions, the fact that high-profile leaders of the Japanese government and of the ruling party had an interest in Japan to take action to resolve conflicts facilitated Japan's diplomatic involvement. This research has also found that, although when deciding to become involved in peace efforts Tokyo considered the United States' stance on the issues at stake, it was primarily the realization of Japan's agenda in Southeast Asia that motivated the Japanese government to engage in peace efforts.

This research has found that, as a peace-broker, Japan often focused on helping to create favorable conditions for the concerned parties to have a dialogue and negotiate for peace. For that purpose, Japan recurrently adopted an inclusive approach and, through behind-the-scene diplomatic maneuvering, sought to generate consensus or persuade reluctant parties in relation to conflict-resolution efforts. In addition to using "quiet diplomacy" and economic incentives to facilitate consensus-building, this research has found that Japan was also active under the spot-lights and, on several occasions, publicly announced diplomatic initiatives for peace. The above-mentioned findings, and this research's discussion of the weak points and limits of Japanese peace diplomacy, contribute to deepening international and domestic understanding of Japan's foreign policy and potential future diplomatic contribution, have policy implications related to the future of Japan's role as a peace-broker, and provide hints for future research.

5. 主な発表論文等

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〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

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8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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