

博士論文審査及び最終試験の結果

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論文名 Kōsaka Masataka, Nagai Yōnosuke, and the Diverging Paths of Japanese Realism: The Postwar Intellectual in the Age of the Security State

本論文の概要

This dissertation explores the historical evolution of Japanese realist thought and its intersection with the concept of ‘national security’ during the Cold War through a comparative study of Kōsaka Masataka (1934-1996) and Nagai Yōnosuke (1924-2008). While initially aligned in their ‘realist’ defense of the US-Japan Security Treaty during the 1960s, their positions shifted in the following decades, particularly in response to the ‘Soviet threat’ during the ‘New Cold War’, the growing pressure from Japan’s ally, and domestic debates on the nature of the Japanese state itself. By the 1980s, as a force of ‘military realists’ rose to prominence, Kōsaka and Nagai found themselves positioned on divergent track in Japanese security discourse: Whether Japan should evolve into a ‘normal country’ in the form of a ‘national security state’ or to retain the peculiarities of the postwar state. While both the military realists and Kōsaka eventually favoured the latter, Nagai promoted a staunch defense of Japan as a ‘moratorium state’ befit for Japan as a postwar civilization, attempting to restrain its transformation into a national security state. This PhD thesis argues that this discussion reflected a deeper fracture in scholarly perspectives of realism in the archipelago, which resulted in a narrower military orthodoxy that would come to gain mainstream relevance. By revisiting the formation of the concept of national security in the United States and then pinning down its contestation in Japan, the thesis contributes to the intellectual history of realist theory, the global circulation of national security ideology and the contested legacy of the postwar period.

The thesis divides into eight chapters, including the Introduction and Conclusions. The introduction establishes in a clear and organized way the research questions, objectives, and frameworks, alongside a literature review and explanation of the methodology. The methodology is rooted in intellectual history and contextual political analysis. Throughout the supervision process and in the final thesis itself it became clear that Vargas-Rodriguez has done deep reading of the primary sources (writings by Kōsaka, Nagai and others) in the original Japanese, as well as broad reading in English, Japanese and Spanish around the main subject area.

The first chapter, ‘The Age of the Security State’ defines the concept of ‘national security’ within Euro-American modernity. It defines the pre-1945 intellectual debates regarding security in the West, and then the development of the American security state post-1945. This is the ‘security state’ theory or template onto which the discussion of Japan’s post-1945 national security infrastructure is described in the second chapter, ‘The Postwar Intellectual’. Following Japan’s defeat in World War II, Japan came under the protective security wing of the United States. Under the terms of the 1947 constitution, Japan could not follow a ‘normal’ national security strategy. A chronological overview of the security debates amidst the Yoshida Doctrine, Reverse Course, and period leading up to the US-Japan Security Treaty is followed by an overview of debate in the framework of progressives vs conservatives, or realists vs liberals. The scene is set, therefore for the arrival of the two main protagonists in Chapter Three.

The third chapter, ‘Realism in What Form? Kōsaka Masataka and Nagai Yōnosuke’s Peace Theory’ introduces the two intellectuals at the heart of this research through brief biographies and introductions to their early work. In particular, the formative experiences they had as students under their respective mentors give a human side to these intellectuals who became giants of Japanese International Relations discourse. In particular, their debates with interlocutor Sakamoto Yoshikazu are demonstrated to be the source of Kōsaka and Nagai’s ‘definitive conclusion: Pacifism could not justify neutrality or detached moralism, which endangered Japan’s security and values’ (p. 145).

The fourth chapter, ‘Keeping National Security Political: Beheiren Against Strategic Realism’ examines the ‘counter-challenge mounted by New Left intellectuals affiliated with the Beheiren movement during the Vietnam War against the “strategic realism” advanced by Nagai Yōnosuke and Kōsaka Masataka’ (p. 147). This chapter engages heavily the logic of the antiwar struggle of people like Oda Makoto, and his ‘victim = perpetrator’ framework. Oda engaged in direct debates with both Nagai and Kōsaka, both of which are outlined in detail in the thesis. The Vietnam War was a particular moment in Japanese security debates as the true implications of the US-

Japan Security Treaty were made clear in Japanese involvement as forward staging post for American military power.

Into the fifth chapter, 'A Fragile Consensus: Kōsaka Masataka's Comprehensive Security Strategy' covers the period beyond the Vietnam War into the 1980s, by which time Kōsaka was a leading thinker not only in intellectual circles but also policy circles. His Comprehensive Security Strategy was drafted for Prime Minister Ōhira Masayoshi. Kōsaka did not envision a full-blown security state, but rather 'minimal military preparedness within a broader architecture of economic, diplomatic, and infrastructural resilience' (p. 178). With Japan as a major economic power by this time, Kōsaka saw security threats to Japan as a 'trading state' not simply in terms of military threats, but also in terms of economic threats in the form of disruption to energy supply and transportation lines. By the 1980s, there was a rightward shift in Japanese security discourse. This is the subject of the sixth chapter, 'A New Cold War: Nagai Yōnosuke and the Diverging Paths of Japanese Realism', in which the focus is Nagai's debates with Okazaki Hisahiko. The result was the creation of a 'new orthodoxy oriented toward the gradual construction of a Japanese national security state under continued American tutelage' (p. 208). The landscape of Japanese debate can be surmised in terms of four major positions: political realism, military realism, unarmed neutralism, and Japanese Gaullism (p. 233). During the 1980s, the military realists gained the ascendancy during the Nakasone administration, leaving Nagai, a self-identified 'political realist', to retire from public life as 'an intellectual relic of an era and international context already passing' (p. 248). Kōsaka, meanwhile, swam with the tides of the time towards a more military realist position.

