

The “Militarization” of National Parks in Japan (1925-1944) ¹

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This study analyzes the development of the “Militarization” of the national parks in Japan before and during the pacific war. The two main purposes of national parks held by the motion of the law, namely “recreation and health preservation of the nation” and “enlightenment of the nation”, grew progressively more militaristic and nationalistic during this time period. The former was interpreted to imply training for military and national defense. The latter was connected with patriotism. This development of the discourse can be explained by the fact that gaining the consensus of the military regime was necessary for the promotion of national parks. This example of political ingratiation by nature conservation factions reflects a similar fate which befell nature conservation in the period of the Nazi regime in Germany. These examples show that the rationale for nature conservation can be explained with various kinds of ideologies, but gaining consensus is always vital to its success. The examples analyzed by this study show that we must be aware of the connections between ideologies and nature conservation as a consensus-making tool.

Key Words: national park; nature conservation; militarization; National Parks Association; preservation of historic, scenic, and natural monuments; Ministry of Health and Welfare; Kenmin-Undo (healthy nation movement).

Introduction

Photo 1 shows the cover of the journal of the National Parks Association (NPA, Kokuritsu Kouen Kyokai) in 1943. It demonstrates clearly the “militarization” of Japan’s national parks. The NPA was founded in 1927 and played an influential role in the establishment and development of Japan’s national parks system, publishing a journal from 1929 until 1944 ³.

This period can be characterized as the time before and during the Second Sino-Japanese War(1937-45) and the Pacific War(1941-45), called in Japan as the “Great East Asia War”. The state and society of Japan grew progressively more militaristic and nationalistic, and a system of national mobilization was constructed. The discourse over the national parks system was duly shaped by this unfolding situation and the proponents of national parks adapted their proposals to the outbreak of war. This process is defined



Photo 1 ²

as the “militarization” of Japan’s national parks, and it is the subject of analysis in this paper ⁴.

I The establishment of national parks in Japan ⁵

In 1911, the national parks system became a topic of discussion in the Imperial Diet for the first time. But it was in 1920 that the Geography Section of the Ministry of Home Affairs started a field survey of national parks, and in 1921, the Public Health Division of the same Ministry also began its own field survey. The Geography Section had strong connections with the Association for the Preservation of Historic, Scenic, and Natural Monuments (PHSNM) and its members, which had played an influential role in the enactment of the Law for PHSNM and its application. The Public Health Division had strong connections with scholars of landscape architecture like Seiroku Honda ⁶ and Tsuyoshi Tamura ⁷. These were the main characters involved in the organization of the NPA in 1927.

Each party had its own reasons for involvement with the parks. The Geography Section had jurisdiction over the Law for PHSNM which had been enacted in 1919, and considered national parks to be scenic monuments on a large scale. The Public Health Division had long since handled the administration of urban and regional parks, and considered national parks to be an extension of that system.

Consequently there was a dispute over the rationale of national parks between these two parties. The Geography Section and the Association for PHSNM considered the national parks system as one of the institutions for nature preservation, while the Public Health Division and landscape architects (later NPA) emphasized the “conservation and development” or “use” of national parks. In this sense, the Geography Section and the Association for PHSNM are often called “pure preservationists” and it is said that they left little room for compromise. However, this seems a somehow biased judgement and the dispute should also be analyzed from the standpoint of the proponents of PHSNM, although this is another theme beyond the parameters of this paper.

After considerable debate, jurisdiction over the national parks system was assigned to the Public Health Division in 1925 ⁸. Subsequently the “use” of national parks was pursued thereafter. From this standpoint, the Public Health Division and scholars of the NPA stressed three purpose of national parks, namely “recreation and health preservation of the nation”, “enlightenment of the nation” and “appeal to the foreign tourists and acquisition of foreign exchange”. Needless to say, the third point lost its meaning during the run-up to and outbreak of war.

Junjiro Yamada, the Director of the Public Health Division said in 1929: “improvement of the health of the nation is the basis for the development of national strength and also of the wealth of the world” ⁹. From the beginning, the health of nation was considered not only as a matter of individual welfare, but also a matter of “national strength” ¹⁰. These three purposes were also included in the proposal of the bill for the National Parks Law submitted to the Imperial Diet in 1931. Under the jurisdiction of the Public Health Division, twelve national parks were designated from 1934 to 1936 (see Table 1).

Table 1

1931.04	Enactment of the National Parks Law
1934.03	1. designation (Unzen, Kirishima, Setonaikai)
1934.12	2. designation (Akan, Daisetsuzan, Nikkou, Cyubusangaku, Aso)
1936.02	3. designation (Towada, Fuji-Hakone, Yoshino-Kumano, Daisen)

As mentioned above, Japan and its society became progressively more conservative and militaristic in this time period. In 1931, the year the National Parks Law was enacted, the Manchurian Incident broke out. In September 1933, Japan declared it would leave the League of Nations because of the report of the Lytton Commission. Thought control became stricter under the Maintenance of the Public Order Act.

