The Transforming Mediascape in Postwar Japan: A Media History of Oshima Nagisa

Yuta Kaminishi

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James Tweedie, Chair

Eric Ames

Justin Jesty

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Abstract

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Yuta Kaminishi

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor James Tweedie
Cinema and Media Studies

This dissertation traces a history of the transforming mediascape in postwar Japan by focusing on the trajectory of Oshima Nagisa's multimedia collaboration. The project has two discrete but intertwined objectives. One is to detail the historical conditions of the transforming mediascape from the late 1950s by changing the way to historicize Japanese cinema and media industries from a cinema-centered history to a history of hybrid media relationships. The other is to portray Oshima not only as a film director who made a number of provocative and political works but also as a multimedia collaborator who engaged with progressive individuals and diverse media in searching for novel production systems, new audiences, and innovative ideas. Each chapter covers the emerging moment of new mediascape in roughly chronological order, from a

subgenre created by journalistic media and a film studio in a time of crisis, to early TV documentary series and the debate about the political possibility of TV, to independent productions in the art theater movement, to international co-productions with emphasis on female reception, to midnight TV as a new platform for media intellectuals. Describing the above moments of transformation in tension with the existent industrial structures and the ways multimedia collaborations provided Oshima with new frontiers, this dissertation argues that the struggles to shape an alternative system in the capitalist mediascape were political practice in the media history of postwar Japan. For Oshima who started his career as a film director at the beginning of the decline of the studio system, it was an urgent task to form and develop new production systems through traversing multiple media industries. Reframing the history of the postwar Japanese mediascape through Oshima's multimedia collaboration demonstrates that artistic creation and its political significance must be understood through not only completed works but also through the collaborative process between individuals, artworks, and media industries in the search for new communication.

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NOTE ON JAPANESE NAMES AND TRANSLATIONS

Throughout the dissertation, I follow the Japanese name order, that is, family name first and given name second. For the person who published their works outside Japan, the name order follows the Western convention of given name first, family name second. Translations from Japanese are all mine unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

THE TRANSFORMING MEDIASCAPE

Nineteen fifty-nine marked a watershed moment in the capitalist mediascape in postwar Japan. With an epoch-making media event, the royal marriage parade, broadcast nationwide, the TV set became more widespread in the Japanese living room.[1] The publishing company responsible for the popular and influential monthly magazine *Heibon*, which was "an entertainment magazine of songs and movies," launched *Weekly Heibon*, "an entertainment magazine for the living room with a TV set."[2] While Japanese cinema enjoyed its golden age in the 1950s, the traditional studio system entered a stage of "upheaval amid steady decline"; the number of cinema spectators had hit a peak of 1.1 billion in 1958, but fell to less than half of that, 500 million, in 1963.[3] Cinema was no longer a privileged medium for popular entertainment and became another option among many in the web of mass media. This historical condition encouraged active competition and dynamic collaboration among different media industries, most notably between cinema and TV, and resulted in constant transformation of the capitalist mediascape. This dissertation is a history of the transforming mediascape in postwar Japan, which is composed of the transitory subgenres, fledgling media, newborn production systems, and new types of spectatorship.

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[1] Cf. Yoshimi Shun'ya, "Media ibento toshite no 'goseikon'," in *Sengo nihon no media ibento 1945-1960*, ed. by Tsuganesawa Toshihiro (Kyoto: Sekai Shisō Sha, 2002), 267-87. About the process of the TV set moving from the streets to the living room, see Yoshimi Shun'ya, *Shikaku toshi no chiseigaku: Manazashi toshite no kindai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2016), 199-234.

[2] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Heibon no jidai: 1950 nendai no taishū goraku zasshi to wakamonotachi* (Kyoto: Shōwadō, 2008), 146-56.

[3] Yomota Inuhiko, *What Is Japanese Cinema? A History*, trans. Philip Kaffen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 127.

In order to delineate the history of the above changes, it is necessary to explore the critical junctures at which media industries begin to take different shapes. Compared to the history of Japanese cinema based on the competition among major film studios as the main frame of historicization, history after the 1960s is highly elusive. For example, one of the classic history books of Japanese cinema, Satō Tadao's *The History of Japanese Cinema* (*Nihon eiga shi*), narrates the film industry after the golden age as follows: "The 1960s: Crisis and Change," "The 1970s: The Age of Diversification," and "The 1980s: The End of the Age of Studios and a New Search."[4] As seen in those keywords of the sections, cinema and film studios were always underdogs after the 1960s. In the period of time between the above "Crisis" and the "End," this dissertation focuses on the "Diversification" of the production systems. In other words, what the dissertation details are larger scale changes of the media industries such as, to use Satō's phrases, "The Influence of TV and the Transformation of Film," "Independent Productions," and "The Internationalization of Japanese Cinema."[5] Examining how and why each transformation beyond the film studios took place at a particular time, this dissertation includes fine-grained history of media industries and the discourse surrounding them. In so doing, this dissertation emphasizes the flexibility of the postwar Japanese mediascape and challenges the hegemonic position of film in the historicization of media industries. When new modes of production, distribution, exhibition, and reception appear in the film industry, for example, they should be examined in terms of the *relationships* with other fields such as the TV industry in the same time period; no stand-alone industry exists. In other words, throughout this dissertation, I focus on multi-media

[4] Satō Tadao, *Nihon eigashi, zōhoban,* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), ii-iv.

[5] Ibid. It should be noted that Satō's book has sections about some film studios and their popular genres during the decline of the film industry such as "Tōhō's Modern Drama," "Tōei: Delinquent Sensitivity (Furyō sei kando)," and "Nikkatsu Roman Porno."

and trans-industrial competitions and collaborations happening on multiple scales which go beyond boundaries of media industries, nations, and cultural fields.

To capture critical moments in the transformation of mediascape, the dissertation follows the trajectory of Oshima Nagisa, who traversed media industries in a manner that was representative of these broader trends in the Japanese mediascape. Oshima's career coincides with the above changes of the mediascape. Oshima was born in 1932, experienced the defeat of WWII at the age of 13, and devoted his college life to a drama club and student activism at prestigious Kyoto University.[6] After graduation, he started out as a young film director who embodied the new wave in weekly magazines and challenged outdated melodrama at Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio. After he left the studio in response to the ban on his political film *Night and Fog in Japan* (*Nihon no yoru to kiri*, 1960), he joined a new TV documentary series created by TV producer Ushiyama Jun'ichi. Then in the late 1960s, in collaboration with the new independent production-distribution company Art Theater Guild, he made avant-garde works for spectators in urban art theaters. Next, joining international co-productions with European producers in the 1970s and 1980s, he made scandalous pictures such as a pornographic film and a homoerotic war drama in the international film festival circuits. And finally in the 1980s and 1990s, as a TV celebrity, Oshima in traditional kimono appeared on TV programs and performed the role of "film director" on a midnight TV program. As such, his career is full of multimedia traversal

[6] Oshima wrote and talked about his life and works on many occasions. In *Oshima Nagisa 1960* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1993) and *Oshima Nagisa 1968* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2004), Oshima explained the background and theme of his films by his own words. *Oshima Nagisa chosakushū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 2008) collects his writings about his life before becoming a film director. *Oshima Nagisa chosakushū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Gendai Shichōsha, 2009) is composed of Oshima's critiques on his films. English translation of Oshima's writings are available in *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima, 1956-1978* (October Books. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991).

through collaboration with TV producers, the art theater movement, international cineastes, and new platforms. By tracing his hectic movements beyond conventional categories, this dissertation emphasizes Oshima as a multimedia collaborator who was always searching for an alternative production system after the decline of the film studio, not just as a film director.

Thus this dissertation has two intertwined objectives. One is to detail the historical conditions of the transforming mediascape from the late 1950s by changing the way to historicize Japanese cinema and media industries from a cinema-centered history to a history of the hybrid media relationships. The other is to portray Oshima not only as a film director who made a number of provocative and political works but also as a multimedia collaborator who engaged with progressive individuals and diverse media in searching for novel production systems, new audiences, and innovative ideas.

From Interpretation to Contextualization

Film director Oshima's oeuvre has already been analyzed and interpreted in depth, but Oshima's multimedia collaborations and their historical conditions have not been fully explored. This gap relates to the role his films played in cinema and media studies, particularly in the context of English-language scholarship. As D.N. Rodowick writes in his book about political modernism, Oshima's films have provided "a privileged example of what the text of political modernism should hope to accomplish."[7] For instance, in his seminal "Narrative Space," Stephen Heath analyzes the gaze of the cat in *Death by Hanging* (*Kōshikei*, 1968), the most Brechtian film in Oshima's works, as an indication of "impossible" space. What draws Heath's attention is

[7] D. N. Rodowick, *The Crisis of Political Modernism: Criticism and Ideology in Contemporary Film Theory* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994), 184.

the cat's gaze toward "impossible" space when the cat looks back to the camera in shot/reverse shot.[8] Since political modernism is based on the dichotomy between Hollywood films which represent a dominant way of seeing via continuity editing (transparency) and counter-cinema challenging illusionism through formal experiment (reflexivity), this formal experiment seen in Oshima's cat is automatically connected to political commentary as a deconstruction of the code of illusionism, thus a critique of its ideology. Heath's analysis emphasizes the formal experimentation of the film but does not take into consideration the historical context of Oshima's practice such as the independent production system that made possible *Death by Hanging* and the socio-political situation in Japan at the release of the film.

Maureen Turim's *The Films of Oshima Nagisa*, the only monograph of Oshima in English, shares the methodological limits of political modernism, although her reading is more allegorical than formalistic. In the book, Turim conducts psychoanalytical readings of Oshima's films so the main focus is the interpretation of shots, plots, and themes in Oshima's films and the applicability of psychoanalysis to them, such as the association between Oshima's metaphor of his film as mirror and the Lacanian mirror stage.[9] While psychoanalytical readings of Oshima's works themselves are fruitful in thinking about, for example, what a particular shot could mean through a particular interpretive code, this book does not cover the detailed historical condition from which Oshima's films and writings emerged and, more importantly, how the historical background relates to the reception of the films. In short, as in Heath's article, there is a distinctive difference in objectives between Turim's book which aims to provide possible

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[8] Stephen Heath, *Questions of Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), 19-75.

[9] Maureen Turim, *The Films of Oshima Nagisa: Images of a Japanese Iconoclast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1-26.

interpretation of the films and this dissertation which is a history of hybrid media industries in which Oshima produced his works.

Yuriko Furuhata's *Cinema of Actuality* sheds light on the historical context of the Japanese media sphere during the 1960s and 1970s with emphasis on the rise of TV and argues that "cinema—itself an apparatus of spectacle—became a testing ground for the reflexive critique of media spectacle precisely at this moment in Japan."[10] Examining the discursive change about moving-image and image (eizō) in general, Furuhata explores the cinema of actuality, a group of avant-garde films which actively engaged with timely political events. For example, in response to Turim's Freudian reading of Oshima's *The Man Who Left His Will On Film* (*Tōkyō sensō sengo hiwa*, 1970), Furuhata writes, "Certainly, the psychoanalytic framework of the unconscious offers one way of interpreting the structure of repetition present in this sequence. However, the psychoanalytic reading of the film, in terms of dream logic and the return of the repressed, does not explain *why the image of landscape matters* in this film."[11] To Furuhata, the existence of landscape theory (fūkeiron) being actively discussed in avant-garde discourse at that time explains why the image of landscape mattered in the political avant-garde filmmaking. To be more specific, to understand why the films captured the banal landscape requires us to take into consideration the concurrent discourse of landscape theory and the target of the theory, which was homogenization of the Japanese archipelago taking place at that time, as the context of avant-garde film production and reception.[12] By including the contemporary critical discourse in Japan to analyze the cinema of actuality, Furuhata advances our

[10] Yuriko Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 3.

[11] Ibid., 132, emphasis in original.

[12] Ibid., 115-48.

understanding of avant-garde film including Oshima's work in the broader context of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The above change of the treatment of Oshima from Heath, to Turim, to Furuhata in cinema and media studies can be paraphrased as the shift of emphasis from interpretation of film itself to contextualization with paratexts, including posters, brochures, magazines, journals, and news reviews, as the research corpus.[13] In the previous model of research, whether psychoanalysis or semiotics-focused approaches, the filmic text exists at the core of study to be interpreted, fundamentally separate from other media. However, if we distance ourselves from interpretation of film and emphasize the historical context as the important part of media experience, there is no reason to give priority to films over all other materials as a premise of research.[14] This indicates one possibility to further extend Furuhata's research: understanding the change in the Japanese mediascape during and after the rise of TV requires more than analysis of the cinema of actuality as "the reflexive critique of media spectacle."[15] Rather, we should expand our focus from avant-garde filmmaking's reaction to the drastic change of the media sphere to the very transformation of media industries and their relationships. This shift of the mode of research can be found in certain keywords which draw attention to the relationship between media industries in the current fields of media studies such as *media-mix*, *media ecology*, and

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[13] Alexander Zahlten's *The End of Japanese Cinema* introduced and explained this trend in the field with the term paratexts. Cf. Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema: Industrial Genres, National Times, and Media Ecologies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 1-23.

[14] One can find this change in cinema and media studies in the rename of the journal from *Cinema Journal* to *Journal of Cinema and Media Studies*. In "Cinema Journal Retrospective," Sara Bakerman, assistant editor, explains that this change "was borne out of an effort to better reflect the diversity of voices and disciplinary perspectives within SCMS and to break down perceived barriers surrounding the field's journal of record." Bakerman, "Introduction," *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* 58 (2018) doi:10.1353/cj.2018.0092.

[15] Yuriko Furuhata explains the relationship between "actuality" and image-based media from the point of journalistic turn. See Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 3-7.

industry itself.[16] By using those keywords as new frameworks, recent scholarship explores ways of understanding media industries as multiple relationships, such as anime characters and toy franchising involving various companies.[17]

As the representative case of this trend, Alexander Zahlten's *The End of Japanese Cinema* provides us with a model of research using the concept of industrial genre. Zahlten defines industrial genre as a way to categorize specific periods of industrial structure whose goals match "the narrative or tropes of the films it brings into circulation."[18] For example, the Pink Film, softcore pornographic films from independent productions, presents messy disturbing sexual violence which reflects its low-budget anti-establishment production system and viewing experience in highly gendered theaters. As in this example, the concept of industrial genres stresses the importance of a wide range of industrial structures from production to consumption in addition to the filmic text. Moreover, another example, the Kadokawa blockbuster film, is an intriguing case in which film is a part of a larger media-mix discourse which is composed of the eccentric producer Kadokawa Haruki's performance, Kadokawa publishing company's marketing campaign for selling books, films, and soundtracks, and unconventional distribution.[19] Highlighting the hybrid industrial structure of production, circulation, and reception as a component of media experience as a whole, Zahlten's book suggests that, contrary to the old-

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[16] Cf. Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), Alexander Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema*, Thomas Lamarre, *The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), and Franz Prichard, *Residual Futures: The Urban Ecologies of Literary and Visual Media of 1960s and 1970s Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

[17] Marc Steinberg offers us the framework of media-mix which reframes anime as the mode of consumption in larger franchise strategy, not just Japanese animation. Cf. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*.

[18] Alexander Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema*, 7.

[19] Ibid., 96-151.

school film studio model, cinema after the 1960s is, in fact, in the process of becoming a part of larger media industries. Zahlten's industrial genres teach us that in historicizing media industries after the 1960s, cinema is not necessarily in the central position, and we have to take into consideration how the multimedia relationships of different industries become the context of production, circulation, and reception.

A Media History of Oshima Nagisa

When seen beside the recent scholarship such as that by Furuhata and Zahlten, this project which has an individual name, Oshima Nagisa, in its subtitle might look old-fashioned. But I would argue that the trajectory of Oshima is useful to understand the history of the transforming mediascape. My choice of Oshima for this project came from the insightful observations by film critics and historians in Japan. One is Satō Tadao who names "his many experiments (kokoromi) in film production" and pursuit of "the possibility of independent productions" as Oshima Nagisa's contribution to Japanese cinema.[20] The other is Yomota Inuhiko who writes, "As an image creator (eizō sakka), Oshima Nagisa has traveled through every conceivable film production system and left his mark on each and every one of them."[21] Both point out the fact that Oshima's career is full of experiments in production systems. In other words, he was always already departing from the given structure. As a film director who started his career at a film studio at the peak of, that is, the beginning of the decline of, the studio system, it was an urgent task for him to find and develop new production systems.[22]

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[20] Satō Tadao, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai* (Tokyo: Chikumashobō, 1973), 302.

[21] Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon* (Tokyo: Chikumashobō, 2010), 259.

[22] Oshima's writings share a continuous and strong interest in questioning how to diversify production systems, and indicate that creation of different production systems was as

This dissertation departs from the above observations by focusing on the historical conditions of Oshima's experiments in production systems. Put differently, this dissertation is about why Oshima's career, which is characterized by these experiments, was possible in the first place, and searches for answers in the historical and structural changes in media industries. Although this dissertation follows Oshima's multimedia collaboration, this is not an auteur-centered history in which the genius Oshima takes full credit for his experiments. Rather, this dissertation will show that Oshima's career was possible because of the constant transformation of the media sphere and multimedia collaboration with individuals who tried to make alternative pathways in the existing structure such as TV producers, theatrical mangers, international producers during such changes. In this regard, my approach in this dissertation is close to Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. On the position of the subject in his archaeological project, Foucault self-consciously writes: "I wanted not to exclude the problem of the subject, but to define the positions and functions that the subject could occupy in the diversity of discourse."[23] Using Oshima as a useful and practical indicator of the changing moment of media industries, I consider multimedia collaboration in the transforming mediascape as the condition

important as film in itself. For example, Oshima praises Wakamatsu Kōji because of his small but stable production systems and criticizes Kuroki Kazuo, or more precisely producer Nakajima Masayuki, due to the lack thereof in his film critiques in the 1970s. Moreover, he generally claimed the innovation of production mode is more important than the work itself in an interview conducted by prominent film critic Hasumi Shigehiko titled "The idea in the work is not important, the idea that shows itself in the production style of the work is important" in the 1980s. See Oshima, "Wakamatsu Kōji: Sabetsu to satsuriku," *Eiga hihyō II* 1, no. 1 (October 1970): 100-107, "Kuroki Kazuo: Nikkyō to akuryō," *Eiga hihyō II* 2, no. 11 (February 1971): 114-123, and "Sakuhin no naka no shisō nante taishita koto nai, sakuhin no tsukurikata ni deru shisō ga daiji nanda," *Ryumiēru*, no. 7 (Spring 1987): 24-38.

[23] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 200.

of how and why Oshima could occupy the position of Oshima, an artist who filled multiple roles throughout his career.

The shift of study from the auteurist narrative of Oshima's innovation in production systems to the non-auteurist perspective of multimedia collaboration as the condition of his experiments becomes possible by widening our research objects from film director Oshima's oeuvre to the diverse discourse on hybrid media industries. Given that Zahlten stresses the wide range of hybrid media industries as the context of media experience, it is significant to step back and situate cinema within larger media industries in the history of cinema and media in Japan. Since our main focus is multimedia collaboration beyond media industries, nations, and culture fields, this dissertation includes multiple discourses about media. As its subtitle "a media history of Oshima Nagisa," not "a film history of Oshima Nagisa," signals, this is about media history. For instance, I will examine the connection between weekly magazines and a film studio's marketing strategy, early TV documentary produced by a film director, theatrical performance and avant-garde film in the hybrid counterculture of Shinjuku, a feminist magazine and girls' culture, and so on and so forth. Simply put, this dissertation does not treat the hegemonic position of cinema in the history of cinema and media as self-evident and investigates the specific relationships that cinema and other media engaged with through Oshima's multimedia collaboration.

Furthermore, an inclusive media history leads us to overlooked contexts of reception and spectatorship of Oshima's works. In the late 1950s, the discourse on mass media, both academic and journalistic, criticized the media industries as restricting, standardizing, and governing powers which turn individuals into the uncritical masses, as Japanese journalist Ōya Sōichi

commented in 1957 that TV made viewers into "a hundred million idiots."[24] With attention to the historical criticism of the negative influence of mass media upon the audience, I will shed light on the critical possibility of mass media as politicizing the audience by examining how the audience reacted to Oshima's works.[25] In fact, reviews in newspapers, roundtable discussions in journals, and communication boards in magazines prove the diverse engagement with Oshima's work from the audience members. For instance, a newspaper review by the audience about the TV documentary *The Forgotten Army* (*Wasurerareta kōgun*, 1963), which is about marginalized Koreans in Japan, tells that the audience's shocked reaction to the documentary went beyond sympathy and brought forth thoughts about facing the issue of war responsibility. Furthermore, contributors in a feminist magazine present an argument about the importance of pornographic film *In the Realm of the Senses* (*Ai no korīda*, 1976) for women's sexual liberation. Reviews in a girls' magazine offer us a way to see *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* (*Senjō no merī kurisumasu*, 1983) in girls' culture revolving around world-renowned rock star David Bowie's

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[24] For detailed information about the comments by Ōya, see Jayson Makoto Chun, *"A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots"? A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1973* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 3-13 and 157-76. The comments resonate with Adorno and Horkheimer's criticism of the culture industry as the process of unification and the exploitation of the imagination of the audience. See Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 94-136. There are some reevaluations of the culture industry argument in terms of media environment today. For example, Bernard Stiegler investigates the contemporary mode of consumption as "symbolic misery" in the age of hyperindustrial epoch. See, for example, Stiegler, *Technics and Time 3: Cinematic Time and the Question of Malaise*, trans. Stephen Barker (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) and *Symbolic Misery Volume 1: The Hyperindustrial Epoch*, trans. Barnaby Norman (Cambridge: Polity, 2014).

[25] In his introduction to Oshima, Michael Raine writes that Oshima always sought to reach and change a large audience as "social act." This dissertation details the "social act" as his movement among different cultural fields and focuses on its condition. See Raine, "Oshima Nagisa: Paradox and Perversion in the 1960s Avant-Garde," in *Directory of World Cinema: Japan 3*, edited by John Berra (Chicago: Intellect, 2015) 142-5.

queerness, which challenges heteronormativity. This dissertation traces the historical spectatorship of Oshima's multimedia collaboration and demonstrates the cases in which the audience's active engagement creates the political significance of Oshima's works.

By expanding research objects from film to paratexts and contextualizing Oshima within them, this project contributes to the intervention to the discipline of cinema and media studies advanced by the recent publication of *Media Theory in Japan*. In the introduction to the book, Steinberg and Zahlten criticize the overtly unequal relationship between Eurocentric media theory and that of marginalized areas such as Japan in cinema and media studies by pointing out the disciplinary situation in which "knowledge of media-theoretical discourse outside of North America and Europe is extremely limited."[26] This problematical situation derives from a false notion of "universal" theory in the West (Theory) versus the Other to be analyzed (texts).[27] Thus, to change the situation, they emphasize that there is not "universal" theory but site-specific, historical theories: "[this book's emphasis on 'in Japan'] is not simply a marker of a location but a way of broaching the inevitably *contextual* process of media theorization itself."[28] In other words, they are creating a new conception of media theory as "a practice composed of local,

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[26] Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten, "Introduction," in *Media Theory in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 2. Also for Japanese film theory's position in Japanese-language scholarship, see Aaron Gerow, "Introduction: The Theory Complex," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22 (2010): 1-13.

[27] About the role of Japanese cinema played in institutionalization of cinema and media studies in the power relationship between the West and the Other, Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto writes, "It was in this context of disciplinary power struggle that Japanese cinema played an indispensable role. Film Studies as a new intercultural discipline became all the more acceptable with the discovery of other cinemas, such as Japanese cinema, whose unique artistic quality made it simultaneously an instance of particularity and a proof of the cinema's universal appeal. Japanese cinema was an ideal example demonstrating the dialectic of the universal and the particular, and a widely used rhetorical trope to reconcile contradictory aspects of the cinema as high art and popular culture, as universal language and culturally specific practice." Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 35.

[28] Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten, "Introduction," 5, emphasis in original.

medium-specific, and culture-inflected practices."[29] I strive to contextualize the practices which will be examined in my dissertation in the further expansion of this media theory. For example, I would argue that the critical moments in each chapter are themselves creative processes of media theory in Japan such as active discussion about how TV can transform the way the audience in the living room views the world, the way the art theater movement could be participatory culture and attract the spectators in an urban space, a female critic's argument about moviegoing as a subversive performance against common sense, and Oshima's self-reflexive performance on TV. The above individuals and their practices should be considered to be a part of more diverse and inclusive media theories challenging the Western-centered theory in cinema and media studies. A media history of Oshima Nagisa is not only about the transforming mediascape in postwar Japan but also the challenge to the current state of the discipline itself.

In sum, neither an auteur-oriented narrative nor film-centered history, this dissertation explores Oshima's multimedia collaboration as the creative force of alternative associations of production, distribution, and reception in the transforming mediascape in postwar Japan. In this regard, beyond reading or interpretation of politics in Oshima's works, the media history of Oshima speaks to the issue of politics on a larger scale as it reveals the traces of a collective experience of changing media industries. Alternative relationships between media industries shape new experiences with spectators who have the ability to see, hear, and speak. Thus, when new collaborative practices emerge in a mediascape, they inevitably foreground the questions of what can be sensible and who obtains the right to perceive, differentiating themselves from the

[29] Ibid., 6. As one example of the intervention in the discipline, Naoki Yamamoto presents a way to create a dialogue between Western theory and film theory in Japan. See Yamamoto, *Dialectics without Synthesis: Japanese Film Theory and Realism in a Global Frame* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2020).

existent system that has defined modes of experiencing media. "Glossary of Technical Terms" in *Politics of Aesthetics* introduces Jacques Rancière's definition of aesthetics as follows: "aesthetics refers to the distribution of the sensible that determines a mode of articulation between forms of action, production, perception, and thought."[30] I would argue that multimedia collaboration is a political act on a collective level of what can be perceptible, and any critiques of the media environment should examine how alternative associations of media distribute and change the sensible. Drawing on Rancière's above argument of the distribution of the sensible, this dissertation focuses on the contextual issues such as what kind of works became possible to produce during transitional moments of mediascape, whom new exhibition contexts addressed, who could perceive Oshima's work, and how new modes of thinking and action appeared through particular media experiences.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Chapter 1 "The Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague: The Film Studio in a Time of Crisis" sets the scene of this dissertation by exploring the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague as a marketing strategy of the film studio through which Oshima served as the representative director of the new generation in the mass media. In the rapidly changing mediascape (e.g., the youth-oriented taiyōzoku film from competing film studio Nikkatsu, the start of *Weekly Heibon*, and the popularization of TV with the royal wedding), Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio, as an outdated melodrama factory, desperately needed to prove itself as a main player in the late 1950s. The marketing strategy the studio took was the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague that attempted to renew its image by promoting new directors

[30] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum, 2004), 82.

and stars. First, I detail how journalistic media and the studio narrated the newness of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. Then, analyzing Oshima's public image circulated in journalistic media, particularly in weekly magazines, I examine the process through which Oshima became not only a young director but also a celebrity whose personal matters such as his "Nouvelle Vague" wedding ceremony drew popular attention. While paying attention to the way Oshima utilized his position in the film industry with emphasis on the film theory of new realism, I suggest that *Night and Fog in Japan* was Oshima's attempt to create a democratic space for collective reflection on student movements in postwar Japan. The trajectory of Oshima in the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague can be understood as that of a young director, who became a celebrity as an embodiment of the new generation in the studio's new marketing campaign, and started expressing his subjective voice by using multiple channels in the web of mass media.

In chapter 2 "Early TV Documentary: *Japan Unmasked* and *Non-Fiction Theater*," I examine two television documentary series, *Japan Unmasked* (*Nihon no sugao*, 1957-1964, NHK) and *Non-Fiction Theater* (*Non-fikushon gekijō*, 1962-1968, NTV), to delineate how TV documentary became a place for multimedia collaboration. With the rise of TV in late 1950s and 1960s Japan, TV documentary became the focus of multiple debates as an emerging genre. By focusing on the *Japan Unmasked* debate in *Chūō kōron* and related articles, I examine the fundamental difference between the two series as a shift of TV documentary production from TV documentary by amateurs to that by auteurs. In the debate, Hani Susumu emphasized that the political significance of TV lies in amateurs' attempts to capture their experiences using the unfamiliar camera and microphone. This emphasis on amateurism, however, produces a contradiction: the growth of amateurs into professionals through the production process, which then led to decreased experimentation and the loss of autonomy within the corporate structure.

Calling upon the legacy of 1950s left-wing political avant-garde work, Ushiyama Jun'ichi, the father of *Non-Fiction Theater*, responded to the issue by inviting auteurs with political voice like Oshima to the TV industry. The debates from amateurism in *Japan Unmasked* to auteurism in *Non-Fiction Theatre* were the search for political possibility of TV documentary as a changing force of people's perspectives towards the everyday world. This chapter argues that the resulting implementation of multimedia auteurism, with TV documentaries made by a political auteur, was integral to continuing audio-visual experimentation which was in danger of being lost in the development of the TV industry.

While the first two chapters revolve around the discursive change in mass media such as the relationship between the film industry, the publishing industry, and the TV industry, which mainly addressed a mass audience, chapter 3 "The Art Theater Movement: Art Theater Guild and the Spectators in Shinjuku" focuses on a site-specific movement and its spectators: the Art Theater Guild (ATG) and cinephile culture in 1960's Shinjuku. Excavating its bulletin *Art Theater*, I reframe ATG, an independent distribution company of western art films and later production company of low-budget art films, as a participatory counterculture movement supported by theater managers, friendship association members, and rootless youth spectators (yajiuma) wandering around Shinjuku. I begin depicting ATG as an informative and pedagogical institution introducing foreign art cinema and new film viewing experiences in sophisticated theaters. Then, I focus on the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, ATG's main theater, which was a hybrid space where performing arts, avant-garde film screenings, music concerts, and lectures happened at the same time. I argue that this hybrid character was a key to attract the spectators on the streets of Shinjuku and laid the foundation for ATG's of low-budget film production. As representative works of ATG collaboration, I analyze Oshima's two films, *Death by Hanging*

and *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* (*Shinjuku dorobō nikki*, 1969) from the perspective of how these films appeal to the spectators and try to politicize them. As Oshima announces in the trailer of *Death by Hanging*, these films aim at transforming the viewing experience into an actual political action in late 1960s Shinjuku.

Chapter 4 "International Co-productions: Encountering the Female Audience" looks into how the change of production system from the collaboration with ATG to high budget and logistically complex international co-productions foregrounded different questions about freedom of sexual expression and queerness in Oshima's films and reshuffled the taken-for-granted audience through the different mode of distribution, exhibition, and reception. In so doing, this chapter sheds light on the overlooked female reception of Oshima's works in specific contexts in Japan, rather than the well-known success in the international film festivals. To be more specific, I narrate the international co-productions with European producers Anatole Dauman and Jeremy Thomas as opportunities for Oshima to encounter new female audiences such as feminists and female David Bowie fans in Japan. For example, feminists actively discussed *In the Realm of the Senses* in the context of sexual liberation in a radical feminist magazine, and young female readers praised queerness that disrupted heteronormativity in David Bowie's performance in *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* in their film reviews in a magazine for girls devoted to male-male romantic and sexual relationships. Focusing on the reception of the films within feminists' discourse and girls' culture, this chapter argues that the female audience created political significance of the films by interpreting the bodies in the films as embodied liberation.

Compared to his extremely political career in the 1960s, Oshima Nagisa's work after the 1960s has been considered less actual in terms of his commitment to local politics in Japan.

However, by examining his role on the midnight TV show *Live TV until Dawn* (*Asa made nama terebi*, 1987-present), chapter 5 "*Live TV until Dawn*: Oshima Nagisa's Late Style" asserts that Oshima was political through his media performance on TV. In other words, he expanded his way of committing to politics, shifting from a political director producing the cinema of actuality to a TV celebrity who performed the role of "film director" within the TV program. To understand this transition, I first elucidate the expansion of midnight slots on TV as a new frontier and multiple experiments TV companies conducted to fill the slots. TV Asahi, which differentiated itself from other TV stations by adopting a new type of news broadcasting with independent journalists, started *Live TV until Dawn* with journalist Tahara Sōichirō. Providing new battlefields for discussion about timely and controversial topics, this midnight program served as a new platform for journalists, writers, and media intellectuals including Oshima to express their political opinions. Acting the role of "film director" in the program, Oshima self-reflexively performed as a responsible figure representing the generation who experienced World War II. By way of conclusion, I examine Oshima's TV performance as his late style which crystallized into unharmonious TV celebrity Oshima, who emerged from the collision between the continuous struggle for new roles to break the established image of himself and the responsible film director of postwar Japan.

What this dissertation seeks to present through visiting the above five junctures in the media history of Japan is the creative force of collaboration between individuals, artworks, and media in opening up alternative paths to express diverse political visions. As I will repeatedly emphasize in this project, producing different channels forms new contexts of reception and new audiences who create political significance of artworks. Yet, available options and media channels are not infinite; as Marx put it, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it

just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past."[31] This condition in making one's own history is also true to the history this dissertation is about. Hence, this dissertation now turns to the circumstances Oshima's multimedia collaboration set out with.

[31] Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), 15.

Chapter 1. THE SHŌCHIKU NOUVELLE VAGUE: THE FILM STUDIO IN A TIME OF CRISIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

On August 28, 1960, *Weekly Myōjō* published a dialogue between Oshima and Koyama Akiko, a movie star at Shōchiku. The topic of their dialogue was their wedding plans. While it is interesting to learn how Oshima and Koyama met, what kind of disputes they experienced, and how they secretly developed their relationship, what draws the most attention is how this article begins. It starts with a comparison between Ishihara Yūjirō, one of the most popular movie stars in postwar Japan, and Oshima: "Oshima, a young director at 28 years old, whom people expect that 'like Yūjirō saved Nikkatsu, Oshima……Shōchiku,' is now writing the script of the third film in his cruel series, *Night and Fog in Japan* (*Nihon no yoru to kiri*, 1960), at a ryokan in Izu Itō."[32] This article presents an interesting issue by setting actor Ishihara Yūjirō side by side with one young director who just started his career in 1959. From today's point of view, we might not be surprised by this comparison since we already know that Oshima occupies a significant part of Japanese cinema history. However, at the moment this article was published, he was still a newcomer to the popular discourse about the film industry (e.g., Oshima had released only three feature films, one of which was not even screened at first-run theaters). How did Oshima, a young *director*, end up being compared with Yūjirō, a *movie star*, in terms of saving a film studio? Given that this article was published in a weekly magazine, which became a popular medium in the 1950s, what kind of relationship did the film industry have with hybrid media

[32] "Oshima Nagisa kantoku / Koyama Akiko no kekkon keikaku taidan: Raburetā wa 260 tsū," *Shūkan myōjō*, August 28, 1960, 36. For the information about media coverage of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague, see "Appendix 1: Chronology of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague."

industries in postwar Japan? And what kind of film is *Night and Fog in Japan*, which the magazine highlights as being written by Oshima?

In order to answer the above questions, this chapter examines the youth-oriented subgenre Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague, in which Oshima played a representative role, and its relationships with hybrid media industries. This subgenre has been criticized and underestimated because of its relationships with mass media, regarded as just an empty label fabricated by journalistic media. For example, Satō Tadao writes in his book about Oshima that the name of this subgenre was coined and popularized by journalistic media and "it gave the illusion that it was some kind of imitation of a trend in France, and gave the preconceived notion that it would be frivolous because it was a mimic anyway."[33] Also Oshima himself harshly criticized the subgenre in response to Shōchiku pulling his fourth feature film, *Night and Fog in Japan*, from distribution because "no one comes to see it. No one understands it."[34] After this incident, Oshima called the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague "something that has no substance whatsoever."[35] From the point of the auteur-focused narrative, the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague is nothing but media hype which prevents the evaluation of Oshima's work and has nothing to do with auteur Oshima's vision.

However, for this dissertation which aims to trace the transforming mediascape through Oshima's multimedia collaboration, the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague offers an interesting case in which we can observe how an outdated studio created a cultural phenomenon with mass media in trying to renew its old public image as a melodrama factory. To analyze the above process, this

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[33] Satō Tadao, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 85.

[34] Oshima Nagisa, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* gyakusatsu ni kōgi suru," *Eiga hyōron* 17, no. 12 (December 1960): 22.

[35] Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo eiga: Hakai to sōzō* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1963), 35.

chapter particularly focuses on the relationship between the film studio and journalistic media. It was a weekly magazine, *Weekly Yomiuri* (*Shūkan Yomiuri*), which named and presented Oshima as one of the representative directors of the newborn subgenre on the first page of an article just 2 days after the release of *Cruel Story of Youth* (*Seishun zankoku monogatari*, 1960).[36] The announcement of the name of this subgenre, the "Nouvelle Vague," at almost the same time of the film release indicates that it was about more than a group of films that share similar themes or tropes, rather it was a part of a larger narrative of the reconstruction of the studio by promoting young directors. In other words, the media coverage of the subgenre and Oshima as its face in weekly magazines indicates the moment at which a film director was no longer a craftsman at a film factory and became a celebrity who embodied a new generation in the larger narrative circulated in the new media environment.

The relationship between the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague and mass media is also key to understanding a director like Oshima who was seeking a way to reach new audiences. From his experience as a student activist leader, Oshima knew the importance of reaching a large audience beyond the boundaries of social status.[37] For example, his interest in mass media as a site of communication can be found in the letter exchange with readers of monthly magazine *Heibon*. In an essay about the relationship between student movements and the film industry, Oshima valued his classmate Nishimura Kazuo's practice of exchanging letters as "a movement rooted in the subjective will of the people."[38] Nishimura, also a student of Kyoto University, posted his "friend request" in *Heibon*'s readers' column, and he and his friends started exchanging letters

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[36] "Nihon eiga no atarashii nami: Ikareru kantoku tachi wa hitto suru ka?" *Shūkan yomiuri*, June 5, 1960, 86-90.

[37] For Oshima's filmmaking in search for new audiences, see Michael Raine, "Oshima Nagisa: Paradox and Perversion in the 1960s Avant-Garde."

[38] Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo eiga*, 190.

with local readers. In Nishimura's article, "Girls think (Otome tachi wa kangaeru)," he explains his motivation for this practice as follows: exchanging letters can bridge "a big gap between those who had an opportunity to study at college like us and young people working in farm and fishing villages without that opportunity."[39] For elite college students like Nishimura and Oshima, the letter exchange in *Heibon* was a way to communicate with young people in rural areas while overcoming social differences such as gender and class.

If Oshima was interested in mass media as a communication tool that could bridge social and class differences as seen in his positive opinion about the letter exchange in *Heibon*, we cannot fail to pay attention to two seemingly conflicting yet symbiotic aspects of Oshima in the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. On the one hand, there is well-known radical new wave film director Oshima who challenged socio-cultural norms through his political films, usually associated with the so-called art cinema and avant-garde cinema domain.[40] On the other hand, there is amicable celebrity Oshima who was compared to star Yūjirō in the popular entertainment domain with interviews of himself talking about 260 love letters he wrote, telling that he wanted to have 12 kids to make his baseball team, and saying "I have had a lot of training to be successful (mono ni naru)" in a cool posture for a weekly magazine.[41] For any investigation into the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague, it is crucial to take into consideration the latter side of Oshima because he had just debuted as a director of a newborn subgenre and needed to create a new spectatorship to

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[39] Nishimura Kazuo, "Otome tachi wa kangaeru: *Heibon* dokusha to no buntsū," *Shisō no kagaku* 1, no. 1 (May 1954): 59.