The final conclusions present a link to the present day through the contextualization of all the discussion thus far in the situation of the 2010s, namely the Peace and Security Laws of the Abe Shinzō administration.

本論文の評価と問題点

The members of the examination committee were extremely impressed by the quality of Vargas-Rodriguez' research, his deep familiarity with the primary sources, and the clarity of the writing and argument. It should be noted that this PhD research has also resulted in articles in the Scopus-listed journals *Japanese Studies*, *Democracy and Security*, and *Global Intellectual History*. This is a phenomenal achievement for a PhD completed within the requisite three years. The thesis itself is a well written and elaborate work. The careful examination of Kōsaka and Nagai in a wider context is highly welcome both academically and practically. The fact that he set up the framework of the security state by referring to European philosophers was challenging. While it may have created the room for unresolved issues, the thesis as a result stands as a stimulating contribution to academia.

Much has been written, mostly in Japanese, about the evolution of Japanese realism especially against the background of the 1947 constitution. This dissertation places this trajectory in an international context, not only by being written in English, but by replacing the intellectual background. It introduces the concept of the 'national security state' as the background against which Japanese realism evolved. The main academic contribution of the dissertation is rooted in this new perspective.

By renewing the background, the dissertation reveals new aspects of postwar Japanese international thought which remained overlooked in the existing literature. Sakamoto Yoshikazu's critique of the national security state had been lost in translation. The shared concern about the national security state between Oda Makoto and Nagai Yōnosuke had been overlooked due to the differences in their political stance. Because of these new findings, the dissertation will be received as a new historiography not only in the English-speaking world but in Japan as well.

On the other hand, the dissertation could have explored the intricacies within the evolution of Japanese realism. One example is the influence of Satō Seizaburō, who collaborated with Kōsaka Masataka for an extensive period of time but was closer to Okazaki Hisahiko intellectually. Kitaoka Shinichi acknowledged Satō as his mentor. Another example is how Nagai perceived Kōsaka's geopolitical 'maritime state' (*Kaiyō kokka*) theory, which was constructed in defense of the politico-military relations between the United States and Japan. The reviewers confirmed that this omission was due to the lack of space and time in this doctoral project. Another omission was discussion of the article by Hoshiro Hiroyuki, 'Deconstructing the "Yoshida Doctrine"' in the *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 2022. Hoshiro contends that the 'Yoshida Doctrine' is a retrospective construct from the 1980s and argues, through quantitative and historical evidence, that the concept lacks empirical grounding. That said, this omission is not substantive and in no way detracts from the overall positive assessment of the dissertation.

Despite such lacunas, the dissertation makes a valuable contribution to understanding postwar Japanese realism as contested rather than monolithic. The writing is excellent, the research is thorough, and the argumentation is coherent. The stand-out strengths include 1) the level of archival research (extensive engagement with primary sources, including published works, policy documents, particularly the 1980 Comprehensive Security Strategy) and journal-based intellectual debates, and 2) the contextualization of Japanese debates within broader transnational currents, including the Schmitt-Morgenthau intellectual genealogy, American debates over the national security state during and after Vietnam, and global critiques of Cold War security discourse. The treatment in Chapter 4 of the Beheiren movement is particularly effective in showing how Japanese intellectuals engaged with global New Left critiques.

There were some very minor issues with typos, including in the bibliography (although the extensive bilingual references list is an excellent resource for any researchers on this topic in both Japanese and English). Phrasing in some places could be a little clearer (less verbose), although Vargas-Rodriguez' academic English is effectively native standard. Overall, however, the contribution to understanding contested realism in postwar Japan is clear. The core argument is sound, and the research is thorough.

最終試験の審査と結論（日程と概要、可否）

The initial complete thesis draft was submitted to the principal supervisor on 1 October 2025. It was shared with the supervisory panel for their review during October. Various requests for revisions were made, including corrections to the English, the numbering of sections, a reduction in length, adjustments to the citation style (in particular, making the bibliography bilingual), and a few comments on content and clarity. These revisions were addressed in November before submission at the beginning of December 2025.

Following the establishment of the thesis defense committee, the viva was set for Monday 2 February 2026. The defense was conducted in hybrid format, with Professor Hattori joining online and five observers joining the defense in person. The viva lasted from 16:30 until 18:30. Vargas-Rodriguez gave a 20-minute presentation of his work before answering questions from the panel. All the questions were answered in a satisfactory manner and it was clear just how deeply knowledgeable he is about this topic.

Based on the quality of the thesis, the strength of responses to questions during the viva, and the volume of content already published in international peer-reviewed journals, the committee was unanimous in their decision that Rogelio Vargas-Rodriguez has completed all the requirements expected during a PhD, and deserves to be awarded his doctoral degree.