Under these circumstances, Seiroku Honda, one of the main proponents of the NPA, explained the rationale for national parks in connection with "national danger" in November 1933. He said, "Japan encounters today various kinds of difficulties in domestic and foreign affairs.to break through this national danger, the health of the nation is necessary above all else. In this sense, the establishment of the national parks system is most important"¹¹. This demonstrates clearly the beginning of the "militarization" of the national parks.

II National park and "national defense in a broader sense"

It was not until May 1937, two months before the outbreak of Second Sino-Japanese War, that the national parks system was explained directly in connection with the war. At the 6th general meeting of the NPA, where the problem of a lack of government budget for the national parks was discussed, Mamoru Kishi¹² said, "the parties making the national budget have no understanding of national parks. In particular, the military considers national parks to be quite useless." But, "from the viewpoint of national defense in a broader sense, the Japanese nation must now fully improve its body and mind, and racial improvement is now the most important thing in Japan.so we must at first persuade the military in this sense and make them willing to pay money for national parks"¹³

In fact, the budget was an important issue for national parks, and this was a logical consequence of the decision in 1925, when the Public Health Division had gained jurisdiction. As mentioned above, this division and scholars behind it insisted that the "development" of national parks was as important as the conservation of them. This meant that national parks had to be established with hotels, roads and so on, in order to develop their "use". This thinking had the widespread acceptance of local stakeholders who expected economical prosperity from the designation of national parks. However after designation, the government allotted no budget for the national parks. So it was quite understandable that the budget should be discussed at the general meeting of the NPA in 1937, one year after the third batch of national park designations.

The concept of "national defense in a broader sense" was first advocated by the army. In 1934, it insisted that it was not enough to simply strengthen militaristic power for national defense. The state and society should be organized and managed to enhance the vitality of the whole state, it said.¹⁴ In a few years, this idea was called "national defense in a broader sense". Koki Hirota's cabinet which was formed in 1936 following strong interference by the army pursued this policy. Hirota's cabinet also revived the former regulation of army and navy, so that the army and navy minister had to be chosen from active officers. This meant that army and navy interference with policymaking became much stronger. The words of Mamoru Kishi clearly show that he had adapted his position to this political situations in order to petition for a national park budget.

III National parks and the foundation of the Ministry of Health and Welfare

Kishi is likely to have also taken into consideration the upcoming reorganization of ministries, namely

the foundation of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. When the first Fumimaro Konoe cabinet was formed in June 1937, the army supported the cabinet on condition that it founded a new ministry that aimed to improve the physical strength of the nation. The Public Health Division and the Social Welfare Division were separated from the Ministry of Home Affairs, and integrated into the new Ministry of Health and Welfare in January 1938. It had five Divisions, namely, Physical Strength Division, Public Health Division, Prevention Division, Social Welfare Division, and Labor Division. Jurisdiction over the national parks system was assigned to the Facility Section of the Physical Strength Division. This meant that national parks would be considered hereafter as one of “facilities” for the training to improve the physical strength of nation.¹⁵

From this time on, “*National Parks*”, the journal of the NPA, published a large amount of articles which had similar arguments to that of Kishi. Not only politicians or bureaucrats but also many scholars supported his argument. For example, Tsuyoshi Tamura, who studied under Seiroku Honda and was later dubbed the “father” of Japan’s national parks, said: “in this unprecedented national crisis, we must seriously make up our mind to promote national spirit and improve the physical strength of the nation. For persons concerned with the national parks, this is a golden opportunity to devote ourselves to serving the state.”¹⁶

However, this kind of argument seems to have weakened the rationale for national parks because it considered national parks as merely one kind of training place.

IV Tsuyoshi Tamura and “recreational fields”

For example, Tsuyoshi Tamura wrote about a “new” national parks system in 1941 and 1942. He argued, “we often hear the criticism that the national parks are too aristocratic and removed from common peoples’ life. Today, it seems that national parks has nothing to do with citizens’ life. Therefore, national parks must find a new rationale to serve the state’s eternal aim”. The new rationale included using the national parks not only for recreational purpose, but also as “outdoor training fields”. However, in order to be used for this purpose, national parks had to be made easily accessible for all of the nation. Therefore, national parks had to be scattered all over Japan. He insisted that there should be at least one big nature park within a radius of 100Km (later 120Km) from every big city.¹⁷ From this standpoint, he later proposed nine new national parks (see Table 2 on note 35)¹⁸.

However, once accessibility was considered, it became difficult to stick strictly to the original criteria which defined national parks as “magnificent landscapes of nature which represent landscapes of Japan”. Consequently he proposed a new notion, namely the “nation’s park”. According to Tamura, “the regional nature parks which we must now choose are outdoor fields for recreation, exercise and training based on the real life of citizens. They could be distinguished from existing national parks. They comprise a new nature park based on the needs of our times, and could be called a nation’s park”¹⁹.