[40] Cf. David Desser, *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), Maureen Turim, *The Films of Oshima Nagisa*, and Isolde Standish, *Politics, Porn and Protest: Japanese Avant-garde Cinema in the 1960s and 1970s* (New York: Continuum International Publishing. Group, 2011).

[41] "Raburetā 260 tsū," *Shūkan heibon*, September 7, 1960, Kojima Masao, "1 dāsu wa komaru," *Shūkan heibon*, November 2, 1960, 40-3, and "Nūberu bāgu no wakaki kantoku," *Shūkan sankei*, July 25, 1960.

prove his success at a film studio in rapid decline. While staying true to his provocative, political self, he also needed to appeal to a large audience. In order to explore the dialectic between director Oshima and celebrity Oshima in this specific period, this chapter emphasizes the fact that Oshima was a young director at a film studio in a time of crisis.[42] Using the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague as a case of a cultural phenomenon created through media coverage, I explore collaborative relationships between the film studio and journalistic media, and celebrity Oshima as the face of a new generation in the late 1950s and the early 1960s.

1.2 Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio in a Time of Crisis

Ishihara Yūjirō, the above mentioned movie star and the savior of film studio Nikkatsu, is a useful reference to grasp the significant role multimedia relationships played in the cultural change of high economic growth in Japan in the late 1950s. Focusing on the developing stardom of Yūjirō as a search for a larger audience through multiple media channels, Michael Raine explores the role of the paratexts of cinema as the historical condition of stardom in the 1950s. What Raine traces is the process in which Yūjirō was able to channel his flexible star identities by traveling across multimedia platforms such as films, weekly magazines, monthly magazines, and records. Yūjirō debuted as a delinquent youth with a long-legged and muscular "un-Japanese" body in taiyōzoku films which invited negative reactions and attacks from PTAs. He then dissociated himself from his "bad attitude" and became "a favorite older brother" by

[42] The sense of being entrapped by institution and institutional custom was shared by some films released around 1960: Masumura Yasuzō's *Giants and Toys* (*Kyojin to gangu*, 1959), Yoshida Kijū's *Blood Is Dry* (*Chi wa kawaiteiru*,1960), and Shinoda Masahiro's *One-Way Ticket for Love* (*Koi no katamichi kippu*, 1960) to name a few. These examples illustrate that finding a breakthrough inside institution was a key issue for directors at film studios in this period.

revealing his "old-fashionedness" in interviews and releasing the song, *I Am Waiting* (*Ore wa matteru ze*), which expressed his lover personality with his distinctive deep voice.[43] On Yūjirō's flexible stardom that made him "Japan's lover," Raine remarks: "He was a personality first and the medium through which his celebrity circulated was of only secondary concern."[44] His personality always existed beyond the diegesis of texts, and he could address the different aspects of his personality though the multiple channels mass media prepared. As such, Yūjirō's success and popularity highlights the web of mass media as a historical condition of stardom in the new multimedia period during the period of high economic growth in Japan.

The popularization of TV significantly changed the power relationships of the web of mass media in 1959. As sociologist Yoshimi Shun'ya analyzes, the royal wedding of Shōda Michiko, daughter of the company president of Nisshin Seifun, and Prince Akihito, the son of the Shōwa Emperor Hirohito, triggered the rapid popularization of television in Japan. People purchased TV sets to watch the broadcast of this wedding parade on April 10, 1959, and related news about their wedding (the "Micchī boom"). In fact, the number of registered televisions dramatically increased around the royal wedding parade: it exceeded 1 million by April 1958, 2 million by April 1959, and 3 million by October 1959. TV sets became one of the three sacred treasures (sanshu no jingi) of domestic electrical appliances.[45] Moreover, the royal wedding also marked the new expansion of a nationwide television network which was centralized in Tokyo.[46]

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[43] Michael Raine, "Ishihara Yūjirō: Youth, Celebrity, and the Male Body in 1950s Japan," in *Word and Image in Japanese Cinema*, ed. Dennis C. Washburn and Carole Cavanaugh, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 209-16.

[44] Ibid., 215.

[45] Yoshimi Shun'ya, "Television and Nationalism: Historical Change in the National Domestic TV Formation of Postwar Japan." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 4 (2003): 467-71.

[46] Yoshimi Shun'ya, "Media ibento toshite no 'goseikon'," 272-4.

Drawing in the audience by offering an intriguing new ideal model of romantic relationships between the Prince and the first person from a non-royal family or the "common people" to marry into Japanese royalty, the media event of the royal wedding accelerated the diffusion of TV into the living room and TV became the rival of cinema in the new mediascape.

In the wake of the "Micchī boom," *Weekly Heibon* started from the same company that published influential monthly magazine *Heibon* on May 1, 1959. In his *The Age of Heibon* (*Heibon no jidai*), sociologist Sakamoto Hiroshi claims that the year 1959 marked the end of the age of *Heibon* which had been characterized by monthly *Heibon* as a public sphere for ordinary youth, that is, non-elite young people in the countryside.[47] *Heibon* was popular "music and movie entertainment magazine," covered by colorful photos of stars such as the Three Girls (Sannin Musume: Misora Hibari, Yukimura Izumi, and Eri Chiemi).[48] By having pages on which movie fans in the countryside were able to post their opinions about movie stars, *Heibon* provided local fans the chance to communicate with each other and participate in the magazine community. A representative example of this participatory activity of *Heibon* is Heibon Friendship Club (Heibon tomo no kai, August 1949-November 1964) that started as a reader's column in which readers were able to interact using their real name and address.[49] As its contribution became more significant, the editor made lists of readers who signed up for the club so that readers were able to send letters to each other directly. This sense of community

[47] Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Heibon no jidai,* 146.

[48] For detailed analysis about the Three Girl Film (sannin musume), see Michael Raine, "Youth, Body, and Subjectivity in the Japanese Cinema, 1955-60," (PhD Diss., University of Iowa, 2002), 109-37, and "The musical: *Heibon* and the popular song film," in *The Japanese Cinema Book*, ed. Hideaki Fujiki and Alastair Phillips (London; New York: The British Film Institute, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), 335-47.

[49] See Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Heibon no jidai,* 227-70.

encouraged readers to organize branches of the club in local communities in which local readers enjoyed activities together such as receptions with stars.[50]

However, these local communities and their relationships with movie stars changed with the start of *Weekly Heibon*. Sakamoto explains the impact of *Weekly Heibon* as the transition from "a music and movie entertainment magazine" to "an entertainment magazine for a living room with a television."[51] What this transition meant to the public discourse can be summarized as the hybridization of genres and the excessive attention to gossip. A good example of this hybridization is how celebrities from different industries such as movie stars, professional baseball players, politicians, and writers were on *Weekly Heibon*'s front covers. Sakamoto introduces editor Amakasu Akira's comments about the new star images on *Weekly Heibon*'s cover pages as follows: "[they] had 'amazing variety,' and were not for 'just an entertainment magazine.' He [Amakasu] said that *Weekly Heibon* was not just a magazine about movie stars and the entertainment world but also a gossip magazine about everything."[52] This characteristic of "a gossip magazine about everything" came from the necessity of being a weekly magazine. *Weekly Heibon* had to have enough topics to entertain its audience every week. This entailed a negative effect on the company. In contrast to *Heibon* which was famous for well-prepared photographs of movie stars, reporters did not have enough time to interview stars and stage photo sessions. Also, in order to cover gossip to keep the audience's attention, *Weekly Heibon* had to publish gossip which celebrities wanted to keep private—so much so that Amakasu regularly

[50] Ibid., 248-51. As an example, Sakamoto introduces the case of Yukimura Izumi who enjoyed receptions with local fans and emphasizes how important it was for both her and local fans to have occasions to talk to each other.

[51] Ibid., 149.

[52] Ibid., 152.

met celebrities to apologize for gossip *Weekly Heibon* covered.[53] There was a sharp contrast between *Heibon*, a participatory magazine in which movie stars and local fans were able to communicate, and *Weekly Heibon*, a gossip magazine in which various celebrities from different industries were consumed by the readers.

Oshima acknowledges this large-scale transition in which cinema became a part of a larger mass media structure with TV and weekly magazines represented by the Micchī boom and *Weekly Heibon* in the first film he directed, *Tomorrow's Sun* (*Ashita no taiyō*, 1959). Although conventional biographies of Oshima start with his first feature film, *A Town of Love and Hope* (*Ai to kibō no machi*, 1959), it is not the first film he directed at Shōchiku.[54] He started his career as a film director with *Tomorrow's Sun*, a 6-min greeting film (goaisatsu eiga), which introduced Shōchiku's new movie stars such as Tsugawa Masayuki, Kuwano Miyuki, and Toake Yukiyo. According to Oshima, it was just a short film without narrative but important for his career because he was able to work with talented staff who became regular collaborators of his, such as Kawamata Takashi (cinematographer), Uraoka Keiichi (editor), and Kurita Shūjūrō (director of sound).[55] If we reconsider this film from the historical point of view which emphasizes the popularization of TV and the start of *Weekly Heibon*, *Tomorrow's Sun* can be considered to be Oshima's reflection on the contemporary capitalist mediascape and the relationship between the film industry and new conditions of celebrities.

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[53] Ibid., 155.

[54] For example, Satō Tadao writes "a starting point: *Ai to kibō no machi.*" See Satō, *Ōshima Nagisa no sekai*, 9-27. However, it should be noted that Yomota Inuhiko writes the beginning of Oshima is that Oshima started writing the script of *Shinkai gyogun* which became *Night and Fog in Japan* later. Yomota, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 75-85.

[55] Oshima Nagisa, *Oshima Nagisa 1960*, 67.

Tomorrow's Sun starts by introducing the media environment in 1959. The first shot is a photograph of Nagashima Shigeo, the most popular professional baseball player of the Yomiuri Giants, surrounded by magazines and pictures (fig. 1.1). The second image is that Wakachichibu, a popular sumō wrestler, also surrounded by colorful pictures (fig. 1.2). Then, this film introduces the narrator, Toake Yukiyo, with the caption saying, "[I] came from television to the movies now" (fig. 1.3-1.4). This opening sequence showcases that movie stars became celebrities in a hybrid of cultural industries, not in an independent industry as a privileged object on which monthly magazines had focused previously. Then this film emphasizes the difference between film and television by showing the caption of "Grandscope," a wide screen technology used exclusively in Shōchiku film (fig. 1.5). Furthermore, the film playfully presents various film genres for which different studios were famous. There are scenes in which Yamamoto Toyozō and Kuwano Miyuki run on the beach, a symbolic place of the taiyōzoku film, Sugiura Naoki and Kujō Eiko dance in a Noir film setting, and Hananomoto Kotobuki, Hōjō Kiku, Asami Keiko, and Matsumoto Kinshirō perform in a period drama setting. At the end of the film, Kuwano Miyuki in a wedding dress gives a bouquet to Tsugawa Masayuki and says, "I'm going to get married," "I just wanted to try. Getting married is cool now." As those references to weekly magazines, TV, different genres, and the Micchī boom prove, this film presents the contemporary mediascape to which Oshima had to respond.

Although it enjoyed its golden age in the early 1950s, Shōchiku was in a time of crisis in the late 1950s and desperately needed to prove itself as a main player in the new mediascape represented by *Tomorrow's Sun*. The decline of Shōchiku was mainly because of the change of popular genres, or more precisely the decline of melodrama for which the studio was known, and the emergence of new popular genres from competing studios such as the taiyōzoku film from

Nikkatsu and period drama from Tōei.[56] Reporting this difficult situation of Shōchiku, "Sleeping Lion: Shōchiku Ōfuna (Nemureru shishi: Shōchiku Ōfuna)" by Noguchi Yūichirō and Satō Tadao tells of the "silence" of the studio. In this report, Noguchi and Satō write that the main reason for the decline was the demographic change of the audience. Shōchiku melodrama films such as Kinoshita Keisuke's *Twenty-Four Eyes* (*Nijūshi no hitomi*, 1954) and Ōba Hideo's *What Is Your Name?* (*Kimi no na wa?* 1953-4) became popular because the majority of the audience were the generation who spent its adolescence during the war (senchū-ha) who "were able to profoundly feel the old sentiment of endurance (furui innin no jōcho)."[57] However, as suggested by the taiyōzoku film which denied that old sentiment by emphasizing rebellious youth, the new generation did not share that melodramatic mindset. Moreover, Noguchi and Satō point out the conservative studio structure as a reason why the studio could not keep up with this change. The studio's long assistant director system prevented young directors from responding to this generational gap.[58] On the one hand, due to its strict assistant director system Shōchiku Ōfuna

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[56] According to the comparative data of major studios' distribution income in *Film Yearbook* (*eiga nenkan*), until 1956, Shōchiku was in a very stable position in the industry because of *What Is Your Name* (*Kimi no na wa*) (part 1 and 2: 300,018,000 yen and 250,470,000 yen in 1953-4, and part 3: 330,152,000 yen in 1954-5) and veterans' works such as Ozu's *The Flavor of Green Tea over Rice* (*Ochazuke no aji*) (109,920,000 yen in 1952-3) and *Tokyo Story* (*Tōkyō monogatari*) (131,648,000 yen in 1953-4), for example. However, since 1957, Nikkatsu-produced films became remarkable in the box office: *Seasons of the Sun* (*Taiyō no kisetsu*)(185,635,000 yen in 1956-8) outperformed Shōchiku-produced no.1 film *Utau Yajikita ōgondōchū* (174,560,000 yen in 1957-8), and Nikkatsu's *Man Who Causes a Storm* (*Arashi o yobu otoko*) (348,800,000 in 1957-8) threatened to overtake Shōchiku's *Times of Joy and Sorrow* (*Yorokobi mo kanashimi mo ikutoshitsuki*) (391,089,000 in 1957-8). Given that Nikkatsu had just restarted production in 1954, for Shōchiku, Nikkatsu's successful taiyōzoku films were a very urgent competitor to deal with.

[57] Noguchi Yūichirō and Satō Tadao, "Nemureru shishi: Shōchiku Ōfuna," *Eiga hyōron* 16, no. 6 (June 1959): 67.

[58] Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio was known for its long assistant director system (7-8 years) from the fourth assistant director (who is in charge of props and clapboards), to the third (who works for costume), to the second (who is a script supervisor), to the chief (who manages location scouting, trailer making, budget controlling, and scheduling). For directors at Shōchiku, knowing

Studio could preserve so-called "Ōfuna chō (typical melodrama style of Shōchiku)," but on the other hand, this long assistantship molded individual directors into the outdated studio style.

How, then, did Shōchiku respond to this difficult situation? There is a detailed report from film magazine *Kinema junpō* in May 1960 about a strategy Shōchiku took as a reconstruction program for Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio: the change of the president. This was a profound change for the studio because former president Kido Shirō was the leading person who took the initiative in establishing Shōchiku from the 1920s and had a huge influence on both Shōchiku Kamata Studio during the silent era and Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio since 1936.[59] However, due to the decline of Shōchiku, the company decided to appoint a new president, Ōtani Hiroshi, in April 1960. A film magazine article "Shōchiku Film Getting Ready for Revival (Sosei ni tachiagaru Shōchiku eiga)" narrates that new president Ōtani places an emphasis on the principle that good work will be rewarded and bad work punished (shinshō hitsubatsu), and will cope with problems like the renovation of the studio, development of the young generation, and restructuring of the company.[60] It is true that Kido also gave a chance to young directors (e.g., due to him, Oshima was able to direct *A Town of Love and Hope* in 1959) and became the president again in December 1963, but the importance placed on this change of the president was

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all parts of filmmaking was necessary to be a stand-alone director and all directors had to experience this very long training through this assistantship. The article introduces some rules that an assistant director had to learn such as that the first several shots had to let the audience know a whole house plan, or that films never broke the continuity editing. Ibid., 70-3.

[59] For the information about Kido's influence on the studio, see Satō Tadao, *Nihon eigashi, zōhoban*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 211-25. Also, on pre-WWII Shōchiku, see Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

[60] "Sosei ni tachiagaru Shōchiku eiga," *Kinema junpō*, no. 258 (May 1960): 56.

to impress the story of the new era of the studio on film spectators who held the image of Shōchiku as an outdated studio.[61]

During the studio's struggle to renew its public image with the new president, Shōchiku released Oshima's *Cruel Story of Youth* on June 3, 1960, through which the studio successfully manifested itself as a main player in the competition with other popular studios. Oshima effectively captured the essence of the youth-oriented film at that time.[62] Two delinquent youths, college student Kiyoshi (Kawazu Yūsuke) and high school girl Makoto (Kuwano Miyuki), are frustrated and angry at the old generation, and start scams threating businessmen to make money. Their feeling of liberation from society is expressed through sexual activities, dances to jazz music, fights against gangsters, and the speed of their motorcycle. After Makoto gets an abortion, they are both arrested for blackmail and die separately in a tragic manner.

Besides its story and settings, this film was remarkable because this Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague film was a successful example of a "co-production (gassaku)," to use film critic Iwasaki Akira's word, between Shōchiku and journalistic media.[63] On June 5, 1960, an article from *Weekly Yomiuri* locates the Nouvelle Vague in the struggle of Shōchiku's reform by the new president: "About one month after the retirement of Kido Shirō at Shōchiku, the old established studio, the new president Ōtani Hiroshi starts cutting this studio loose."[64] Indeed, the article mentions the situation of individual directors, including Oshima making his feature film, but as a

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[61] Nagayama Takeomi ed., *Shōchiku hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Shōchiku Kabushiki Kaisha, 1996), 668.

[62] For the detailed analysis of the newness of the film, see Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "Questions of the New: Ōshima Nagisa's *Cruel Story of Youth* (1960)," in *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Alastair Phillips and Julian Stringer (New York: Routledge, 2007), 168-79.

[63] Iwasaki Akira, "Shōchiku kikaku to atarashii nami," *Kinema junpō,* no. 270 (November 1960): 48.

[64] "Nihon eiga no atarashii nami," 86.

whole it pays more attention to the context of the Nouvelle Vague, particularly the issue of whether or not this movement can save Shōchiku. "The Ōfuna melodrama, which swept Japanese cinema during a certain time period in the prewar and the postwar, is left behind now, and 'shin-Shōchiku chō' (new Shōchiku style) by the former president Kido was not able to attract audiences due to Tōei chanbara [an industrial genre of period drama] and Nikkatsu action. And then one day suddenly a new opportunity appeared."[65] As this contextualization of the birth of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague indicates, it was not only defined by themes or tropes shared by films to aim for the youth audience, but also perceived as Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio's new marketing strategy led by a new president and the larger narrative of the studio's reconstruction in the competition with TV and other film studios.

1.3 OSHIMA AND THE SHŌCHIKU NOUVELLE VAGUE

As the new marketing of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague became a cultural phenomenon through media coverage, mass media established Oshima's public image as the representative director of the new generation in the film studio and his position as a celebrity. The focus on directors, not stars, in the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague perhaps relates to the lack of the new type of star like Yūjirō at the studio. Satō remarks on the lack of an important characteristic in stars at Shōchiku as follows, "Shōchiku, which specialized in sentimental melodramas, did not actually have any bright, sportsman-type actors who fit active poses well."[66] As a result, along with

[65] Ibid., 88. About Tōei jidaigeki, see Junko Yamazaki, "Jidaigeki's Postwar: Visions of the Present in Japanese Period Films," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016).

[66] Satō Tadao, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 99-100.

promoting stars, Shōchiku's marketing focused on some young film directors of the new generation.[67]

Oshima was very active in diverse media channels. He had made his presence felt through his writings from scenarios to criticism for film magazines. The above *Weekly Yomiuri* article which introduced the Nouvelle Vague acknowledged this by noting seven young directors like Oshima, Yoshida Kijū, Tamura Tsutomu, and others, called "seven samurai," who had been writing scenarios and publishing them to get a chance to produce their films.[68] Furthermore, when Satō and Noguchi called the studio a "Sleeping Lion," Oshima responded to the criticism by agreeing with the "Sleeping Lion" argument and called for the change of the assistant directorship system at the studio in the same magazine.[69] Contributing to his growing reputation, his first directed feature film, *A Town of Love and Hope*, was supported by some critics as a new effort from the old studio.[70] Thus, this situation surrounding the film established the contrast between the old conservative studio and the challenging new director. Then, most importantly as a new director, he successfully proved his mastery of the youth-oriented film that Shōchiku urgently needed through his box office smash hits of *Cruel Story of Youth* in June 1960 and *The Sun's Burial* (*Taiyō no hakaba*) in August 1960. Oshima's active practice in the broader mediascape coupled with the publicized reaction to his early films made him the face of the

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[67] Shōchiku also tried to promote some actors as new stars. One example is actor Honō Kayoko who played a main role in Oshima's *The Sun's Burial*. Her background story of attempted suicide, active reference to sexuality, and provocative attitude circulated in weekly magazines drew public attention as a new sex symbol in the early 1960s. Cf. "Jisatsu misui o shita odoriko ga hirotta kōun," *Weekly Heibon*, July 13, 1960, and "Yarinaoshi no seishun: *Taiyō no hakaba* de saiki suru Honō Kayoko," *Weekly Myōjo*, July 17, 1960.

[68] "Nihon eiga no atarashii nami," 87-8.

[69] Oshima Nagisa, "'Nemureru shishi: Shōchiku Ōfuna' o hihan suru," *Eiga hyōron* 16, no. 8 (July 1959): 104-7.

[70] For example, Oshima Nagisa, Satō Tadao, and Shinada Yūkichi, "Shinjin no jōken: *Ai to kibō no machi* o megutte," *Eiga hyōron* 16, no. 12 (December 1959): 36-9.

Nouvelle Vague who did not hesitate to show sex and violence against the studio's melodrama tradition.

Media coverage of his personal matters in weekly magazines also verifies his position as a celebrity of a new generation. Around the release of *Cruel Story of Youth*, weekly magazines started focusing on Oshima's relationship with actor Koyama Akiko. Since the Micchī boom in mass media, for weekly magazines which sought gossip to maintain their sales, romantic relationships of stars and celebrities were some of the most popular topics at that time. Thus, not surprisingly, media coverage of the relationship between star director Oshima and Koyama came to a climax with their "Nouvelle Vague" marriage. It had drawn public attention since Oshima and Koyama announced their marriage in a weekly magazine as follows: "'Our ceremony will be a cocktail party and we will omit anything like rituals. We are happy that our friends celebrate us.' Their Nouvelle Vague wedding party will be fun."[71] Their choice of a nonreligious ceremony announced in this report figuratively told the balance Oshima dealt with in the film industry: a wedding ceremony in a new way, that is, to renew an old tradition. Reporting Oshima's romantic relationship with Koyama, the weekly magazine articles provided the chance for Oshima to embody a new generation which challenged social rituals as well as the studio convention.

What Oshima ultimately achieved with his newfound celebrity position as the representative director of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague was to dissociate himself from the narrative of the studio's reconstruction and emphasize his individual political opinion through diverse media channels. The emphasis on his political opinion came from the sociopolitical situation in 1960, that is, the peak of the unprecedented large scale protest against the Treaty of

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[71] "Raburetā 260 tsū," *Shūkan heibon*, September 7, 1960.

Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (Anpo). For the people who experienced the war, the forceful ratification of Anpo, which involved Japan in the American strategy against the Eastern Bloc in Asia, by a Class A war crime suspect (then-prime minister Kishi Nobusuke) reminded them of the dictatorship of prewar Japan and meant obstruction of the people's reconstruction of Japan. This background made the anti-Anpo movement the struggle to protect their new democratic society. The anti-Anpo struggle was not only student movements but also large scale civil movements.[72] Oshima tried to respond to the anti-Anpo movement through his writing and most notably his fourth feature film *Night and Fog in Japan* which compares student activism based on his experience in the 1950s with the anti-Anpo movement in 1960.

Oshima as a former student activist eloquently spoke in mass media about his student life as a leader of a student group and expressed sympathy for the new left students who participated in the anti-Anpo movement. For instance, in an article, "My Cruel Story of Youth (Waga seishun zankoku monogatari)," published in October 1960, Oshima writes:

> I entered the Department of Law at Kyoto University in April 1950. It was the year when the Korean War and the red purge started. It was the year when the anti-red purge student movements became the frontline of defense of democracy. I got closer to the student movement while I felt a bit discontented with their strategy. I was an eighth grader at the end of the war. Since what I believed collapsed, I learned democracy as the principle of

[72] Cf. Oguma Eiji, *Minshu to aikoku: Sengo nihon no nashonarizumu to kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 2002), 499-548. Kishi Nobusuke and politicians from the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP) forcefully pushed ratification of the Security Treaty in the Diet by excluding the politicians of the Social Democratic Party of Japan on May 19, 1960. This steamrolling of the Anpo treaty by Kishi and the LDP was a political event broadcast by radio and television, shared to the national audience, and created strong anti-Anpo sentiments.

> Japan's reconstruction as well as myself. I think that our generation's brave struggle against the reverse course derived from this experience. Politicians, who once taught us democracy, were now trying to destroy it. Anger against this fact drew me to the student movement.[73]

At Kyoto University, Oshima was a leader of Kyoto Student Association (Kyōto-fu gakusei renmei) and led the All Japan Campus Reconstruction Conference (Zen nihon gakuen fukkō kaigi).[74] Narrating how he was also there at the demonstration in front of the Prime Minister's Office on the night of the ratification of Anpo, he concluded he would keep struggling and to do so he needed to confront reality as a subject.[75]

With this historical background of the anti-Anpo movement, Oshima's next film, *Night and Fog in Japan*, became totally different from not only his previous youth-oriented films but also the other Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague films. He decided to make a film about a never-ending political discussion between student activists in a student dorm and a wedding party which ended up in dark confusion when an intruder from the past movement enters the scene. In terms of its formal aspects, it is a 107-minute-film composed of only 43 extremely long takes. Due to this technique, actors sometimes mumbled their lines awkwardly. As its title suggests, scenes often take place during night which emphasized the suffocating atmosphere of the student movements. The film does not show any tropes of previous youth-oriented film such as the feeling of liberation on the beach, speeding automobiles, violent fighting, and sexual activities. Reviews of the film emphasized how different this film was from the previous Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague.

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[73] Oshima Nagisa, "Waga seishun zankoku monogatari," *Fujin kōron* 415, no. 11 (October 1960): 91. The reverse course (gyaku kōsu) refers to Japan's movements against the democratization and demilitarization of Japan.

[74] Ibid., 91-2.

[75] Ibid., 95.

For example, literary and film critic Sasaki Kiichi writes: "He completely dismissed the label of 'Nouvelle Vague' and tried to express his views and thoughts on the past and present student movements in a straight line, in a hurried and direct manner, without any compromise."[76] This film marked the obvious difference from the previous works and was connected to Oshima's individual thoughts on contemporary politics.

The emphasis on his personal experience as a former student activist in filmmaking as the way to confront reality around him deeply relates to Oshima's writings on the theory of the subject (shutai). The concept of the subject, a figure who perpetually resists and changes the status quo surrounding the self, was the most important theme for Oshima, especially in his earlier critical writings. For Oshima, as a director at a film studio, being the subject meant prioritizing his individual expression over the studio's demand. In his article "Building from Endless Self-Negation: The Attitude of the New Auteur (Taezaru jikohitei no ue ni: Atarashii sakka no taido)," Oshima writes, "A new film that can organize a new audience must first and foremost be a unique and subjective expression of the auteur (sakka). Only when the work is the auteur's expression as a subject can it establish a dialogue between the auteur and the audience, have a tension with reality, and fulfill the role of criticism."[77] By underlining that it is more frightening when companies capture individual voices than when they reject them, Oshima claims the necessity of endless self-negation and change of the status quo as action by the

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[76] Sasaki Kiichi, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* ni seien o okuru," *Eiga hyōron* 17, no. 12 (December 1960): 18.

[77] Oshima Nagisa, "Taezaru jikohitei no ue ni: Atarashii sakka no taido," *Shinario* 16, no. 7 (July 1960): 20. Also, for other Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague directors' theories of self-negation, see Yoshida Kijū, "My Theory of Film: A Logic of Self-Negation," trans. Patrick Noonan. *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22 (2010): 104–9, and Patrick Noonan, "The Alterity of Cinema: Subjectivity, Self-Negation, and Self-Realization in Yoshida Kijū's Film Criticism," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22 (2010): 110–29.

subject.[78] In this regard, the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague he represented was also considered to be an object of self-negation. In other words, Oshima expressed his individual and political voice about his experience of student movements and the anti-Anpo struggle to negate the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague and detached himself from the circulated narrative of himself as a savior of the studio in mass media.

1.4 *Night and Fog in Japan*: Filmic Reflection on the Student Movements

While Oshima expressed his political opinion through multiple media channels, the most important example of his expression of his political voice was the feature film *Night and Fog in Japan*, which is composed of intense discussion about the student movement Oshima participated in and the anti-Anpo movement.[79] In this section, I analyze how Oshima expressed his way to confront reality in the film with the contemporary film theory of new realism, particularly its relationship with the long take. By examining the film within the active contemporaneous discussion about the long take, I shed light on the communication the film attempted to establish with the audience and consider what the ban on the film by the studio teaches us about the relationships between artists and the contemporary mediascape.

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[78] Analyzing *Cruel Story of Youth* with Oshima's theory of the subject, Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto stresses the "perpetual movement" in Oshima's theory of the subject, and writes that radical film practice involves "the filmmaker's perpetual search for new film style as a means of intervening in the concrete socio-historical situations where he or she lives as a subject in motion." See Yoshimoto, "Questions of the New: Ōshima Nagisa's *Cruel Story of Youth* (1960),"178.

[79] This film invites active discussion from its release to today. Cf. Isolde Standish, "*Night and Fog in Japan*: Fifty Years On." *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema* 1, no. 2 (2009): 143-55.

In some ways, *Night and Fog in Japan* can be analyzed as a film about the impossibility of communication, or maybe the unreality of dialogue. As its opening sequence shows through its mise-en-scène, it takes place during a wedding ceremony where two separated groups are standing face to face. What it depicts is the collision between two generations of student movements: the elder generation, associated with the groom, which experienced the sudden change of student activism led by the Japanese Communist Party from militarized to peaceful in the early 1950s like Oshima himself, and a younger generation, associated with the bride, which joined the anti-Anpo movements in 1960. The groups fight amongst and against each other over their actions in the student movements. Flashbacks during the wedding ceremony tell that the elder generation had a traumatic experience, which resulted in their friend's death, relating to a police informant (supai), an undercover informant or law enforcement officer surveilling political groups. The flashbacks show how their student dorm, which was supposed to be run in democratic ways, was a cramped place where a suspected police informant was illegally confined.[80] Student members of the JCP criticized a student (Takao) because they thought he helped a police informant run away from the dorm, and this cross-examination caused Takao's suicide. The older generation argues over the responsibility for Takao's death, and the new generation also cannot confront the loss of the anti-Anpo struggle. Their criticism in search for the meaning of student activism keeps going on until the chaotic end of the wedding party. In other words, this wedding party shows how people desperately sought a conversation with others in student movements during the 1950s and the anti-Anpo movement.

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[80] A police informant in a student dorm is a common theme at that time. Masumura Yasuzō made *A False Student* (*Nise daigakusei*) based on Ōe Kenzaburō's novella, "Gishō no toki," about a boy who is mistakenly confined as a spy in a student dorm. For the comparison between *Night and Fog in Japan* and *A False Student*, see Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 106-7.

As I mentioned, *Night and Fog in Japan* is first and foremost characterized by its excessive use of long takes. Although one can find examples of long takes in Oshima's previous works, the use of the long take in *Night and Fog in Japan* provides us with an extreme instance. This stylistic choice drew critics' attention and stimulated them to speculate about the political reasons behind it. For instance, Satō explained that Oshima took this extreme method of filmmaking because Oshima was thinking Shōchiku would stop the production of this film if they found this film was about the contemporary political situation.[81] After the film was released, Oshima published an article which underlined the importance of the long take in film journal *Kiroku eiga* in November 1960. Highlighting that "*Night and Fog in Japan* has only 43 shots," Oshima rejected montage to create narratives as "the inverted logic of film (sakadachi shita eiga no ronri)" and emphasized that the long take respects the flow of real time and needs delicate control of the unstable shot.[82] This method can also be the critique of the director because the instability of a shot capturing real time reveals how the director sees reality. From the perspective of a filmmaker, Oshima explained that the long take was a methodological choice of filmmaking rather than a choice from political reasons.

But where is the audience in the above formulation? To think about the question of the audience, I would like to contextualize the use of the long take in the discourse of new film aesthetics at a time when critics and film theorists advocated the importance of reality and the use of long take as a suitable way to capture the world after WWII. The emphasis on the long take which is strongly tied to reality can be found in the writings by film critic Okada Susumu

[81] Satō Tadao, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 65-70. Oshima later denied Satō's speculation about his choice of long take. See Oshima Nagisa, *Oshima 1960*, 256.

[82] Oshima Nagisa, "Shotto to wa nanika," *Kiroku eiga* 3, no. 11 (November 1960): 6.

who played an essential role in forming the discourse of postwar film theory in Japan.[83] Advocating a new perspective toward realism of cinema in his *From Mural Paintings to Television* (*Hekiga kara terebi made*, 1959), Okada writes that the conventional understanding of montage was inverted (sakadachi).[84] According to Okada, the conventional discourse of montage prioritizes themes over stories, stories over sequences, sequences over scenes, and scenes over shots. By inverting this order, a new film theory must start with shots, not themes. Okada considers shots more important than themes because the idea of reality composed of things (mono) became a prominent subject of film after WWII.

> Needless to say, if a bomb falls, the peaceful home inside walls is instantly blown away. A person walking the street, if he is a great official or a mighty soldier, is an ephemeral creature. Everything loses a shell of everydayness and returns to just things (mono). And when the world surrounding human beings becomes just things, human consciousness takes off impurities and creates a flow responding to things. Under such circumstances, when an author looks around himself, reality itself becomes the subject of film.[85]

In other words, the war experience changed people's way to view the world. For people who experienced WWII, everyday life became ephemeral and felt vulnerable. Thus, everything around everyday life could become the main object of moving image media.

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[83] Tomoda Yoshiyuki also mentions the shared film theory between Okada, Bazin, and Kracauer. See Tomoda, *Sengo zen'ei eiga to bungaku: Abe Kōbō x Teshigahara Hiroshi* (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 2012), 84. Film critics in Japan rediscovered the importance of the shot which captures reality, not stories about characters, through seeing Italian neorealism. For instance, Sasaki Kiichi wrote articles about "situation (jōkyō)" as what neorealism introduced to film aesthetics. See Sasaki Kiichi, "Neoriarizumu ron," in *Sasaki Kiichi zenshū*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinisha, 2012), 50-88 (originally published in 1953).

[84] Okada Susumu, *Hekiga kara terebi made: Eiga no atarashii ronri* (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō, 1959), 92.

[85] Ibid., 109.

In the context of the emphasis on the shot, Okada and Mayama Yuriko introduced Bazin's *What Is Cinema?* in the July 1960 issue of *Eiga Hyōron* as the best result of postwar film theory. By summarizing Bazin's arguments in important articles such as "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," "The Virtues and Limitations of Montage," "The Evolution of the Language of Cinema," and "In Defense of Mixed Cinema," the point they emphasize most is Bazin's argument on the shot and deep focus as the opposition to montage. For example, they value "The Virtues and Limitations of Montage" as follows: "This was the first question posed to the montage theory since the emergence of talkies. Also it was an article which declared the beginning of new film theory by pointing out the importance of one shot which replaces montage theory for the first time."[86] Bazin's argument is particularly important for them because, in contrast to the montage by which a director has initiative to make meanings, one shot and deep focus can capture the ambiguity of reality and "reality is an interplay of many factors, and it is up to us to decide which aspect to choose from among them."[87] It is the audience who decides meanings of ambiguous reality on screen. This perspective of cinema as participatory media can make viewing experience inclusive and make cinema a medium which is able to bridge the gap between filmmaker and the audience. In this sense, Bazin's film theory enabled critics and directors in postwar Japan to imagine cinema as one of the democratic media in the transition of the mediascape from participatory mode to consumerist mode as seen in the change from *Heibon* to *Weekly Heibon*.[88]

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[86] Okada Susumu and Mayama Yuriko, "Andore Bazan: Eiga to wa nanika," *Eiga hyōron* 17, no. 7 (July 1960): 66. On the reception of Bazin in Japan, see Nozaki Kan, "Japanese Readings: The Textual Thread," in *Opening Bazin: Postwar Film Theory and Its Afterlife*, ed. Dudley Andrew and Hervé Joubert-Laurencin (New York, NY: Oxford University Press), 324-9.

[87] Okada Susumu and Mayama Yuriko, "Andore Bazan: Eiga to wa nanika," 68.

[88] For the use of the term "democratic" media, I am inspired by Justin Jesty's *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan*. Jesty writes that the use of the term enables us to see "the

If we consider the film with what Okada read in Bazin's theory, what the long take in *Night and Fog in Japan* is conducting becomes more evident. By using long takes, the film attempted to create a virtual space of democratic communication for the audience regarding the history of political struggles, and invited the audience to the political discussion. Sasaki Kiichi aptly articulated the film's strategy in his review: "Instead of forcing the audience into one position in the debate about the problems of the organization and the human beings, [*Night and Fog in Japan*] stimulates the audience's thoughts and forces the audience to participate in this discussion."[89] By using the long take, the film invites the audience to the political discussion of the anti-Anpo struggle.

If one pays attention to how this film is conveyed in the context of Okada's understanding of Bazin's film theory at that time and how it stays open to communication with the audience, it becomes possible to read this film as a democratic space. An example of a democratic space is the shot in which Nozawa reflects on his engagement with student movements. Following the JCP's change of strategy, Nozawa is lost and worried that Misako likes Nakayama now. Feeling disoriented, Nozawa starts reflecting on what he did in the struggle in his old and small room in the student dorm. This 1-minute-30-second-long-take marks a unique moment in this film because it depicts Nozawa's inner thoughts by using voice-over, not

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constitutive commonalities among variety of cultural movements of early postwar, in which self-expression, self-representation, and the structured sharing of those expressions became key modes of political subjectivity and action." As I will detail, Oshima invites the audience to reconsider, express, and share their thoughts on the anti-Anpo struggle through viewing *Night and Fog in Japan*. In other words, the key to the film was active engagement from the audience. See Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 1-32.

[89] Sasaki Kiichi, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* ni seien o okuru," 19. In the same issue of *Eiga hyōron*, Satō Tadao also pointed out that the film involves the audience in the discussion about the anti-Anpo movement. Satō, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* sono dokusō ni furete," *Eiga hyōron* 17, no. 12 (December 1960): 21.

discussion by characters like other scenes. Furthermore, the camera drifts around Nozawa's room with his monologue. Oshima could have made the camera focus on Nozawa's face for the entire scene (like a well-reviewed scene in *Cruel Story of Youth* in which the camera captures the main protagonist eating an apple next to his girlfriend who just had an abortion).[90] But, Oshima chose the drifting camera in this scene, which means that mise-en-scène becomes important as well as a character's performance.