The NPA also organized a commission to deal with the national land planning and investigated sites to propose new national parks or prefectural nature parks from 1941. This investigation was conducted on the basis of Tamura’s point of view. It should be noted that the designation of new national parks and quasi-national parks after the war was also broadly based on this war time investigation²⁰.

Tamura also proposed another notion, namely “recreational fields (Kyuyouchi)”, which included not only national parks, prefectural parks and urban nature parks, but also forests, lakes and marshland, seashore, rivers and so on. He insisted that these “recreational fields” should be considered in the national land

planning. Tamura also said that the word "recreational" sounded somehow weak and should be replaced with another word which contained the nuance of fields that were also suitable for the mental and physical training of the nation.²¹ Later, the word was in fact replaced by the new one, namely "fields for a healthy nation".

V "Guidelines to establish the system of national training places"

Tamura's idea was almost identical to that of the Ministry. In the Tsukuba Annex of the National Archives of Japan, there is a file named "National Parks in General, 1940-1944", which contains some archives before and during the war²². This file contains also a document named "Guidelines to establish the system of national training places (Kokumin Renseichi Taisei Kakuritsu Youkou)". This document is undated and also contains no information about the author, as is often the case with the Japanese archives. But judging by the contents, it is likely that it was written in 1942²³ by the Population Division (former Physical Strength Division). It is also likely that it was a plan which was never carried out. The guidelines consist of five chapters, namely, 1. Summary; 2. Administrative system of national training places (Photo 2, Figure 1) ; 3. Classification of national training places; 4. Status quo and plan of national training places; 5. Emergency measures related to national training places.

The guidelines include more obvious references to the military context: "To strengthen the Yamato (i.e. "Japanese") race and make strong soldiers and a healthy nation, various kinds of permanent measures must be made and enforced. In cities and also in agricultural lands, for people in all age brackets and jobs, appropriate mental and physical training is necessary. ……for this purpose, national training places must be rapidly expanded and improved. Some open spaces can be used without any extra facilities, and concerning outdoor places, it's basically enough to preserve their natural elements with a legal basis as necessary conditions for training. The indispensable training for us as a militaristic nation must be done there, such as ……battlefield maneuvers, traditional martial arts, shooting, horse riding, walking, swimming, mountain climbing, skiing, camping and so on. At the same time, through getting close to nature, the training will help citizens to understand their own homeland and also national land, thus imbuing patriotism."

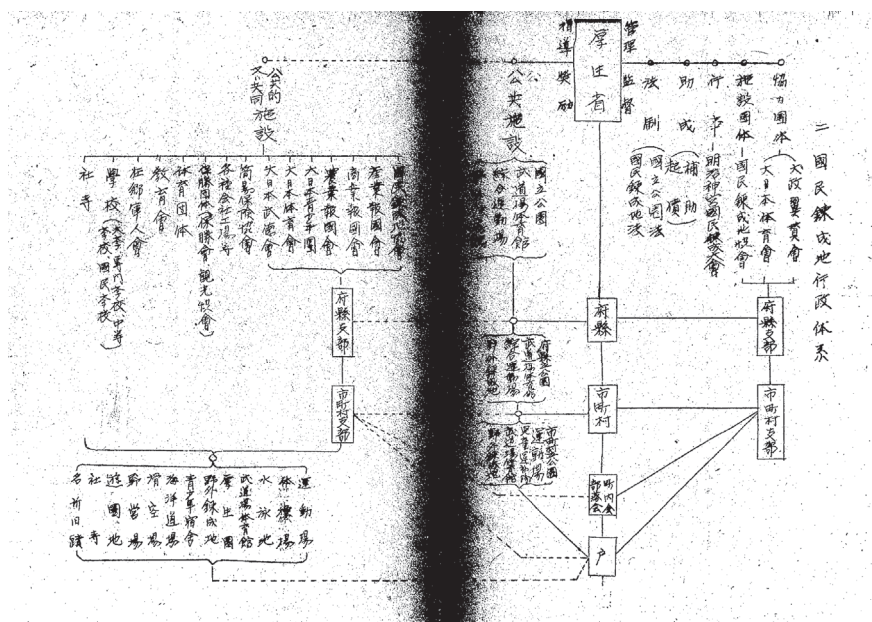


Photo 2 Administrative system of national training places

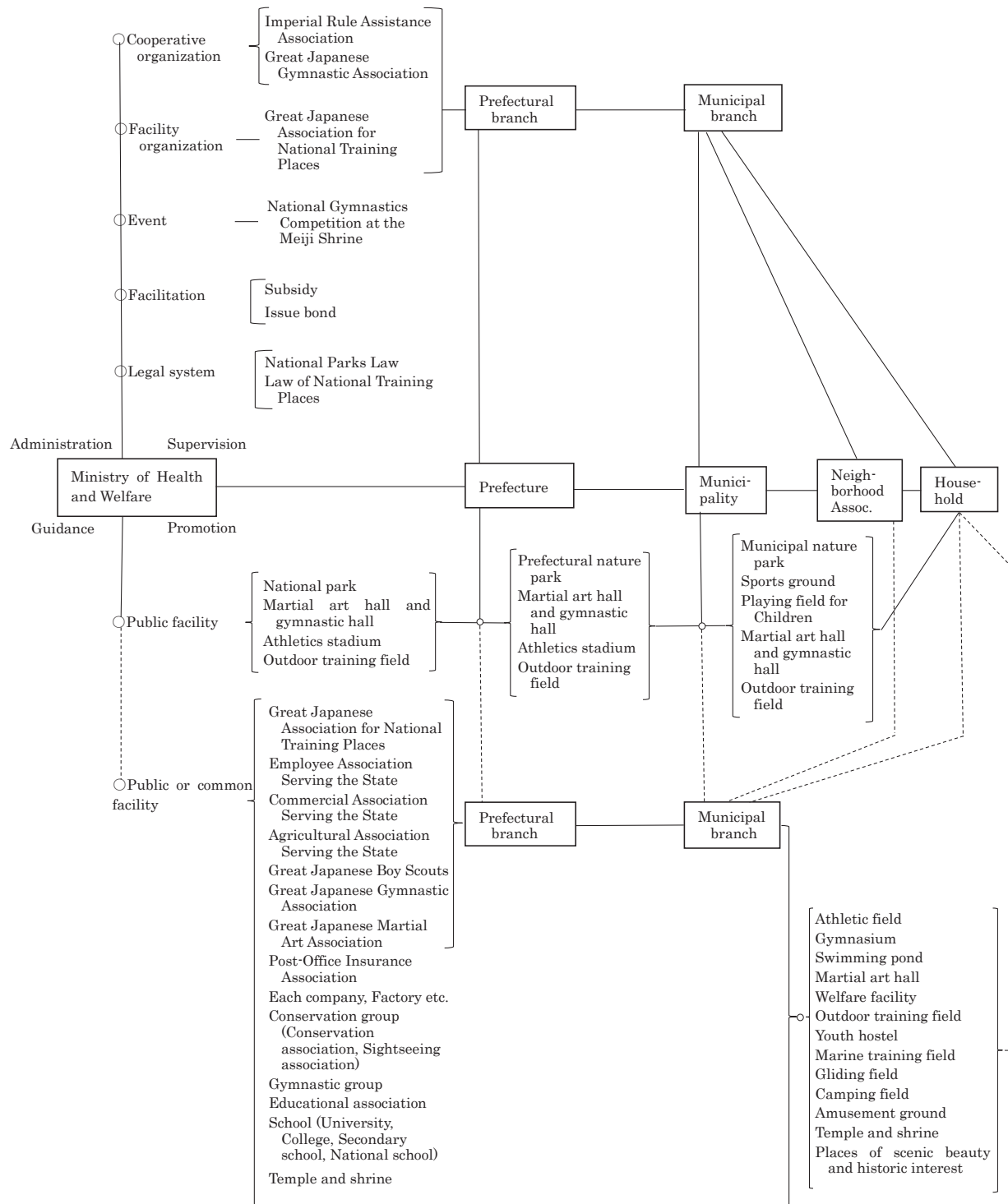


Figure 1 : Administrative system of national training places.

〔Translation of the Photo 2〕

Logically, all kind of places were included into the notion of "national training places". For example, not only natural parks such as national parks, but also all kinds of other parks administrated at national, prefectural and municipal levels were included. All kinds of gymnastic halls, national or publicly-owned surfaces of water, national, publicly-owned or privately-owned forests, green tracts of land, sports grounds and gymnastic halls of schools, temples and shrines, and even places designated as Historic, Scenic, and Natural Monuments were also included.

According to these guidelines, two laws were supposed to apply to national training places, namely the National Parks Law and the Law of National Training Places. It is likely that the latter was only planned in these guidelines. According to the draft of this new law, the Minister of Health and Welfare designated some areas as training places for the nation. This designation obliged local government to administer and improve it. To protect natural places designated as training places, the regulatory structure of National Parks Law was widely applied to this new law. Namely, the permission of local government would be required to construct, re-construct or to enlarge a structure on land, to change the characteristic form and quality of land, or to gather trees, bamboo, soil or stones and so on. The Minister of Health and Welfare could also restrict or forbid certain kind of activities when necessary in order to conserve national training places.