What does the drifting camera capture in this scene? First, the drifting camera captures posters telling a message of "For Peace and a Bright Future" (fig. 1.6) and tilts down showing a poster of a student movement in Kyoto and a picture of Lenin (fig. 1.7), then the camera tilts up slowly showing a bookshelf and stops when it captures a vase and a poster of a student movement in Kansai (the region including Kyoto) (fig. 1.8). The camera starts panning to the right capturing a poster saying "Struggle for the independence of the people!" (fig. 1.9) and stops with a poster of the All Japan Campus Reconstruction Conference in which Oshima participated at Kyoto University (fig. 1.10). What is interesting in the mise-en-scène of this scene is the emphasis on a particular place indicated by things (i.e., Kyoto) and the link with Oshima's personal life. Since all characters speak standardized Japanese, not Kansai dialect (as in *The Sun's Burial*) in the wedding ceremony and in the student dorm, and they joined the anti-Anpo movements in Tokyo, the setting of this scene is confusing in terms of where this room is. In other words, it is hard to tell if this is a room in Tokyo or Kyoto.[91]

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[90] Cf. Okamoto Hiroshi, "Sedai ron no otoshiana," *Eiga hyōron* 17, no. 7 (July 1960): 58-9.

[91] For the relationship between space and time in this film, Misonō Ryōko analyzes that the boundary between past and present are vague because this film juxtaposes past and present as a close space combined by long-takes, not separated editing. Misonō, "Jidai o shōgen suru," in *Eiga no koe: Sengo nihon eiga to watashitachi* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2016), 6-37.

Furthermore, the way Oshima narrates his relationship to student movements at Kyoto University in the article "My Cruel Story of Youth" is similar to the monologue Nozawa makes in this scene, such as "Only the struggle for peace, independence, and democracy gave us hope," "Things we fought against like Uchinada and MSA are a reality now," "Was I really a member of the revolution?" The mise-en-scène with Nozawa's monologue allows us to see the overlaps between Oshima and Nozawa in this scene, and makes this scene abstract and independent from other scenes of the film.[92] I would argue that this is a democratic space in which the audience's gaze could meet the history of the student movements, including Oshima's participation, through a long take to collectively reflect on the path of postwar Japan.

This democratic space where Oshima and the audience could collectively reflect on the history of student movements was not able to take place in movie theaters for more than four days. Three days after the release of *Night and Fog in Japan*, Asanuma Inejirō, a leader of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, was assassinated by Yamaguchi Otoya, a 17-year-old ultranationalist. Considering the high political tension between the left-wing and right-wing as seen in this incident, it is possible to speculate that Shōchiku did not want to keep highly political films running in theaters. This "political oppression" made Oshima criticize the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague as a meaningless label created by Shōchiku and journalistic media. Despite the economic success he had brought them previously, they had failed to support his individual vision and were swayed by the pressure of politics. He emphasized in his criticism the gap between the Nouvelle Vague in mass media and the actual film *Night and Fog in Japan*.

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[92] Sasaki Kiichi interprets the setting of Nozawa who became a journalist after being disappointed with the student movements and had to expose "his wound from the past" at his wedding as a self-criticism of Oshima. See Sasaki, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* ni seien o okuru," 19. Abe Kashō also suggests reading Nozawa as "a self-portrait" of Oshima. Abe, *Eiga kantoku Oshima Nagisa* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2013), 49-50.

> You believed Shōchiku's announcement and called it "the collapse of the Nouvelle Vague" because of the low box-office figures. What is "the Nouvelle Vague"? Have you ever used the term "Nouvelle Vague" as anything other than a synonym for sex and violence? Where is the sex and violence in *Night and Fog in Japan*? What does it have to do with your so-called Nouvelle Vague? By imposing the term "Nouvelle Vague," a concept that you have already muddied with your dirty hands, on *Night and Fog in Japan*, you are empowering the political and artistic reactionaries by pushing the innovation of this work into the mundane.[93]

Criticizing the use of the label "Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague" by journalistic media, Oshima called this film "revolutionary" to differentiate it from other films of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. While connecting the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague to films about "sex and violence" (a cliché of the taiyōzoku films), Oshima tried to mark the rupture between his previous films and *Night and Fog in Japan*. Six months after this article, Oshima eventually left the studio which meant he was purged from working at major film studios. From the savior of the outdated studio to the purged director from the major studios, Oshima's career at the studio as a representative director of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague ended abruptly.

In this chapter, I delineated the rise and fall of The Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague as a marketing strategy by the outdated studio with mass media. In contrast to the auteurist understanding of the subgenre as an empty label, I argued that it was significant precisely because it was created by the collaboration between journalistic media and the film studio in the new mediascape. As I detailed, the subgenre was not only a group of films shared themes or tropes but also the larger narrative of the studio's reconstruction in renewing the old public

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[93] Oshima Nagisa, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* gyakusatsu ni kōgi suru," 22-3.

image of melodrama ranging from announcing the new president to promoting the film directors of the new generation. As a representative director Oshima became a celebrity whose personal news such as his marriage was covered by a weekly magazine which was accelerating the hybridization of genres and the excessive attention to gossip as an entertainment magazine in the age of TV. In the political upheaval during and after the anti-Anpo struggle, Oshima used this position to express his political opinion through different channels such as magazines, journals, and the film. As the most notable example, I analyzed *Night and Fog in Japan* with the contemporary discourse of new realism and presented how the democratic space of the film was used to collectively reflect on the political movement with emphasis on the use of long take.

The Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague displays an important fact about the position of Oshima who actively started multimedia collaboration with other media industries after he left the studio. Namely, the artist's personality and subjectivity are separate from their institutional position, and creating new channels to present that subjectivity in the rapidly changing mediascape becomes an important intervention of the existing industries. Contrary to the traditional image of a film director as a passive craftsman at the film studio, Oshima's practice actively challenged the institution he belonged to. This clear distinction between the auteur's subjectivity and their industrial position is an essential condition which enabled trans-industrial movement and multimedia collaboration in postwar Japan.

Chapter 2. EARLY TV DOCUMENTARY: *JAPAN UNMASKED* AND *NON-FICTION THEATER*

2.1 INTRODUCTION

To remember the life and works of Oshima Nagisa, who passed away on January 15, 2013, commercial broadcasting company NTV broadcasted a documentary *The Rebel Documentarist: The Impact of Oshima Nagisa's* The Forgotten Army (*Hankotsu no dokyumentarisuto: Oshima Nagisa* Wasurerareta kōgun *to iu shōgeki*) on January 12, 2014. The program was composed of three parts: *The Forgotten Army*, informative interviews with Oshima-related individuals (such as actor Koyama Akiko, film director Koreeda Hirokazu, journalist Tahara Sōichirō, and Oshima's crew), and comments by director of the program Suzuki Azusa which contextualize the rebroadcast of *The Forgotten Army*. Towards the end of the program, the narrator says, "More than 60 years after TV began broadcasting in Japan, what kind of TV should be preserved for the future? This question may be the homework that director Oshima has left for us." This documentary was well-received and won an incentive award at the 2013 Galaxy Awards by the Broadcasting Criticism Roundtable.[94] Its title "The Rebel Documentarist" and the contextualization by the director introduces us to a new aspect of Oshima. Oshima is a TV documentarist, not a film director at a studio, who left the question that forces us to think about what TV should be like in the future. This chapter is about the origin of TV documentarist Oshima.

In the previous chapter, I examined the rise and fall of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague as a collaboration between the film studio and journalistic media in which Oshima emerged as the

[94] NPO Broadcasting Criticism Roundtable, "Award-wining work," January 16, 2022, https://www.houkon.jp/galaxy-award/第 51 回（2013 年度）/

face of the new generation then expressed his political voice in response to the anti-Anpo movement. After Shōchiku pulled *Night and Fog in Japan* from distribution, Oshima left the studio and became an independent director. While Oshima as an independent director founded the independent production company Sōzōsha and produced feature films, PR films, and TV dramas, this chapter focuses on one genre from the list, namely, TV documentary. The moment he left the studio was around the time in which TV documentary was the focus of multiple debates as an emerging genre which had political possibility.[95] As I will detail in this chapter, scholars, TV producers, and filmmakers thought about and discussed this fledgling genre as a changing force in everyday life. By shedding light on early TV documentary and the discourse surrounding it, this chapter shows what kind of characteristics were considered to be effective to change people's lives and their political opinions, and how TV producers tried to continue audio-visual experiments in early TV documentary. This set of questions was the historical condition of Oshima's multimedia collaboration with the TV industry.

It should be underlined that TV documentary examined in this chapter was just born and still not established as a self-evident genre. For instance, Yoshida Naoya, a producer of NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai [Japan Broadcasting Corporation]), recalls how he began making a television documentary in the 1950s as follows:

> There was a filming section [at NHK], but we did not have enough cameras. Since the news was the priority, we could not use any cameras. Then, I rented a camera from a foreigner in Azabu for 3000 yen. Also, we did not have a cameraman, so I hired a person who was a cameraman at Disney Productions for 3000 yen a day. But the person could

[95] For the simplified chart of discussions this chapter covers in the following sections, see "Appendix 2: Summary of Arguments over TV."

> not use a tripod and was trembling. When I talked to him, it turned out that he only did a part-time job as a still photographer. Well, I hired the wrong person, but I did not know anything about documentary-making, so we all started as amateurs.[96]

Around the royal wedding parade in 1959, which entailed the popularization of television as one of the "three sacred treasures" of domestic space, TV documentary was in its embryonic stage. As Yoshida remembers, TV producers were groping in the dark in this new genre. Yet at the same time, this uncertainty of the genre meant that there was the chance of diverse experiments as well as struggles for amateur TV producers.

To be more specific, this chapter examines the relationship between two TV documentary series, *Japan Unmasked* (*Nihon no sugao*, NHK, 1957-1964) and *Non-Fiction Theater* (*Non-fikushon gekijō*, NTV, 1962-1968) focusing on the early debate on TV documentary in Japan. By scrutinizing the November 1958 issue of *Shisō*, the *Japan Unmasked* debate in *Chūō kōron*, and related articles on TV documentary in *Kiroku eiga*, this chapter shows that the fundamental difference between *Japan Unmasked* and *Non-Fiction Theater* marked a shift in emphasis from TV documentary made by people with little to no experience in directing documentaries (amateurism in the TV industry) to TV documentary by film directors (multimedia auteurism). The discussions from amateurism in *Japan Unmasked* to auteurism in *Non-Fiction Theater* were the search for political possibility of TV documentary as a means of changing people's views toward the everyday world and political issues. This chapter argues that the resulting implementation of multimedia auteurism, TV documentary made by a political auteur, was

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[96] NHK Archives, "*Nihon no sugao* seisakusha zadankai," accessed January 16, 2022, https://www.nhk.or.jp/archives/search/special/detail/?d=documentary001. Also see Yoshida Naoya, *Eizō to wa nan darō ka: Terebi seisakusha no chōsen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 14-7.

integral to continuing audio-visual experimentation that was in danger of being lost in the development of the TV industry.

2.2 WHY DOES TV DOCUMENTARY MATTER?

To understand why the genre of TV documentary became the focus of the early discourse on TV in Japan, I start with two ground setting articles, one about the negative influence of TV on spectators and one about the positive possibility of TV, from the influential journal *Shisō*. In the opening article of the November 1958 issue, sociologist Shimizu Ikutarō mainly analyzes the negative effect of TV on people's everyday lives. As Aaron Gerow points out, early television discourse in *Shisō*, including Shimizu's article, revolves around television as a new medium and its influence on quotidian life while forgetting the previous discussions about the relationship between cinema and the everyday.[97] Shimizu first makes the contrast between print media and moving-image media based on the readership and spectatorship. For Shimizu, the act of reading requires readers' active participation because it is readers who build images and make meanings from words. Since words in books themselves are simply signs, readers must use their imaginations to understand what books are about. Compared to books that start from lines of words, TV that starts with moving images is full of reality.[98] There is no room for the audience to use their own imagination to make meanings in the act of watching TV. Explaining why

[97] Aaron Gerow, "From Film to Television: Early Theories of Television in Japan," in *Media Theory in Japan*, ed. Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 33-51. While detailing the way early television theory returns to a similar set of questions early film theory addressed, Gerow observes the 'theory complex' in early television theory's forgetting of film theory. Also see Gerow, "Introduction: The Theory Complex," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22 (2010): 1-13.

[98] Shimizu Ikutarō, "Terebijon jidai," *Shisō*, no. 413 (November 1958): 6.

watching TV is a passive activity and overwhelming experience, Shimizu writes: "Moving images that knock out humans do not make people feel the necessity of imagination to reinforce moving images and, at the same time, do not give room for imagination towards the formation of another image. It swallows humans entirely."[99] For Shimizu who identifies as a scholar and reading expert, watching TV is oppressive in terms of its spectatorship.

From the perspective of the exploitation of leisure, Shimizu further argues that the passivity of watching TV makes the spectators conservative. The diffusion of TV into the living room is the screen's invasion of private space and family community. This invasion forms audiences who do not communicate with each other in the living room and are overwhelmed by moving images on the TV screen.[100] Shimizu writes,

> Without leisure left to the free use of individuals, revolution would not have happened easily. If revolution sounds a little exaggerated, it can be paraphrased as human growth. Agony, reflections, and study in leisure become impossible due to TV. If people are absorbed into reality during the daytime and knocked out by moving images with reality in the night, the attitude to go beyond given reality will not have the chance to be born.[101]

In other words, the passive activity of TV watching prevents the audience from practicing their imagination by which they can work toward social change. Revolving around passivity in spectatorship and invasion of private space, Shimizu's article set a negative tone for intellectual discourse on the influence of TV in Japan.

In contrast to the negative tone of Shimizu, sociologist Katō Hidetoshi, who argued that middlebrow culture was based on people's desire for better life, observes the positive possibility

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[99] Ibid., 11.
[100] Ibid., 16.
[101] Ibid., 17.

of TV.[102] In Katō's argument, the most important characteristic of TV is its everydayness (nichijōsei) that is based on "the middle-class home, defined by its privacy and atomism."[103] Delineating the trajectory in which TV brings entertainment shows to the audience in the living room, Katō writes: "the act of viewing has already become an area of everyday practice, not a special activity. People do not need to change into their street clothes or stop smoking for 'viewing.' Viewing is a part of everyday life."[104] And viewing becoming a part of everyday life makes TV programs about everyday life. Since "TV entertainment is designed to suit the interests of individuals as members of a 'family'," TV programs show the everyday lives of small groups like families.[105] Furthermore, TV's small screen requires close-ups and the close-ups of TV performers looking at the camera formed friend-like relationships with the audience.[106] From the act of viewing to the relationship between the performer and the audience, Katō focused on TV's closeness to people's everyday life as an "already adapted world (sude ni tekiōzumi no sekai)."[107]

While Katō found a kind of feedback loop of "the already adapted world" in the act of watching TV, he also focused on the audience's desire to see something unexpected from TV. To explain this, Katō starts with the comparison between TV dramas and TV broadcasts of baseball games.[108] According to Katō, there is no room for spontaneous events or contingency in TV dramas because all events are already scripted, and performers of TV dramas know what will happen next. TV broadcasts of baseball games, on the other hand, have more room for

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[102] Cf. Kato Hidetoshi, *Chūkan bunka* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957).
[103] Aaron Gerow, "From Film to Television: Early Theories of Television in Japan," 45.
[104] Katō Hidetoshi, "Terebijon to goraku," *Shisō*, no. 413 (November 1958): 43.
[105] Ibid., 44.
[106] Ibid., 48.
[107] Ibid., 50.
[108] Ibid.

contingency. Since baseball players do not know what will happen next, performers (baseball players) and spectators (the audience) can enjoy baseball games as spontaneous events. Yet Katō thinks TV broadcasts of baseball games are still predictable due to the very strict rules to follow. The spontaneity of baseball games is a pseudo-spontaneity that cannot provide audiences with the unpredictable contingency of the world. For that reason, Katō locates TV documentary as the more important TV genre.[109] Compared to sports which have strict rules to follow, TV documentary is "more flexible (yori jiyūdo no takai)" and "the least artificial (jinkōteki na sakui no mottomo sukunai)" genre.[110] In other words, the flexible and least-artificial genre TV documentary can bring something unpredictable to the audience in the living room and break the feedback loop of everydayness. Katō's arguments about the flexibility of TV documentary are the key to understand why TV documentary became a focus in the discussion about TV and its effects on the spectator in the *Japan Unmasked* debate, which took place in the following year.

2.3 AMATEURISM IN *JAPAN UNMASKED*

The *Japan Unmasked* debate can be contextualized as a response to Kato's argument about how flexible TV documentary can bring something unexpected to the audience. It was the first debate on TV documentary in the prominent opinion magazine *Chūō kōron* in which a film director and TV producers discussed the role of TV in everyday life, the political possibility of TV documentary, and the work conditions in the TV industry.[111] The main body of the

[109] Ibid., 51.
[110] Ibid.
[111] There are books and articles about the *Japan Unmasked* debate and the *Japan Unmasked* series itself in Japanese-language scholarship. For example, Niwa Yoshiyuki examines how the series' idea of being "fair and neutral" defines "citizen" by creating the boundary between

discussion was composed of four articles: film director Hani Susumu's "A Challenge to TV Producers: A Window That Became a Mirror," TV producer Yoshida Naoya's "A Response to Hani Susumu's Challenge," TV producer Takase Hiroi's "I also Join the TV Debate," and TV producer Segawa Masaaki's "Questions for the TV Debate." In what follows, I focus on how the debate covered the possibility of TV documentary as a special genre in TV in this particular moment, that is, as Matsuyama Hideaki stresses, when TV documentary was not yet established and highly flexible.[112]

As its subtitle suggests, Hani Susumu's reflection on TV documentary is constructed by the figurative dichotomy between a window and a mirror. To explain the dichotomy, Hani starts by detailing his shocking experience when he was watching his favorite sitcom *Father Knows Best*. There was an episode in which the main family of the show was watching a sitcom on TV at the beginning, and the plot of the episode was about how the family was influenced by the plot of the sitcom they just watched. This self-reflexive scene of a TV-within-a-TV made Hani realize that "the program was a fake story" and "the family looks obviously fake (shira jira shii)."[113] Hani uses the metaphor of a window to explain this shocking experience, "It's like

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"we" and "they." Choi Eunhee contextualizes the series within the broader media history including radio. Matsuyama Hideaki redefines early TV documentary as "telementary" and emphasizes the timeframe of the 1950s as its forming stage. Drawing on this previous research, this chapter details the shift of emphasis from *Japan Unmasked* to *Non-Fiction Theatre* as from "amateurism" to "auteurism" and presents "multimedia auteurism" to understand the transformation of mediascape caused by the rise of TV such as multimedia collaboration between cinema and TV in early 1960s. See Niwa, "Terebi dokyumentarī no seiritsu: NHK *Nihon no sugao*," *Masu komyunikēshon kenkyū* no. 59 (2001): 164-77, Choi, *Nihon no terebi dokyumentarī no rekishi shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2015), and Matsuyama, "Terementarī to iu shikō: NHK *Nihon no sugao* to 1950 nendai" in *Tenkeiki no mediorojī: 1950 nendai nihon no geijutsu to media no saihensei*, ed. Toba Kōji and Yamamoto Naoki (Tokyo: Shiwasha, 2019), 183-206.

[112] Matsuyama Hideaki, "Terementarī to iu shikō," 184.

[113] Hani Susumu, "Terebi purodyūsā e no chōsenjō: Kagami ni natte shimatta mado," *Chūō kōron* 74, no. 16 (November 1959): 200.

when the wall of a room suddenly opens up and you realize that there is a window there."[114] In other words, in Hani's argument, TV can be a window when it becomes a self-reflexive commentary through which the audience can reflect on what they are watching on the TV screen.

Switching the topic from TV drama to TV documentary, Hani claims that the early *Japan Unmasked* series was an example of TV as a window, and introduces amateurism as the reason why the TV documentary series could be a window. Hani writes:

> Amateur (shirōto) producers who did not know cinema constantly sought unique subjects and their camera created strange images in struggling with their ideal intentions. Furthermore, they emphasized the effect of words by using narrations completely different from the concept of commentary of conventional film. In addition, they barely use words to explain moving images, rather they use new types of editing which criticize what moving images show through sounds, ridicule the theory that the narrator explains through moving images, or utilize the collision between picture and sound rather than using words for the explanation of moving images. As a result, *Japan Unmasked* succeeded in televisual social criticism which is completely different from conventional documentary film.[115]

Since the amateur producers of *Japan Unmasked* did not know the conventional editing of filmmaking, they needed to experiment, invent, and try their own way of TV documentary-making. These experiments with an unfamiliar camera and microphone by amateurs created unusual mise-en-scène and innovative editing which gave the audience a shocking experience to reflect on what is going on in the program. Put differently, TV documentaries by amateurs

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[114] Ibid., 201.
[115] Ibid., 203-4.

served as a self-reflexive commentary of documentary-making itself in the same way the TV-within-a-TV scene of *Father Knows Best* became a commentary on the genre. And through the amateurs' experiments such as jarring editing and unconventional mise-en-scène on the TV screen, the audience can experience how the producers approach reality. Therefore, in this article, Hani criticized how *Japan Unmasked*'s producers had recently begun attempting to import cinematic techniques into TV documentary-making. Once amateur producers establish the rules of how to make TV documentary by following cinematic conventions, TV documentary can no longer be a site of experimentation.

Hani further explains the importance of amateurism in TV documentary by using the concept of simultaneity (dōjisei). According to Hani, TV documentary by amateurs can create a sense of simultaneity (dōjisei) that, in his argument, is not necessarily limited to the temporality of live TV broadcasting. First, Hani acknowledges that the simultaneity of TV is strongly tied to temporality in the sense of events and the shock effects that events create (e.g., a boy who threw a stone at the royal wedding parade).[116] But TV documentary by amateur producers also can make the audience feel simultaneity by directly reporting "currently unresolved contradictions of reality (gen ni mikaiketsu no mama shinkō shiteiru genjitsu no mujun)."[117] For Hani, reality is dynamic and full of contradiction, and amateur producers can present reality as unexpected images due to their lack of technical skills. In contrast to conventional film which satisfies the audience with clear story arcs from the beginning to climax, TV documentary by amateur producers records their struggles with reality without conclusion.[118] By showing unexpected and unconventional images of reality without clear resolution, TV documentary "leaves the audience

[116] Ibid., 206.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., 204-5

behind." Because of that, the viewers "are strongly impressed by what reality is moving outside their homes."[119] In other words, for Hani, simultaneity in TV documentary is about how it presents dynamic reality with inconsistency. Thus, it should give the audience questions about reality rather than answers. TV documentary should make the audience watch, judge, and think about the complicated reality on the TV screen.

While acknowledging my limited access to the archived collection of the series, I take *Tokyo under the Railway* (*Gādo shita no Tokyo*, *Japan Unmasked* no. 29 broadcast on June 01, 1958) as an example to trace Hani's criticism of *Japan Unmasked*. As the voiceover explains, this documentary is an attempt to see the hidden everyday lives of people taking place under stations and railways as "miniatures (shukuzu)" of life in Tokyo. In shedding light on people's lives under stations and railways, one of the most noticeable characteristics is the juxtaposition of images and sounds. For instance, when the documentary introduces Ameya Alley in Okachimachi as a famous market street in Tokyo, the images shown are imported goods (perfume, clocks, and pens) and people purchasing them. When judged by only the images on the TV screen, this could be a cheerful shopping scene in which people enjoy new cultural products from international markets that were unattainable during the war. Light western music in the background also emphasizes the cheerful mood in the scene. The voiceover, however, adds ambiguous nuances to the images by saying:

> Goods from perfumes to nail clippers in the store are all imported. They are the same things foreigners use. They are fascinating for Japanese people who have contempt for things made in Japan. Their expressions that are excitedly looking for things are the same

[119] Ibid., 205

as ones you can find at special sales. This is a spiritual miniature of the cosmopolitan city Tokyo.

This juxtaposition of images, sound, and narration creates a sense of suspension in this scene due to the gaps in the impressions each element makes. The editing of the scene makes the audience unsure if the people in the scene are being criticized as greedy customers at special sales or not. In this sense, the suspension the audience experiences could be understood as "unresolved contradiction of reality." The audience cannot reach any concrete conclusions like the possible condemnation of Ameya Alley as a frontline of capitalism. Through watching this scene, the audience members are forced to make a judgement of their own; they must interpret the social change they are experiencing as an "unresolved contradiction."

In addition to a sense of suspension derived from the "collision between picture and sound," I also would like to refer to the flexibility of editing in this documentary. As compared to conventional continuity editing, which serves the purpose of narrative efficacy, this documentary's editing style constantly repeats the same kinds of shot. For example, when a scene shows Akihabara Station where workers sort goods transported by rail freight, it repeatedly shows similar shots of an elevator which do not contribute to narration. Indeed, they display how an elevator works from different points of view, but the scene is long enough to give the audience an impression of a standstill of narration. It is possible to speculate that these scenes which ignore continuity editing invited Hani as well as the contemporary audience to experience an alternative editing style or freedom of documentary making which can express simultaneity. These elements (i.e., the unconventional juxtaposition of image and sound and ignorance of continuity editing) were praised as amateurism that could convey the "unresolved contradiction of reality" to the living room.

In response to Hani's criticism of TV as a mirror, Yoshida Naoya argues that even if TV documentary appropriates cinematic techniques, TV documentary can use them in new contexts precisely because TV producers do not know how to use cinematic techniques in conventional ways. Towards the end of his article, Yoshida writes: "We ourselves say that we do not know the first thing about cinema. It means that we are not bound by new and old value judgments in the history of cinema, and we say this with a kind of pride."[120] Here again, we can observe a "forgetting" of the previous discussion about cinema to emphasise a newness of the current debate.[121] By "forgetting" the continuity from the discussion about cinema, Yoshida can claim to use cinematic techniques in new ways, not conventional ways practiced in filmmaking. In terms of the technical aspect of documentary-making, Hani and Yoshida agree on the importance of amateurism as the possibility of TV documentary. Although Yoshida does not mention Hani's point about TV documentary as a self-reflexive commentary about documentary-making, he still identifies TV documentary-making as a new frontier in which amateurs conduct experiments in this new creative practice. To Yoshida, the most important thing in TV documentary is to capture amateurs' struggles with reality without boundaries between TV techniques and cinematic techniques, so he claims that the collision between amateur producers and cinematic techniques can even create new effects on the TV screen.

Criticizing the debate between Hani and Yoshida as limited to being only about the technical professionalization of TV producers, the other two articles of the *Japan Unmasked* debate remark that there are also problems about the work conditions of TV producers in the

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[120] Yoshida Naoya, "Hani Susumu shi no chōsen ni kotaeru," *Chūō kōron* 74, no. 17 (December 1959): 126.

[121] Aaron Gerow, "From Film to Television: Early Theories of Television in Japan," 33-51.

corporate structure. According to Takase the problem of the *Japan Unmasked* debate is its ignorance of the working situation in which the TV producers are under strong control by broadcasting companies.[122] Responding to Takase, Segawa also suggests issues to consider such as TV corporations' roles in capitalist society and the broadcasting laws which regulate NHK.[123] Their comments on the work environment of TV producers indicate the sense of that, with the growth of the TV industry, TV producers could no longer be amateurs who could freely experiment with the unfamiliar camera and microphone in a comparatively autonomous position in the corporate structure. Their articles stress that TV producers are under regulation and control.

It would be beneficial to contextualize the debate within the discourse about the large-scale change in the TV industry. Cultural anthropologist Umesao Tadao's observation, for instance, shows that the industrial change was a critical issue for the creativity of TV producers. Umesao names people working in the TV industry as "broadcast creators (hōsōjin)" who are characterized as "great amateurs" exploring a cultural frontier.[124] While praising the possibilities and freedom of the broadcast creators, Umesao noticed that there must be an inevitable result in their future. Umesao writes:

> The maturation of the frontier is not avoidable. It has already started in the broadcasting business as well. It seems too optimistic to think that broadcasting will continue to be a bright workplace with amusement and freedom. The early broadcast creators who fully

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[122] Takase Hiroi, "TV ronsō ni watashi mo sanaka suru," *Chūō kōron* 75, no. 2 (February 1960): 293-301.

[123] Segawa Masaaki, "TV ronsō ni gimon ari," *Chūō kōron* 75, no. 4 (April 1960): 288-96.

[124] Umesao Tadao, "Hōsōjin no tanjō to seichō," *Umesao Tadao chosakushū* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1991), 20-1 (originally published in 1961).

> enjoyed the frontier's freedom should be prepared for gradual constraints. The bureaucratic sectionalism and the systematization (keiretsuka) of human relations sneak into the frontier.[125]

In other words, losing creative freedom is inevitable as the corporate structure of the broadcasting business develops. Umesao's articulation of the problem here provides the perspective to reframe the debate within the broader picture; the issue is not just whether TV producers should appropriate cinematic techniques for TV documentary, but rather how to keep TV documentary-making experimental at a moment in which TV producers' autonomous position in the genre of TV documentary was in danger in the context of large-scale changes in the TV industry.

2.4 MULTIMEDIA AUTEURISM IN *NON-FICTION THEATER*

In response to the *Japan Unmasked* debate, TV producer Ushiyama Jun'ichi started a new series *Non-Fiction Theater* at NTV in 1962 and proposed auteurism as one possible breakthrough in TV documentary.[126] Ushiyama's main thesis is the following: "There are materials before works. There are themes before materials. There must be one auteur before themes."[127] According to Ushiyama, the problem of TV documentary is the lack of an auteur,

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[125] Ibid., 21-22

[126] For the biographical information about Ushiyama Jun'ichi, see Hamasaki Kōji and Higashino Makoto, "Seisakusha kenkyū terebi dokyumentarī o tsukutta hitobito Ushiyama Jun'ichi: Eizō no doramatsurugī," *Hōsō kenkyū to chōsa* 62, no. 5 (May 2012): 84-102, and Suzuki Yoshikazu, *Terebi wa danshi isshō no shigoto: Dokyumentarisuto Ushiyama Jun'ichi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2016).

[127] Ushiyama Jun'ichi, "Terebi dokyumentarī 1961," *Kiroku eiga* 4, no. 2 (February 1961): 12.

and this lack in TV documentary derives from the origin of TV, that is, news broadcasts which attach importance to objectivity rather than subjectivity. Responding to the *Japan Unmasked* debate, Ushiyama writes:

> There was the debate about NHK's documentary series *Japan Unmasked* in *Chūō kōron* a while ago. Through the debate, Hani Susumu argued about "the actual (akuchuaru) way of using the camera and microphone that can only be achieved on TV." In short, I think what he wrote about is "the most actual (akuchuaru) way to re-express reality." But as I have said, establishing an auteurist subject (sakka teki shutai) in documentary is the best way to approach reality. I believe that the bankruptcy of *Japan Unmasked* lies in approaching photojournalism, lacking personality in works, and melting into news commentary that has no unique claim, that is, the inhibition of the auteurist subject.[128]

Ushiyama makes his argument about auteurism by criticizing *Japan Unmasked*'s approach to objective journalism. He condemns news broadcasting and photojournalism which prioritize explaining the facts and making the audience understand, and asserts that TV documentary needs to be different from them. Ushiyama attacks the notion of documentary which supposes that there is an objective truth to tell and the idea that the TV producer only needs to think about how to capture the truth. He explains his point in an example of different ways to recount damage from a typhoon. On the one hand, a news broadcast might report a whole picture of a disaster by equally showing "a roof floating on water, fallen trees, destroyed levees, and displaced victims"[129]; on the other hand, a TV documentary by an auteur might show that "the spirit of an

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[128] Ibid., 13. On the use of the terms "akuchuaru" and "akuchuaritī" in the broader context, see Furuhata's explanation of "the journalistic turn." Yuriko Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 1-12.

[129] Ibid., 13.

auteur who collided with a tragic reality, a kind of extreme situation, expresses the emotions drawn from that reality."[130] For Ushiyama, the domain TV documentary deals with must be different from objective reality, and this domain is the subjective voice of an auteur which is found in the process of documentary-making.

Ushiyama's auteurism has its roots in the specific context of Japan, namely, war responsibility and the way it has to be demonstrated through artistic autonomy. Since the politics and literature debate in the mid-1940s, in which criticism focused on literary authors' relationships with the war, there were various discussions about the relationship between artists and their practice during the war.[131] As previous research teaches us, in the context of Japanese film, it was filmmaker Matsumoto Toshio who played an important role in theorizing a new method of documentary-making reflecting on the topic of war responsibility.[132] In his early article, Matsumoto criticizes filmmakers who "uncritically made films which cooperated with the war effort" during the war, and "without principles, adapted to the film advertising industry" after the war "without any serious internal criticism."[133] For Matsumoto, this irresponsible attitude came from the lack of the auteur in documentary-making. To overcome this, Matsumoto theorized "avant-garde documentary" as the method to integrate the material reality (captured by

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[130] Ibid., 13.

[131] See, for example, Oguma Eiji, *Minshu to aikoku*, 209-251.

[132] Cf. Abé Markus Nornes, *Forest of Pressure: Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) and Ko Mika, " 'Neo-documentarism' in *Funeral Parade of Roses*: The New Realism of Matsumoto Toshio," *Screen* 52, no. 3 (2011): 376-90.

[133] Matsumoto Toshio, "Sakka no shutai to iu koto: Sōkai ni yosete, sakka no tamashii ni yobikakeru," in *Matsumoto Toshio chosaku shūsei*, ed. Sakamoto Hirofumi (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2016), 23 (originally published in 1957).

documentary film) and internal reality (explored by avant-garde film).[134] For Matsumoto, the issue is how to approach the external world in tension with the internal world, and avant-garde documentary is a method in which the auteur subjectively engages with reality by "bringing documentary and the avant-garde into a dialectical confrontation, or moment of mutual negation, with each other."[135] Since Mastumoto's article had strong influence on the discourse on postwar Japanese film, particularly on the discourse in *Kiroku eiga* where Ushiyama published his article, I speculate that Ushiyama's writing on auteurism as the subjective engagement with reality was influenced by Matsumoto's theory of avant-garde documentary as well as Matsumoto himself.[136]

Ushiyama's call for auteurism as a breakthrough in TV documentary raised the question of what kind of creator the auteur needs to be, and this question is the condition of the birth of the *Non-Fiction Theater* series. In the first broadcasting day of the program, a newspaper article titled "The Reportage Literature the Camera Depicts" introduces the series (*Yomiuri shinbun*, January 18, 1962, morning edition).[137] It reads "in order to avoid ending up with a list of facts

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[134] Matsumoto Toshio, "Zen'ei kiroku eiga no hōhō ni tsuite," *Kiroku eiga* 1, no. 1 (July 1958): 6-11. English translation by Michael Raine is available, see, "A Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary," Cinema Journal 51, no. 4 (2012): 148-54.

[135] Ko Mika, " 'Neo-documentarism' in *Funeral Parade of Roses*," 378.

[136] For more detailed information on Matsumoto's activity ranging from writing to filmmaking, and his influence on the discourse of postwar avant-garde in Japan, see Michael Raine, "Introduction to Matsumoto Toshio: A Theory of Avant-Garde Documentary." *Cinema Journal* 51 (4): 144-7.

[137] It should be underlined that the term "reportage" in the title has a special meaning in the postwar Japanese avant-garde context. Reportage is a new method of avant-garde discussed intensively in the 1950s. Abe Kōbō, a writer and theorist of avant-garde, advocated reportage as a new method in which authors re-examine matter through scrutinizing consciousness. What Abe emphasizes as the critical process of reportage in the avant-garde is dialectics between matter and consciousness through which reportage can overcome the gap between naturalism, which focuses only on matter, and surrealism, which is strongly tied to consciousness. As in Matsumoto theory of avant-garde documentary, Abe also tries to synthesize matter (external reality) and consciousness (internal reality) in reportage. See Abe Kōbō, "Atarashii riarizumu no tame ni: Ruporutāju no igi," in *Abe Kōbō zenshū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1997), 244-51 (originally published in 1952), Toba Kōji, *1950 nendai: "Kiroku" no jidai* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha,

and their explanations, and to penetrate through the eyes of a single individual, we seek the participation from outside (gaibu). By doing so, we are aiming to develop a new field of reportage literature on TV that goes beyond the recording of facts."[138] This article suggests that, to make the series different from photojournalism about the objective fact, TV documentary should be made by collaboration with outsiders, neither amateurs nor professional journalists. Then, the article continues with a list of filmmakers. Ushiyama's perspective considering TV documentary within the relationship with cinema is significant because it marked a shift in emphasis from intra-media amateurism to multimedia auteurism at a moment of transformation when TV documentary was in danger of being captured by a corporate production system. Furthermore, the auteurs Ushiyama chose for this program included directors who were outsiders of the major studio systems such as Oshima Nagisa who left the film studio he belonged to, independent filmmaker Shindō Kaneto, and Hani Susumu, as I detailed, who questioned the method of TV documentary.[139] In this list, the auteur is not only a film director, but also more like an activist who challenges industrial institutions as well as conventional artistic form.

In fact, *Non-Fiction Theater* itself was not a stable program which could serve as a safe opportunity for independent auteurs, rather it embodied a struggle for artistic and political

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2010), Margaret S. Key, *Truth from a Lie: Documentary, Detection, and Reflexivity in Abe Kobo's Realist Project* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2011), and Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan*, 55-126.

[138] "Kamera no eigaku rupo bungaku," *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 18, 1962, morning edition.

[139] Suzuki Yoshikazu mentioned the contribution to the series by filmmakers from Iwanami Productions including Hani, Tsuchimoto Noriaki, Kuroki Kazuo, and Azuma Yōichi. See Suzuki Yoshikazu, *Terebi wa danshi isshō no shigoto*, 126-30. According to Takuya Tsunoda, Iwanami Productions, which was successful in educational and PR film, served as a training place for radical filmmakers in the 1950s. See Tsunoda, "The Dawn of Cinematic Modernism: Iwanami Productions and Postwar Japanese Cinema," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2015).

subjectivity. For example, the broadcast of episodes in the series was cancelled for political reasons.[140] In May 1965, Ushiyama produced *War Chronicle of a Vietnam Marine Battalion* (*Betonamu kaihei daitai senki*) for the series composed of footage he and his staff recorded on the battlefield in Vietnam, which included footage of a decapitation of a young boy by a soldier of the Republic of Vietnam. Part 1 was broadcast on May 9, 1965, and immediately created a sensation. After the broadcast, Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto Tomisaburō called NTV president Shimizu Yoshichirō and told him that the program was "too cruel" even though he did not watch it.[141] Shimizu stopped an already scheduled rebroadcast of part 1 and decided to not to broadcast parts 2 and 3.[142] The biography of Ushiyama notes the political issue behind NTV's decision of the cancelation, that the program was received as anti-American.[143] As in this case of *War Chronicle of a Vietnam Marine Battalion*, the *Non-Fiction Theater* series was a political struggle for the TV producer's subjective autonomy in the TV industry.