During this time period, there were two laws to preserve or conserve nature, namely, the National Parks Law and the Law for PHSNM. This meant that only special nature like "magnificent landscapes of nature which were sufficiently typical of the landscape of Japan"²⁴ or "endangered" plants and animals²⁵ could be preserved. If the Law of National Training Places had been enacted, it could have also preserved ordinary nature without such specific significance. Such a powerful nature conservation law still doesn't exist today in Japan. However, it is worth noting that the draft of this kind of law could be drawn up only under the context of "militarization" at that time.

Furthermore, the guidelines contained a draft statute of a new association, namely the "Great Japanese Association for National Training Places (Dainihon Renseichi Kyokai)". According to the draft, the aim of the association was to research, plan and develop the system of national training places, in which national parks were expressly included. This means that the Ministry of Health and Welfare intended to dissolve the NPA and establish the new association. This also shows clearly how the Ministry considered national parks to be merely one of several training fields. Although the plan for the new association was not realized, the NPA was instead reorganized into the "Association for National Land and Healthy Nation (Kokudo Kenmin Kai)", which is discussed below.

Whether Tamura himself wrote this guidelines or not, or how was he - as a technical official of the ministry - involved in the making of it, can't be addressed here because of the current situation of archives.

VI National Park and "fields for a healthy nation (Kenminchi)"

In December 1942, Tamura proposed to the NPA board of directors to reorganize the NPA to concentrate exclusively on the "Healthy Nation (Kenmin)" policy²⁶. In April in this year, the Ministry made already a pamphlet named "Healthy Nation Movement (Kenmin Undou)"²⁷ and distributed it to promote this policy. Once again Tamura's proposal paralleled the bureaucrats' movement. The new name of the association was the "Association for National Land and Healthy Nation (Kokudo Kenminkai)", and the name of its journal was also changed from "*National Parks*" to "*National Land and Healthy Nation*"²⁸. According to the prospectus of this association, its aim was "to cultivate and strengthen human resources to accomplish this

holy war and to establish the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere”²⁹.

As mentioned above, it is highly likely that this reorganization was an alternative to the former plan of the Ministry to found the “Great Japanese Association for National Training Places”. At the first council board meeting, Chikahiko Koizumi, the then Minister of Health and Welfare and ex-General Office Director of Army Medicine said that “the superior nature of national parks and other national land is the fountainhead of the vitality” to sacrifice oneself to the “holy war” and production³⁰. Here, national parks were included into the notion of “fields for a healthy nation” like other nature fields, and the notion was almost identical to the notion of “recreational fields” by Tamura or of “national training places” by the Ministry.

VII National Park as a training field for “weak” people

However the role of national parks was much more limited than the new association had expected. In 1943, the Ministry of Health and Welfare was reorganized and jurisdiction over the national parks was transferred to the Syuren Section within the “Healthy Nation” Division. In this division, another similar section also existed, namely the Tanren Section.³¹ The words “Syuren” and “Tanren” are similar and both can be translated into “Training” or “Discipline” so the difference between them is unclear. But on closer inspection of the cabinet decision “Guidelines to counterpart tuberculosis”³² in August 1942, the difference becomes quite clear.

The aim of this cabinet decision was to prevent and eradicate tuberculosis. For that purpose, it classified the nation into “healthy”, “weak” and “sick” people. For healthy people, “Tanren” was deemed necessary to prevent them from becoming infected with tuberculosis. Meanwhile weak people were prescribed recuperation and “Syuren”.

A document from the national archives, namely the “Reference Material for 84th Imperial Diet, Volume 2” written by the Healthy Nation Division in 1943³³ shows more clearly the difference between these two notions, because each divisional section wrote one chapter respectively. The subject of this “Syuren” policy in 1943 and 1944 included some 420,000 people who had very weak muscle and bones, or who were considered to be developing tuberculosis, or who had very slight cases of tuberculosis³⁴. Conversely, “Tanren” included training which could be practiced in everyday life, such as traditional martial arts, gymnastics, walking, swimming, shooting, wrestling and so on for healthy young people. Interestingly, jurisdiction of the national parks was assigned to the “Syuren” section, not to the “Tanren” section. The reason is not clear from the existing archives, but it may be because national parks were considered to be adequate for the “recuperation” of “weak” people.

The “Syuren” section wrote: “Our section is now investigating how to use the existing twelve national parks and six new national parks currently under consideration for the fields of Syuren to make front-line soldiers and industrial soldiers, which are mostly demanded in this situation of affairs”. It is surprising that they planned to designate six more national parks in 1943 in the midst of the war³⁵. But it is even more surprising to know that those eighteen national parks were for “Syuren”, in other words for the training of “weak” people. We can presume that there were already enough places in or around cities to train young people and they didn’t need to be transported to distant national parks. A budget was also set-up to establish new green zones near cities for “Tanren”, although no budget was given to national parks.

Conclusion

This study has showed how the rationale for Japan’s national parks came to be explained from an increasingly militaristic point of view. The start point for this incongruous transformation in the rationale was 1925, when jurisdiction over the national parks was assigned to Public Health Division. Thereafter, not only preservation or conservation but also “use” or “development” of nature was pursued, and the “militaristic” use of the parks was a logical wartime consequence. Conversely, it seems that the proponents of preservation of natural monument were relatively immune to such kind of transformation, because their rationale was explained from an eco-system perspective. However, more research into the history of natural monuments is necessary to prove this. Anyway, even if the Geography Section had assumed jurisdiction of the national parks, it would not have been possible to designate so many of them, because pure preservation would have brought no interest to landowners or regions around national parks. In that sense, the rationale for national parks – or more generally for nature conservation – remains a difficult but important problem to this day, showing that further historical analyses of this theme are necessary.

From the viewpoint of connections between ideologies and nature conservation, it would be interesting to compare the aforementioned situation in Japan with the history of nature preservation in Germany. German proponents of nature preservation like Walther Schoenichen explained the rationale of it in relation to the Nazi-Ideology. Photo 3, the cover of the journal “*Nature Protection* (Naturschutz)” in 1933³⁶, clearly shows the connection between Nazi ideology and nature preservation. Furthermore, the Nazis also planned to conserve nature in eastern territories like Poland and to reconstruct it into “German” landscapes. Further research could undertake a worthwhile comparison of such kinds of policy in Germany with the Japanese colonial governments’ national parks policy in Taiwan during the same period.³⁷



Photo 3

Finally, the continuity in national park or nature conservation policy before and after the war is also a very important topic. Mamoru Kishi and Tsuyoshi Tamura were central figures who founded the new NPA in 1949 and the Nature Conservation Society of Japan in 1951. The latter society still exists today and is the most important nongovernment organization for nature conservation in Japan. The 1949 prospectus of the new NPA said that national parks should contribute to reconstructing a “peaceful and cultural state”³⁸, without reflecting on what had they said during the war. It was only six years after the NPA had been reorganized to form the “Association for National Land and Healthy Nation”, which had aimed to accomplish the “holy war”.

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- 2 *Kokudo to Kenmin* (National Land and Healthy Nation), 15-2 (1943).

- 3 *Kokuritsu Kouen* (National Park). From 1943, the name of the journal was changed to *Kokudo to Kenmin* (National Land and Healthy Nation) - see p.17 of this paper.
- 4 Yutaka Fujino noted the militaristic use of national parks in this period in his analysis of the character of the Ministry of Health and Welfare in following research: Fujino, *Kyousei sareta Kenkou* (The forced Health), Tokyo:Yoshikawakobunkan 2000, pp.128-161; Fujino, *Kouseisyou no Tanjyou* (The Birth of the Ministry of Health and Welfare), Kyoto:Kamogawasyuppan 2003, pp.122-177. I took up this subject in 2012 and analyzed the development of the discourse in NPA on the rationale for national parks. See Takahiro Nishimura, "'Kokuritsu Kouen' kara 'Kokudo to Kenmin' he (From 'National Park' to 'National Land and Healthy Nation')", *Osaka Kyoiku Daigaku Kiyou*, Ser.II, 60-2 (2012). This paper is based on my 2012 paper, with additional analysis on the Ministry of Health and Welfare's policy on national parks. For this purpose, two historical materials from the National Archives of Japan are used, one of which was not used before.
- 5 The description of this section is based on the following research: Nisaburo Murakushi, *Kokuritsu Kouen Seiritushi no Kenkyuu* (Research on the History of the Establishment of National Parks), Tokyo:Hosei Daigaku Syuppankyoku, 2005; Motoko Oyadomari, "The Establishment of the National parks system in Japan," *Jyohou to Syakai* 21 (2011).
- 6 Seiroku Honda(1866-1952), a Professor at the College of Agriculture, Tokyo Imperial University (later the Faculty of Agriculture, Tokyo Imperial University) from 1893 to 1927 is considered to be the founder of landscape architecture in Japan. See Ryohei Ono, "Multi Opinion Leader Honda Seiroku," in Honda Seiroku Hakase Kensyou Jigyou Iinkai (ed.), *Honda Seiroku no Kiseki* (Traces of Seiroku Honda), Saitama 2002.
- 7 About Tsuyoshi Tamura(1890-1979), see Kotaro Kusakabe, "Kokuritsu Kouen no Chichi Tamura Tsuyoshi (Tsuyoshi Tamura: Father of National Parks in Japan)," *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 60-2(1996).
- 8 Murakushi, *Kokuritsu Kouen Seiritushi no Kenkyu*, p.45.
- 9 Junjiro Yamada, "Kokumin Hoken to Kokuritsu Kouen(Health of the Nation and National Parks)", *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 1-1(1929), p.4.
- 10 Fujino, *Kouseisyou no Tanjyou*, p.57.
- 11 Seiroku Honda, "Jikyoku to Kokuritsu Kouen no Shimei(The State of Affairs and the Mission of National Parks)", *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 5-11(1933), p.3.
- 12 Mamoru Kishi was engaged in the hotel industry and managed the "Atami Hotel", which located in the famous hot spring "Atami". He was also the mayor of Atami town in 1923. From his career, it is understandable that he was interested in the policy of national parks. He was also a member of the House of Representatives from 1928 to 1936. After the war, he was the mayor of Atami City from 1947 to 1948, and was also one central figure in the foundation of the Nature Conservation Society of Japan. See Syugiin, *Gikaiseido Hyakunen Shi: Syugiin Giin Meikan*(100 year History of the Parliamentary System : Directory of Members of the House of Representatives), Tokyo: Okurasyo Insatsukyoku, 1990, p.213; Atami Shishi Hensyuu Iinkai(ed.), *Atami Shishi, Gekan*(History of Atami City, Volume 2), Atami:Atami Shiyakusyo, 1968, pp.42,46; Nisaburo Murakushi, *Shizenhogo to Sengo Nihon no Kokuritsu Kouen*(Nature Preservation and National Parks in Japan after the War), Tokyo: Jichosya, 2011, pp.164-176.
- 13 "Kokuritsu Kouen Kyoukai Dairokuji Soukai(6th General Meeting of NPA)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 9-3 (1937), pp.41-54.
- 14 Rikugun Syou, "Kokubou no Hongi to Sono Kyouka no Teisyou(The rationale for national defense and a proposal to strengthen it)," in Bunzou Hashikawa(ed.), *Syouwa Shisousyuu II* (Collection of Thoughts in Syowa period II), Tokyo: Chikumasyobo, 1978(originally in 1934).