2.5 *THE FORGOTTEN ARMY*: AVANT-GARDE TV DOCUMENTARY

As the representative case of how multimedia auteurism contributed to *Non-Fiction Theater,* I analyse Oshima Nagisa's *The Forgotten Army* (*Wasurerareta kōgun*, 1963). This documentary is particularly significant among other works in the series as it has been highly

[140] Suzuki Yoshikazu, *Terebi wa danshi isshō no shigoto*, 163-93.
[141] Ibid., 180.
[142] This program was later reedited as *War Chronicle of a South Vietnam Marine Battalion* and broadcast in June 1995. Ibid., 191-2.
[143] Suzuki Yoshikazu, *Terebi wa danshi isshō no shigoto* 178-93. Also see Choi Eunhee, *Nihon no terebi dokyumentarī no rekishi shakaigaku*, 198-209.

evaluated and analyzed by critics.[144] Given the context of the shift from amateurism to auteurism in TV documentary in this article, I examine *The Forgotten Army* within the *Non-Fiction Theater* series by Ushiyama which stresses subjective engagement with reality. In other words, contrary to *Japan Unmasked* that let the audience interpret and judge images on the TV screen, the emphasis of *Non-Fiction Theater* is placed on an auteur who expresses a subjective opinion and persuades the audience.

This emphasis on auteurism in *Non-Fiction Theater* made the series a perfect fit for film director Oshima Nagisa. In fact, Oshima was one of the directors who contributed to the series multiple times, and subsequent to those productions he became Ushiyama's long-time collaborator. When Ushiyama asked Oshima to make a TV documentary for the *Non-Fiction Theatre* series, Oshima had already left film studio Shōchiku. As I detailed in the previous chapter, the reason why Oshima became an independent filmmaker was to protest against the "massacre" of his *Night and Fog in Japan* which is about the leftist student movements during the Anpo struggle; Shōchiku pulled the film from distribution in 1960 and did not lend the film for screening. Criticizing the studio in his protest, Oshima writes: "I believe in the potential of the audience—that is to say, of the people (minshū). I believe they can change."[145] He thought that if *Night and Fog in Japan* reached a wide audience, it could invite them to change and engage with the political movements. Oshima moved to TV documentary with this strong

[144] For example, Satō Tadao praises it as "one of the best of the countless Japanese TV documentaries that have been made" and comments that it was possible because the Korean veterans and Oshima both had "a shared sense of anger." Satō, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 130. By examining a scene in which the main figure Seo Nak-won takes off his sunglasses and shows his blind eyes with tears in front of the camera, Yomota Inuhiko argues that, beyond Oshima's message, this documentary exposes the unequal relationship of cinema, that is, "I look at him, but he can't look at me." Yomota, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 139.

[145] Oshima Nagisa, "*Nihon no yoru to kiri* gyakusatsu ni kougi suru," 23.

interest in the potential of the audience to change during the time in which the viewership of TV was growing around 1960.[146] TV documentary was a great opportunity to find and reach a new and large audience who were not necessarily interested in his previous films.

First and foremost, as Yomota Inuhiko points out, Oshima's move to TV documentary gave him a chance to discover Korea as a new central theme for his works.[147] *The Forgotten Army* was the first TV documentary that focused on Koreans in Japan who were recruited during WWII to fight for the Imperial Japanese Army. After the war, they were neglected and their rights were denied by the Japanese government; they could not draw veterans' pensions and compensation as Japanese soldiers because they had Korean citizenship. Since they were injured while fighting for Japan as Japanese soldiers, the government of South Korea also denied them their pensions. This documentary is about the people who were abandoned by both governments due to the confusion of post-1945 politics between Japan and Korea. To express their situation in Japan and their claim on the pensions, this documentary captured their protest against both governments in front of the Japanese Diet Building, the Korean Embassy, and in the streets in Tokyo. In other words, the issue *The Forgotten Army* tries to involve the audience in the living room with is war responsibility about the Korean veterans' situations.

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[146] According to Yoshimi Shun'ya, the number of registered televisions dramatically increased around the royal wedding parade in 1959: it exceeded 1 million by April 1958, 2 million by April 1959, and 3 million by October 1959. TV sets became one of the three sacred treasures (sanshu no jingi) of domestic electrical appliances. See Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism," 87.

[147] Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 129-35. Contrary to the popular rhetoric of Koreans as "Japan's Other" among some critics including Yomota, Shota T. Ogawa asserts "Oshima's relationship to Koreans was never fixed, but instead fluid and ambivalent" and further details how Oshima's ambivalent relationship with Koreans changed from the dialectics between 'we Japanese' and Korean as 'Japan's Other' after his short trip to South Korea in 1964. Ogawa, "Reinhabiting the Mock-Up Gallows: The Place of Koreans in Oshima Nagisa's Films in the 1960s," *Screen* 56, no. 3 (Autumn 2015): 303-18.

Compared to *Tokyo under the Railway* which was composed of inconclusive editing of voiceover, mise-en-scène, and soundtrack, *The Forgotten Army* presents a decisive attitude that Ōshima is on the Korean veterans' side and a call to action for people to make changes for them. To agitate the audience to political action for the Korean veterans, Oshima needed to show their hardship while carefully avoiding letting the audience simply sympathize with them. This is because as long as the audience feels sympathy, they avoid confronting responsibility for the Korean veterans' situations. In *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Susan Sontag writes:

> So far as we feel sympathy, we feel we are not accomplices to what caused the suffering. Our sympathy proclaims our innocence as well as our impotence. To that extent, it can be (for all our good intentions) an impertinent—if not an inappropriate—response. To set aside the sympathy we extend to others beset by war and murderous politics for a reflection on how our privileges are located on the same map as their suffering, and may—in ways we might prefer not to imagine—be linked to their suffering, as the wealth of some may imply the destitution of others, is a task for which the painful, stirring images supply only an initial spark.[148]

In other words, sympathy can be an excuse not to confront the responsibility for the pain of others. Thus, for this documentary, it is crucial to criticize the position of the audience in the living room that enables them to feel sympathy for the veterans.

To make the audience face responsibility of the veterans' situation while preventing them from just feeling sympathy in a secure position, the documentary uses the pronoun "we" in the voiceover. By using "we," Oshima makes the audience engage with the veterans' political claims

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[148] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 102-3.

with him from his political stance. For example, in the opening scene which captures the main figure Seo Nak-won walking in a train, the voiceover of Komatsu Hōsei, a regular actor in Oshima's works, says: "18 years after the war ended, it is not pleasant for us to have to see this figure even now. Or it has nothing to do with us. So we don't know anything about this man. For example, we don't even know that he is a Korean." Involving the audience, the documentary suggests that "we" have to accept these facts and that "we" do not know anything about him because "we" have ignored him for the 18 years since the war. Also, at the end of the documentary, the voiceover says, "But now these people receive nothing. We have not given them anything. My fellow Japanese people! Is this acceptable? Is this acceptable?" Being positioned as "we" throughout the documentary, the audience listens to the political claim by the veterans as Oshima engages with them in the documentary. The audience in the living room is not separated from the reality in the documentary, rather they are linked to the veterans' suffering.

In addition to the use of "we" in the voiceover, the documentary self-consciously shows the spectator in various scenes. Regarding a scene in which the veterans are demonstrating, Satō notes "the Japanese are indifferent to them," and Yomota also writes, though about a different scene, "the reaction of the Japanese was cold and they just looked at the veterans as if they were looking at a strange animal."[149] Indeed, the spectators are particularly focused on in the demonstration scene. After being denied by both governments, the voiceover says that "these people have finally made up their minds to appeal directly to the Japanese people, not to the government." When they start their speech in front of the train station, the documentary persists

[149] Satō Tadao, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 125, and Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 136.

in showing the onscreen spectators such as sleeping men, drunk men, and people showing no interest in the veterans. The problem of the Korean veterans is the indifference of not only the governments but also the people. Thus we, the audience, must change. In other words, exposing the indifferent spectators as the problem for the veterans can build a critical perspective in the audience, which pressures them to listen to the veterans.

An opinion about this program by an audience member proves the power of this documentary and the importance of avoiding sympathy.[150] A 49-year-old barber living in Itabashi ward in Tokyo, "was surprised and felt unspeakable rage to hear their complaint that neither Japan nor Korea helped them."[151] Using the pronoun of "we," he continues, "We had seen the horrific conditions of the wounded soldiers and wondered why they were doing this when they could be compensated, but we were wrong."[152] Then, his conclusion, "yet, the close-up of the blind man's face was too painful (itaitashi sugita) (fig. 2.1)," indicates that this documentary does not just let him feel sympathy.[153] Beyond just informing the audience about the veterans' situation and asking for their pity, the documentary conveys the excess of pain and causes the audience an overwhelming reaction which pulls them out from the secure living room and makes them confront war responsibility. As such, Oshima created a political space in which the audience could face Korean veterans and their own responsibility through his own way of engaging with reality.

In response to the problems of TV documentary discussed in the *Japan Unmasked* debate in previous years, *The Forgotten Army* is an example of a breakthrough in early TV documentary

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[150] "Hōsōtō," *Yomiruri shinbun*, August 21, 1963, morning edition.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

which shows an auteur's struggle with reality and the discovery of his own political voice. As Ushiyama stresses in an article which celebrates the international success of *Non-Fiction Theater*, the strength of the series is that "it delves sharply into the inside of human beings," and "does not simply record the surface of the facts," through long periods of time and vast amounts of film.[154] As a collaborative space which was prepared through debates between scholars, filmmakers, and TV producers, TV documentary became a self-conscious method of creation through which auteurs' political voices could reach the audience in the living room.

Multimedia auteurism of *Non-Fiction Theater* provides us with a remarkable example of multimedia collaboration through which an auteur and a TV producer actively shaped new institutions to produce their works. In the previous chapter, I examined the separation between the auteur's subjectivity and their industrial position in the case of Oshima in the rise and fall of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. And this chapter detailed that Oshima as an auteur started collaboration with Ushiyama Jun'ichi, who struggled to shape an alternative genre of TV documentary. To understand the historical condition of multimedia collaboration, I examined the *Japan Unmasked* debates and related discourse in which scholars, TV producers, and filmmakers discussed the emerging and flexible genre of TV documentary and its political possibility to show unexpected ways to approach reality. The discursive change from amateurism in *Japan Unmasked* to auteurism in *Non-Fiction Theatre* demonstrates that early TV documentary was a political struggle for autonomous expression by artists. This struggle would then in turn change the audience in front of TV sets in the living room through collaborative audio-visual experimentations with self-reflexive awareness of the role of TV. The dynamic collaboration

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[154] "50 kai o mukaeru Non-fikushon gekijō," *Yomiuri shinbun*, March 16, 1964, morning edition.

between media industries takes a different shape in a more site-specific urban culture in the late 1960s. From the broader change in mass media discussed above, I will move on to a particular space and time, 1960s Shinjuku, in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. THE ART THEATER MOVEMENT: ART THEATER GUILD AND THE SPECTATORS IN SHINJUKU

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A trailer of *Death by Hanging* (*Kōshikei*, 1968) starts with a scene in which Oshima is reading a script in a car with the voiceover of himself saying, "Abolishing the death penalty isn't popular among the Japanese." Then, Oshima arrives and comes into the set of the film with his voiceover saying, "But have those who support the death penalty actually ever seen an execution or execution chamber?" Oshima explains his belief that if the people actually see an execution and an execution chamber, they would change their opinion about the death penalty. Juxtaposing multiple shots from the film, the voiceover of Oshima says:

> We are going to research an execution site perfectly, build one that looks exactly like the real thing, perform a totally authentic execution there, and see if you're still really in favor of the death penalty. This is an art theater. But we're not making art, and we don't want you to think of this as a theater, either. We make our films the same way we demonstrate and work in the streets, and we want to you to see our films the same way you play, work, fight, hate, and love in the streets. I believe that watching this film should be an action for you. Why can the state legally kill people in the name of the law? Why does it have the right to kill people?

The film *Death by Hanging* was co-produced by Art Theater Guild (ATG) and independent production company Sōzōsha, and screened at art theaters, but Oshima in the trailer states that viewing this film must be more than appreciating films as artwork. Oshima here is aiming at transforming the production and reception of the film into an action analogous to political activism in the streets. The trailer displays that Oshima is not just a filmmaker, but rather an

activist trying to change people's opinions about the death penalty through his film. This chapter is about the relationship between activist Oshima and the politically charged audience in art theaters addressed in the trailer.

Previous chapters examined the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague (ch.1) and early TV documentary (ch.2) when Oshima was situated within broader systems that reached a wide and large audience in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, this chapter focuses on ATG, from which radical directors collaboratively produced their films in the late 1960s. The ATG films zeroed in on more limited and site-specific audiences in art theaters in urban spaces. The site-specific audiences in this chapter came from the art theater movement, which functioned as a creative force in a new cinephile culture.[155] A cinephile is primarily and generally defined as "a film lover; a person who is enthusiastically interested in and knowledgeable about cinema" (OED), but this chapter emphasizes that it is a more public identity than just "a film lover." For example, calling them "apostles," in "The Decay of Cinema," Susan Sontag points out that cinephiles took cinema outside the boundaries of usual cinema spectatorship. Sontag remarks "For cinephilia cannot help, by the very range and eclecticism of its passions, from sponsoring the idea of the film as, first of all, a poetic object; and cannot help from inciting those outside the movie industry, like painters and writers, to want to make films too."[156] The spectators I will

[155] Cinephile culture in 1960s Japan and its relationship with politics have drawn scholarly attention recently. On the relationship between the Suginami Cineclub and political spectatorship, see Ryan Cook, "Through the Looking Glass: Flirtations with Nonsense in 1960s Japanese Film Culture," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2013). William James Carroll explores the relationship between the Suzuki Seijun Incident and cinephiles. See William James Carroll, "The Depth of Flatness and the Voice of Silence: Suzuki Seijun and 1960s Japanese Film Theory," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2019).

[156] Susan Sontag, "The Decay of Cinema," *New York Times*, February 25, 1996.

explore in this chapter are the cinephiles who were active in linking cinema to ongoing events and happenings in the world around them.

This is the point at which a particular context both in time and space, 1960s Shinjuku, matters. The cinephile in 1960s Shinjuku, emerging from ATG's enthusiastic effort to form new film culture from 1962, was curious, sensitive, and responsive to cultural events. Shinjuku, an epicenter of counterculture, offered physical sites such as an ATG theater, Kinokuniya bookstore, and the Hanazono Shrine where diverse events were constantly happening.[157] The core of 1960s Shinjuku cinephile culture was the hybrid nature of counterculture which ranged from political activism, to jazz concerts, to avant-garde film screenings and filming.[158] In other words, this chapter focuses on a cultural revolution through hybrid Shinjuku culture in the 1960s. In his "What happened in Japanese Culture in 1968 (1968 nen no nihon bunka ni nani ga shōjita no ka)," Yomota Inuhiko highlights that 1968 was not only a year of political upheaval but also a cultural revolution which was derived from multiple layers of "humus of popular culture

[157] Along with those sites, the role of Sōgetsu Art Center in 1960s counterculture cannot be overlooked. Sōgestu Art Center, established by film director Teshigahara Hiroshi, offered incredible events throughout the whole decade such as John Cage's concert, Hijikata Tatsumi's butoh, Terayama Shūji's theatrical plays, underground film festivals, etc. For detailed information on Sōgetsu, see Sōgetsu Āto Sentā no kiroku kankō iinkai ed., *Kagayake 60 nendai: Sogetsu Āto Sentā no zenkiroku* (Tokyo: Firumu āto sha, 2002).

[158] For more information about the relationship between Shinjuku and hybrid counterculture, see Hirasawa Gō, *Andāguraundo firumu ākaibusu* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2001), Ushida Ayumi, *ATG eiga purasu Shinjuku* (Tokyo: D bungaku kenkyūkai, 2007), Steven C. Ridgely, *Japanese Counterculture: The Antiestablishment Art of Terayama Shuji* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), Miryam Sas, *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), and Taro Nettleton, "Shinjuku as Site: *Funeral Parade of Roses* and *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*," *Screen* 55, no. 1 (2014): 5-28, and Chiba-shi Bijutsukan, Kitakyūshū Shiritsu Bijutsukan, and Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan eds. *1968-nen: Gekidō no jidai no geijutsu* (Chiba: Chiba-shi Bijutsukan, 2018).

(Antonio Gramsci)."[159] Like Godard's dedication to a B-movie studio in *Breathless*, the cinephiles had an openness to subculture such as Shirato Sanpei's ninja comics which became Oshima's film, *Band of Ninja* (*Ninja bugei chō*, 1967).[160] For them, to discuss comics, music, and films seriously were challenges against the conservative boundaries between highbrow culture and their favorite subculture. The hybrid nature of Shinjuku counterculture and the cultural openness of the cinephiles are the historical context of Oshima's collaboration with ATG. This chapter explores the site-specific and historical relationship among ATG, the spectators, and Oshima's practice in the 1960s.

3.2 The Art Theater Movement and Cinephiles

In the January 1962 issue of film magazine *Eiga geijutsu*, Kawakita Kashiko, a film producer and a main advocate of the art theater movement in Japan, wrote an article about the

[159] Yomota Inuhiko, "1968 nen no nihon bunka ni nani ga shōjita no ka," in *1968 nen bunkaron*, ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Gō (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2010), 30.

[160] The ambiguous relationship between politics and popular culture is obvious in terms of American culture in Oshima's oeuvre. The 1960s was the peak of anti-American sentiment among Japanese people mainly because of the Vietnam war—the civil movement "Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam (Beheiren)" was organized in 1965—but, at the same time, American culture is omnipresent in Japanese counterculture. For example, in the film *Nihon shunka kō* (*Sing a Song of Sex*, 1967) Oshima illustrates the "humus of popular culture" by using Japanese vernacular bawdy songs, war songs, revolutionary songs, and folk songs. There is a scene in which main characters go to a folk song rally against the Vietnam War. A coffin covered with an American flag and the youth singing protest songs such as "This Land Is Your Land" and "We Shall Overcome" express anti-American sentiment in this rally, however Oshima problematizes this anti-Vietnam War rally by letting main characters sing a Japanese bawdy song in the rally. What this scene does is distance the audience from the event (the folk song rally) by adding another layer (a bawdy song). Seen from the perspective of another layer, this event is reconsidered because the bawdy song debunks the seriousness of the group and exposes the comedy of criticizing the Vietnam War by singing American protest songs.

necessity of art theaters in Japan and ATG.[161] What she observed was the emergence of a new sensibility in world cinema after WWII. The war mobilized people on an unprecedented scale ranging from soldiers during the war to tourists after the war, and this massive mobilization gave a chance for cinephiles to see films from countries like Japan.[162] Inspired by the new dynamic exchange of world cinema after the war, new types of directors appeared outside of the mainstream (by mainstream she referred to Hollywood). This cinematic and cultural exchange was accelerated by the increase and expansion of international film festivals. However, the number of imported foreign movies was restricted by the Japanese government (yunyū eiga wariate seido) after the war, wrote Kawakita, and it became difficult to see a wide variety of art film.[163] This was why she and the members of the art theater movement including Mori Iwao, president of Tōhō, advocated starting ATG and opening new art theaters where the audience was able to see award-wining films from international film festivals.

In *Sure Seaters*, film scholar Barbara Wilinsky examines how art cinema distinguished itself from conventional moviegoing in the post-WWII American film industry by foregrounding its distinctive exhibition context. According to Wilinsky, the sophisticated atmosphere and distinctive practices of art houses were significant to create the specific filmgoing experience such as "using mailing list and programs, refusing admission to children, charging high

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[161] For background information about Kawakita, see Kawakita Kashiko, *Eiga hitosuji ni* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1973). Contrary to her humble comments in the afterword of the book, her autobiography, *Devotion to Cinema* (*Eiga hitosuji ni*), showcases the intriguing story of her cinephilic devotion to world cinema and her extraordinary connections to global cineastes.

[162] Kawakita Kashiko, "Āto shiatā girudo ni tsuite," *Eiga geijutsu*, no. 171 (January 1962): 47.

[163] Ibid., 49. On the restriction in importing foreign film, see Chung Insun, *Nikkan independent eiga no keisei to hatten: Eiga sangyō ni tai suru seifu no kainyū* (Tokyo: Serika shobō, 2017), 64-88.

admission prices, and selling coffee instead of popcorn."[164] This was true in the case of the art theater movement in Japan. In fact, in the same article outlined above, Kawakita suggested in detail how to create art theaters as physically distinct spaces, including various disciplinary instructions and rules for art theaters. In the second half of the article, she named 15 points she hoped for art theaters. For example, her requests started as follows: "1: It is desirable that the number of seats be between 300 and 500. Seats have to be big and comfortable. It should have enough space between seats so that the audience does not need to stand up when others pass by. No standing in principle"; "2: The lobby should be large enough to hold small exhibitions related to the screened films"; "3: It is desirable to have a coffee and snack bar in the theater. We would like to invite people related to the screened film and talk with them there"; "4: No smoking, no food"; "5: We need the best projection equipment, from 16mm to CinemaScope. . . ."[165] As such, Kawakita differentiated art theater from other theater by its physical characteristics and, more generally, the atmosphere, image and sound quality, and overall experience.

Kawakita's list also included detailed rules of the screening schedule at the art theaters: "6: no advertising films will be screened"; "7: As a rule, a slot for one program is two hours long. We'd like to have a screening time like two o'clock, four o'clock, six o'clock, eight o'clock, ten o'clock. In principle, news and short films should be screened together"; and, most importantly, "9: in principle, each film has to run more than a month. Run theaters at the lowest expenses and continue a long run. Therefore, we select films which demonstrate true values by long runs. Do not succumb to the temptation as a manager to make profit by rotating films."[166]

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[164] Barbara Wilinsky, *Sure Seaters: The Emergence of Art House Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 106.

[165] Kawakita Kashiko, "Āto shiatā girudo ni tsuite," 49.

[166] Ibid.

This long list of dos and don'ts including instructions about physical presentation and screening scheduling showcased that the art theater project was aiming not only to introduce international art films to Japan but also to make a new film viewing culture, that is, a new habitus for appreciating foreign art films as an element of highbrow culture.

This art theater movement had to be participatory in order to accomplish the ultimate goal that was to train future "cinephiles (eiga no aikōsha), researchers, and directors."[167] Kawakita's list stressed the importance of participatory film culture in art theaters for its goal: "11: ATG publishes a monthly bulletin. It is composed of commentaries on film and introductions of directors to support the audience's appreciation of film. We would like to avoid advertising as much as possible, but if it is unavoidable, we would like to limit it to film and theater related items"; "12: We would like to select someone who truly loves film and is enthusiastic about this work for manager of the theater. We hope for someone who can talk to the audience and make the audience gather around"; and "13: We would like to secure our business by having regular members of the ATG Friendship Association (tomo no kai)."[168] In addition to art theaters as sophisticated exhibition spaces with well-organized screening schedules, the participatory factors such as the bulletin, knowledgeable and active managers, and the friendship association were seen as significant in creating a community that appreciated international film culture.

With the launching of art theaters, ATG published the first issue of the bulletin *Art Theater* (*Āto shiatā*) in April 1962. The first issue featured Jerzy Kawalerowicz's *Mother Joan of the Angels* which had beautiful still images from the film, an introductory text to the film, reviews by the art theater members, a scenario, and a filmography of related works. This set-up

[167] Ibid., 50.
[168] Ibid., 49.

of texts became the main contents of the bulletin and generally remained the same in different issues, though it sometimes included an interview with the director of the film. Declaring the beginning of the art theaters in the opening text, the editors underlined the importance of their activity in the history of Japanese cinema, their goal of becoming the basis for the next generations of directors and film journalism, and the need for strong support from "the audience who loves film art."[169] As in the text, the editors of *Art Theater* aspired to a participatory cinema experience to form cinephiles in the bulletin's first few years.

In fact, opening texts and editorial postscripts in the first year repeatedly addressed the communication with the audience and noted the movement's collaborative nature. Praising the support from "you (minasan)" in the beginning of the second issue of *Art Theater*, the editor wrote, "By developing theaters, let's spread love for art film nationwide" with a special message card for people "who worship poets" from Jean Cocteau.[170] In the postscript of the third issue of the first year, the editor criticized the structure of the film industry, especially the people in the film industry who thought that amateurs did not understand cinema, despite there being new amateur productions (outside major studios) succeeding in foreign countries. The postscript insisted that "our art theater movement indicates the shortest course to defeat [the stereotype]."[171] The editor distinguished cinephiles from other groups of people like other moviegoers, baseball fans, and music fans screaming in concerts. For example, the postscript of the fifth issue introduced an anecdote: the people who looked for the art theater in Kōrakuen in Tokyo asked how to get there on the phone. The manager told them a route by using the Kōrakuen Stadium as a landmark, but the people did not know where and what the Kōrakuen Stadium was.

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[169] "Art Theater," *Āto shiatā*, no. 1 (April 1962): 3.
[170] "Art Theater," *Āto shiatā*, no. 2 (May 1962): 5.
[171] Nanbu Keinosuke, "Henshūsha no anguru," *Āto shiatā*, no. 3 (June 1962): 62.

Considering the Kōrakuen Stadium was the home stadium of Yomiuri Giants, the most popular professional baseball team in Japan, they were happy with this fact that cinephiles love cinema rather than the most popular sport in Japan and do not pay attention to other forms of entertainment.[172]

Cultivating a stable membership as a participatory community was an urgent but difficult task for ATG. The fifth issue of their bulletin in 1962 announced that they would accept opinions and voices from the ATG members, which at that time numbered 5000 in Tokyo alone.[173] The reader's column, called "Art Theater Group," lasted only a few issues (vols. 7 and 8) though, showing that the ATG audience as cinephiles did not exist as a self-evident group in the early 1960s, and that ATG tried to create cohesive new audiences by groping in the dark. Put differently, although they knew who were not cinephiles, the ATG members were not sure who would become the main target of their art theater movement. For instance, one member in Osaka wrote his opinion about the necessity of more inclusive activities, citing a questionnaire of Osaka Rōon (the Labor Music Council in Osaka), a music appreciation circle.[174] The questionnaire revealed the fact that only 41 people from the group (out of 1047) went to see art film and most of them answered that art films were "difficult and boring."[175] However, this person in Osaka knew a lot of people were moved by *Bicycle Thieves* and *Shoeshine*, so he thought people must also like a film like *Umberto D*. As a conclusion, he stated that what the art theater members had to do was "recruitment activity (oruguteki katsudō)," by which he meant bringing friends to the art theaters and exposing them to more art films.[176] Another member in Kyoto (public servant,

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[172] Nanbu Keinosuke, "Henshū desuku yori," *Āto shiatā*, no. 5 (August 1962): 62.
[173] Ibid.
[174] "Āto shiatā gurūpu," *Āto shiatā*, no. 8 (December 1962): 58.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

age 54) said that Cocteau's *Orpheus* was not successful but it did not matter for ATG because "just as not all arts are interesting and enjoyable, film can be viewed as art with a strict attitude."[177] Those opinions from the members show that ATG had to balance itself between creating a sophisticated community to appreciate art film (containing "elitist" nuances as highbrow culture) and being inclusive in enjoying film (which is supposed to be popular entertainment).

The uncertainty—thus excitement—of who would become the main audience could also be found in the voices from the theater managers in "ATG Managers' Round Table" in *Art Theater*. What the managers exchanged in this column was how to manage theaters better and how to communicate with the audiences. In the column in September 1962, the manager of Kōraku Bunka in Sapporo, Hokkaido, reported excitedly about a new and different type of audience: young business girls (BG) and intellectuals.[178] Also, the manager of Nichigeki Bunka in Tokyo wrote that the cinephiles knew much more about films than they did, so that the theater management actually learned from their audience about films and used that knowledge to improve their theaters.[179] In a different issue, the manager of Hankyū Bunka Theater in Kōbe, Hyōgo prefecture, reported the details of its membership (3000) as follows: Age: 10s (25%), 20s (53%), 30s (15%), 40s (5%), 50s (2%); Gender: Male (60%), Female (40%); Occupation: Student (37%), Salaryman (30%), Teacher (10%), Doctor (3%).[180] In addition to "Student," mentioning "Teacher" and "Doctor" indicates that the manager differentiated the theater as a site oriented toward people from the middle and upper classes. The manager of Art Theater Shinjuku

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[177] Ibid.
[178] "ATG manējāsu raundo tēburu," *Āto shiatā*, no. 6 (September 1962): 60-1.
[179] Ibid., 61.
[180] "ATG manējāsu raundo tēburu," *Āto shiatā,* no. 8 (December 1962): 59.

Bunka gave a more concrete description of the people in the lounge of the theater: there was a youth reading foreign magazines, a youth who advocated the role of film as a social critique, and a college student who worshipped Sartre and Camus.[181] The fact that they shared audience demographic information with other managers underlined that managers also did not know who would be the main target of their theaters' business and wanted to know how other theaters created their audience culture. By listing the managers' experiences with the cinephiles in the art theaters, the column stressed that the managers also played an important role in forming and informing cinephiles through their communication in theaters.

As the college student's taste worshiping Sartre and Camus indicates, art theaters were sites where the audience could experience the new cinema culture from outside Japan, mainly from the West in the beginning, at least for the first five years from 1962 to around 1967. The films were mainly chosen from Europe, the USSR, and the US until 1968.[182] In *Art Theater*, this Western-oriented policy of ATG was obvious in the introduction of various information about global art theaters and world cinema news. For instance, there was an entry called "AT Miscellany" by Uekusa Jin'ichi, jazz and film critic, in *Art Theater*. In "AT Miscellany," Uekusa's main focus was to introduce current topics in film magazines around the world. In the first issue, he presented five critics from an article of *Film Quarterly*: Pauline Kael, Stanley Kaufmann, Gavin Lambert, Dwight MacDonald, and Jonas Mekas.[183] Explaining a new trend in world cinema, he was hoping that he would be able to see films from the New American Cinema in Japan. Kusakabe Kyūshirō, film producer and member of ATG, wrote about art theaters in

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[181] Ibid., 59-60.

[182] For information on titles that were screened, see "Appendix 3: Screening list of the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, 1962-1972."

[183] Uekusa Jin'ichi, "AT meserani 1," *Āto shiatā*, no. 1 (April 1962): 58-61.

Europe and the US in "Tour to Art Theaters of the World." What he expressed in this "tour" was the enthusiasm shared by cinephiles in other parts of the world. He introduced locations of art theaters, programs of art films, and communication he had with managers and audiences. He also introduced how Japanese cinema was screened in art theaters outside Japan. For example, in Theatiner Film Kunst in Munich, he was happy because he was able to find a poster of Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, 1953) saying it would be screened soon.[184] When he went to Park Theater in Stockholm, he was moved by the pictures of Ichikawa Kon's *Odd Obsession* (*Kagi*, 1959) at the entrance.[185] The coverage of topics ranging from film journals to art theaters in the bulletin created a notion that through ATG the audience could experience and join a part of global cinephile culture, that is, Western art cinema.

In search of a dedicated audience for a sustainable future, it was inevitable to focus on big cities like Tokyo as the main base to form a stable membership. The January 1963 issue of *Art Theater* has a featured article, "Art Theater and Japanese Cinema," in which two film directors, Shindō Kaneto and Ichikawa Kon, talk about their film productions and opinions about the art theater movement with ATG advisers, film critic Ogi Masahiro and Kusakabe Kyūshirō. The first issue they discussed was how to establish a strong audience identity. Framing his latest production *Ningen* as an independent production, Shindō emphasizes that if 200,000 people see the film, he can keep running his production company.[186] It is not difficult to attract 200,000 people in Tokyo alone, the population of which was about 10,000,000 at that time, so he places importance on forming a solid ATG membership in Tokyo for the movement.[187] For the art

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[184] Kusakabe Kyūshirō, "Sekai no āto shiatā meguri 3," *Āto shiatā,* no. 3 (June 1962): 35.
[185] Kusakabe Kyūshirō, "Sekai no āto shiatā meguri 4," *Āto shiatā*, no. 4 (July 1962): 21.
[186] Ichikawa Kon, Shindō Kaneto, Ogi Masahiro, and Kusakabe Kyūshirō, "Āto shiatā to nihon eiga," *Āto shiatā*, no. 10 (January 1963): 28.
[187] Ibid.

theater movement, how many people the art film community could attract was the key to success and this fact related to the keyword of "spectators (yajiuma)."[188] Toward the end of the article, Ichikawa mentions the very intriguing term, "artistic spectators (geijutsuteki yajiuma)."[189] According Ichikawa, artistic spectators are mentally and financially invested in art and discuss film deeply such as the new wave cinema, in contrast with spectators who just follow new trends, and he hoped the art theater movement would be for artistic spectators. Criticizing consumers who are manipulated by mass media, Ogi responds that ATG membership aims at attracting artistic spectators who will actively keep investing in art films.[190] In other words, this article "Art Theater and Japanese Cinema" highlights the fact that ATG was imagined as an institution which would transform consumers into artistic spectators. In doing so, as in Shindō's comments about a "solid ATG membership" in Tokyo, an ATG theater in Tokyo was foregrounded as the most critical site for the success of the art theater movement.

3.3 The Spectators and the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka

With the help of film studio Tōhō, ATG ran ten theaters as an art theater chain in major cities across the Japanese archipelago ranging from Hokkaido to Kyūshū in 1962.[191] As we saw in the above section, each theater reported what kind of audiences they had in certain screenings

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[188] Yajiuma can be translated as "onlookers," "rubberneckers," and "gawkers." In this chapter, I will use "spectators" as the translation to emphasize their curiosity in spectating ongoing events in urban space.

[189] Ibid., 39.

[190] Ibid.

[191] The ATG theaters were Nichigeki Bunka in Tokyo, Kitano Shinema in Osaka, Meihō Bunka in Nagoya, Kōraku Bunka in Sapporo, Tōhō Meigaza in Fukuoka, Shinjuku Bunka, Sōtetsu Bunka in Yokohama, Kōrakuen Āto Shiatā in Tokyo, Asahi Kaikan in Kyoto, and Sukai Shinema in Kobe. See, for example, Satō Tadao, *ATG eiga o yomu: 60 nendai ni hajimatta meisaku no ākaibu* (Tokyo: Firumu Ātosha, 1991), 390-2.

and tried to draw more audiences to the ATG friendship association. While acknowledging the importance of detailed analysis of the particular spectatorship according to the different locations, I would like to focus on the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, which became the main location for ATG from the mid-1960s because of its location in Shinjuku. In his *Dramaturgy of the City* (*Toshi no doramaturugī*), sociologist Yoshimi Shun'ya historicizes Shinjuku in the history of entertainment districts (sakariba) in Japan by using the "theatrical perspective," by which he means looking at the city as a theater where people become the audience and at the same time the performer.[192] Shinjuku, as a major transportation hub in Tokyo, accommodated a wide variety of people and developed a red-light district and the biggest black market in Tokyo after the war.[193] This chaotic and anarchic atmosphere cultivated the humus from which the postwar counterculture emerged. According to Yoshimi, what made Shinjuku unique was the people who stayed and wandered around there. Paying attention to the social transition in economic growth in Japan, Yoshimi writes: "In the 1960s, the main performers of Shinjuku were the youth who migrated from rural areas to Tokyo for entering college or getting jobs during the high economic growth."[194] Japan was experiencing unprecedented social change with rapid economic growth throughout the 1960s which was marked by national events such as the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 and the Expo '70 in Osaka. In this historic change, youth were mobilized from their hometowns as cheap labor or as new college students, and Shinjuku became their playground. This emerging youth in Shinjuku became a social group called "spectators (yajiuma)."

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[192] Yoshimi Shun'ya, *Toshi no doramaturugī: Tokyo sakariba no shakaishi* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2008), 10-38.

[193] Ibid., 270-1.

[194] Ibid., 286.

It is difficult to pin down who the spectators were by definition; they were basically anyone who wandered around urban spaces like Shinjuku looking for interesting and stimulating events. Thus, it can, of course, include the youth in Shinjuku composed of many kinds of groups such as hippies (fūten), students, the queer community, activists, etc.[195] Although the spectators can include political activists and radical students, they could also be the nonpolitical masses (nonpori). As Yoshimi mentioned, the most important advocate for the spectators was artist Akasegawa Genpei, who wrote about the ambiguous possibility of the spectators.[196] He wrote "The Spectator Manifesto (Yajiuma gundan sengen)" parodying Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*, the cover page of which indicates the flexible characteristics of the spectators. There is a horse (yajiuma originally stems from a term meaning an old horse in Japanese) with speech bubbles saying "Heckler (kitsumonsha)," "Rooter (ōensha)," "Sympathizer (dōjōsha)," "Crowd (ugōnoshū)," "Rabble (waiwairen)," "Mob (kamin)," "Hobo (furōnin)," and "Rioter (bōdōsha)."[197] This manifesto, announcing it is "written in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Russian, and Horse language (umago)," presents a sense of humor and wordplay to convey spectators' playfulness vis-à-vis the seriousness of the establishment and political parties—Akasegawa, previously convicted for the imitation of the thousand-yen bill (sen'en satsu saiban), was proud of being an "thought pervert (shisōteki henshitsusha)," a term which came from the prosecution's categorization.[198] By replacing the proletariat in the chapters

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[195] Ibid., 282.

[196] Ibid., 277-8.

[197] Akasegawa Genpei, *Tsuihō sareta yajiuma: Shisōteki henshitsusha no jūjiro* (Tokyo: Gendai Hyōronsha, 1972), 89 (originally published in 1969).

[198] For the information on the thousand-yen bill incident, see Tomii Reiko, "State v. (Anti-)Art: Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident by Akasegawa Genpei and Company," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10, no. 1 (2002): 141-172, and William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 9-109.

of *The Communist Manifesto* with the spectators, Akasegawa's manifesto declares that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of the spectators."[199] As Akasegawa's humorous text performatively demonstrates, the spectators do not follow serious dogmas of political parties but their own transient curiosity. Not belonging to any particular political groups, the spectators represent the "curiosity of a whole riot (sōran zentai no kōkishin)."[200] Thus, wherever a riot happens, there are always the spectators who show their energetic and insatiable collective curiosity.

This fluid identity of the spectators as a social agent was considered to be a virtual potential for politics in the context of 1960s Japan. For instance, in his "Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest," William Marotti argues that "nonpori," "citizens," and "ordinary students" in a "not-yet" position were the key for the social movement in the 1960s. Marotti refers to Akasegawa's "spectators" in a footnote and connects them with the "not-yet" group.[201] In terms of the potential revolutionary power of the masses as part of the "not-yet" group, Akasegawa's investment in the spectators is parodic repetition of Benjamin's gamble with the masses experiencing cinema. On the role of the gambler Benjamin had to play in his experience of the catastrophe of the war, Miriam Hansen writes "Benjamin wagers that the only chance for a collective, nondestructive, playful innervation of technology rests with the new mimetic technologies of film and photography."[202] Like the collective desire of the masses experiencing Hollywood cinema and Mickey Mouse on which Benjamin wagered as new form

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[199] Akasegawa Genpei, *Tsuihō sareta yajiuma*, 90.

[200] Akasegawa Genpei, *Tsuihō sareta yajiuma*, 90.

[201] William Marotti, "Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest." *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (February 2009): 98-9.

[202] Miriam Bratu Hansen, *Cinema and Experience: Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 187.

of play, for Akasegawa, the spectators in Shinjuku held revolutionary power while playing with diverse media such as film, photography, and manga. And the spectators here have a site-specific aspect in the way they are constituted; they are contingent because they are always formed in relations to something eventful. They are sensitive, responsive, and curious, and alive in ways the eventful city like Shinjuku can bring out. With the political possibility of a "not-yet" position, the spectators were wandering in urban space, and the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka became a perfect place providing stimulating events for the spectators.