- 15 About the foundation and development of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, see Kouseisyou Nijyuunenshi Hensyuu Linkai(ed.), *Kouseisyou Nijyuunenshi*(20 Year History of the Ministry of Health and Welfare), Tokyo: Kankochō Shingikai, 1960, pp.77-120, 162-175; Kouseisyou Gojyuunenshi Hensyuu Linkai(ed.), *Kouseisyou Gojyuunenshi, Kijyutsuhen*(50 Year History of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, Description), Tokyo: Cyuo Hoki Syuppan, 1988, pp.339-414; Hiroyuki Takaoka, *Souryokusen Taisei to 'Fukushi Kokka'* (All-Out War System and 'Welfare State'), Tokyo: Iwanami Syoten, 2011; Fujino, "Kouseisyou no Tanjyou", pp.18-89.
- 16 Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Jikyoku to Kokuritsu Kouen (The State of Affairs and National Parks)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 10-2 (1938) , p.1.
- 17 Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Jikyokuka no Kokuritsu Kouen to Shin Nihon Kokuritsu Kouen no Teisyou (National parks in current affairs and a proposal for new Japanese national parks)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 13-5 (1941) , pp.30-31.
- 18 Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Kokudokeikaku to Kyuuyouti(National land planning and recreational fields)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 14-2(1942), p.24.
- 19 Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Jikyokuka no Kokuritsu Kouen to Shin Nihon Kokuritsu Kouen no Teisyou", pp.30-31.
- 20 Tsuyoshi Tamura, *Kokuritsu Kouen Kouwa*, Tokyo: Meiji Syoin, 1948, pp.57-58.
- 21 Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Kokudokeikaku to Kyuuyouti," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 14-4(1942), p.4-21.
- 22 The National Archives of Japan, *Kokuritsu Kouen Ippan, Syowa 15-19 nen(National Parks in General, 1940-1944)*, Call No.: Annex-10-017-00・昭47環境00001100.
- 23 This document refers to the "Great Japanese Gymnastics Association (Dainihon Taiiku Kai)" as a "cooperative organization", which was founded in April 1942.
- 24 The first condition of the "Policy by the Selection of National Parks" made by the Commission for Research of National Park in 1931. See "Daisankai Kokuritsu Kouen Tyousakai Soukai Gaikyō (Outline of the 3rd Commission for Research of National Park)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 3-10(1931), pp.35-36.
- 25 One of the conditions for the "Policy by the Designation of HSNM". See Eiji Uchida, "Siseki Meisyou Tennen Kinenbutsu Hozonhou Kaisetsu 9 (Commentary on the Law for PHSNM 9)," *Shiseki Meisyou Tennen Kinenbutsu*, 10-7(1935).
- 26 "Kyoukai Kiji (News from the Association)," *Kokudo to Kenmin*, 15-1(1943), p.30.
- 27 Hiroyuki Takaoka(ed.), *Kouseiundou, Kenminundou, Dokusyoundou*, Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 2001, pp.283-300. About this movement, see Hiroyuki Takaoka, *Souryokusen Taisei to 'Fukushikokka'* , Ch.5.
- 28 "Kyoukai Kiji (News from the Association)," *Kokudo to Kenmin*, 15-2(1943), p.30.
- 29 "Kokudo Kenminkai Syuisyo (Prospectus of the Association for National Land and Healthy Nation)," *Kokuritsu Kouen*, 15-3(1943) p.3.
- 30 Chikahiko Koizumi, "Shikiji (Opening Address)," *Kokudo to Kenmin*, 15-3(1943), p.2.
- 31 See note 16.
- 32 "Kekkaku Taisaku Youkou", Shirou Akazawa etc.(ed.), *Siryou Nihon Gendaishi 12* (Materials for Modern Japanese History 12), Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 1984 (originally in 1942), pp.373-374.
- 33 National Archives of Japan, Kouseisyou Kenminkyoku, *Dai 84kai Teikokugikai Kankei(Kenminkyoku)*, Daini Satsu, Call No.: main building-3A-002-01・昭47厚生00002100.
- 34 See also Kouseisyou Jinnkoukyoku(Population Division of the Ministry of Health and Welfare), "Kenmin Syurensyo no Kaisyo(Opening of Centers of Healty Nation Syuren)," *Naimu Kousei Jihou*, 8-9(1943), pp.778-783.
- 35 Table 2 below is the comparison of these six new national parks with the nine sites proposed by Tamura in 1941.The four underlined sites are almost coincident with each other.

Table 2

Tamura's proposal in 1941 (see p.14)	Dounan, Hachimandaira, Bandai, Mikuni, <u>Okuchichibu</u> , <u>Ooshima</u> , <u>Biwako</u> , <u>Shima</u> , Ishizuchi
Plan of new designation by the Ministry in 1943	<u>Chichibu</u> , <u>Ooshima</u> -Amagi, <u>Shima</u> , <u>Biwako</u> , Kongou-Kouya, Hikosan-Yamakei

- 36 Walther Shoenichen (ed.), *Naturschutz*, 14-11 (1933).
- 37 Following research of Koji Kanda is suggestive in this context: Kanda, "The Selection Process of National Park Landscape Areas and the Imaginative geographies in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period," *Academic World of Tourism Studies*, vol.1 (2012), pp.77-87; Kanda, "Nihon Touchiki Taiwan ni okeru Kokuritsukouen no Fuukeichi Senntei to Shinsyou Huukei (The Selection Process of National Park Landscape Areas and the Imaginative Geographies in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period)," *Rekishi Chirigaku*, 53-3 (2011), pp.1-26.
- 38 Murakushi, "Shizenhogo to Sengo Nihon no Kokuritsu Kouen", pp.152-183.

日本における国立公園の「軍事化」(1925-1944)

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本稿は、本誌に掲載された拙稿「『国立公園』から『国土と健民』へ——国立公園の意義をめぐる言説の変遷（1929-1944）」（60巻2号，2012年）に基づくものである。前稿では、国立公園協会において国立公園の意義がどのように主張されたのか、その変遷をたどった。本稿では、そのアウトラインを英語で再現した上で、当時の厚生省による国立公園政策の分析を新たに追加した。そのため、特に国立公文書館の二つの史料、「国民錬成地体制確立要綱」ならびに厚生省健民局「第八十四回帝国議会関係」を用いた。これらの史料から導き出されたのは以下の点である。①国立公園は単なる「錬成地」の一つとして位置づけられたこと。②あらゆる自然地を「錬成地」として保護するため、国立公園法の他に「国民錬成地法」が起草されており、広範な自然地の保護が目指されていたこと。③国立公園協会に代わる「国民錬成地協会」の組織が考えられていたこと、その結果が、国立公園協会の「国土健民会」への改組であったこと。④最終的には、国立公園は結核対策要綱上の「弱者」に対する「修練」の場として位置づけられ、この位置づけにおいてさらに六つの国立公園指定が予定されていたこと。これらと前稿の内容を合わせることで、国立公園の父と言われる田村剛の戦時中の所論は、厚生省の政策方針のうち①～③と重なることが示される。

国立公園協会は1943年、「聖戦」の完遂のための国民体力増強を目的として「国土健民会」へと改組された。そのわずか6年後に、「平和的文化国家再建」への寄与を目指して国立公園協会が復活したのは、驚くべきことである。こうした指摘を行うのは、例えばドイツの状況と比較して、戦時中の議論の反省がまったく進んでいない日本の状況に違和感を持つからであり、さらに、自然保護の意義づけをめぐる議論が自然科学の枠を超えて広がるためには、その歴史の検討も必要であると考えられているからである。

キーワード：国立公園，自然保護，軍事化，国立公園協会，史跡名勝天然記念物，厚生省，健民運動