In theater manager Kuzui Kinshirō's memoirs, *Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka* (*Āto Shiatā Shinjuku Bunka*, 1986) and *A Will* (*Yuigon*, 2008), there are episodes that feature the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka as an eventful site that mobilized the spectators. In the sense of making the theater eventful, Kuzui was not only a manager of the theater but also a producer of counterculture in 1960s Shinjuku. First and foremost, what is surprising about Kuzui's memoirs is his extraordinary and diverse connection to people in Japanese counterculture. He knew a wide variety of people whose names we can find in books about Japanese counterculture in varied fields ranging from cinema to theatrical performance, music, photography, and visual arts. After graduating from Waseda University where he studied art history—like other cinephiles what he did most in college was seeing films—he got a job at Sanwa Kōgyō, a film distribution company.[203] While working at the theater Shibazonokan in Tokyo in 1961, Iseki Taneo, then president of the distribution company, asked him to be the manager of the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka. Although he was not a part of the committee members who picked films for screening at ATG theaters, Iseki left everything about the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka to Kuzui.[204] After that,

[203] Kuzui Kinshirō, *Yuigon: Āto Shiatā Shinjuku Bunka* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2008), 27-46.

[204] Ibid., 58-70.

Kuzui made connections to artists, filmmakers, and writers, invited them to the theater, and made the theater into a place for hybrid counterculture.

As in the art theater movement that strove for the creation of sophisticated taste in cinematic experience, Kuzui remodeled the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka and created a multi-purpose theater. For example, Kuzui installed Westminster Chimes for the opening bell, and put playing-card images of the king and queen on the entrance of the bathroom to avoid using the word for "bathroom." He also opened a gallery on the second floor of the theater, and reduced the theater seating from 600 to 400. He used Western-style doors covered with black leather and a somber color scheme for the interior of the theater.[205] With his expressed intention for the remodel as a theater for "general art (geijutsu zenpan)," Kuzui made the theater a hybrid space where the audience was able to see not only art films but also theatrical performances, jazz concerts, and even rakugo (Japanese traditional storytelling).[206] Kuzui started theatrical performances after film screenings at the theater in June 1963. Theater director Arakawa Tetsuo, who had just returned from the US, brought an idea that the Shinjuku Bunka could be an off-Broadway theater in Tokyo.[207] Kuzui accepted projects to play at the theater after screenings such as an all-night jazz concert of Watanabe Sadao and rakugo shows. This success of the theater for general art enabled him to open the Theater Scorpio (sasoriza), which was named by Mishima Yukio after Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1964), in the basement of the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka in June 1967.[208] Therefore, the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka combined at least three spaces—an art film theater, a multi-purpose late-night theater, and an underground theater

[205] Ibid., 65-6.
[206] Ibid., 68.
[207] Ibid., 85-6.
[208] Ibid., 138-58.

for experimental films and plays in 1967. This hybridity made the theater unique among the other art theaters and attractive for the spectators in Shinjuku. Even while upholding the rule about one-month-long runs as an art theater, the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka was constantly able to present something new and eventful by using three different spaces.

In attracting the spectators with the multi-purpose theater, the theater as an urban site for communication was important because the spectators were able to see and talk to celebrities there. One of those potentials for ATG culminated in Mishima Yukio's *Patriotism* (*Yūkoku*) screening in April 1966. Announcing a double feature, Buñuel's *The Diary of a Chambermaid* and Mishima's *Patriotism*, at the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, the editor's postscript in the issue of the April 1966 bulletin recommends sending comments to Mishima and includes his mailing address.[209] This issue of *Art Theater* has special coverage of Mishima's film including comments from Mishima himself, reviews from different international journals, the synopsis of the film with pictures, and critiques of the film. Yet, the important element of this screening is not only the film but also Mishima's presence in the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka. Kuzui recalls that Mishima came to the theater in the morning, signed autographs for the audience, and answered interviews from mass media every day. According to Kuzui, it was as if "when you come to the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, you can see Mishima."[210] The spectators came to the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka to see the film and Mishima. The next issue of *Art Theater* reports the good news that "the spring and summer roadshows of *Patriotism* and *The Diary of a Chambermaid* set new records since the founding of ATG."[211] This event is an example of how ATG could attract

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[209] "Henshū desuku yori," *Āto shiatā*, no. 40 (April 1966): 52.

[210] Kuzui Kinshirō, *Yuigon*, 118.

[211] "Henshū desuku yori," *Āto shiatā*, no. 41 (May 1966): 66. In addition to Mishima's presence at his *Patriotism* screening, when Oshima screened *Diary of Yunbogi*, a short film composed of photographs Oshima took in Korea while making a television documentary, he

the spectators and expose them to art film and performances by offering events they could only experience at ATG theaters.

In pursuing the stable number of the audience in Tokyo, ATG's goal expanded from creating new film viewing culture by presenting Western art film to attracting the spectators and transforming them into artistic spectators by holding site-specific events around 1966 such as Mishima's above case. And this change of goal fit well with ATG's new role as a production company from 1968. Film historians observed that the 1968 transition of ATG to a production company was a reaction to the liberation of international film trade in 1964. For example, Roland Domenig explains the change that the liberalization caused as follows: "In 1964, the official limit for importing foreign movies was abolished. So was the allocation of quotas that had determined the number of films per distributer. One result of this liberalization was a rise in distribution costs so that it became increasingly uneconomical to import foreign films. ATG decided that it would be more profitable to produce its own movies."[212] In other words, the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka's economic success as an event site saved ATG as an economically struggling distribution company from 1964, and helped ATG become a production company in 1968. ATG's low-budget production method was called the "10-million-yen film (issenman'en eiga)." Through this method, ATG paid 5 million yen and the director's independent production paid 5 million yen, and ATG had copyright for the first five years, then returned the copyright to the director.[213] And ATG chose Oshima as the director of the first "10-million-yen film."

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gave a lecture about "the present situation of Korea" in December 1965. See Kuzui Kinshirō, *Āto Shiatā Shinjuku Bunka: Kieta gekijō* (Tokyo: Sōryūsha, 1986), 68. Also, Oshima Nagisa, *Oshima Nagisa 1968*, 82.

[212] Roland Domenig, "A Brief History of Independent Cinema in Japan and the Role of the Art Theater Guild," in *ATG Symposium: Against the Grain: Changes in Japanese Cinema of the 1960s and Early 1970's* (Wien: Akademischer Arbeitskreis Japan, 2005), 13.

[213] Kuzui Kinshirō, *Yuigon*, 164.

3.4 OSHIMA AND ATG

After the success of his screening and lecture event for *Diary of Yunbogi* (*Yunbogi no nikki*, 1965) and the screening of his film *Band of Ninja* based on Shirato Sanpei's popular comic of the same title at the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, ATG's collaboration with Oshima and Shōzōsha took shape as the first ATG produced film, *Death by Hanging*.[214] *Death by Hanging* is about the imagined failure of the death penalty of a character called R based on resident Korean Ri Chin-U, whose homicide of a high-school girl was well-known as the Komatsugawa incident through its media coverage.[215] Owing to the abstract structure of the film using job titles of prison guards and an initial (R) for the main figure, this film has been analyzed on the level of allegory, such as an attempt to debunk the structure of the violence of the nation-state. For example, Yomota Inuhiko writes, "Through this alphabetization, it is implied that the protagonist is no longer an entity with a specific family name and personality, but an anonymous entity representing all Korean boys living in Japan, just as the boy was a metaphor for all Korean boys

[214] Shirato Sanpei was renowned for his progressive criticism of social class, discrimination, and revolution in his manga such as *Band of Ninja* and *The Legend of Kamuy* (*Kamui den*). By focusing on talking heads and the speech balloon which is filled by explanatory texts of not only story but also historical, social, and technological information, Ryan Holmberg analyzes Shirato's gekiga as a pedagogical project. See Holmberg, "For Your Words, I Shall Rip Out Your Tongue: Shirato Sanpei and the Talking Head of Manga." *International Journal of Comic Art* 8, no. 1 (2006): 426-55, and "Paper Megaphone: *Garo* Manga, 1964–1971" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2007). On the film version, Furuhata Yuriko situates Oshima's *Band of Ninja* production, filming and editing a comic panel with voice-over, as a part of intermedial experiment in the late 1960s. Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 13-27.

[215] For the relationship between the actual event and the film, Furuhata Yuriko argues "the true attraction of the Komatsugawa Incident for Oshima lies in its glaringly theatrical nature, since the original crime had already contained elements of artifice and performance akin to the theatrical staging of a scripted drama in front of an audience." Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 77.

in *Diary of Yunbogi*. As a result, the work is strongly allegorical."[216] In the following, however, I would like to focus on a different aspect of the film, that is, how this film called to the spectators. As I mentioned in the introduction, Oshima presented himself more like a political activist, not a filmmaker, in the trailer and his purpose of making this film was to change people's opinions about the death penalty. Given the situation that this film was the first ATG-produced film and given the emphasis on attracting the spectators for the art theaters to change their political opinions, the film had to have a strong pull and, as I will show, the paratexts framed the film as presenting something the audience had never seen before.

This film appeals to the spectator's curiosity by presenting an execution and an execution chamber. Let's recall what Oshima stresses in the trailer, "We are going to research the execution site perfectly, build one that looks exactly like the real thing, perform a totally authentic execution there, and see if you're still really in favor the death penalty." Here, Oshima's voiceover emphasizes that the setting of film "looks exactly like the real thing" and the execution is "authentic." Considering Oshima's belief that showing them can have the power to change people's opinions about the death penalty, researching and presenting the "real" execution chamber and "authentic" execution are analogous to the political action he emphasized in the trailer. Furthermore, the realistic quality of the execution chamber was also underlined by an article in *Art Theater* featuring the film in which lawyer Mukae Teruyoshi explains how the real execution process goes in the chamber. Answering two questions, "Do the gallows have 13 steps?" and "Is a convict released if s/he comes back to life after the execution?," he gives details of the execution and criticizes the death penalty.[217] In his comments on the scenario published in

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[216] Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 155-6.

[217] Mukae Teruyoshi, "Futatsu no gimon ni kotaeru," *Āto shiatā*, no. 55 (February 1968): 14-7.

the same issue of *Art Theater*, Oshima again stressed that he was able to make a realistic setting thanks to the help of Mukae.[218] Those paratexts signify that showing the realistic setting in the film was the attraction and the political action to change the spectator's political view.

In addition, the use of direct address to the spectator enhances the political voice of the film. The opening of the film is composed of the documentary-like explanation of the execution chamber and the death penalty. The first shot is the intertitles of people's opinions about the death penalty which is addressed the spectators: "do you (minasan) oppose or support abolishing the death penalty?" (fig. 3.1). The second shot shows "A Poll of the Justice Ministry in June 1967" stating that 71% of people support the death penalty (fig. 3.2). The third shot again addresses the spectators, "But, ladies and gentlemen, 71% of you who are against abolishing the death penalty. Have you ever seen a place where the death penalty is carried out? Have you ever seen an execution?" (fig. 3.3). Directly calling out to the spectators as in the above shots, the establishing shot captures the execution chamber in a real prison with Oshima's voiceover (fig. 3.4). The next shot presents the setting and explains the inside in detail including each room and procedure of the death penalty (fig. 3.5). After Oshima's quick and very detailed explanation, the film shows the shocking image of how the main figure is hanged in the chamber (fig. 3.6). In this way, the opening scene forces the spectators look at how a "real" execution is carried out while involving them (minasan) in the execution in the film. Also, after prosecutor Komatsu Hōsei's voiceover appreciates characters' labor carrying out the execution—"Thank you, Warden, for your hard work today. You have done your duty well. You too, Education Chief. You too, Security Chief." —Oshima's voiceover is inserted again in the very end of the film. Continuing this appreciation, Oshima addresses the spectators, "And you (minasan) who have seen this

[218] Ibid., 62.

film." In other words, Oshima's voiceover here is adding the spectators to the list of the agents who hanged R in the film. If the spectators do not change their opinions about the death penalty and do not support abolishing it, they are already part of the structure which enables the state to keep the death penalty. Oshima's direct address is a political action agitating the spectators for forming their position against the death penalty.

Activist Oshima's call to the spectators is further exhibited in *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* (*Shinjuku dorobō nikki*, 1969). First and foremost, as Furuhata analyzes in the context of production, we can see the curious spectators' reactions to filmmaking in the film. Noting that "Oshima's filming of *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* itself was a singular event that took place in Shinjuku in the summer of 1968," Furuhata argues, "This self-conscious staging of the filmmaking itself as an event that competes for the attention of passersby and crowds in the urban space (especially around the eventful space of Shinjuku) negates the categorical differentiation of fiction and nonfiction, or of artifice and actuality."[219] In fact, this film was presented as a play with the boundary between the real and the fictional in various ways. For example, a poster by designer Yokoo Tadanori (who also plays a main character Torio in the film) in *Art Theater* reads: "Fiction (kyokō) breaks reality (genjitsu)/Reality breaks fiction/Shinjuku, the city of riots. Genius Oshima draws/a ballad of love and sadness of two young people!" The film aims to invite the spectators to the process of blurring the boundary between the real and the fiction.

One element that this film can present to the curious spectators in between the real and the fiction is spontaneous performance by Sōzōsha actors. Remarking that it is not a completed version but one that was circulated among actors and staff before shooting in the script published

[219] Furuhata Yuriko, *Cinema of Actuality*, 81.

in *Art Theater*, Oshima asks the audience to compare the differences between the film and the script. Oshima explains, "[I] wanted to incorporate as many new developments of reality as possible, while leaving as much uncertainty as possible toward the future in the overall way of mixing fiction and documentaries."[220] For instance, there are blanks in actors' lines with their humorous biographical information. In the scene in which two regular Sōzōsha actors, Satō Kei and Watanabe Fumio, discuss sex, the script adds after blanks:

> Mr. Sato Kei has been described as an all-out sex liberator, but in recent years it has been reported that he has turned to pure love. Mr. Sato explains the situation during this period.

and

> Mr. Watanabe Fumio was born in Kanda, grew up in Shiba and indulged in a life of debauchery at Shizuoka High School. He dropped out twice and was given the title of Baron. He later got into the University of Tokyo, worked at Dentsu [the largest advertising company in Japan], became a Shōchiku star and now lives in Akasaka. Mr. Watanabe, who is highly trusted by famous geisha and apprentice geisha in Akasaka, devotes all of his experience, knowledge, and learning to talk about the chic (iki) relationship between men and women from Edo to the present in Tokyo, and even tells the story of Mukojima Yūdachitei [a restaurant in a red-light district, which is the setting of the next scene].[221]

The above information of the Sōzōsha actors in the incomplete script showcases that the audience in the theater was able to view this film within a part of a larger context which goes

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[220] Oshima Nagisa "Shinario ni tsuite," *Āto shiatā*, no. 65 (February 1969): 20.
[221] "Shinario *Shinjuku Dorobō Nikki*," *Āto shiatā*, no. 65 (February 1969): 28.

beyond the diegesis, and this extratextual information enables the audience to understand that the discussion on the screen is a playful skit mixing the fictional plot and the actors' spontaneous performances based on their real lives. In other words, the actors' performances discussing sex are presented as undeniably real in the fictional drama.

The emphasis on the actors' actual bodies and actual selves as opposed to fictional play relates to a theory, which is mentioned in the incomplete script, by another main performer in the film and the leader of an underground theater troupe called the Situation Theater (Jōkyō gekijō): Kara Jūrō's writing of "privileged flesh (tokkenteki nikutai)."[222] Pitching the red tent for his theatrical performance at the Hanazono Shrine at the center of the entertainment district of Shinjuku, Kara Jūrō and his Situation Theater had an overwhelming presence in the urban space of late 1960s Shinjuku. As we can see in the film's opening scene in which Kara in a loincloth (fundoshi) performed in front of the station and attracted the spectators, his performances also took place in the street in Shinjuku and intruded into everyday life (fig. 3.7). One of the intriguing aspects of Kara's performance primarily comes from his use of the body beyond logical words. In his book *On Privileged Flesh* (*Tokkenteki nikutai ron*), Kara places importance on the actor's body, and states that performance must start with the actor's body. He writes "First of all, actors are substructures of a play or of all art. Just as a society is driven by the economy,

[222] Kara Jūrō was featured in the advertisement poster of the film, which was included in *Art Theater*. In the center of the poster, Kara is straddling a red tent, a symbolical tent where the Situation Theater performed at Hanazono Shrine in Shinjuku, and a photograph of the Shinjuku cityscape. This poster indicates that Kara Jūrō is the hinge between the real and the fictional in this film. For more information about Kara and the historical context of his performance, see, for example, Senda Akihiko, *The Voyage of Contemporary Japanese Theatre*, trans. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), David G. Goodman, *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s* (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003), and J. Thomas Rimer, Mitsuya Mōri, and M. Cody Poulton, *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

so art begins by the existence of the body. This fact can be seen in your hands and feet during production."[223] Insisting on the actor's body that denies written drama, Kara undermines the idea that theater is primarily fictional; the actor's body exists as a real substance in theater. By reversing the creative process (from actors following scripts to scripts following actors) with the assertion that "first of all, there should be a well-organized (baritto sorotta) actor's body, neither a play nor a direction plan," Kara's method revolving around the actor's body became an alternative method of new performance.[224] As such, the film's strategy is similar to Kara's play which focuses on how to present the actor's real body and performance, not well-written drama as a fiction.

The other element only this film can present to the audience is the documentary footage which captures the spectators throwing rocks and breaking the windows at a police box in Shinjuku station. The editor's note in *Art Theater* announcing *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* writes, "The film was thus shot in Shinjuku from June to September 1968. It perfectly captures the first sign of the Shinjuku riot, or rather the first stone of it."[225] At the release of the film, Oshima also explains the footage in *Art Theater* as an actual event which happened on June 29, 1968. "The Big Hippie Gathering (fūten daishūkai)" had been announced for a month and the spectators gathered at the Hanazono Shrine around 7 pm. Nothing happened for three hours but Oshima and his crew were waiting for something to happen around Shinjuku station while "inciting heckling (sendōteki ni yajiri)."[226] Finally, their camera was able to witness the spectators throwing rocks at the police box (fig. 3.8). Oshima's narration in the article frames this very chaotic

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[223] Kara Jūrō, *Tokkenteki nikutai ron* (Tokyo: Hakushuisha, 1997), 35 (originally published in 1968).

[224] Ibid., 45.

[225] "ATG dayori," *Āto shiatā*, no. 64 (December 1968): 7.

[226] Oshima Nagisa, "Shinario ni tsuite," 21.

documentary footage at the end of the film as a historic and scandalous moment which will attract the curious spectators on the streets of Shinjuku to come and experience the film in the theater.

As such, Oshima's collaboration with ATG reframed with these paratexts is self-conscious in terms of the targeted audience and how to involve them in his political action. Building the "real" execution chamber, presenting the "authentic" execution while addressing the spectators, capturing the spontaneous performance, and showing the footage of the spectators throwing rocks, both films piqued the spectators' curiosity, attempted to change their opinions about the death penalty, and tried to politicize them out of their "not-yet" position. Furthermore, considering Oshima's address in *Death by Hanging* assuming the reaction of the spectators who have finished the film, and the footage of the spectators in *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, Oshima's ATG works were in collaboration with the spectators. In other words, the films could not be made without the spectators who were attracted to Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka. In this regard, to understand Oshima's work with ATG as a political action requires us to take into consideration the participation of the spectators as the condition of the production and the reception. The site-specific and hybrid Shinjuku culture was able to provide Oshima with the ATG collaboration which became collective practice with spectators beyond the solid distinction between production and reception, a quality Oshima constantly aimed for through his works.

3.5 BEYOND THE SPECTATORS IN SHINJUKU

After *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, Oshima directed the road movie *Boy* (*Shōnen*, 1969) with ATG about a real incident of a scamming family on the run.[227] The choice of the road movie genre can be contextualized in the global counterculture with 1960s avant-garde Japanese filmmaking such as Kuroki Kazuo's *Silence Has No Wings* (*Tobenai chinmoku*, 1966), Imamura Shōhei's *A Man Vanishes* (*Ningen jōhastu*, 1967), and Wakamatsu Kōji's *Running in Madness Dying in Love* (*Kyōsō jōshikō*, 1969). Since the Beat Generation was ignited by Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957), roads have been a central space for rebellions against the establishment and running away for freedom. There are a number of examples of roads as spaces of freedom in diverse media in the late 1960s, as the road movie of rebellious youth can be found in New Hollywood films like *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *Easy Rider* (1969), as well as in French New Wave films, particularly Godard's *Pierrot le fou* (1965) and *Weekend* (1967). The road movie provides a special *topos*: the open road as the symbol of emancipation.

Yet, *Boy* conveys a strong sense of enclosure, not emancipation through the open road. First of all, the sense of enclosure relates to the fact that they do not drive a car. Although the family travels, they use public transportation such as a bus, a ferry, and a train. They do not have autonomy in the way they travel. Second, it relates to the main focus on children. The scams are done by only the parents at the beginning such as the mother (Koyama Akiko) using her body to

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[227] If we pay attention to the paratexts of the film, one thing emphasized about the film is that the story is based on a real incident. For example, in the opening article of *Art Theater*, Satō Tadao introduces "A few years ago, a couple using a child for faking car accidents for extortion were arrested by the police, and the story was scandalously reported in the newspaper. The couple intentionally hit the child with a car, claimed that the driver was careless, and then took the money for medical treatment. The couple repeatedly committed such crimes while traveling around the country." See Satō, "Shōnen," *Āto shiatā*, no. 69 (July 1969): 4. There is a short article in the same issue of *Art Theater* about the details of the real incident and the media coverage of it.

fake car accidents, and the father (Watanabe Fumio) threatening drivers. But soon the parents start forcing their oldest son to run out into traffic. Even though the boy tries to run away from the parents, he is too young to be independent. Furthermore, the sense of enclosure was underlined as mise-en-scène of the film by an article by Matsuda Masao published by *Art Theater* featuring the film. Matsuda Masao writes about "the rising sun" in Oshima's film as follows: "we can find the Japanese flag in the background of the boy who comes back to his fictional home alone in the coast of the Sea of Japan. And this rising sun covers all space in the Japanese archipelago."[228] The article prepared the allegorical interpretation that this road movie is about the impossibility of escape from the nation-state.[229]

When considering activist Oshima's films within the context of ATG collaboration, *Boy*, though it is also an ATG co-production, is significantly different, particularly in terms of the context of reception. In an article in *Art Theater* which features *Boy*, Oshima writes, "During *Boy*'s nationwide preview campaign, I had the opportunity to show the film to students in several

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[228] See Matsuda Masao, "Oshima Nagisa no kuroi hinomaru," *Āto shiatā*, no. 69 (July 1969): 22.

[229] In terms of the mode of the interpretation viewing the omnipresent Japanese flag as the representation of the power of nation-state, it should be noted that the film was released in the transition from cityscape-focused film *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* to landscape film *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* (*Tokyo sensō sengo hiwa*, 1970). The latter is discussed with *A.K.A. Serial Killer* (*Ryakushō renzoku shasatsu ma*, 1969) in the context of landscape theory (fūkeiron) that problematized the homogenization (kinshitsuka) of space which drastically erased the difference between urban and rural through rapid urbanization in the economic growth in the 1960s. Analyzing the landscape films with landscape theory, Yuriko Furuhata writes, "In spite of the apparent absence of visible conflict or violence, these films document the tightening of governmental power that operates through the networked systems of circulation, communication, and control." Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality*, 146. In other words, *Boy* was produced in the transitional period of the emphasis in the critical discourse from the specific association between urban events and the spectators in Shinjuku to the power relationship in the homogenized banal landscape in Japan. See Matsuda Masao, *Fūkei no shimetsu* (Tokyo: Kōshisha, 2013, originally published in 1971).

schools."[230] And he quotes some opinions from the students while saying "I have no words [to add]."[231] In other words, this article indirectly signals that he produced the film not only for the curious spectators in the art theater, but also for a more general audience such as students, teachers, and parents around Japan. As a result, he was surprised by the sensitivity of different audience groups. In this regard, *Boy* departed from one period in which Oshima's collaboration with ATG had a strong connection to the spectators in the art theater and the film as a political action which tried to change them through the viewing experience. Put differently, we can see a sign that he is searching for new audience beyond Shinjuku.

In terms of Oshima's next move from the ATG collaboration to international co-productions after 1972, the cinephiles I explored in this chapter served an important role. Cinephiles, who believed in the effect of cinema on reality and the value of subculture, were also open to international film culture. Their openness was evident in ATG's enthusiastic introduction of Western art films to Japanese audiences and international film festivals around the world such as the Avignon Festival which hosted Oshima and other new wave directors in 1969. The tour to the Avignon Festival had a significant impact upon the directors who were grouped together as the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. In fact, Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Kijū, and Shinoda Masahiro reunited and talked about Japanese cinema in the context of world cinema after their trip to Europe in 1969 which included attendance at the Avignon Festival. The article interviewing them after their trip, "Avignon, Japan, and World Cinema," begins with the topic of the general image of Japanese cinema in Europe. The filmmakers complained that the image of Japanese cinema in Europe was still composed of Kurosawa Akira's and Mizoguchi Kenji's films even

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[230] Oshima Nagisa, "*Shōnen* to shōnen tachi," *Āto shiatā*, no. 69 (July 1969): 11.
[231] Ibid.

after ten years of their rebellions, and thus, their trip to Europe and their presence at the festival, which increased their profile as major Japanese film directors, were successful.[232] International film festivals would prove to open up new possibilities of collaboration after the 1970s for independent film directors as international co-productions, which I will explore in the next chapter.

[232] See Shirai Yoshio, Kawakita Kazuko, Shibata Shun, Yoshida Yoshishige, Shinoda Masahiro, and Oshima Nagisa, "Abiniyon nihon sosite sekai no eiga," *Kinema junpō*, no. 513 (January 1970): 24-31.

Chapter 4. INTERNATIONAL CO-PRODUCTIONS: ENCOUNTERING THE FEMALE AUDIENCE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

After international film festivals shifted their focus from European art-cinema-centered programs to world-cinema-oriented programs in the late 1960s, Oshima Nagisa became one of the leading directors who not only won prizes but also provided scandalous news.[233] His first internationally co-produced film, *In the Realm of the Senses* (*Ai no korīda*, 1976, hereafter *In the Realm*) was remembered for its sensational opening screenings for the directors' fortnight at the 1976 Cannes Film Festival and was scrutinized in an obscenity trial in Japan. By his second international co-production *Empire of Passion* (*Ai no bōrei*, 1978, hereafter *Empire*), Oshima won the Best Director Award at the 1978 Cannes Film Festival, which highlighted his reputation as a world-renowned auteur. His third international co-production, *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* (*Senjō no merī kurisumasu*, 1983, hereafter *Mr. Lawrence*), competed with Imamura Shōhei's *The Ballad of Narayama* (*Narayama bushikō*, 1983) for the Palme d'Or at the 1983 Cannes Film Festival. Although Imamura's film ultimately won the prize, *Mr. Lawrence*'s casting, which included the rock star David Bowie, and its homoerotic theme drew public attention. With larger production budgets and complex logistics, international co-productions with European producers such as Anatole Dauman and Jeremy Thomas offered Oshima the new

[233] I here bear in mind Dudley Andrew's periodization of internal film festivals' programs, defined as a shift in the late 1960s from "federated phase" to "the world cinema phase." See Andrew, "Time Zones and Jetlag: The Flows and Phrases of World Cinema," in *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, ed. Natasa Ďurovičová and Kathleen E. Newman (New York: Routledge, 2010), 59-89.

frontier that was the international film festival, where as an auteur he could receive recognition and critiques from worldwide cineastes and international audiences.[234]

Outside of the international film festival circuit, if we pay close attention to the contemporary discourse about Oshima's international co-productions in Japan, we can find an emerging female audience for his works in the local context. A report about *Empire* at the Cannes Film Festival in the film magazine *Kinema junpō* details the change of the audience of Oshima's films from his collaboration with the Art Theater Guild (ATG) in the 1960s to the release of his international co-productions as follows:

> Back in the 1960s, when the director was showing his work at the Art Theater in Shinjuku, audiences were limited to young students and intellectuals. However, the number of female fans began to increase around the time of *In the Realm*. The director, who wanted to be seen by a wide range of ordinary people, especially sought a female audience."[235]

An article from a weekly magazine also reports the change of the spectators of Oshima's films at the release of *Mr. Lawrence*: "Up until now, his fans have been mostly male fans, especially college students and men in their 30s. However, *Mr. Lawrence* has turned completely into a fan base of middle and high school students, university students, and female college students."[236]

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[234] For example, compared to ATG's 10-million-yen film, the production cost of *Mr. Lawrence* was 1.6 billion yen. Cf. "Minami taiheiyō roke kaishi e" *Yomiuri shinbun*, August 9, 1982, evening edition. During the production of *Mr. Lawrence*, the huge gap of production cost between Hollywood blockbuster movies (e.g., *E.T.*, 1982) and Japanese movie drew attention. An article in *Yomiuri shinbun*, for example, stated that there is a 6-7 times difference in production costs between the US and Japan. "Seisakuhi," *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 13. 1983, evening edition.

[235] Shima Reiko, "Kannu de mita *Ai no borei*," *Kinema junpō*, no. 743 (September 1978): 69.

[236] Muraoka Kazuhiko, "Jidai no naminori otoko Oshima Nagisa 'Yangu no kokoro o kō tsukame'," *Shūkan gendai*, June 25, 1983, 195.

Furthermore, Oshima Nagisa himself acknowledged this change of reception in his book by saying "the biggest shock I received about *Mr. Lawrence* was the quantity and quality of the letters I received from all over the place at the release in Japan, especially from girls (shōjo)."[237] These instances show that, besides international audiences, there was a change in the taken-for-granted audience in the local context of Japan and that female fans became the new audience of Oshima's works, especially from *In the Realm* to *Mr. Lawrence*.

This chapter explores the relationship between these provocative international co-productions and the unexamined local female audience in Japan. Focusing on the reception of Oshima's international co-productions within feminist discourse in the 1970s and girls' culture in the 1980s, this chapter argues that the female audience actively interpreted the bodies in the above films as embodied liberation. To do so, this chapter excavates materials such as a feminist's testimony in the court proceedings of the obscenity trial of *In the Realm*, the active discussion the same film sparked about sexuality in pornographic films in the feminist magazine *Woman: Eros* (*Onna erosu*), girls' enthusiastic reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* in a homo-erotic magazine for girls (*JUNE*), and a *JUNE*-related film critic's work on the relationship between queer cinema and female spectatorship. In their roundtable discussion about sexual liberation and *In the Realm*, feminists found emancipatory power from patriarchal society in the face of the actor Matsuda Eiko, who played Abe Sada struggling to fulfill her own sexual desire. In their film reviews, girls sensed and praised queerness that disrupted heteronormativity in David Bowie's performance in *Mr. Lawrence*. By interpreting the bodies of Matsuda and Bowie as embodied liberation, the female audience created a political significance for Oshima's international co-productions that challenged patriarchal society and heteronormativity in Japan.

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[237] Oshima Nagisa, *Kotaeru!* (Tokyo: Dagereo shuppan, 1983), 10.

4.2 Pornography Across Borders

During the four years between the last ATG collaboration film *Dear Summer Sister* (*Natsu no imōto*, 1972) and *In the Realm*, Oshima dissolved Sōzōsha, the production company he formed in 1961 with friends. This was significant for Oshima's production system because his works for the last decade, not only films but also TV documentaries, were collaborative creations with regular members of Sōzōsha. In a 1973 newspaper article, narrating the trajectory of Sōzōsha in the 1960s, Oshima explains that independent productions did not fit the times and had become outdated. Sōzōsha was once a place for freedom of creation separated from the major studios and their vertical integration. But Sōzōsha's collaboration with ATG gradually fell into a rut and became an inflexible system that regulated his film production in the 1970s. Thus, by dissolving Sōzōsha, he wanted to find a new method of creation and more importantly a new point of contact with new spectators.[238]

The difficulty of this new challenge is underlined by one unrealized film project: *Karayuki-san*. On April 5, 1974, *Yomiuri Shimbun* covered Oshima's planned film in an article titled "Oshima Nagisa's new project *Karayuki-san*: The point of contact between Japan and Asia."[239] Karayuki-san, Japanese women who were trafficked to foreign countries as prostitutes, drew attention in 1970 because of the publication of Morisaki Kazue's "Karayuki-san: A Life of Karayuki-san" (1970) and Yamazaki Tomoko's *Sandakan No. 8* (1972). Film director Imamura Shōhei made a documentary on Karayuki-san in 1973 and a film based on Yamazaki's novel,

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[238] "Naze Sōzōsha o kaisan shita ka," *Yomiuri shinbun*, July 17, 1973, evening edition.

[239] "Oshima Nagisa ga shinsaku *Karayuki-san*," *Yomiuri shinbun*, April 5, 1974, evening edition.

Sandakan No. 8 (dir. Kumai Kei, *Sandakan hachiban shōkan bōkyō*), was released in 1974. The article states that Oshima has already completed the first scenario, Morisaki and Oshima are discussing the production, and Oshima is planning to shoot the film on location in Singapore, Bangkok, and Bombay in July 1974. The film production in the article sounds positive and shooting is around the corner. But this film was never produced. The conclusion of the article provides some clues that allow us to speculate about the reason the project was abandoned: "And Oshima said, 'The first aim is to get together with someone who will provoke and uplift me. I will find producers, investors, and promoters from the same perspective, and organize our staff'."[240] This line implies a possible reason why he was not able to make *Karayuki-san*: he did not have a production system after Sōzōsha and had to start by forming a new production unit with a new producer. This urgent task would be performed by his international collaborators whom Oshima connected with through the introduction of contemporary Japanese cinema to international film festivals (e.g., the Avignon Festival, the Pesaro Film Festival, and the Cannes Film Festival).[241]

The expansion of international film festivals' programs provided cineastes with chances for new collaborations. One such promoter of international collaboration was Anatole Dauman, producer of *In the Realm*. He and Philippe Lifchitz founded Argos Film for the production and world distribution of short films in 1949. Dauman's position in the film industry was first established by key productions of French New Wave in the 1950s and 1960s such as Alain Resnais's *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été*

[240] Ibid.

[241] Hirasawa Gō, "Sekai ni okeru 1960-1970 nendai nihon eiga no hihyō, juyō, kenkyū o megutte," *Gengo bunka*, no. 31 (2014): 10.

(1960), Godard's *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle* (1966), etc.[242] Dauman and Oshima met in 1968 for the first time when Oshima was looking for a distribution agency for *Death by Hanging* upon international release. Argos Film obtained the international distribution rights of *Death by Hanging* and then *The Ceremony* (*Gishiki*, 1971). When Oshima brought *Dear Summer Sister* to the Venice International Film Festival in 1972, he stopped and met Dauman in Paris, and the international collaboration for *In the Realm* started. Oshima and Dauman decided to make a pornographic film based on the actual incident in which Abe Sada killed her lover and cut off his genitals.[243]

Although their comments on the international collaboration playfully mystified the beginning of the project, their decision to produce a pornographic film for international release related to the changing position of pornography in the international film industry in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.[244] To be more specific, while pornographic film (pink film) had been produced mainly by small independent companies in 1960s Japan such as Wakamatsu Productions, two major studios, Tōei and Nikkatsu, also started producing pornography in 1968 and 1971 respectively. In the decline of the film industry, pornography became not only a popular genre for independent productions but also studios' lifeline in Japan.[245] Beyond the film

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[242] The filmography of Anatole Dauman is available in Jacques Gerber, *Anatole Dauman: Pictures of a Producer* (London: BFI, 1992), 185-200.

[243] For more explanation on the process of Oshima's collaboration with Dauman, see Uchida Takehiro ed. *Ai no korīda zen saiban kiroku*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shakai hyōronsha 1981), 246-85. About the representations of Abe Sada in popular discourse, see Christine L. Marran, *Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[244] Cf. Oshima Nagisa, *Ai no korīda* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1976), 127-145, and Jacques Gerber, *Anatole Dauman*, 137-8.

[245] As for research on pornographic film and its context in Japan, Jasper Sharp covers the history of Japanese exploitation cinema in independent productions, studio productions, and international co-productions. Abé Mark Nornes and Michael Arnold note the significance of seeing pink films in a pink film theater as the context of reception. Alexander Zahlten

industry in Japan, the presence of pornographic film in the US was also remarkable in the early 1970s. For example, in an interview, Oshima recounted how he was exposed to a lot of pornography in New York in 1972 when he brought his films to MOMA for his international retrospective curated by Donald Richie.[246] Also, for Dauman, "The cinema of the 70s was beginning to worry about the equivocal aspects of the surge of pornography. Flourishing in the United States, it was getting ready to invade French cinemas."[247] A pornographic film had potential as a new developing genre and an intervention in the dominant film industry in the early 1970s.

Dauman and Oshima had a strategy that made their film production unique in this historical situation: creating pornography across borders. The production process of *In the Realm* was exceptional. Oshima shot the whole film in Japan and sent unexposed film to France to be developed and edited, so that he could bypass the law against "obscenity (waisetsu)" (article 175), which prohibits distributing, selling, and displaying obscene materials in Japan. And, when customs officials censored the film as an imported French film, they could expose how the nation-state regulated the freedom of expression. In other words, filmmaking itself became an

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categorizes pink film as an industrial genre and discusses its relationship to the major studios' strategies. See Sharp, *Behind the Pink Curtain: The Complete History of Japanese Sex Cinema* (Godalming, Surrey: FAB, 2008), Nornes, *The Pink Book: The Japanese Eroduction and Its Contexts* (n.p.: Kinema Club, 2014), Michael John Arnold, "Sex Every Afternoon: Pink Film and the Body of Pornographic Cinema in Japan," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2015), and Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema*. In terms of the context of reception, it should be noted that the film opened at major studio, Tōhō-operated Miyuki-za (in Hibiya, near shopping district Ginza), which had historically screened foreign films targeting the female audience including French pornographic film *Emmanuelle* (1974). Contrary to Pink Film theaters in downtown or studio-owned theaters screening studio-produced pornographic films, the screenings as an imported French film at Miyuki-za shaped an alternative viewing experience of pornographic film. See "Kōkoku, *Ai no korīda*," *Yomiuri shinbun*, September 29, 1976, evening edition.

[246] Oshima Nagisa, "Poruno kanshō," *Yomiuri shinbun*. May 11, 1972, morning edition.

[247] Jacques Gerber, *Anatole Dauman*, 137.

international event and a site of state criticism. The international co-production exposed the limits of filmmaking, censorship, and nationality. In fact, even today the uncensored film is not available in Japan. As Oshima remarked, *In the Realm* became perfect pornography in Japan by becoming a film people cannot see."[248] Oshima was proud that it was a very well-known film, even no one was able to see the original in Japan.

The unseeable situation of the film prompted more attention to the discourse about the film than the film itself. For instance, a TV documentary about Oshima's filmmaking was produced for the first time. The revealing title of the documentary was *The Time of Nudity: A Pornographic Film* In the Realm of the Senses (*Hadaka no jidai: Poruno eiga Ai no korīda*, 1976; directed by documentarist Noda Shinkichi). It is a part of the TV documentary series "Living Human Journey" by TV producer Ushiyama Jun'ichi and takes the viewer behind the scenes of the filmmaking process. The focus is Oshima's presence, not that of the actors. While there are scenes in which actors such as Fuji Tatsuya appear and talk, Oshima's interview in which he talks about objectives of the film comprises the main body of the documentary. Exploring the setting of the film studio that captures tensions in the filmmaking and introducing the production system with Dauman, this TV documentary provides the audience with a different point of view toward the film: filmmaking itself is a new challenge. The filmmaking as a critical performance is emphasized when the documentary cannot show the shooting of sexual activity and the narration says, "we had to stop shooting here."

Before the censored version of the film was released in Japan on October 16, 1976, the book version of *In the Realm* that was published on June 15, 1976. Following this publication, Oshima and president of the publishing company, Takemura Hajime, were charged with

[248] Oshima Nagisa, *Ai no korīda*, 128.

obscenity on July 28, 1976, and indicted on August 15, 1977, though they were found not guilty.[249] As this chronology shows, the trial targeted the book, not the film, because of Oshima and Dauman's innovative production system—Oshima considered this indictment an act of revenge against their film production which bypassed censorship. The book in question has three sections: 23 still photographs taken during the shooting, the original scenario, and essays about the film and pornography by Oshima. Like other obscenity trials against pornographic films (e.g., the *Black Snow* trial and the Nikkatsu Roman Porno trial), this trial drew journalistic, public, and scholarly attention due to the questions it raised surrounding freedom of expression.[250]

Due to the obscenity trial, the politics of the film's spectatorship has inevitably been highlighted and explored. For example, film scholar Aaron Gerow examines the trial by looking at the reception of *In the Realm* as recorded in its court proceedings. Gerow asserts obscenity does not come from the text itself but from the spectator fabricated by the censor because it is impossible to define what obscenity is based on the text.[251] And literary scholar Kristen Cather, locating this trial in the history of censorship in postwar Japan, explores how, in the trial, the prosecutor-as-a-reader actively created possible readings while posing the issue of medium hybridity of the book version of *In the Realm*.[252] Since the trial raised the question of where obscenity comes from, the trial was a place for creating possible interpretations of the film. Both

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[249] Cf. Uchida Takehiro ed. *Ai no korīda zen saiban kiroku*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shakai hyōronsha 1980) and Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), n. 5, 297.

[250] For the obscenity trials against porn films, see Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, 77-152.

[251] Aaron Gerow, "Oshima to iu sakka, kankyaku to iu waisetsu: *Ai no korīda* saiban to poruno no seiji," *Yuriika* 32, no. 1 (January 2000): 188-97.

[252] Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, 197-220.

Gerow's and Cather' analyses zero in on the trial as an example of the reception of the film and the book.

4.3 The Feminist Spectatorship of *In the Realm of the Senses*

Drawing on these analyses of the politics of the spectatorship of the film and the book, I argue that the most politically significant spectators of the film were feminists who advocated for sexual freedom as their right against the patriarchal norm of Japanese society. The film was not only discussed in the context of obscenity raised in the trial but also in the context of the contemporary discourse on women's liberation in Japan. For example, women's liberation activist Ozawa Ryōko testified in the trial. Her testimony clearly historicized the film in contemporary feminist discourse and offered a feminist reading of the film. Also, the film was discussed in an issue of the feminist journal *Woman: Eros*, which was launched in November 1973 to form a "genuine women's communication."[253] The pornographic film *In the Realm* provided an opportunity to debate the issue of female sex and sexuality to confront social norms and sexual discrimination related to the marriage system, the housewife as a social category, the family, and sexual activity.

As one of the guest panelists on a TV show in which Oshima also appeared as a commentator advising on personal problems presented by female members of the audience, Ozawa testified from a historical perspective on the question of why this film was important in women's liberation. Ozawa's participation in the trial has been discussed by scholars and interpreted from various perspectives. For example, while focusing on Oshima's narrative

[253] Onna erosu henshū i'inkai, "Sengen," *Onna erosu*, no. 1 (November 1973): 10.

relating to "romantic love" in the trial, Hori Hikari acutely criticizes how Oshima appropriated Abe Sada's story and argues that Oshima's questions to Ozawa in the trial created the conservative story that Ozawa was emotionally moved by the love Abe showed in the film.[254] Yet, by emphasizing the political discourse of democracy as a historical context of the film, Wang Wenyi argues that Ozawa's participation in the trail was a chance of the negotiation between feminist arguments and male-centered discourse about pornographic film.[255] Agreeing with Hori's criticism of Oshima's role narrowing the political potential of Ozawa's testimony in the trial, in the following I would like to pay attention to Ozawa's testimony in the historical context which Wang takes in to consideration.

Mentioning Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (which was translated into Japanese in 1973) and the feminist movement in the 1960s, Ozawa introduced the idea that the explicit recognition of the fact that "women have sexual desire" was the most important sign of progress in the feminist movement.[256] Being asked to be more specific about the relationship between the film and her testimony by the judge, Ozawa connected the film to the necessity of sexual expression in women's liberation. In *In the Realm*'s book, Ozawa reads the indicted pictures as "the first time in a movie called pornography that a woman is not faking her expression of ecstasy. In other words, it's a struggle, and the woman's face is fierce. I remember that I had a strong impression that a woman was struggling from this film."[257] On the film itself, she continued, "In

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[254] Hori Hikari, "'Ai no aru sekkusu' to iu shinario: Waisetsu saiban, dansei eiga kantoku, feminizumu gensetsu no kousa chiten," *Joseigaku*, no.11 (2003): 107-22, and "Oshima Nagisa's *Ai no korida* Reconsidered: Law, Gender, and Sexually Explicit Film in Japanese Cinema," in *Cinema, Law, and the State in Asia*, ed. Corey K. Creekmur and Mark Sidel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2007), 123-39.

[255] Wang Wenyi, "*Ai no korīda* ni yoru "minshu" to "josei kaihō": 1970 nendai no porunografī eiga to poritikusu," *Nagoya daigaku jinbungaku fōramu*, no. 1 (2018): 251-67.

[256] Uchida Takehiro ed. *Ai no korīda zen saiban kiroku*, vol. 1, 277

[257] Ibid., 287.

other words, in other movies, women are often forced or made to have sex. In *In the Realm*, however, the women are an equal, or they proactively express their desire for sex."[258] To Ozawa, the sexual desire Abe Sada demonstrates in the film had been hidden in patriarchal Japanese society, and she believes that women should not be excluded from the right to express their own desire. In a sense, her argument about the film and the book was an attempt to find an ideal embodiment in the feminism movement she engaged with in the character of Abe Sada, or, more precisely, the actor of Abe, Matsuda Eiko. In so doing, she treated the face of Matsuda as the symbol of the sexual liberation of women with emphasis on the narrative in which Abe takes her desire to fulfill her sexual needs to an extreme. Therefore, she argued that the *In the Realm* book and the film contribute to women's liberation and should not be impeded by an arbitrarily defined conception of obscenity.

Pornography had been an important issue for the journal *Woman: Eros*, which focused on women's liberation and its relationship with sexuality.[259] For instance, in the review section called "Woman Sniper (Onna sogeki hei)" in which various writers criticized film, TV, and music, there is a critique of the conservative image of women in pornographic films. Looking at passivity of a woman in a film by Nishimura Shōgorō, the author Kishida Rio writes: "Pornography is ahead of the times to the point where it is brought to the court [a reference to the Nikkatsu Roman Porno trial]. If only those 'poor women' appear in it, pornography will never go beyond a little satisfaction in the dark and will never be a sign of progress (shinpo)."[260] In other

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[258] Ibid.

[259] For the information about *Woman: Eros* in the feminist movement in postwar Japan, see, for example, Vera C. Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[260] Kishida Rio, "Poruno eiga no hiroin wa naze furui onna ka," *Onna erosu*, no. 1. (November 1973): 170.

words, she was unsatisfied with pornography's depiction of women and were waiting for a new type of representation of women in the provocative genre of pornography.

In the March 1977 issue of *Woman: Eros*, a roundtable discussion was held about *In the Realm*. The title is "*In the Realm of the Senses* and Liberation of Sex (*Ai no korīda* to sei no kaihō)." The emancipatory impact of Sada's face as an embodiment of sexual liberation is underscored by the fact that the roundtable consisted of many digressions about personal sexual experience and desire, which often took up space that would otherwise have been occupied by discussions about issues to do with the film itself. For instance, one participant says, "That actress was great. I also tried holding the knife in my mouth in front of the mirror after watching the movie. I couldn't be like her (fig.4.1)."[261] This proved that the face of Matsuda inspired the female audience to imitate her gestures, even physically. One-third of the discussion is about their own sexual activities and how to go to extremes like Abe did in the film. A participant tells her story of how she and her young partner developed their relationship including their sexual activities. Another participant shows her interest in casual sex and orgies as a means of liberation. And still another participant talks in detail about when and how she feels an orgasm.[262] These conversational detours, which came as a result of the impact on the participants of Abe Sada's story and Matsuda's performance, signify that, despite this film not directly being about contemporary politics like Oshima's ATG works in the late 1960s, it could be connected to women's everyday lives. This connection was achieved through the contemporary feminist discourse on women's personal and political liberation.

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[261] Ōtani Junko, Saeki Yōko, Takayama Yū, Nanashigawa Jari, Hatazawa Aiko, Mizoguchi Akiyo, and Yoshikiyo Kazue, "*Ai no korīda* to sei no kaihō" *Onna erosu*, no. 8 (March 1977): 63.

[262] Ibid., 66-7.

Importantly, like Hori criticizes Oshima's question to Ozawa in the trial, the participants of the roundtable discussion also criticize Oshima's position as a male director of pornographic film. Participant Mizoguchi criticizes Oshima's voiceover, which closes the film as a betrayal of the theme of the film, which is "the woman captures the man."[263] Another participant Hatazawa points out that Oshima's belief that making a hardcore pornography is revolutionary shows his moral philosophy as a traditional man. However, as a whole, they all agree that the film was meaningful for the expression of sexuality that has to change in male-centered Japanese society, including the film industry. Towards the end, the roundtable proposes a new political direction of politics for Oshima: "[The film] should be underlined for its role as a test of allegiance in regards to the situation surrounding Japanese sexuality. It will change the sense of sexuality of Oshima, actors, and staff. And it has finally laid the foundation for interaction with us."[264] Although Oshima did not join a particular women's liberation group nor contribute to this particular magazine, the exploration of sexuality and complication of it as the foundation for communication with feminists became the main issue of Oshima's international co-productions after *In the Realm*.[265]

[263] Ibid., 62.

[264] Ibid., 69.

[265] *Kinema Junpō*, which featured Oshima's next film *Empire*, held a "women's roundtable discussion (josei zadankai)." Beyond the contents of the discussion such as to what extent the story of the love affair relates to relationships today, this roundtable demonstrates the shift of the targeted (and desirable) audience. Tajima Reiko, Kawashima Nobuko, Yoshikawa Miyoko, Yoshimi Yūko, and Hashimoto Mitsue, "Josei zadankai: Otoko to onna to bōrei ga orinasu ai no rinbu," *Kinema junpō*, no. 743 (September 1978): 60-6.

4.4 CH-CH-CH-CH-CHANGES

On a TV program entitled *Exclusive!! David Bowie Comes to Japan: From* Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence *to* China Girl (*Dokusen!! David Bowie rainichi: Ano* Senmeri *kara* Chaina Gāru *made*), David Bowie speaks with Oshima, who is dressed in a traditional kimono; members of musical group Yellow Magic Orchestra, including Sakamoto Ryūichi; and comedian Beat Takeshi (before he became known as the auteur Kitano Takeshi). This live TV program was broadcast when Bowie's "Serious Moonlight Tour" came to Japan in 1983. As for the content, it focuses mainly on Bowie who became a worldwide superstar through one of his most successful albums, *Let's Dance* (1983). On the show, Bowie explains his experience in acting, Takeshi stays quiet, and Sakamoto is coolly distant. Due to live broadcasting, random questions asked by hosts, and simultaneous interpretation, the program itself is very chaotic, but its chaotic mood eloquently speaks to the characteristic of Oshima's new film, *Mr. Lawrence*. The very different individuals are connected only through the ever-smiling Oshima at the table. Indeed, the audience might wonder why Oshima seems so happy in such a chaotic setting. It is because Oshima's new job is to create a space in which "radicals (rajikaru)," to use Oshima's term, can meet and collaborate as members of the Oshima Gang. The casting of these "radicals" became a key aspect for his third international co-production, *Mr. Lawrence*.

The production team of the film, which is based on Laurens Jan van der Post's novel *The Seed and the Sower* about a Japanese prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Java during World War II, was called the "Oshima Gang," a name coined by Oshima himself. The Oshima Gang was composed of international members including the above stars, several crew members, and British

producer Jeremy Thomas. The collaboration with Thomas was decisive in promoting the film.[266] Film scholar Christopher Meir claims that Thomas is a "great salesman" in terms of marketing and promotion because an independent producer like him "depends more on his ability to package and sell his products, first to financial backers then subsequently to distributors, in order to stay in business."[267] According to Meir, there are four characteristics in marketing strategy which distinguish Thomas as a successful independent producer: a) emphasis on "auteurism" through promotional materials; b) "conspicuous adaptation" of literary sources; c) "sexuality and controversy"; and d) "genre and the cross-over film."[268] While the first two factors are important to appeal to the art cinema domain, the latter two contribute to the broader marketing strategy. When thinking about the case of *Mr. Lawrence*, as I will detail below, the above-mentioned strategies were very effective in terms of attracting a female audience. To be sure, the film was by auteur Oshima who had just won Best Director at Cannes, and was an adaptation of van der Post's *The Seed and the Sower*, but in searching for the new audience, more than anything, it was attractive because it included the provocative topic of homoeroticism in depicting the love between Yonoi (Sakamoto) and Celliers (Bowie) in the war film genre.

In fact, just as the obscenity trial of *In the Realm* was a scandalous event, the casting of *Mr. Lawrence* too became sensational news. The first star who joined the Oshima Gang was David Bowie, but the first person Oshima met for the film was Robert Redford. According to Oshima, van der Post and Redford knew each other through environmentalist activism, and van

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[266] For the biological information and other collaborations of Jeremy Thomas, see Tim Adler, *The Producers: Money, Movies and Who Really Call the Shots* (London: Methuen, 2004), 149-89.

[267] Christopher Meir, "The Producer as Salesman: Jeremy Thomas, Film Promotion and Contemporary Transnational Independent Cinema," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 29, no. 4 (2009): 470.

[268] Ibid., 470-8.

der Post recommended Redford for Oshima's new film project. Redford, however, turned this offer down because he thought that "the American audience would not understand how the Japanese are depicted in the film."[269] Then, Oshima wrote a letter to Bowie to ask him whether he was interested in the film because Oshima saw Bowie on TV advertisements for Japanese liquor. This substitution from Redford, an established actor who represents New Hollywood, to Bowie, a rock star without a conventional career in acting, was a decisive move in promoting the film. Film critic Ogino Yōichi even recalls that when he saw the casting of the film, he thought "how frivolous (keihaku) this casting is."[270] Indeed, the film was "frivolous" in the way it casts trendy celebrities, instead of professional actors or bona fide amateurs like Oshima's previous ATG films. The casting of the three celebrities, Celliers (Bowie), Yonoi (Sakamoto Ryūichi), and Hara (Beat Takeshi), whose personas became more important than their acting credentials, was a new strategy of international co-production that Oshima developed with Jeremy Thomas.

Few people embody the openness of the term "queer" quite like David Bowie. His rock star appearance, cinematic performance, and fluid sexuality contribute to manifold identities and queer images. At the moment he appeared in *Mr. Lawrence* in 1983, Bowie had already transformed multiple times, from Ziggy Stardust to Aladdin Sane to the Thin White Duke, to name a few of his personas. As a rock star in the age of transmedia, he traveled between different media industries with his flexible identities and played queer roles in many films including *The Man Who Fell to Earth* (1976), *Just a Gigolo* (1979), and *The Hunger* (1983).[271] On Bowie's

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[269] Oshima Nagisa, *Oshima Nagisa chosakushū*, vol. 3, 180.

[270] Ogino Yōichi, "Hara gunsō wa 'oi okiro!' to itta," in *Eiga kantoku, Kitano Takeshi*, ed. Tanaka Ryūsuke, Yamamoto Jun'ya, and Yabusaki Kyōko (Tokyo: Firumu Ātosha, 2017), 299.

[271] In terms of discovering new personas through traveling different media industries, it should be noted that other stars also explored new personas by joining the Oshima Gang. For example, *Mr. Lawrence* was the first film acting experience and the first soundtrack composition

queerness and his performance beyond gender stereotypes in the films, Julie Lobalzo Wright remarks that "visual transformation, emphasis on performance and his non-naturalistic, 'alien' image . . . are encapsulated by Bowie's queer iconography, especially his androgynous persona."[272] His queerness is deconstructive in a way that he can transcend existing categories not only of media but of gender as well. Bowie's performance in *Mr. Lawrence* has been interpreted in many ways by film scholars, including as the object of geopolitical identification in the relationship between Asia and the West, and as his play with sadomasochistic desire that reveals the audience's perversity.[273] I argue that Bowie's queerness, which deeply relates to the homoerotic theme of *Mr. Lawrence* (that crystallizes into Celliers's kiss to Yonoi), was the main attraction of the film which helped it encounter a new female audience.

As I briefly mentioned before, in his book, in which Oshima answers questions he received during his world tour of London, Edinburgh, Venice, San Francisco, and New York, girls and young women appeared as a new audience of Oshima's film.[274] As an example of the impressive sensitivity that girls have, Oshima quotes a letter from a 17-year-old woman in

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for Sakamoto Ryūichi. Also, comedian Takeshi's serious acting was surprising for the audience. Satō Tadao evaluated Takeshi's acting as follows, "Needless to say, Beat Takeshi was a manzai comedian and was at his peak of popularity as a slapstick comedian. Everyone knows he's a genius in that respect, but since he hasn't done any serious drama, this casting surprised me. As a result, it was a great success, and the combination of the ferocity and innocence of his kind of talent matched neatly with Hara's lovable savagery." Sato, "Sensō no hanzaisha kokka o tsuikyū suru Oshima Nagisa no shiten," *Kinema junpō*, no. 860 (May 1983): 59.

[272] Julie Lobalzo Wright, "David Bowie: The Extraordinary Rock Star as Film Star," in *David Bowie: Critical Perspective*, ed. Eoin Devereux, Aileen Dillane, and Martin J. Power (New York: Routledge, 2015), 231.

[273] Cf. Earl Jackson Jr., "Desire at Cross(-Cultural) Purposes: *Hiroshima, Mon Amour* and *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence*," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 2, no. 1 (1994): 133-74, and Rosalind Galt, "David Bowie's Perverse Cinematic Body," *Cinema Journal* 57, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 131-38.

[274] Oshima Nagisa, *Kotaeru!* 10.

Kyushu at the end of the book. Praising the film with enthusiasm and thanking him for the casting of the film, she writes:

> I am 17 years old now and I am glad that I could see this film at this time. Had I seen it earlier, I would have thought it was a beautiful movie, but I would never have found out the true beauty of this wonderful film and its eroticism. I personally have changed rapidly during the past year. If I see it a few years from now, will I still be able to say 'the film is good'?[275]

She sensed "the true beauty of the film" and narrates her viewing experience reflecting on her change in the past years. The "true beauty" she found is not simply about male-female attraction—that is, in this case, of young girls to male stars of the film—but about the genuine relationship among the characters, which goes beyond the diegesis of the film and invites specific emotional associations with the audience. Underlining her uncontainable emotional reaction to the exchange between the Japanese sergeant Hara (Takeshi) and the English POW Lawrence (Tom Conti) in the last scene, she continues, "Indeed, they sowed seeds for each other that never bloomed. And Hara, Lawrence, Yonoi, and Celliers sowed seeds for me too. I am the one who makes them bloom."[276] Here, she figuratively highlights the beauty of the relationships among the characters and includes herself within the relationship as an audience member who felt it. The fact that she questions whether or not she can enjoy the film a year from now underscores that the "true beauty" of the film is ephemeral and especially tied to her unsettled moment as a teenager. This implies the film's special association to girls' culture.

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[275] Ibid., 221.
[276] Ibid., 222.

4.5 *MERRY CHRISTMAS, MR. LAWRENCE* IN GIRLS' CULTURE

While the connection between *Mr. Lawrence* and girls' culture has not yet been explored, it should not be overlooked as a trivial issue, especially when considering the influence of Bowie on girls' manga culture in Japan. In the 1970s, girls' manga experienced a radical transformation with the emergence of the new generation called "the Year 24 Group (24 nen gumi)."[277] The group was revolutionary in introducing transgressive gender identities and queer romance in girls' manga.[278] The author of *David Bowie: A Transforming Cult Star* (*Deviddo Boui: Hengen suru karuto sutā*) Nonaka Momo introduces the influence of Bowie on the Year 24 Group, particularly on the works of Ōshima Yumiko. According to Nonaka, one can find the influence of Bowie on girls' manga in not only Bowie-like characters but also Bowie-inspired themes that "tenderly take care of ones who cannot adapt themselves to the mainstream" in Ōshima Yumiko's manga.[279] Indeed, there is a wide range of references to Bowie in Ōshima Yumiko's works such as a character who sings Bowie's song "Hang On to Yourself" in *Mimoza yakata de tsukamaete* (1973), an androgynous character reminiscent of Bowie, Hyūga On (Wolfman), in *Ichigo monogatari* (1975), and a Ziggy-inspired British singer, with the stage name "Pink Coat," in *He His Him* (1978). These examples indicate that Bowie's queerness empowered girls' manga to radicalize the genre by foregrounding transgressive gender identities against heteronormativity

[277] The group is called 24 nen gumi because the authors of the group were born in 1949 (shōwa 24).

[278] For a more detailed analysis about homoerotic themes and art styles of the group, see Deborah Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), 101-36.

[279] Nonaka Momo, *Deviddo Boui: Hengensuru karuto sutā* (Tokyo: Chikuma shinsho, 2017), 153, and Miura Sara, "Pītā Pinkukōto nojidai: Nihon no shōjo manga ni Boui ga nokoshitamono," *Yuriika* 48, no. 6 (April 2016): 209-17.

and creating a space for imaginings liberated from gender rubrics.[280] This history of girls' manga provides us with a way to comprehend *Mr. Lawrence* through the lens of girls' culture with Bowie's queerness as its focus.

Such reception of *Mr. Lawrence* in girls' culture, for example, can be observed in *JUNE* (pronounced Ju-nay), the first commercial magazine for adolescent girls (mainly from late teens to early twenties) devoted to male-male romantic and sexual relationships. According to film scholar Ishida Minori, *JUNE* served as "the collaborative place" where Year 24 Group manga artist Takemiya Keiko and novelist Kurimoto Kaoru/Nakajima Azusa together created a genre called "aesthetic (tanbi)," a hybrid of highbrow literature and pornography in male-male romance stories for the female audience. In order to establish the genre, they actively used *JUNE* as an educational medium by accepting and critiquing works submitted by readers.[281] Takemiya's introduction of European-oriented themes in same-sex relationships was significant for the development of "aesthetic" genre because certain European settings (e.g., boarding school) became tropes that provided an isolated space from reality so that the readers could appreciate the idealized relationships in male-male eroticism.[282] Naturally, the July 1983 issue of the magazine featured *Mr. Lawrence*, in which its privileged star Bowie appeared. Stressing that the film takes place in an isolated world with the line "a perverse encounter between Japan and the West is a men-only world" on the first page, the article introduces the synopsis with still images from the film.[283] The framing of the film in the article presents the film as a variant of

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[280] Emily Somers analyzes the process of transgender identification in Ōshima Yumiko's work. See Somers, "New Halves, Old Selves: Reincarnation and Transgender Identification in Ōshima Yumiko's *Tsurubara-tsurubara*," *Mechademia* 7, no. 1 (2012): 223-46.

[281] Ishida Minori, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku: Yaoi, bōizu rabu zenshi* (Kyoto: Rakuhoku shuppan, 2008), 221-49.

[282] Ibid., 212-21.

[283] "Tokusen meiga gekijō: *Senjō no merī kurisumasu*," *JUNE*, no. 11 (July 1983).

JUNE stories in girls' culture. This is not only a war film showing fanatic Japanese militarism and brutal violence of the POW camp but also an unfulfilled love story in an isolated "men-only" space.

The readers' opinions about the film featured in the next issue of *JUNE* showcase one audience segment of *Mr. Lawrence* in girls' culture that enjoys the eroticism of the film. Writing excitedly (with exclamation points at the end of almost every sentence) that the most impressive thing for her is Sakamoto's thin waist but her "bad friend" likes Bowie's back in the court scene, the first opinion expresses the importance of the male-male relationship in the isolated setting of the film: "the best part is that no women are in the film."[284] One review stresses the beauty of the male body, especially in a military uniform. Another opinion notes that although the way a soldier touches Bowie while saying "you know what I think?" is "*JUNE*-ish," the author was surprised by that "there is no obscenity (iyarashisa)."[285] From this opinion, it can be understood that *JUNE* readers expected to see more perverse or sexually suggestive activities between Bowie and other cast members, though some found eroticism in particular elements such as Sakamoto's waist, Bowie's back, and their bodies in military uniform.

The last and longest opinion from someone who is "addicted" to the film finds a genuine connection between its author and the male-male relationships in the film. The female writer first points out that in a temporary space like the POW camp Yonoi's position of power and the life of Celliers are short-lived dreams. She is afraid of the situation in which "nothing is certain and nothing is to be trusted" and "what's right and what's wrong could suddenly change tomorrow," and that's why, she continues, "everyone is trying to find some kind of salvation and support. . . .

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[284] "Readers', Writers', and Editors' Bedroom: Repōto *Senjō no merī kurisumasu*," *JUNE*, no. 12 (September 1983).

[285] Ibid.

I think Yonoi saved Celliers, and Celliers saved Yonoi."[286] Notably, like the letter from a girl cited in Oshima's book, the way she talks about the film sounds more personal in regard to her own emotions. Given her emotional connection to the relationship between Yonoi and Celliers, which was never accepted by heteronormative society in the POW camp (a fact that is further reinforced by the fact that Yonoi secretly takes a lock of Celliers's hair after his death to dedicate to a shrine in Yonoi's home village), this personal review can be connected to their queer relationship as a challenge and attempt at "salvation" that goes against grain of heteronormativity. If we take some examples from the film, we can see that, in the uncertain situation of the POW camp, the actions of Celliers are attempts to challenge the norms: his provocative response when asked by Yonoi "are you an evil spirit?", saying "one of yours, I hope"; giving up a sword as he confronts Yonoi after saving tied-up Lawrence; and his kiss to Yonoi. Considering the Korean guard Kanemoto's brutal execution because of his same-sex relationship with a Dutch soldier, Celliers's kiss to Yonoi is undoubtedly the most disruptive action in the POW camp (fig.4. 2).

In exploring the connection between the above film reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* in *JUNE* and the political significance of the film, critic Ishihara Ikuko's works offer a perspective from which appreciating queer films in girls' culture can be contextualized as a challenge to heteronormativity. Ishihara had a strong connection to *JUNE* not only as a reader but also as a creative writer. While writing film reviews for film magazines such as *Kinema junpō*, Ishihara submitted her stories to *JUNE* where Nakajima offered critique of readers' works. Ishihara's publications in film magazines and *JUNE* are intertwined in collectively criticizing a patriarchal system in human relationships and presenting "sexual relationships that are neither domination

[286] Ibid.

nor ownership."[287] Here I would like to focus on Ishihara's book *The Violet Film Festival: The Trans Sexual Movies* (*Sumireiro no eigasai: toransu sekusharu mūbīzu*) because, as clearly written in "an extremely personal preface" with her uncomfortable and frustrating experience of sexism, it strongly criticizes the violence of the insensitive majority, who believe in "common sense" without any doubts. Ishihara's experience as a woman in patriarchal society enables her to acutely condemn heteronormativity. Ishihara writes "loving the opposite sex is not a 'natural' thing, it is just something that the majority does."[288] Showing her cinephilic devotion and making her argument through numerous references to films, what is central in Ishihara's book is her criticism of the violence derived from common sense, her compassion for people who challenge heteronormativity, and her belief that a chaotic state (konton) is what accounts for the potential subversive power of the queer film.

In her argument, Ishihara criticizes a common sense which constructs people's judgement about gender roles, sexuality, and human relationships. Then, she connects the criticism of common sense with the female spectatorship of gay film. Ishihara claims that going to the cinema is performance, and film-viewing becomes a theatrical experience when the projected film can encounter the spectators who come and watch it. Going to the cinema is a means of self-expression, the performance of which is more politically charged when the spectator goes to see "uncommon" films such as pornographic movies, cult movies, or queer movies. The performance of female spectators viewing gay films is "a rebellion against the existing order, common sense, and the everyday life of good men and women."[289] Underlining the

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[287] Ishida Minori, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 268.

[288] Ishihara Ikuko, *Sumireiro no eigasai: toransu sekusharu mūbīzu* (Tokyo: Firumu Ātosha, 1996), 9.

[289] Ibid., 18.

overwhelming chaotic power of the emerging Tokyo International Lesbian & Gay Film & Video Festival, she remarks on the significance of collective performance rather than an individual one.[290] In other words, Ishihara asserts that the collective performance of going to the cinema to see queer film is a subversive process that can dismantle patriarchal society and criticize heteronormativity.

Given that *JUNE* served as a reader participatory magazine that featured educational sections led by Takemiya and Nakajima in which Ishihara published her stories, we can see now that Ishihara's argument provides a way to reframe the reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* in *JUNE* as the process of creating their own community to problematize, complicate, and challenge common sense.[291] In fact, the reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* evince a sense of community. For example, the review reporting her "bad friend" who likes Bowie's back uses a direct address to the reader in a sentence which playfully teases her friend: "Everyone (minna), my bad friend is following the trends, that's a problem."[292] Another review which does not understand the reason why Celliers's brother is bullied asks help from the reader by saying "Tell me if you know why."[293] By playfully communicating with each other and exchanging their interpretations of the film, the reviews in *JUNE* encouraged readers to go see the film, and this exchange of experience was their collective performance challenging common sense. As the active intervention from feminists shaped the discourse of *In the Realm* as a film that could contribute to women's liberation in Japan's patriarchal society, girls, by enjoying *Mr. Lawrence* as a variant of *JUNE*

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[290] Ibid., 62-3.

[291] As Jennifer S. Prough's research shows, raising not only readers but also next generation artists through "fabricating" communities in participatory sections is an important goal for girls' comic magazines. See Prough, *Straight from the Heart: Gender, Intimacy, and the Cultural Production of Shōjo Manga* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 57-88.

[292] "Readers', Writers', and Editors' Bedroom."

[293] Ibid.

stories revolving around Bowie's queerness, formed their own community that could challenge heteronormativity.

By examining the female spectatorship of two of Oshima's international co-productions in Japan, *In the Realm* in the feminist movement and *Mr. Lawrence* in girls' culture, this chapter argued that the bodies and performances in the films embodied the idea of liberation for the female audience. The first half of this chapter looked into how feminists formed the discourse in which *In the Realm* contributed to women's liberation, which ranged from Ozawa's testimony in the obscenity trial to the roundtable discussion in *Women: Eros*. Their reading of the face of the actor Matsuda Eiko portraying Abe Sada's struggle for her own sexual desire indicated the way the film could offer emancipatory power from patriarchal society to contemporary feminist movements.

Tracing David Bowie's charismatic popularity in girls' culture in Japan, the second half investigated readers' reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* in *JUNE*. In the reviews, girls sensed and praised Bowie's queerness and the genuine yet rebellious male-male relationships that disrupt heteronormativity. Drawing on *JUNE*-related film critic Ishihara Ikuko's argument of going to the theater as performance and the educational aspect of *JUNE*, I reframed the readers' reviews of *Mr. Lawrence* as the process of forming a community to challenge the violence of common sense. Forming a liberating discourse about sexuality and queerness revolving around the bodies and performances on screen, the female audience actively created political significance for Oshima's international co-productions, which challenged patriarchal society and heteronormativity in Japan.

The two international co-productions in this chapter are cases in which new production systems with international collaboration were able to encounter unexpected reception. Contrary

to activist Oshima's collaboration with ATG which addressed his work with the site-specific spectators in the 1960s, Oshima's collaboration with international co-producers aimed at larger and less specific audiences. International collaboration with European producers enabled Oshima to work with new crews and stars which brought different sets of themes to the films. While the international film festival circulation created global audiences, these new production systems also reshuffled the taken-for-granted audience in the local context in Japan. In other words, Oshima's international co-production was the dynamic process of encountering female audiences and, importantly, these newly-encountered audiences actively created political significance of the works. However, the expansion of Oshima's collaborative relationships after 1970s was not limited to international co-productions in the film industry; now we enter Oshima's new battlefield, that is, his own public image on TV.

Chapter 5. *LIVE TV UNTIL DAWN*: OSHIMA NAGISA'S LATE STYLE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

On the "Aum Shinrikyō and the Sarin Incident" (March 31, 1995) episode of the midnight TV show *Live TV until Dawn* (*Asa made nama terebi*, 1987-present), Oshima Nagisa in kimono shows understanding to a member of the cult Aum Shinrikyō. Although this episode aired before the cult leader Asahara's arrest and before the public learned of Aum's crimes such as its murders of the lawyer Sakamoto Tsutsumi, who actively criticized Aum, and his family in 1989, the Matsumoto sarin attack in 1994, and the Tokyo subway sarin attack in 1995—the basic tone of the discussion is definitely an indictment of Aum. Oshima is critical and does not necessarily agree with them, but at the same time he understands some of Aum members' opinions. Oshima categorizes Aum as a youth movement and compares it to radical student groups in the 1960s. According to him, Aum members and student groups do not know how to compromise with society. Later in the discussion, an Aum member, who is an elite sociology researcher at the University of Tokyo, tries to explain how he understood a conspiracy theory by Aum: Aum asserts that they are too radical in providing an alternative lifestyle to capitalism, and therefore their lifestyle is attacked by the government. Evaluating the fact that the member explained the reasoning in his own words, Oshima responds that this member would have joined a radical student group 20 years ago and the communist party 70 years ago, and points out that the victimization reasoning of being "too radical not to be oppressed" is the core of Aum, like other radical groups. The face of the Aum member listening to Oshima's response is unforgettable, making the audience feel his pain by showing his earnest and serious desire to search for a raison d'être.

Here Oshima is talking about something larger than Aum and that is the core of his role on not only this particular midnight program, but also TV programs in general: being responsible for the values of democratic society in the history of postwar Japan. Since this midnight program started as a place for a new discussion for the post-Cold War structure in 1987 and faced the end of the Shōwa era (1926-1989) in January 1989, the fundamental question throughout the program's discussions was what postwar Japan was and what problems postwar society has. Defeat in WWII in 1945 marked a new start for Japan, but some young people with enthusiasm about creating a new society ended up in the violent clashes among different sects of student groups, the hostage crisis by the United Red Army broadcast on TV in 1972, and Aum's terrorist attack in Tokyo subway in 1995, for example. As a representative intellectual of an old generation which experienced the war and felt responsible for rebuilding Japan after the war, Oshima actively joined multiple discussions and played an irreplaceable role which entailed showing understanding toward public enemies.[294]

Although Oshima had been a celebrity as a representative film director of a new generation from the beginning of his career in journalistic media, Oshima became a *TV* celebrity in the 1980s by appearing on popular variety TV shows, TV commercials, and a midnight TV program. In a commentary for "The Whole Picture of Oshima Nagisa (Oshima Nagisa no zenbō)," a 1983 retrospective screening with the release of *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* (*Senjō no merī kurisumasu*), Matsuda Masao stresses the uniqueness of the retrospective in its inclusive list of Oshima's works which covers not only Oshima's films but also TV documentaries.[295] While I agree with Matsuda on the importance of TV documentary for

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[294] As Satō Tadao points out, Oshima has often presented his interest in public enemies such as criminals in his films. See Satō, *Oshima Nagisa no sekai*, 301.

[295] Matsuda Masao, "TV eizō no kiseki," *Kinema junpō*, no. 858 (April 1983): 78.

Oshima's career, especially in the early 1960s when he left Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio, the part which should particularly draw our attention is the following: "in the gap between *Empire of Passion* (*Ai no bōrei*, 1978) and *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence* (1983), how is Oshima Nagisa, who now appears to be active only as a TV celebrity (tarento) rather than a documentarist, preparing his next work?"[296] This sentence highlights the fact that Oshima established his public persona as a TV personality in the early 1980s, and was met with a slightly critical reception indicated by the use of the phrase "be active only as a TV celebrity."

How can we understand the gap between activist-like film director Oshima in the 1960s, who hangs himself in a noose and states his new film is a form of action like street protests in the trailer of *Death by Hanging* (*Kōshikei*, 1968), and multifaceted TV celebrity Oshima, who sometimes scolds other panelists as "Idiot!" on a TV show and at other times repeats "Cockroach S" (the name of an insecticide) on a TV commercial, for instance? First and foremost, we must take into consideration the time difference between the two Oshimas, which spanned the change of intellectual discourse and media performance in the sixties to the post-Cold War era. To understand Oshima's position, it is helpful to pay attention to the similarity between Oshima and other media intellectuals who were active outside academia such as Shimizu Ikutarō and Yoshimoto Takaaki. According to sociologist Takeuchi Yō, compared to mainstream intellectuals who graduated from the University of Tokyo, had tenure there, and wrote articles for prestigious journals, non-mainstream journalistic intellectuals like Shimizu had to

[296] Ibid., 80. The use of word talent (tarento) in Japanese TV culture, see Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "Image, Information, Commodity: A Few Speculations on Japanese Televisual Culture," in *In Pursuit of Contemporary East Asian Culture*, ed. Xiaobing Tang and Stephen Snyder (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996), 123-37.

differentiate themselves from the mainstream to draw popular attention in journalistic media.[297] Analyzing Shimizu's career as a prototype of media intellectuals, Takeuchi stresses that the radical position Shimizu took in controversial issues was the "karma (gō)" of a media intellectual who had to take a unique position in the popular discourse.[298] For non-mainstream intellectuals in the journalistic domain, the positioning in the discourse is especially significant to constantly manifest themselves as a key player in the current discussion. Differentiation as a strategy of media intellectuals also allows us to understand the new-left's star media intellectual Yoshimoto's affirmative attitude toward capitalism in the 1980s (e.g., Yoshimoto's appearance wearing Comme de Garçons in a female lifestyle magazine) which left all his old activist colleagues confused. Toward the end of the Cold War, media intellectuals found their new position in capitalist society, and Oshima, who did not have a stable position in public discourse especially since he slowed down his activist independent film productions, also exemplified this independent media celebrity attempting to differentiate himself to attract popular attention.

While the examples of Shimizu and Yoshimoto prove that media intellectuals had been influential opinion leaders before TV celebrity Oshima, the emphasis on media performance of intellectuals in mass consumer society was accelerated by a new generation of intellectuals in the early 1980s, the members of so-called New Academism. New Academism is a cultural phenomenon which popularized poststructuralist theory in the 1980s mediascape beyond academia. It was brought about by the unexpected success of Asada Akira's book, *Power and Structure: Beyond Semiotics* (*Kōzō to chikara: Kigōron o koete*), which mapped out French theorists such as Jacques Lacan, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, etc. Despite its difficulty, his

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[297] Takeuchi Yō, *Shimizu Ikutarō no haken to bōkyaku: Media to chishikijin* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2018), 179-87.

[298] Ibid., 185.

highly theoretical book became a bestseller because of Asada's presentation of theories as new cool lifestyles in multiple journalistic channels such as TV, newspapers, and popular magazines.[299] In other words, as Asada praised the rhizome structure as a theoretical model of a new lifestyle, intellectuals of New Academism embodied this new sensibility by appearing in journalistic media without clear hierarchy between academic and journalistic fields.[300]

The media performance of intellectuals enhanced by New Academism invited mixed reactions, if not only criticisms. For example, influential film critic Hasumi Shigehiko wrote an essay titled "In a mass consumption society, intellectuals are also required to perform incessantly (Taishū shōhi shakai de wa chishikijin mo mata taezaru 'gei' o yōkyū sareru)" in which he analyzes how mass consumption society consumes social criticism itself. Observing how opinion leaders and intellectuals are also treated as commodities in mass media such as magazines and journals, Hasumi remarks, "This tendency is almost the same as that of Japanese traditional vaudeville (yose) performances, which are more interesting when they are moderately varied. What people read is the performative tendencies of those who dare to join such popular

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[299] Marilyn Ivy argues the difficulty of the book is central to Asada's role in New Academism; "But not just difficulty itself: Rather, its difficulty is linked to the youth and verve of its author, as well as with the liberating rhetoric of his prefatory or supplemental statements—a difficulty tied up with the myth of the author." Ivy, "Critical Texts, Mass Artifacts: The Consumption of Knowledge in Postmodern Japan," in *Postmodernism and Japan*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and Harootunian H.D. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 30. Analyzing the introduction of *Structure and Power*, Sasaki Atsushi writes "what is interesting about this introduction is that it half-heartedly applies such a theoretical framework to the university or, more specifically, to lifestyle as a university student (youth). Sasaki, *Nippon no shisō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2009), 57.

[300] Questioning the lack of formulated media theory in New Academism, Alexander Zahlten examines media performance of Asada as "implicit" media theory. According to Zahlten, their media theory is implicit because, complicating the boundary between theory and practice, New Academism *performed* media theory. Zahlten, "1980s Nyū Aka: (Non)Media Theory as Romantic Performance," in *Media Theory in Japan*, ed. Marc Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 200-20.

businesses, not what and how they analyzed and what conclusions are drawn."[301] In this passage, Hasumi criticizes the new intellectual situation in mass consumption society after the Cold War structure: performance, including self-positioning in the intellectual and popular discourse—*how* to say something—becomes as important as content—*what* to say.

Live TV until Dawn was born during this particular moment of change of the role of public intellectuals. As I will detail, discussions incited by novel perspectives beyond the dichotomy between conventional left and right are the main attraction of *Live TV until Dawn*. In 1986, director, journalist, and writer Tahara Sōichirō was planning a new TV program that could respond to the new world structure after the axis of East-West confrontation disappeared. To compete against other midnight TV programs such as *All Night Fuji*, TV Asahi offered a midnight time slot to Tahara. Tahara decided to make a debate-centered TV program in which intellectuals, activists, and politicians could freely discuss a wide variety of topics. Along with writer Nosaka Akiyuki and critic Nishibe Susumu, Oshima became a regular on the program, discussed social taboos with enthusiasm, and became an object of parody as a representative old man who scolds other panelists.[302] In this way, Oshima actively joined the new intellectual discourse of media performance through *Live TV until Dawn*.

Delineating the brief history of midnight TV programs and how *Live TV until Dawn* was born, this chapter explores Oshima's TV performance as the change of his position from a film

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[301] Hasumi Shigehiko, "Taishū shōhi shakai de wa chishikijin mo mata taezaru 'gei' o yōkyū sareru," *Chūō kōron* 99, no. 7 (July 1984): 318. On Hasumi Shigehiko's film criticism, see, Ryan Cook, "An Impaired Eye: Hasumi Shigehiko on Cinema and Stupidity," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 22 (2010): 130-43, and Aaron Gerow, "Critical Reception: Historical Conceptions of Japanese Film Criticism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema*, ed. Daisuke Miyao (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 61-78.

[302] For example, see *Asa made nametereba* (1989), a parody in which actor and writer Matsuo Takashi imitates popular panelists of the original show by putting on exaggerated makeup and costume.

director to a performer. The position of TV celebrity Oshima is very different from his position as a film director. It is much closer to that of an actor or performer, and each actor is assigned a role to play according to the structure of a show. In Oshima's case, he performed a "film director" in the framework set up by others. I argue that through confusing the audience who knew Oshima from the 1960s, Oshima's excessive TV appearances were a constant struggle to be an autonomous player within frameworks established by others in the new capitalist mediascape. In other words, as high-budget international co-productions became more difficult, the strategy TV celebrity Oshima took was to penetrate diverse frameworks, not to create new ones.[303] TV celebrity Oshima presents the complicated process of self-reflexive performance between his coherent position of feeling responsible for the trajectory of postwar Japan and diverse performance challenging the stereotypical image of Oshima.

5.2 Midnight TV and Tahara Sōichirō

In the early 1980s, midnight programs became a new market for the TV industry in Japan. Fuji TV started midnight variety show *All Night Fuji* in 1983.[304] It was a live broadcast on Saturday nights targeting youth by featuring young comedians and female college students. Presenting college students' amateurish performance with comedians and their conversations about sexual issues without editing, this live show became popular in the midnight slot. Other TV companies soon followed this newly discovered youth-oriented market, and Saturday

[303] Oshima wrote about the difficulty in producing new films because of the budget issue. One well-known example is *Hollywood Zen*. Cf. Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo 50 nen, eiga 100 nen* (Nagoya: Fūbaisha, 1995) and Daisuke Miyao, "*Hollywood Zen*: A Historical Analysis of Oshima Nagisa's Unfinished Film." *Mise Au Point* 9, no. 9 (2017).

[304] Iyoda Yasuhiro, *Terebi-shi handobukku* (Tokyo: Jiyū Kokuminsha, 1996), 120.

midnight became a competitive slot: *TV Pirate Channel* (*Terebi kaizoku channeru*, NTV), *Hello! Midnight* (*Harō! Middonaito*, TBS), and *Midnight in Roppongi* (TV Asahi) to name a few programs in the major TV companies.[305]

Although the competition of sexual expression for ratings became a controversial issue in the Diet and broadcast companies had to self-regulate the above midnight TV programs in 1985, the success of *All Night Fuji* encouraged TV companies to explore different types of programs in new open time slots.[306] According to a short essay on midnight slots as a "frontier" by Kondō Masataka, Fuji TV—its motto was "if it's not fun, it's not TV" —played a leading role in broadening the horizon with multiple experiments in midnight TV.[307] One example of midnight programs' experiments is *Recording Channel 4.5* (*Rokuga channeru 4.5*) which was sponsored by electronics companies to promote the VHS tape in competition with Sony's Betamax. The program was meant to be recorded at home and watched on tape at one's leisure, and thus could be experimentally long: four and a half hours.[308] The first episode was *Video Evolution: EV TV Broadcast* (1986) by Asada Akira, the above-mentioned representative intellectual of New Academism. Using academic terms, Asada explains his thoughts on the frontier of science and technology culture such as computer evolution and the advance of information science. Featuring emerging stars of a new generation, or the "gods of youth," to use the term the popular magazine used for them, this educational and cultural program shows the creative freedom TV companies enjoyed in planning new programs in midnight slots.[309]

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[305] Ibid.

[306] Ibid., 132.

[307] Kondō Masataka, "Furontia toshite no shin'yatai," in *1990 nendai ron*, ed. Ōsawa Satoshi (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2017), 220.

[308] Ibid.

[309] "Gods of youth" is a popular interview series of *Asahi Journal* which introduced new stars in diverse fields. For example, in addition to Asada, the program includes leading theater

The experimentation in the late-night programming became more necessary due to the structural change the TV industry experienced since 1987. Midnight slots were expanding with the start of 24-hour broadcasting in 1987.[310] In May, NHK Broadcasting Satellite 1 (NHK BS1) started 24-hour broadcasting with the program *World News*, international sports broadcasting, and music programs. In October, commercial TV companies also expanded into 24-hour broadcasting: TBS six days a week, Fuji TV five days a week, and NTV and TV Asahi on Friday and Saturday.[311] This meant each TV company had an expanding frontier to explore or rather empty slots to fill.

While Fuji TV was developing variety shows with its entertainment-heavy policy, TV Asahi differentiated itself from other TV companies by offering new types of news programs with the slogan "TV Asahi for news and information (Hōdō to jōhō no TV Asahi)" in the mid-1980s.[312] A representative example of novel news programs was *News Station* (1985-2004). It was a revolutionary format. According to Iyoda's *TV history handbook*, first, it ran more than one hour (10:00-11:18) in prime time from Monday to Friday. Second, an outside production company joined the news program, which had been produced solely by the TV company until then. Third, freelance anchor Kume Hiroshi expressed his "personal opinions" as part of his hosting style.[313] Following *News Station*, TV Asahi also started news program *The Scoop* (1989-2002) featuring journalist Torigoe Shuntarō on Saturdays (18:00-18:55) and earned a reputation

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director Noda Hideki's Yume no yūminsha's theatrical performance. The interview series was collected and published as books. See Chikushi Tetsuya ed, *Wakamono tachi no kamigami* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1987).

[310] Kondō Masataka, "Furontia toshite no shin'yatai," 221.

[311] Iyoda Yasuhiro, *Terebi-shi handobukku*, 140.

[312] Tahara Sōichirō, "Asa nama no jidai," in *1990 nendai ron*, ed. Ōsawa Satoshi (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2017), 173.

[313] Iyoda Yasuhiro, *Terebi-shi handobukku*, 130-1.

as a TV station for news programs led by independent journalists. Following these successes in the news program domain, other TV stations began to produce similar news shows that placed unique anchors as the face of their programs (e.g., Chikushi Tetsuya's *News 23*, TBS, 1989-2008). This development of news programs invited independent journalists to the TV industry.

According to his biography *TV and Power* (*Terebi to kenryoku*, 2006), Tahara started his career as an assistant cameraman in 1960 at Iwanami Productions, where he learned documentary-making from the *Fun Science* (*Tanoshii kagaku*) series.[314] Getting interested in the flexible chance of the emerging TV industry, he moved to Tokyo Channel 12 (later TV Tokyo) which was preparing for its official opening in 1963. At Tokyo Channel 12, Tahara produced radically political TV documentaries, e.g., *Jazz in Barricades* (*Barikēdo no naka no jazu*) in which a student group brought a piano to a rival political group's base and let jazz pianist Yamashita Yōsuke play it under the tension of an explosion of violence.[315] While being active in documentary making, he also collaborated with ATG in producing the feature film *Lost Lovers* (*Arakajime ushinawareta koibitotachi yo*) in 1971. He became a freelancer in 1976 when Tokyo Channel 12, whose major sponsor played the central role in suppressing the civil movement against nuclear plants, asked him to stop the publication of his book *Nuclear War* (*Genshiryoku sensō*), which is about the nuclear concession and the conflict behind it.[316] Since the late 1970s as a freelance journalist, he published numerous interviews, articles, and books on former prime minister Tanaka Kakuei, the emerging computer industry, and corrupt and underground players in Japanese society, to name a few. In this way, Tahara was known as an independent journalist who was unafraid of political taboos and constantly tackled new controversial topics.

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[314] Tahara Sōichirō, *Terebi to kenryoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2006) 16-36.
[315] Ibid., 68-72.
[316] Ibid., 109-11.

At the start of planning a new midnight TV program which became *Live TV until Dawn*, TV Asahi consulted with Tahara to map out a possible structure of the show because of his performance and reputation on *Tonight* (TV Asahi, Monday to Thursday, 11:25-0:25). Producers of *Tonight* first asked Tahara to talk about the computer industry and biotechnology, about which he published books as a freelance journalist, but later they invited him back to design a new segment for the program. Tahara suggested a new idea for a recurring segment called "Leader behind the Scenes (Ura no don)," in which Tahara interviewed influential leaders who usually did not appear in the media.[317] These interviews became a popular segment of *Tonight*, so Tahara developed it into a debate style with influential leaders and politicians once a week.[318] Through this debate segment, Tahara built his reputation in the TV industry as a journalist who knew a wide variety of timely topics and had connections with politicians. For TV Asahi, which sought new programs with independent journalists to fill in expanding midnight slots, Tahara was a strong candidate.

5.3 *Live TV until Dawn*

When TV Asahi producer Oda Kyūemon consulted with Tahara Sōichirō, there were three conditions set by Oda for a new midnight TV show. It was supposed to be a low-budget production (10 million yen, which is one-third of prime time TV drama budgets at the time), exciting to attract the audience from 1 am to 6 am, and long because if it ended before train service began the company had to pay the participants' transportation cost.[319] The idea Tahara

[317] Ibid., 190-201
[318] Ibid., 205.
[319] Ibid., 204-10 and Tahara Sōichirō, *Bōsō shikaisha: Ronkyaku tachi to no shinya no gekitōfu* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2016), 12-7.

suggested was a long discussion TV show because it did not need expensive settings and famous celebrities. Also, Tahara believed that discussion itself was great entertainment for TV. The reader of print media cannot know what is implied behind words such as facial expression, tone of voice, and even silence, but the TV audience can watch the details of participants' performances.[320] Furthermore, it was a time people were looking for new arguments about the post-Cold War society beyond the conventional ideological conflict. Tahara writes,

> When it comes to the post-Cold War, new arguments for new world order will be needed, and of course, a new axis will be needed to do so. Once the somewhat stereotypical axis of East-West confrontation disappears, a new axis and new points of view must be sought to replace it. To do so, careful inspection is necessary. I felt that a new era of debate was coming. I had a hunch that such commentators of the time would appear one after another.[321]

As Tahara predicted, *Live TV until Dawn* became a major platform in forming intellectual discourse through media performance in the post-Cold War era.

In differentiating itself from "lowbrow" *All Night Fuji* and sustaining the program within the limited budget, *Live TV until Dawn* utilized a different group of celebrities: journalistic intellectuals who were already familiar with working outside academia. Journalistic intellectuals were helpful for a program like *Live TV until Dawn* because it needed a wide variety of panelists to cover as many topics as possible and the audience would trust the panelists based on their professional backgrounds. Also, their appearance fee was usually lower than other celebrities.[322] *Live TV until Dawn* served as an ideal platform for new journalistic intellectuals to perform their

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[320] Tahara Sōichirō, *Terebi to kenryoku*, 209-10.
[321] Ibid., 211.
[322] Ibid., 213.

roles in new media ecologies. In fact, as media scholar Ōsawa Satoshi points out, through examining timely social problems, the program provided next generations such as post-colonialist scholar Kan Sang-jung and sociologist Miyadai Shinji with the chance to gain broader social recognition.[323] It was *Live TV until Dawn*, not print media, where you could find new players in the intellectual discourse about timely topics after the Cold War.

Whereas the program needed new journalistic intellectuals to catch up with timely issues, it was impossible to find new panelists every month, so the program had regulars: writer Nosaka Akiyuki, professor Nishibe Susumu, and film director Oshima Nagisa, for example. Tahara recalled Nosaka and Oshima as two representative panelists of the program.[324] Nosaka Akiyuki, born in 1930, experienced the war in his teens, and was brought up in the burnt-out ruins and black markets on which he wrote *Grave of the Fireflies* (*Hotaru no haka*, 1967). He was a "bomb" that broke taboos and denied any types of establishment.[325] Tahara claims that, based on his belief that the world was a sham and his desire to never be fooled again like he was in the war, Nosaka always looked at society with suspicion.[326] For example, Nosaka ignored the broadcasting code and used prohibited words on radio and TV because he believed that media hid the real issue of discrimination by paraphrasing prohibited words. In a sense, using prohibited words was Nosaka's resistance against the indifference of media. As Tahara noted, Nosaka's performance made it possible for the program to feature the problem of buraku discrimination, which I will detail later.[327]

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[323] Ichikawa Makoto, Ōsawa Satoshi, Fukushima Ryōta, and Azuma Hiroki, "Heisei hihyō no shomondai 1989-2001," *Genron* 2 (Tokyo: Genron, 2016), 161.

[324] Tahara Sōichirō, *Bōsō shikaisha*, 130-8.

[325] Ibid., 130.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Ibid., 132.

With the above regular members, midnight program *Live TV until Dawn* started in April 1987. In the history of the program that covered timely political issues over the three decades as a monthly program (the last Friday of every month), Tahara particularly emphasized three topics that contributed to its reputation as a midnight program which did not avoid any topic as taboo.[328] The first taboo topic the program covered related to Tahara's own career: the issue of nuclear power plants (genpatsu). As I mentioned above, Tahara quit Tokyo Channel 12 because of the publication of his *Nuclear War* in 1976. However, the Three Mile Island accident took place in 1979, the Chernobyl disaster happened in 1986, and Hirose Takashi's book *A Dangerous Story: Chernobyl and the Fate of Japan* (*Kiken na hanashi: Cherunobuiri to nihon no unmei*) became a bestseller in 1987. The anti-nuclear movement swelled, and the pro-nuclear side could not ignore the opinions from the movement. In July 1988, the first *Live TV until Dawn* about nuclear plants was broadcast with seven pro-nuclear and eight anti-nuclear panelists.[329] The first part of discussion revolved around Hirose's anti-nuclear argument and the criticism of Hirose from the pro-nuclear side. As critic Nishibe put it at the beginning of the second part of the program, this discussion revealed that there was no place in which both sides could discuss because they just repeated what they believed. Also, there was a huge gap between them in terms of types of language. The anti-nuclear side posed questions about safety and security of nuclear power, and pro-nuclear scientists responded in highly technological jargon. The live broadcasting discussion format was critical in revealing this communication problem, and the

[328] For the discussion topics covered by the program, see "Appendix 4: Topic List of *Live TV until Dawn* (*Asa made nama terebi*), 04/1987-01/1996."

[329] The discussion on nuclear power in the program has also been published as books. See Terebi Asahi Shuppanbu, *Genpatsu: Ze ka? Hi ka?* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Asahi Hōsō, 1988) and *Genpatsu 2: Han'ei ka? Hametsu ka? Bunmei no sentaku* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Asahi Hōsō, 1989).

program posed the urgent need of longer and deeper discussion about nuclear power plants in mass media in a way that was accessible to the public.

Since it was the time of change from the Shōwa to Heisei era because of the death of Emperor Hirohito, it is not surprising that the program also challenged the most politically charged taboo in Japan: the emperor and his war responsibility. Like regular panelists (e.g., Oshima and Nosaka), Tahara experienced the defeat of WWII at the age of 11, which meant that he knew the change of the emperor's status in Japan.[330] On 19 September 1988, the Shōwa emperor Hirohito collapsed and his condition was covered by mass media until his death on 7 January 1989. Since it was still too controversial to directly announce his war responsibility as a topic for the debate at that time, the strategy the program took was to change the discussion topic during live broadcasting.[331] In the middle of "the Olympic Games and Japanese" (30 September 1988), Tahara changed the subject from the relationship between sports and nationalism in the Seoul Olympics to Hirohito and the emperor as "a symbol."[332] Although the debate did not answer the question of war responsibility, the show earned a 3.2 percent rating, which was roughly three times more than the nuclear power plant discussion (1.3 percent).[333] This strategy of changing topic during the program demonstrated the attraction of the program being a nonedited discussion on live broadcasting.

The third taboo topic derived from regular panelist Nosaka's provocative and controversial performance: outcast community buraku discrimination. The problem of unreasonable discrimination against certain communities, particularly minority groups, remained

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[330] Tahara Sōichirō, *Terebi to kenryoku*, 236-7.
[331] Ibid., 241-3.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid., 244.

taboo in mass media.[334] To avoid troubles, mass media paraphrased prohibited words (hōsō kinshi yōgo) and avoided confronting the topic of buraku discrimination. *Live TV until Dawn* took a first step by inviting three different anti-discrimination groups which were supported by different political groups—the Buraku Liberation League (Buraku kaihō dōmei), the National Buraku Liberation Alliance (Zenkoku buraku kaihō undō rengōkai), and the Liberal Assimilation Association (Zenkoku jiyū dōwakai)—and let them discuss their activities with panelists on TV for the first time.[335] According to Tahara, the Suiheisha Declaration (Suiheisha sengen), the first declaration of human rights in Japan, was read, folk singer Okabayashi Nobuyasu's *Letter* (*Tegami*), a song about a woman who was discriminated against because of her birth, was played, and the list of prohibited words was shown by Tahara in the opening of the discussion.[336] Two major journals by buraku activist organizations told of the impact of the program upon the buraku discourse. Although the comments were mainly criticism on the misunderstanding of the group's practice of denunciation (kyūdan), protest against those who discriminate, the general secretary of Buraku Liberation League, Komori Tatsukuni, evaluated that open discussion on comparatively high-rating midnight TV contributes to understanding buraku discrimination and activism today.[337] Moreover, the discussion about the buraku discrimination indicates that the

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[334] In terms of minority groups including burakumin in Japan, John Lie analyzes multiethnicity as the key in shaping modern Japan culturally, economically, and socially in contrast the stereotypical image of Japan as a monoethnic country. His idea of multiethnic Japan relates to Oshima's vision of the future of Japanese cinema in *100 Years of Japanese Cinema*, which I will analyze in the conclusion. See Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[335] Tahara Sōichirō, *Terebi to kenryoku*, 248-52.

[336] Tahara Sōichirō, *Bōsō shikaisha*, 94-5.

[337] Komori Tatsukuni, "Kyūdan no hitsuyōsei de wa gōi," *Buraku kaihō*, no. 298 (September 1989): 72-3.

program had a critical perspective toward practice in the TV industry itself and manifested itself as self-criticism of the industry.[338]

When the program celebrated its 100th episode on August 5, 1995, the title connected the emperor system with a new religious cult, Aum Shinrikyō. The five specials covering Aum in 1995 show that Aum was a shocking social problem, especially in its connection to the young generation of the early 1990s.[339] Starting as a yoga group in 1984, Aum was just a new age influenced religious group at the beginning. After leader Asahara Shōkō and his disciples' failed run for the Lower House Elections in 1990, Aum started spreading a conspiracy theory and radicalized their actions.[340] *Live TV until Dawn* featured the group for the first time on "Religion and Youth" (27 September 1991). Along with the new age movement, new religious groups were popular among the youth as providers of the meaning of life in consumer society. The program provided Aum and its rival cult group Happy Science (Kōfuku no kagaku) with a place for discussion about why new religion was having a boom and why there are conflicts between new religious groups. Contrary to the mass media's positive reaction to Aum as new youth culture in the early 1990s, Aum's abnormality was later revealed when the public learned of the crimes

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[338] On the program about buraku discrimination, the topic of the emperor's war responsibility was also discussed. In *Buraku kaihō*, Komori Tatsukuni writes that the Buraku Liberation League criticized *7300 Letters to the Nagasaki Mayor* (*Nagasaki shichō e no 7300-tsū no tegami*), a collection of letters that responded to the mayor's remark on the emperor's war responsibility. According to Komori, a letter in the book mistakenly criticized the connection between right-wing gangs and the League. In response, the publishing company Komichi Shobō published the enlarged edition of the book which includes the communication between the publishing company and the Buraku Liberation League. See Komori Tatsukuni, "Kyūdan no hitsuyōsei de wa gōi," 67-8, and Komichi Shobō Henshūbu, *Nagasaki shichō e no 7300-tsū no tagami, zōhoban* (Tokyo: Komichi Shobō, 1989).

[339] The five Aum specials in 1995 are: Aum Shinrikyō and the Sarin Incident (March 31), What is the "Aum Shinrikyō incident?" (April 28), The Dark Truth of the "Aum Shinrikyō incident" (May 26), Contemporary Japan and Religion (June 30), and Contemporary Japan, the Emperor System, and Aum (August 5).

[340] Tahara Sōichirō, *Bōsō shikaisha*, 158.

mentioned in the introduction of this chapter. “Aum Shinrikyō and the Sarin Incident” (March 31, 1995) is a particularly important episode since it was broadcast between the incident and leader Asahara’s arrest a month and a half later. In the episode, Aum members participated in the debate and gave their side of the story. While Tahara tried to suspend his judgement if Aum actually committed the sarin gas attack at the beginning, the basic tone of the argument is definitely critical about Aum. For an almost four-hour discussion, panelists asked questions from a wide variety of perspectives: troubles Aum caused with local communities, chemicals police seized from Aum, and the religious belief of Aum. Spokesperson Jōyū Fumihiko and other members kept denying Aum’s connection to terrorism, and Jōyū loudly defended the members as serious practitioners. But when Tahara asked why Asahara didn’t appear, Jōyū became quiet at the end of the discussion. These moments of truth expressed by his silence are undoubtedly the highlight of this long debate and a reason why the program continues to today.

5.4 Oshima Nagisa’s Late Style

As a regular panelist, Oshima actively joined the discussion, but his position on the program was very different from his position as a film director. Compared to an independent film director who has collaboratively formed new production, distribution, and exhibition systems, TV celebrity Oshima had much less power to determine the framework of his appearance and work. Although he could say whatever he wanted during the program, everything else, apart from what he said and how he performed, was out of his control. In this sense, the position of TV celebrity Oshima was close to that of an actor, and each actor had a role to play according to the show. For example, a role of Oshima in *Live TV until Dawn* was an angry man in kimono shouting “Idiot!” at other panelists. In his book *The Reason Why I Get Angry* (*Watashi ga okoru*

wake), Oshima explains the first time he yelled "idiot" on the show. When politician Kan Naoto commented on how even an actor like Ronald Reagan could be president, Oshima got angry at the comment for being disrespectful and discriminatory against the actor.[341] Although Oshima writes that it was just a couple of times he said "idiot" on the show, the book title underlines that the role of TV celebrity Oshima was that of an angry man.

The still image of Oshima with the title "film director" from the opening of the program tells us that Oshima's role was more than just an angry man (fig. 5.1). He is an embodiment of the elder generation providing a historical context. At the beginning of the discussion, two announcers of TV Asahi explain the context of the choice of discussion topic, then the panelists are introduced with a title in the seating order. Oshima's outward appearance on the show is remarkable because of his kimono. All other panelists usually wear Western clothing styles, including conservatives. This is a strategic performance on the show. The February 1979 issue of fashion magazine *Dansen* featured Oshima under the title "If there's one thing I don't want to wear, it's a uniform (seifuku dake wa kitaku nakatta)" in a section called "Fashion philosophy." Oshima emphasizes that he always cares about how to present himself because for him being fashionable is a way to protest. "I have certainly lived against the majority of the world. However, that is not without caring about my appearance (narifuri). I have always cared about how I appear. It was my protest against the so-called uniforms: student activist-like clothing and assistant director-like clothing."[342] In other words, his "fashion philosophy" tells that being fashionable is an objection to social assumption and custom. In another essay, Oshima

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[341] Oshima Nagisa, *Watashi ga okoru wake* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shinbun Shuppankyoku, 1997), 10-11.

[342] Oshima Nagisa, "Seifuku dake wa kitaku nakatta," *Dansen*, no. 179 (February 1979): 215.

acknowledges that while kimono were everyday clothes for him, they play a different role on *Live TV until Dawn*. Oshima stresses "kimono is . . . the armor that tells the other panelists that I'm different (ishitsu) on *Live TV until Dawn*."[343] Being different in kimono is also presented with his title "film director" in the introduction of the program. This title underlines how different Oshima is in the show; he comes from the old media industry. As a person who is tied to the film industry, Oshima in kimono visually stresses his role as a provider of a historical perspective to timely discussions on *Live TV until Dawn*.

Then, is Oshima nothing more than a member of a belated old generation scolding younger generations? Certainly, Oshima is angry on some occasions in the discussion but his performance should be understood in a more nuanced manner, that is, as a self-reflexive choice of his position on the program similar to his choice of kimono. For example, in the discussion about the end of socialism, the debate moves to the topic of Japan's reaction to the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. Stressing the fact he has been critical of the communist party from the beginning, Oshima criticizes that the Japanese government did not denounce the Chinese government and says, "I get angry when I'm angry, because I'm here to be angry."[344] This tautological enunciation can be read as his understanding of his role in the program, namely, self-conscious performance of being angry Oshima in the discussion. Given that Oshima was a regular of this program which introduces newcomers to address timely topics, his anger presented from the old generation serves to ignite and activate the discussion.

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[343] Oshima Nagisa, *Boku no ryūgi* (Tokyo: Tankōsha, 1999), 118.

[344] TV Asahi Shuppannbu, *Dō suru? Dō naru? 90 nendai nihon: Gekihensuru sekai e no sentaku* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Asahi Hōsō, 1990), 66.

Playing a strict "older brother" role, to use Tahara's words, his comments which show understanding towards public enemies have their roots in his career as a film director.[345] He is consistent in his belief that the true problem is the social structure and the nation states. By providing a historical comparison to the discussion, he stresses that there is always something that has to change in Japanese society and goes against a simple conclusion of the discussion. As I mentioned in the introduction, situating Aum within the social movements led by youth, Oshima showed understanding of their opinions and listened to their voices in "Aum Shinrikyō and the Sarin Incident." His consistent political stance is more explicit in the "Juvenile Atrocious Crime (Shōnen kyōaku hanzai)" episode (March 31, 1990) in which Oshima was a discussant (Tahara was absent because of his travel to the US). In the discussion, Oshima as a discussant clearly organizes the discussion by asking panelists for their opinions about juvenile crimes, e.g., asking lawyer Yoshimine about a recent court case, and mental health studies professor Oda about the influence of media upon children. When the discussion moved to the death penalty, Oshima criticizes the poll about the death penalty conducted by the government as "a truly bogus thing" because it asks "are you for or against abolishing the death penalty" not "are you for or against the death penalty."[346] According to Oshima, by switching emphasis from the death penalty itself to the abolition of the law, the poll gives people an impression that the death penalty is well-established as the status quo and hard to change. As the director of *Death by Hanging* which criticizes the death penalty, TV celebrity Oshima makes his anti-death penalty position clear and expresses his thoughts on human rights for criminals.

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[345] Tahara Sōichirō, *Bōsō shikaisha*, 138.

[346] Terebi Asahi Shuppanbu, *Gekiron!! Shōnen kyōaku hanzai* (Tokyo: Zenkoku Asahi Hōsō, 1990), 153.

TV celebrity Oshima continued differentiating his position from other panelists in the ongoing discussion by utilizing his role as a "film director" who is known as an anti-establishment auteur having challenged and changed Japan. This role crystalizes into his response to the question of the meanings of postwar Japan. The 100th episode of *Live TV until Dawn* entitled "Contemporary Japan, the Emperor System, and Aum" (August 5, 1995) asks panelists how they evaluate the trajectory of postwar Japan. From right-wing cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori to sociologist Miyadai Shinji, the basic tone of the argument is negative; postwar Japan is the process of collapse. Nishibe even says that postwar Japan, led by postwar intellectuals, "is committing suicide." Oshima is one of the few in the discussion who defend postwar Japan and democratic society.

> I was 13 years old and in the eighth grade when Japan lost the war. Over the next year or so, I thought about how I was going to live my life and wanted to knock down all the pre-war values. I think that's the way I've been living my life. For me, postwar Japan was never that bad, and some of the prewar values were smashed. For example, conscription is gone, women are no longer completely dominated by men, and the younger are no longer required to submit to the older. I think a lot of things were destroyed. Japan was good in that respect. However, there are some things that have not been destroyed, such as the emperor system as an institution and the emperor system in our minds. I disagree, however, with the idea that the 50 years of the postwar era has no value in total. If you're going to put it that way, then I'd like to ask you when in Japan's past had such great value. Or any other country other than Japan, for that matter. I think people who don't talk about it and just say it's bad now are just saying it for the sake of business.

From the point of view of a person who is a representative figure of the trajectory of postwar Japan in the film industry and kept challenging Japanese society through multimedia collaboration, Oshima defends the process of the collapse which other panelists found totally negative. In sharp contrasts between Oshima and other panelists, the audience finds in Oshima a believer of postwar Japan. Representing one of the artists who are part of the history of postwar Japan, he accepts responsibility for the collapse and contradiction. Oshima elsewhere writes as follows:

> I am a person who believes that the 50 years after the war were meaningful years, and on several shows, I fought against the intellectuals who denied the value of the postwar era. When I think about how the postwar period gave birth to Aum and the politicians who couldn't cope with it and only went back and forth, I feel the fatigue of the 50 years after the war and the 20th century weighing heavily upon my body.[347]

The way he describes his feeing at the end of the above quote underscores his role as a figure feeling responsible for postwar Japan, and the fatigue he expresses foreshadows the stroke he would experience in February 1996, a couple of months after his comments on the show.

Although what he is producing on TV is not a work in the traditional sense such as film, TV documentary, or books, I still consider that TV celebrity Oshima playing the role of "film director" is creating something. To understand what he is creating on TV, it may be helpful to pay attention to the reaction of the contemporary audiences who were confused by Oshima's excessive TV appearances. As one of such audience member who had seen Oshima's works from the 1960s, Yomota Inuhiko expressed his confusion when he watched TV celebrity Oshima on TV shows since the 1980s and tried to find a relationship between film director Oshima and

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[347] Oshima Nagisa, *Watashi ga okoru wake*, 129.

TV celebrity Oshima as the change from "a body that goes around creating scandals" to "a body whose very existence is a scandal."[348] The change in Oshima that Yomota found underlines that Oshima is creating scandalous celebrity Oshima itself. Oshima slowed down in producing provocative and controversial works, but instead he used his body to perform Oshima on TV and created TV celebrity Oshima who was accountable for the trajectory of postwar Japan as a work of performance.

This TV celebrity Oshima was created through constant struggles within frameworks established or governed by others. Like independent intellectual Yoshimoto Takaaki who did not belong to any academic institutions, Oshima did not have a home institution such as a film studio or TV company. Without stable budgets for his own films, TV programs, or even his own living, Oshima had to try new roles in search of fields in he could succeed. Accordingly, his appearances on TV were frequent and diverse, such as TV commercials, quiz shows, and variety shows, as Oshima himself claims "on average, I'm on TV at least once a day."[349] Anchoring himself as self-reflexive "film director Oshima" in *Live TV until Dawn*, the excessive TV appearances provided Oshima the opportunity to explore roles he could challenge and play beyond "film director" through different formats. Oshima explained what he was doing on TV as follows: "The concept that I'm doing on TV now is to show that I'm living very freely. The clothes, the quizzes, the commercials, and the speech are all free. I think I'm showing people that it's great that people are free to live their lives."[350] Here, Oshima says that the purpose of his TV appearances is to show that he lives freely, which means TV shows are a battleground for him to perform his freedom. Since he did not have the directorial authority as he did in his filmmaking,

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[348] Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 10.
[349] Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo 50 nen, eiga 100 nen*, 320.
[350] Oshima Nagisa, *Oshima Nagisa 1960*, 352.

it was the struggle to show to what extent he could be a unique personality as a performer. In this sense, Oshima's performance was the constant struggle to be an autonomous player within frameworks set up by others.

In the constant struggle for artistic autonomy as a performer, his roles ranging from "film director" on *Live TV until Dawn* to unexpected appearances in a number of programs and commercials, TV celebrity Oshima is a strategic change from forming new frameworks to penetrating existing structures. This change naturally denies the harmonious integration of Oshima's career as an elder master of cinema because differentiating his constructed image through excessive TV appearance serves as proof of autonomy as a celebrity. Thus, on the one hand the audience found a coherent "film director" Oshima on *Live TV until Dawn* in terms of his political opinions, but, on the other hand, people witnessed an unexpected Oshima on variety shows and TV commercials, such as one of Oshima in a straw hat, running shirt, and shorts, with a botanical case and a net in his left hand and a shopping basket in his right hand.[351] This disruptive appearance to his already established position as "film director" was the key for TV celebrity Oshima as his work of performance.

Disruptive TV celebrity Oshima who emerged from the contradiction between his "film director" identity and unexpected identities such as those in commercials recalls Edward Said's argument about late style. Contrary to the conventional idea of the late stage of artists as ripeness, Said explores a type of late style as "nonharmonious, nonserene tension, and above all, a sort of deliberately unproductive productiveness going *against*."[352] For Said, Adorno is the

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[351] Muraoka Kazuhiko, "Jidai no naminori otoko Oshima Nagisa 'Yangu no kokoro o kō tsukame'," 195-6.

[352] Edward W. Said, *On Late Style: Music and Literature against the Grain* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), 7, emphasis in original.

most important example of his theory of late style, and Adorno's unsettledness in regards to communities and institutions that he was familiar with but never fully a part of suggests that late style is a form of exile that "is *in*, but oddly *apart* from the present."[353] TV celebrity Oshima is relevant to Said's late style in some ways. First, Oshima's TV performance was far from harmonious serenity as a master of cinema. Rather it was contentious challenge to the very notion of harmonious serenity and denies his established category.

In addition to performing on TV, Oshima's late style should be contextualized in his filmmaking, in particular international co-productions. He was in but at the same time apart from the film industry in Japan; his production mode already changed from independent productions with ATG to international co-productions since *In the Realm* (1976) which institutionally and even physically made him distant from his home industry. Oshima's international co-productions continued to *Max, Mon Amour* with an international crew in Paris in 1987 when *Live TV until Dawn* started. While he served as the president of the Directors Guild of Japan, his production base did not exist in Japan after the dissolution of Sōzōsha. Being in but apart from the domestic film industry contributed to Oshima occupying unique positions in *Live TV until Dawn* in which he made comments from his experience of working outside Japan. As he explains in an interview, he was in self-imposed "exile" in terms of film productions. [354]

Oshima's late style is the dynamic process of negotiation between his coherent position of being a member of the older generation feeling responsible for the trajectory of postwar Japan and diverse performances challenging the stereotypical image of Oshima. On TV commercials

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[353] Ibid, 24.

[354] In an interview with Chikushi Tetsuya on his life and film production in Paris, Oshima says "I may be in exile, to put it bluntly." See "Jidai no fun'iki o kataru: Wakamono tachi no ōkami." *Asahi Journal* 28, no. 46 (November 1986): 48.

and variety shows, on the one hand, he played unexpected roles of different aspects of himself which confused the audience who knew his filmmaking in the 1960s. In his excessive appearances on TV, on the other hand, newly started *Live TV until Dawn*, which sought media intellectuals and prepared a place for long discussion about social taboos with new generations, was a chance for Oshima to perform a reflection on his stereotypical and accepted social role as a "film director" who was responsible for the changes and progress of postwar Japan. These two aspects are key to understand Oshima's strategic change from forming new production systems to penetrating existent media frameworks. Oshima's late style crystalizes into unharmonious TV celebrity Oshima, who emerged from the collision between the continuous struggle for new roles to break the established image of himself and the representative film director of postwar Japan.

Oshima on TV in this chapter reminds me of Oshima as the face of a new generation in the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague. While appearing in weekly magazines and playing with his newfound media persona, he attempted to invite the audience to reflect on postwar student movements in *Night and Fog in Japan*. Here, appearing on multiple TV programs and taking advantage of his established image as a "film director," he presents to the audience his own way of thinking about the democratic values of postwar Japan and manifests himself as being responsible for its history. The thread of his established image and media persona now coming full circle over his career, what this chapter showed is the fact that Oshima once again sought out multiple channels to meet new audiences to whom he could present his opinions in the most timely and relevant way he could find according to the current media environment; thus for him to penetrate existing frameworks became a new method of creation. As Matsuda pointed out in a critical way, "Oshima Nagisa, who now appears to be active only as a TV celebrity (tarento) rather than a documentarist," Oshima did not take for granted any media and genres such as film

or TV documentary as the main channel for him, but rather focused on discovering new channels through collaboration. And the historical condition of the expansion of midnight programs and the emerging emphasis on intellectuals' media performance prepared the environment for him to experiment with his new strategy.

CONCLUSION

Two documentaries, *Kyoto, My Mother's Place* (BBC Scotland, 1991) and *100 Years of Japanese Cinema* (BFI TV, 1995), marked Oshima's return to Japan from the production of *Max, Mon Amour* (1987) in Paris. *Kyoto, My Mother's Place* is the first production of the "The Director's Place" series by BBC.[355] Before this documentary, Oshima had written about his ambivalent feeling toward Kyoto in some biographical essays. When his family moved to Kyoto after his father passed away, he hated the dark atmosphere in Kyoto compared to the bright sea and sun in Setouchi.[356] As the title of the documentary indicates, the most prominent figure connected to Kyoto is his mother who passed away on October 26, 1987. For Oshima who lost his father when he was 6 years old, his mother played an important role in forming his personality, and Oshima had her come to his home to live together in Kamakura after his children were born. Oshima took this opportunity of documentary-making to revisit his mother's life and explore her relationship with Kyoto.

The documentary is structured by following Oshima's family history: from his mother's youthful days to Oshima's father's death, his family life in Kyoto, and Oshima today. Through narrating his life in Kyoto, Oshima introduces culture in Kyoto such as how houses are designed in a traditional house style (machiya), how the city space is constructed as an old capital city (Heian kyō), and how ordinary people enjoyed vernacular culture (mibu kyōgen) in the Edo era. However, the documentary does not just provide information about Kyoto. By connecting the above Kyoto culture to power relationships, Oshima makes this documentary a social criticism.

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[355] Kimata Kimihiko, "Kaisetsu," in *Kyoto, My Mother's Place* DVD booklet (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2014), 2-3. For more information about this documentary, see Abe Kashō, *Eiga kantoku Oshima Nagisa*, 221-37, and Yomota Inuhiko, *Oshima Nagisa to nihon*, 223-45.

[356] Oshima Nagisa, *Nichiyō no gogo no kanashimi* (Kyoto: PHP Kenkyūsho, 1979), 113.

For instance, the typical characteristic of the traditional house in Kyoto is narrow and deep—this is why it is called "the bedroom of eels." Because of this structure, the house is dark except the second floor which is lit by sunlight from the in-building garden (tsuboniwa). This is a point where Oshima reads a power structure. Contrary to the well-lit room which was usually used for a man, women had to work in a dark and cold kitchen. At the end of the machiya scene, Oshima commented, "I cannot forget my mother's hands which were swollen by frostbite." In another scene in which Oshima introduces the structure of Kyoto as an old capital, the documentary shows the imperial palace in the center and imperial families and nobles surrounding the palace in an old map of Kyoto. By showing the clear division in the city structure, Oshima adds, "when you go to the North, you say going up. And when you go to the South, you say going down. Kyoto is constructed by a sense of hierarchy (jōge no kankaku)." In other words, from the private space to its city design, Kyoto embodies the power structures.

The most important critique in the film is the perspective toward gender inequality which is emphasized in the interview sequences. In the first interview with his mother's friends, Shimada and Funatsuki, Oshima asks about why they stopped meeting to go see cherry blossoms together. Funatsuki answers, "my husband was a very difficult person. Even if I believed I was right, I had to obey him." And Shimada adds, "The wife must do everything as everyone does." They had to prioritize being a wife over being an individual and their friendship. Also, after introducing that they, including Oshima's mother, were exceptionally educated, Oshima continues, "nevertheless their way of thinking about marriage and the life of women was no different from the Edo era: women should obey their parents in childhood, their husbands in married life, and their sons when they are old." In the interview with his mother's brother, Yamamoto, discrimination against women becomes more explicit. Yamamoto says, "Parents

didn't care about girls. So it must have been so hard for them," "women were out of the question," "their education was different [from what men could have]." In addition to these problems, a surprising fact is revealed; Oshima's mother was not originally from Kyoto. For Oshima, his mother was the ideal figure of a Kyoto woman, but it was not because she was born there. It was because she had to become a Kyoto woman. Oshima asks, "Why did my mother try to be a perfect Kyoto woman even though she was not from Kyoto? Perhaps, she was forced by Kyoto." In the power relationships that Kyoto represents, Oshima focused on women as the victim. As such, this documentary is an acute criticism of gender discrimination in Japan.

Showing the festival at the local shrine near where Oshima grew up at the end of the documentary, Oshima's narration says, "I will drink tonight. I will forget my mother who never drank a drop of sake." And he confirms that "About 40 years after I left Kyoto with hatred, I too believe that many things in me were formed by Kyoto. My life, my job, my attitude towards life, my aesthetics, my kimono." Acknowledgment that he is also part of the structure and reflection on his ambivalent feeling towards Kyoto make this documentary a self-criticism. Like his mother was forced to be a Kyoto woman, Oshima himself was formed by Kyoto, but as a man. At this point, Oshima's criticism of Japan becomes more nuanced and complicated. Oshima criticizes himself as part of the society, namely, a Japanese man who already internalized traditional values and the power structures in his life. Beyond the simple binarism between himself and the power structures, Oshima criticizes the ideology that formed his own way of thinking. Thus, for Oshima, the criticism of Japan becomes the criticism of himself who represents Japan as a film director. This criticism is more evident as self-contextualization in his next documentary about the history of Japanese film.

To celebrate the 100th anniversary of cinema, BFI produced "the Century of Cinema" as a TV documentary series. BFI chose representative directors from each country such as Martin Scorsese for American cinema (*A Personal Journey*), Jean-Luc Godard for French cinema (*2 x 50 Years of French Cinema*), and Oshima for Japanese cinema (*100 Years of Japanese Cinema*). While BFI suggested Oshima to make a documentary from a personal perspective and method, Oshima decided to make an explanatory documentary, that is, showing sequences and still images from canonical works in chronological order with informative narration by Oshima.[357] As a result, *100 years of Japanese Cinema* became an informative and formally orthodox documentary. Nevertheless, as Eric Cazdyn pointed out, there is a unique view in the documentary which situates Japanese cinema in the contradiction between "the national and the transnational."[358] The documentary narrates a history of Japanese cinema from a global perspective which comes from Oshima's personal experience of international co-production. This question about nationality of cinema is directly addressed at the moment Oshima mentioned *Max, Mon Amour*. Oshima says, "Of course this film [*Max, Mon Amour*] is an Oshima film, but I am not sure if this can be categorized as a Japanese film. I think the concept of nationality is rather meaningless for film." This documentary complicates the traditional idea of Japanese cinema and the framework of national cinema.

It should be highlighted that Oshima as a narrator uses "I (watashi)" from the middle of the documentary. After introducing the second golden age of Japanese cinema represented by Kurosawa's *Rashōmon* (1950), the scene of the conflict between female students and teachers

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[357] Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo 50 nen, eiga 100 nen* (Nagoya: Fūbaisha, 1995), 8.

[358] Eric M. Cazdyn, *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 81.

who enforce conservative rules of the student dorm from *The Garden of Women* (*Onna no sono*, 1954, dir. Kinoshita Keisuke) is inserted. Then, Oshima narrates:

> I saw this film in the early spring of 1954. Please forgive me for this sudden change to the first person narration, I (watashi). I became a part of Japanese cinema. More precisely, I was not yet. Even though I passed an exam to become an assistant director at Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio, I wasn't sure if I would really go there or not. Actually, I did not consider film seriously at that time. But I made my decision when I saw this film. Film can do something. But what is it?

Here, the documentary begins exploring the history of Japanese cinema from the personal perspective of Oshima.[359]

Delineating the Japanese new wave, independent filmmakers, Pink Film, and ATG with emphasis on the industrial change after the 1960s, Oshima remarks, "The directors who left the film studio. Documentary filmmakers. And TV producers. We took advantage of the low budget productions and tried every adventure on the subject and method. We have expanded the frontiers of not only Japanese cinema but also cinema itself." As this dissertation repeatedly claimed, Oshima's historicization also stresses that the uniqueness of Japanese cinema history lies in multimedia collaboration in production systems of filmmakers, artists, and producers from different industries after the decline of the studio system.

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[359] Although it is not included in the documentary, there is a personal connection between the film and Oshima. In the conversation about the roles of the university and students in a different scene, the protagonist, Yoshie, says, "Remember the incident at Kyoto University last November?" The incident here, which encourages Yoshie to stand up, is called the Kyōdai incident in 1951; students at Kyoto University opposed the Emperor's visit. Oshima was one of the students who opposed the visit. Oshima, *Nichiyō no gogo no kanashimi*, 119-20.

Towards the end of the documentary, Oshima names the presence of foreigners as the biggest change in the film industry in Japan. By showcasing Sai Yoichi's *All Under the Moon* (*Tsuki wa docchi ni deteiru*, 1993) which "declares the uniqueness and universalness of resident Koreans in Japan," the documentary suggests the intriguing future of Japanese cinema. "The next 100 years will surely be the 100 years when Japanese cinema will be free from the spell of Japan, and will be filled with the pure brilliance of cinema itself." In other words, for Oshima, the future goal of Japanese cinema is to stop being Japanese cinema. Also, given the above emphasis on the collaborative relationships between individuals from different media industries, "cinema" here must be different from the well-made films by studio-trained directors. What he calls "cinema" is not even cinema in traditional sense, rather it can be considered to be more like an idea of democratic communication through which people from different backgrounds can engage with each other beyond not only industries but also their nationalities.

These two documentaries showcase the goal of Oshima's multimedia collaboration: the criticism of power structures in Japan through democratic communication beyond gender, nationality, and social class. And Oshima's ability to envision and strive for this communication is deeply tied to the historical condition of flexible mediascape since the decline of the studio system that this dissertation delineated. Oshima as a multimedia collaborator teaches us about an important yet overlooked aspect about his practice: his pursuit of alternative production systems as a means of democratic communication beyond cultural hierarchies such as highbrow culture over lowbrow culture, cinema over TV, and art over popular culture. With the understanding of multiple media channels and their flexible nature, Oshima sought to reach new audiences. To do so, he engaged with diverse collaboration which went beyond existing categories such as film and TV (chapters 1 and 2), high culture and subculture (chapter 3), and high-budget international

co-productions and low-budget midnight TV (chapters 4 and 5). As my dissertation stressed through a hybrid media history, not a film-centered history, for example, weekly magazines are no less important than film, rather they are a means to bridge between elite and non-elite. In this regard, what should be emphasized in Oshima's practice is his closeness to popular culture ranging from his "Nouvelle Vague" marriage covered in weekly magazines to his TV celebrity image in kimono in TV commercials.[360] By appearing in popular outputs, sometimes accompanied by other stars such as David Bowie, Oshima wanted to encounter unknown audiences or the "not-yet" audiences. In other words, Oshima believed in the power of popular culture as a means of democratic communication beyond the social status and individual tastes.

Through my historicization of the media industries, I introduced a number of people who are comparatively or almost unknown in English-language scholarship in order to contribute to the expansion of media theories as site-specific and historical practices against Eurocentric Theory in cinema and media studies. For example, I included Okada Susumu and Sasaki Kiichi's writings about the long take (ch.1), Hani Susumu and Ushiyama Jun'ichi's argument on TV documentary (ch.2), Kawakita Kashiko's writing about an art theater movement and Kuzui Kinshirō's theater management as a creative force of hybrid Shinjuku counterculture (ch.3), Ishihara Ikuko's thoughts on queer cinema and moviegoing as performance (ch.4), and Oshima Nagisa's TV performance on *Live TV until Dawn* (ch.5). By posing questions about site-specific and historical media and their political and artistic possibilities, these individuals and movements diversify our understanding of media and media theory. In challenging the academic discipline of

[360] Michael Raine points out that Oshima's films featured popular culture and celebrities in order to reach a large audience: "model-actress such as Kaga Mariko in *Etsuraku/Pleasure of the Flesh* (1965) but more often musical stars such as Araki Ichiro in *Nihon shunka-kō/Sing a Song of Sex* (1967) and the Folk Crusaders in *Kaette kita yopparai/Three Resurrected Drunkards* (1968)." Raine, "Oshima Nagisa: Paradox and Perversion in the 1960s Avant-Garde," 143.

cinema and media studies, such figures and their writings must be a part of our inclusive media theories and be further examined in terms of their valuable insights to critique global media phenomenon today.

For Oshima who started his career in a critical year for the film industry, 1959, which was marked by the TV broadcast of the royal marriage parade and the start of *Weekly Heibon*, the studio system had never been self-evident as a secure production site with stable audience members, thus forming new production systems through collaboration was the essential practice to be an autonomous artist. As this dissertation argued, his path of collaboration proves that critical intervention in the system is as important in making new communication as the work itself. This is the politics that a media history of Oshima Nagisa indicates. Reframing the history of the postwar Japanese mediascape through Oshima's multimedia collaboration demonstrates that artistic creation and its political significance must be understood through not only completed works but also through the collaborative process between individuals, artworks, and media in the search for new democratic communication.

APPENDIX 1: CHRONOLOGY OF THE SHŌCHIKU NOUVELLE VAGUE, 1956-1961

Date	Article Title or Event	Magazine
05/1956	Nikkatsu releases Taiyōzoku film Ishihara Yūjirō debut	
12/01/1956	Oshima. "To Critics, Mainly—From Future Artists"	Eiga Geijutsu
1958		
07/01	Oshima. "Is It a Breakthrough?"	Eiga Hihyō
10/01	Oshima. "On the Discourse of Unskilled Imada Tadashi"	Eiga Hihyō
11/01	Oshima. "Can Okada Mariko be a Bad Lady?"	Eiga Hihyō
12/01	Oshima. "Is Takamine Hideko a Good Wife?"	Eiga Hihyō
1959		
01/01	Oshima. "Nakadai Tatsuya or the Prince?	Eiga Hihyō
03/13	**Oshima.** ***Ashita no taiyō (Tomorrow's Sun)***	
04/10	The Royal Wedding Parade	
05/14	The Start of *Weekly Heibon*	
06/01	"Sleeping Lion Shōchiku Ōfuna"	Eiga Hyōron
07/01	Oshima. "Situation, Human Being, and the Subjectivity of Author"	Shin Nihon Bungaku
08/01	Oshima. "A Criticism of 'Sleeping Lion: Shōchiku Ōfuna'"	Eiga Hyōron
11/17	**Oshima.** ***Ai to kibō no machi (A Town of Love and Hope)***	
12/01	"The Condition of Newcomer: On *A Town of Love and Hope*"	Eiga Hyōron
12/07	"Breaking the Shell of Melodrama"	Yomiuri Shinbun
1960		
04/15	**Shinoda Masahiro.** ***Koi no katamichi kippu (One-Way Ticket for Love)***	
04/20	"Love Sprouted in Kyoto"	Weekly Heibon
04/22	"Kuwano Plays a Bad Girl Role"	Yomiuri Shinbun
04	Ōtani Hiroshi becomes the president of Shōchiku	
05/01	Oshima. "The Future is Ours" Okada Susumu. "What Is the Nouvelle Vague?"	Eiga Hyōron
05/01	Oshima. "Weakening Authors"	Kiroku Eiga
05/05	"Shōchiku Film Rising to Resuscitation"	Kinema Junpō
05/25	"A Bed Scene Made Kuwano Make Up Her Mind"	Weekly Heibon
06/03	**Oshima.** ***Seishun zankoku monogatari (Cruel Story of Youth)***	
06/04	A Review of *Cruel Story of Youth*	Asahi Shinbun
06/05	"The Nouvelle Vague of Japanese Cinema"	Weekly Yomiuri

06/06	A Review of *Cruel Story of Youth* by Iwasaki Akira	Asahi Shinbun
06/07	A Review of *Cruel Story of Youth* by Satō Tadao	Mainichi Shinbun
06/09	"The Worst Rebellion I Cannot Agree with"	Yomiuri Shinbun
06/09	"Fearless and Fresh Expression"	Mainichi Shinbun
06/11	"Is Melodrama Over?"	Yomiuri Shinbun
06/15	The Peak of the Anti-Anpo Movement	
06/21	"Shōchiku's Cruel Young Man, Oshima Nagisa"	Weekly Kōron
07/01	Oshima. "Beyond Endless Self-Negation"	Scenario
07/01	Research: *Cruel Story of Youth*"	Eiga Hyōron
07/06	**Yoshida Kijū. *Rokudenashi (Good for Nothing)***	
07/13	"The Luck a Dancer Who Attempted Suicide Picked Up"	Weekly Heibon
07/17	"Redoing Youth: Honō Kayoko Comes Back in *The Sun's Burial*"	Weekly Myōjō
07/25	"Young Directors of the Nouvelle Vague"	Weekly Sankei
08/05	"Oshima Nagisa and Yoshida Kijū: Two Directors in the Present"	Kinema Junpō
08/09	**Oshima. *Taiyō no hakaba (The Sun's Burial)***	
08/11	"Anxiety about the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague"	Yomiuri Shinbun
08/12	"Both Generations Living at the Bottom"	Asahi Shinbun
08/14	"I Just Live After Attempted Suicide"	Weekly Yomiuri
08/17	"An Actress who Speaks about Sex Freely"	Weekly Heibon
08/18	"The New Wave Seen by the Postwar Generation"	Yomiuri Shinbun
08/24	"A Nouvelle Vague Actress: Honō Kayoko"	Weekly Heibon
08/28	"Oshima/Koyama: A Dialogue on Wedding Plan"	Weekly Myōjō
08/30	**Shinoda Masahiro. *Kawaita mizuumi (Dry Lake)***	
09/01	"A Hero of Justice: Moonlight Mask"	Eiga Hyōron
09/05	"Summer Vacation of the Nouvelle Vague"	Heibon
09/07	"260 Love Letters"	Weekly Heibon
09/15	"The Destination of the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague"	Kinema Junpō
09/20	**Tamura Tsutomu. *Akunin shigan (Volunteering for Villainy)***	
09/28	"A Sex Dialogue: Will You Make Me Say That?"	Weekly Heibon
10/01	Oshima. "My Cruel Story of Youth"	Fujin Kōron
10/03	"The Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague Film"	Yomiuri Shinbun
10/03	"Exploring Avant-Garde"	Asahi Shinbun
10/09	**Oshima Nagisa. *Nihon no yoru to kiri (Night and Fog in Japan)*** **Yoshida Kijū. *Chi wa kawaiteiru* (*Blood is Dry*)**	
10/12	Assassination of Asanuma Inejirō	
10/12	"Two Films of Student Movements"	Yomiuri Shinbun
10/13	Shōchiku pulls *Night and Fog in Japan* from distribution	
10/30	Oshima's Wedding Ceremony	
11/01	Oshima "What Is a Shot?"	Kiroku Eiga

11/02	"A Dozen Is Too Many"	Weekly Heibon
11/05	"Is There the Nouvelle Vague in Japanese Cinema?"	Kinema Junpō
11/16	"A Nouvelle Vague Marriage"	Weekly Heibon
11/20	"Honō Kayoko Trying a Period Film"	Weekly Myōjō
11/20	"Oshima and Koyama Got Married"	Weekly Myōjō
12/01	Oshima "In Protest of the Massacre of *Night and Fog in Japan*" and articles on *Night and Fog in Japan*	Eiga Hyōron
12/01	"The Nouvelle Vague in Japan"	Gendai Geijutsu
1961		
01/01	Oshima. "What and How to Fight"	Eiga Hyōron
01/01	"The Situation and Subjectivity: A Case of Oshima Nagisa"	Shisō no Kagaku
02/14	**Yoshida Kijū.** ***Amai yoru no hate (Bitter End of a Sweet Night)***	
02/15	"A Conclusion of the Nouvelle Vague"	Weekly Heibon
02/19	**Shinoda Masahiro.** ***Yūhi ni akai ore no kao (My Face Red in the Sunset)***	
03/01	Oshima. "A Road to Reform of Japanese Cinema"	Eiga Geijutsu
03/15	"Honō Kayoko Turns into a Cameraman"	Weekly Heibon
03/20	"Problems of Shōchiku Film"	Kinema Junpō
06	Oshima leaves Shōchiku	
07/01	"The Solitude and Freedom of Japanese Cinema: On the Shōchiku Nouvelle Vague"	Eiga Geijutsu

APPENDIX 2: SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS OVER TV

	Positive	Negative
Shimizu Ikutarō *Shisō* (November 1958)	-The Act of Reading -Activity	-The Act of Watching Television -Passivity
Katō Hidetoshi *Shisō* (November 1958)	- Spontaneous Events	-The Already Adapted World
Hani Susumu *Chūō Kōron* (November 1959)	-Window -"Unresolved Contradiction of Reality"	-Mirror -"Commonsensical Generally Accepted Things"
Yoshida Naoya *Chūō Kōron* (December 1959)	-Amateurism	-Professionalization
Umesao Tadao *Hōsō Asahi* (October 1961)	-Broadcast Creators (*Hōsōjin*)	-Newspaper Creators (*Shinbunjin*)
Ushiyama Jun'ichi *Kiroku Eiga* (February 1961)	-Television Reportage	-Photojournalism/News
Matsumoto Toshio *Kiroku Eiga* (June 1958)	-Avant-Garde Documentary	-The Separation of Avant-Garde and Documentary

APPENDIX 3: SCREENING LIST OF THE ART THEATER SHINJUKU BUNKA, 1962-1972

This list is based on Kuzui Kinshirō and Hirasawa Gō*, Yuigon: Āto Shiatā Shinjuku Bunka* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2008), 393-413 (* indicates ATG Produced Films).

Title	Director	Country	Year
1962			
Mother Joan of the Angels	Jerzy Kawalerowicz	Poland	1961
Orpheus	Jean Cocteau	France	1950
Pitfall	Teshigahara Hiroshi	Japan	1962
Two Cents Worth of Hope	Renato Castellani	Italy	1952
Torment	Alf Sjöberg	Sweden	1944
Umberto D	Vittorio De Sica	Italy	1951
Wild Strawberries	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	1957
Human	Shindō Kaneto	Japan	1962
Alexander Nevsky	Sergei Eisenstein	USSR	1938
1963			
All My Children	Ieki Miyoji	Japan	1962
Night Train	Jerzy Kawalerowicz	Poland	1959
Love at Twenty	François Truffaut Andrzej Wajda Renzo Rossellini Shintarō Ishihara Marcel Ophüls	France	1962
Cléo from 5 to 7	Agnès Varda	France	1962
Innocent Sorcerers	Andrzej Wajda	Poland	1960
Shoot the Piano Player	François Truffaut	France	1960
Ivan's Childhood	Andrei Tarkovsky	USSR	1962
She and He	Hani Susumu	Japan	1963
The Seventh Seal	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	1956
Electra	Michael Cacoyannis	Greece	1962
1964			
The Girl Friends	Michelangelo Antonioni	Italy	1956
Ivan the Terrible	Sergei Eisenstein	USSR	1945/58
That Kind of Woman	Sidney Lumet	USA	1959
Last Year at Marienbad	Alain Resnais	France	1960
The Loneliness of the Distance Runner	Tony Richardson	UK	1962
Through a Glass Darkly	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	1961
The Long Absence	Henri Colpi	France	1960
Viridiana	Luis Buñuel	Spain	1961
Passenger	Andrzej Munk	Poland	1963

Letter Never Sent	Mikhail Kalatozov	USSR	1959
1965			
Shadows	John Cassavetes	USA	1959
On the Bowery	Lionel Rogosin	USA	1956
Resurrection	Mikhail Shveitzer	USSR	1960
Advise & Consent	Otto Preminger	USA	1962
This Sporting Life	Lindsay Anderson	UK	1963
Sawdust and Tinsel	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	1953
Lady with the Dog	Iosif Kheifits	USSR	1960
The Real End of the Great War	Jerzy Kawalerowicz	Poland	1957
8½	Federico Fellini	Italy	1963
The Organizer	Mario Monicelli	Italy	1963
The Guns of August	Nathan Kroll	USA	1964
1966			
Silence Has No Wings	Kuroki Kazuo	Japan	1966
The Sun Shining Bright	John Ford	USA	1953
The Diary of a Chambermaid	Luis Buñuel	France, Italy	1964
Patriotism	Mishima Yukio	Japan	1965
Citizen Kane	Orson Welles	USA	1941
King and Country	Joseph Losey	UK	1964
A Lesson in Love	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	1954
The Condemned of Altona	Vittorio De Sica	Italy	1962
A Song of the Little Road	Satyajit Ray	India	1955
Juliet of the Spirits	Federico Fellini	Italy	1965
Bell' Antonio	Mauro Bolognini	Italy	1960
1967			
Band of Ninja	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1967
The Moment of Truth	Francesco Rosi	Italy	1963
The Loved One	Tony Richardson	USA	1965
A Man Vanishes	Imamura Shōhei	Japan	1967
Pierrot le Fou	Jean-Luc Godard	France	1965
The River: Poem of Wrath	Mori Kōta	Japan	1967
Battleship Potemkin	Sergei Eisenstein	USSR	1925
The War Is Over	Alain Resnais	France	1965
Fahrenheit 451	François Truffaut	France	1966
1968			
Death by Hanging*	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1968
The Servant	Joseph Losey	UK	1963
Far from Vietnam	Joris Ivens William Klein Claude Lelouch Agnès Varda Jean-Luc Godard Chris Marker Alain Resnais	France	1967

Nanami, The Inferno of First Love*	Hani Susumu	Japan	1968
Masculin Féminin	Jean-Luc Godard	France Sweden	1966
Hitler, connais pas	Bertrand Blier	France	1963
Diamonds of the Night	Jan Němec	Czechoslovakia	1964
The Human Bullet*	Okamoto Kihachi	Japan	1968
Marat/Sade	Peter Brook	UK	1966
Farewell to the Summer Light	Yoshida Kijū	Japan	1968
The Little Soldier	Jean-Luc Godard	France	1960
1969			
Diary of a Shinjuku Thief	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1968
Yoiyami semareba	Jissōji Akio	Japan	1969
Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors	Sergei Parajanov	USSR	1964
Who Are You, Polly Maggoo?	William Klein	France	1966
Double Suicide*	Shinoda Masahiro	Japan	1969
Boy*	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1969
Funeral Parade of Roses*	Matsumoto Toshio	Japan	1969
Weekend	Jean-Luc Godard	France	1967
The Trial of Joan of Arc	Robert Bresson	France	1962
October: Ten Days That Shook the World	Sergei Eisenstein	USSR	1928
1970			
Apart from Life*	Kumai Kei	Japan	1969
Eros plus Massacre	Yoshida Kijū	Japan	1969
Balthazar	Robert Bresson	France	1966
Alphaville	Jean-Luc Godard	France Italy	1965
Man Who Left His Will On Film*	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1970
This Transient Life*	Jissōji Akio	Japan	1970
Heroic Purgatory*	Yoshida Kijū	Japan	1970
Antonio das Mortes	Glauber Rocha	France	1969
The Unvanquished	Satyajit Ray	India	1956
Evil Spirits of Japan*	Kuroki Kazuo	Japan	1970
1971			
Demons*	Matsumoto Toshio	Japan	1970
Cul-de-sac	Roman Polanski	UK	1966
Throw Away Your Books, Rally in the Streets*	Terayama Shūji	Japan	1971
Ceremony*	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1971
Mandala*	Jissōji Akio	Japan	1971
Lost Lovers*	Tahara Sōichirō Shimizu Kunio	Japan	1971
Confessions Among Actresses	Yoshida Kijū	Japan	1971
1972			

The Boys in the Band	William Friedkin	USA	1970
Ecstasy of the Angels*	Wakamatsu Kōji	Japan	1972
The Iron Crown	Shindō Kaneto	Japan	1972
Secret Flower	Wakamatsu Kōji	Japan	1971
Poem*	Jissōji Akio	Japan	1972
Dear Summer Sister*	Oshima Nagisa	Japan	1972
Yegor Bulychyov i drugiye	Sergei Solovyov	USSR	1972
Gozenchū no jikanwari*	Hani Susumu	Japan	1972
The Music*	Masumura Yasuzō	Japan	1972
Hymn*	Shindō Kaneto	Japan	1972

APPENDIX 4: TOPIC LIST OF *LIVE TV UNTIL DAWN* (*ASA MADE NAMA TEREBI*), 04/1987-01/1996

This list is based on *Sōtokushū Tahara Sōichirō: Ganso terebi direkutā, enjō no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2014), 195-224 (* indicates Oshima's appearances).

Date	Topic
1987: Shōwa 62	
4/24	Merits and Demerits of Nakasone's Politics*
5/30	Japan-U.S. Crisis*
6/27	Is This the Age of Women?*
7/31	Is Kakuei's Politics Over?*
8/28	Japanese and Korean Satellite Debate*
9/25	Patriotism of Young People*
10/30	Debate on Takeshita's Politics
11/27	Debate on Japan's Defense"*
12/31	What to Do, Japan? Money, Politics, Sex*
1988: Shōwa 63	
1/22	Is Japanese Society Run by the University of Tokyo After All?*
2/26	Japan, Korea, North Korea*
3/25	Those Who Watch TV, Appear on TV, and Create TV*
4/22	The Opposition Party in Japan*
5/27	Liberalization of Agricultural Products*
6/24	What to Do, Tokyo?*
7/29	Nuclear Power Plant*
8/26	Debate Over Professional Baseball
9/30	The 1988 Olympic Games and Japanese*
10/28	Nuclear Power Plant Part 2*
11/25	Winter 1988*
12/31	What Do Japan and Japanese Do?* Where Do Japan and Japanese Go?*
1989: Heisei 1	
1/27	Mass Communication and Journalism in Japan*
2/26	The First Year of Heisei, the Imperial Mourning, Political Change*
3/31	What to Do, Japanese Professional Baseball?*
4/28	Liberal Democratic Party*
5/25	What to Do, Japanese Politics*
6/30	Shocking Tiananmen Square Incident, Where Will You Go, Socialism!?*
7/28	Human Rights and Buraku Discrimination*
8/25	The Coalition Government and Japan*
9/29	What to Do, Consumption Tax?
10/27	Open the Country or Close the Country, What to Do, Foreign Workers*
11/24	Human Rights and Buraku Discrimination Part 2*
12/31	The Changing World and the Choices of Japan*

	The New Age of the Earth Heisei Japan and the Way to the 1990s*
1990: Heisei 2	
1/26	The Election is Coming Up! Will Japanese Politics Change?
2/18	What Will Happen to Politics? What to Do, Japan?*
2/19	What to Do, Political Situation? What Will Happen to Japan
2/23	Right Wing in Japan*
3/30	Heinous Crime, the Juvenile Act, and Human Rights*
4/27	The New Age of Japan and America. What to Do, America, What Will Happen to Japan*
5/25	The New Age of Japan and Korea, and Peace of the Korean Peninsula*
6/29	The Japan-US Security Treaty, the Aim of US and Choice of Japan*
7/27	War, Peace, and Nuclear in the New Age*
8/31	The Crisis of the Middle East! What to Do, Japan?*
9/28	The Crisis of the Middle East! What to Do, Japan? Part 2*
10/26	Where Will You Go, Self-Defense Forces?*
11/23	"Symbolic Monarchy" and Japan*
12/31	No Time! The Choice and Decision of Japan*
1991: Heisei 3	
1/17	Entering the War! What Will happen to the Middle East? What to Do, Japan?*
1/25	The Gulf War, USSR, and Japan!*
2/22	The Quagmire of the Gulf War and Japan's Reaction
3/29	Tokyo War and Politics in Japan
4/26	The Constitution of Japan and World Peace
5/31	Japan in a Crisis? What to Do, Young People!*
6/28	Doi's Resignation. What to Do, the Social Democratic Party of Japan!*
7/26	Stock Company Scandal and Corporate Society
8/30	The Dissolution of Communist Party! The Fall of the USSR*
9/27	Religion and Youth
10/25	Who Made Japan Like This?
11/29	The Pacific War and Tokyo Tribunal of War Criminals
1992: Heisei 4	
2/28	Why Do We Still Have Gangs?*
3/27	Politics Destroy Japan?*
4/24	The Day Humans Are Not Able to Live on the Earth
5/29	"Discrimination and Human Rights" and Freedom of Speech*
6/26	Where Will You Go, Self-Defense Force?*
7/26	Discussion on The House of Councilors Election in 1992*
7/31	Senmu-ha and International Contribution
8/28	School in a Crisis?*
9/25	Demolition of the Liberal Democratic Party?*
10/30	Demolition of the Liberal Democratic Party? Part 2*
11/27	The Loss of Takeshita? The Collapse of the Liberal Democratic Party?*
12/31	Is Japan in a Crisis?*
1993: Heisei 5	

1/29	Clinton and the New Age of Japan and US*
2/26	A "Setup" on TV and the Information Age
3/26	Japanese Politics and Journalism*
4/30	International Contribution and the United Nations
5/28	For Whom? "International Contribution"*
6/25	A Split of the Liberal Democratic Party, Can Japan Change?*
7/19	Tahara's Debate Special
7/30	The Non-LDP Coalition Government and the Future of Japan*
8/5	Tahara's Debate Special
8/27	Did Bureaucrats Make Japan Bad?*
9/24	"The Aggressive War" and War Compensation
10/29	Freedom of Speech and Discrimination*
11/26	Japanese Rice is in Danger*
12/31	Japan is in Danger, Are Japanese Alright?*
1994: Heisei 6	
1/28	What Will Happen to the Hosokawa Administration*
2/25	Do Japan and the US Have a "Dangerous Relationship"?*
3/25	Is Japanese Rice OK?*
4/29	Hata Administration and the Fate of Japan*
5/27	"North Korea's Nuclear Suspicion" and Japan's Reaction*
6/24	Non-Confidence on Hata Cabinet? Political Chaos and the Fate of Japan*
7/29	The Collapse of "Corporation-ism" and Japan*
8/26	The Youth's War and Peace
9/30	The Truth of Murayama's Coalition Government*
10/28	Objection, Japan. Resident Foreigners' Serious Suggestion*
11/25	Will Bureaucrats Destroy Japan?*
12/31	Can Japan Survive?*
1995: Heisei 7	
1/27	What Do We Learn from the Great Hanshin Earthquake?
2/24	What Should We Do for the Reconstruction of Hanshin*
3/31	Aum Shinrikyō and the Sarin Incident*
4/28	What is the "Aum Shinrikyō incident?"*
5/26	The Dark Truth of "Aum Shinrikyō incident"*
6/30	Contemporary Japan and Religion
8/5	Contemporary Japan, the Emperor System, and Aum
8/25	Compilation of *Asanama*
9/29	Nuclear Experiment and Ambiguous Japan*
10/27	Subversive Activists Prevention Law and Religious Corporation Law
11/24	Anger of Okinawa and the Japan-US Security Treaty*
12/31	It Is Hard, Japan!*
1996: Heisei 8	
1/26	The Jūsen Problem and New Hashimoto Administration*
2/21	Oshima has a stroke and his rehabilitation starts

FIGURES

Figure 1.1. *Tomorrow's Sun*

Figure 1.2. *Tomorrow's Sun*

Figure 1.3. *Tomorrow's Sun*

Figure 1.4. *Tomorrow's Sun*

Figure 1.5. *Tomorrow's Sun*

Figure 1.6. *Night and Fog in Japan*

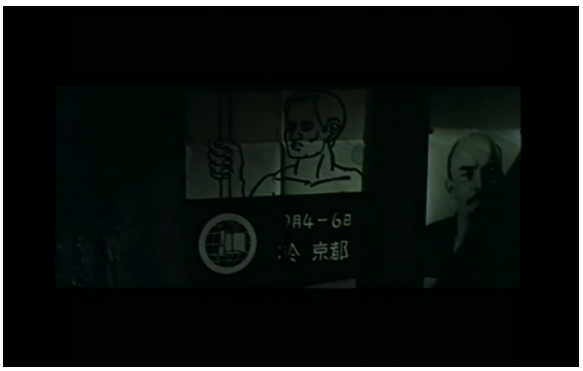
Figure 1.7. *Night and Fog in Japan*

Figure 1.8. *Night and Fog in Japan*

Figure 1.9. *Night and Fog in Japan*

Figure 1.10. *Night and Fog in Japan*

Figure 2.1. *The Forgotten Army*

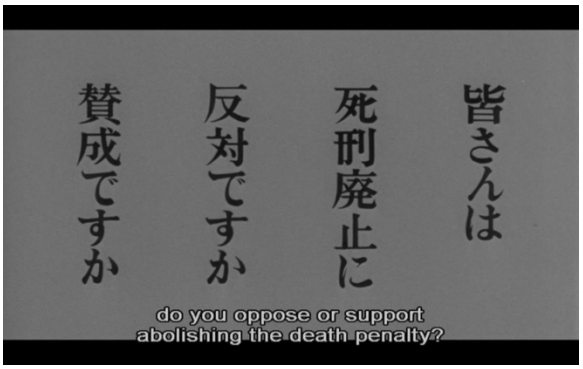

Figure 3.1. *Death by Hanging*

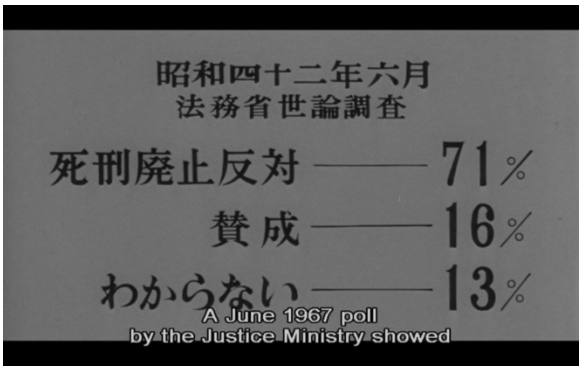

Figure 3.2. *Death by Hanging*

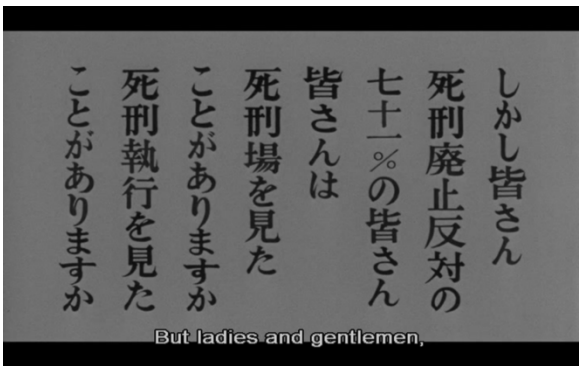

Figure 3.3. *Death by Hanging*


Figure 3.4. *Death by Hanging*

Figure 3.5. *Death by Hanging*


Figure 3.6. *Death by Hanging*


Figure 3.7. *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*

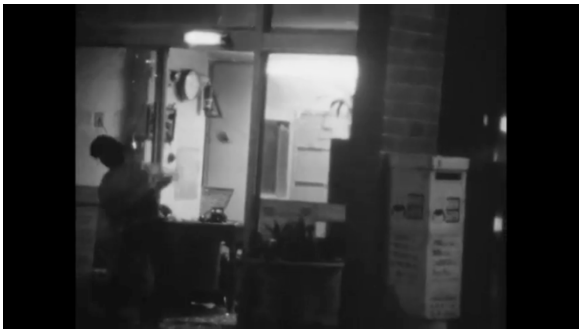
Figure 3.8. *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*

Figure 4.1. *In the Realm of the Senses*

Figure 4.2. *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence*

Figure 5.1. *Live TV until Dawn*

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